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ALGBTQ AMERICA

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

Edited by Megan E. Springate

LGBTQ America:

**A Theme Study of Lesbian,
Gay, Bisexual, Transgender,
and Queer History**

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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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INTRODUCTION

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.



01 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

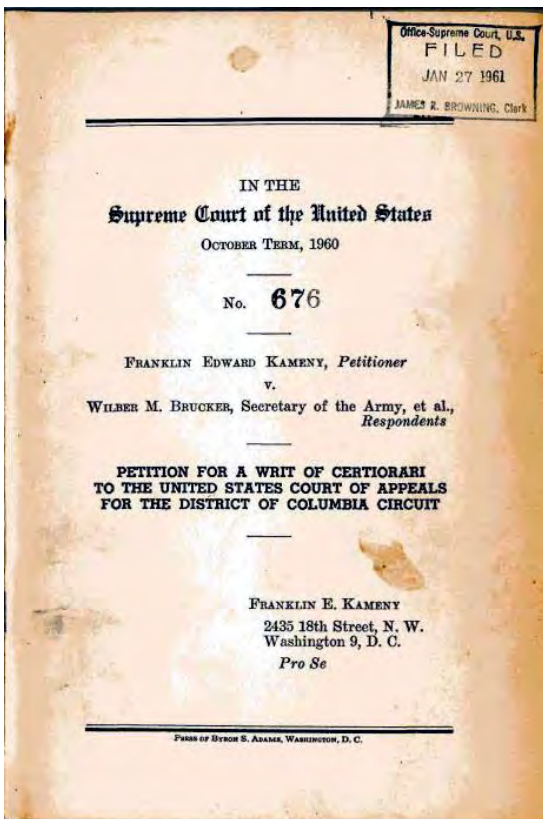


Figure 1: Dr. Franklin E. Kameny's 1960 petition for a writ of certiorari to overturn his exclusion from federal employment on the basis of homosexuality. Publication of the United States Supreme Court, 1960.

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.”²

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

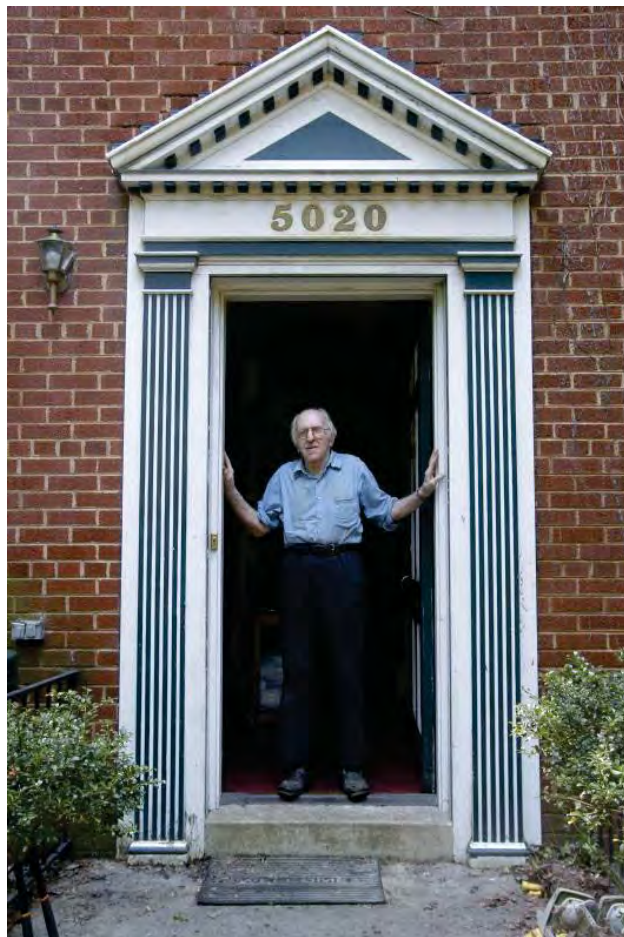


Figure 2: Dr. Franklin E. Kameny at the door to his Washington, DC, home and office, 2007. Photo by and courtesy of Patsy Lynch, 2007.

² Ibid., 58-59.

Mark Meinke

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.

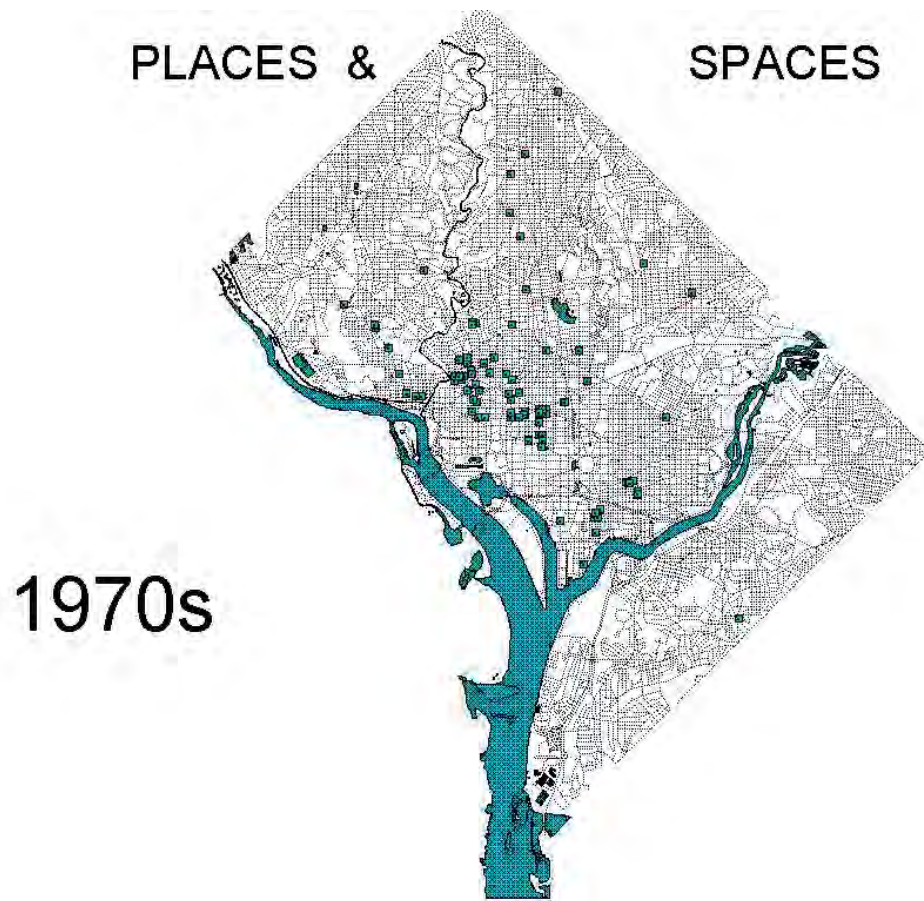


Figure 3: From *The Social Geography of Washington, DC's Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Community*, paper delivered at the 2001 Conference on Washington DC Historical Studies. Image courtesy of Mark Meinke.

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

Mark Meinke

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



Figure 4: The Washington Area Gay Community Council's (WAGDC) 1975 *Just Us*, a directory to businesses, organizations, and places of entertainment. Cover image courtesy of the last president of the WAGDC, Deacon Maccubbin.

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.kpJD0fu37MU>

Mark Meinke

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.

⁵ Tom Mayes, “Why Do Old Places Matter? Individual Identity,” *Preservation Leadership Forum Blog*, January 8, 2014, <http://blog.preservationleadershipforum.org/2014/01/08/old-places-matter-identity-1/>.

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.

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.



Figure 5: Site of the lesbian Furies Collective, Washington, DC. Photo by and courtesy of Patsy Lynch, 2015.

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

⁸ Marla E. Eisenberg and Michael D. Resnick, "Suicidality among Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Youth: The Role of Protective Factors," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 39, no. 5 (November 2006): 662-668.

⁹ The Trevor Project is online at <http://www.trevorproject.org>; History UnErased is online at <http://www.historyunerased.com>.

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>.

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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.

02 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 Rich¹

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

¹ Adrienne Rich, “Invisibility in Academe (1984),” in *Blood, Bread, and Poetry: Selected Prose 1979-1985* (New York: WW Norton & Co., 1986), 199.

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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.² 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.³

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.⁴ 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.⁵ 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).⁶ In 2010, NPS staff member Dr. Turkiya L. Lowe contacted State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs) across the country regarding lesbian, gay,

⁴ National Park Service website, “Your Story is America’s Story: Heritage Initiatives,” accessed June 15, 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageinitiatives/>.

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*.

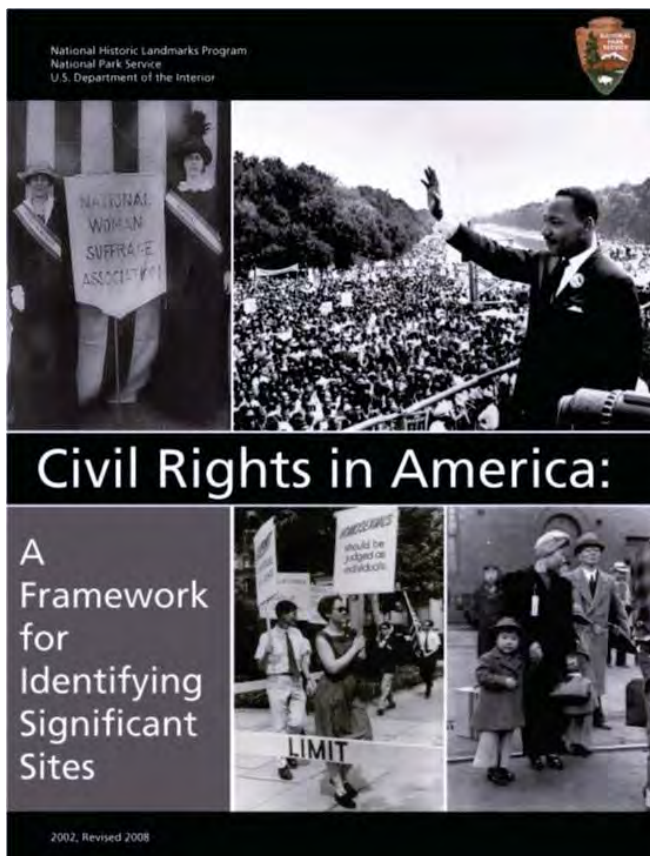


Figure 1: Cover of the NPS Civil Rights framework, *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites*.

bisexual, 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

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

⁹ Soraya Nadia McDonald, "With New Initiative, National Park Service Will Put LGBT Sites on the National Map," *The Washington Post*, May 29, 2014, accessed June 15, 2015, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2014/05/29/with-new-initiative-national-park-service-will-put-lgbt-sites-on-the-national-map>.

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 Giesekeing, 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.

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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.

¹² Carrie Braithwaite, “New Project to Celebrate Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Heritage,” Leeds Beckett University website, “News,” March 17, 2015, accessed June 15, 2015, <http://www.leedsbeckett.ac.uk/news/0315-historic-england-project>.

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

¹⁴ The Henry Gerber House is located within the Old Town Triangle neighborhood, Chicago, Illinois. Jonathan Farr, Amanda Hendrix-Komoto, Andrea Rottmann, April Slabosheski, and Michelle McClellan (University of Michigan Public History Initiative), Draft National Historic Landmark Nomination: Henry Gerber House (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2014).

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).

¹⁶ Carl Luss, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Cherry Grove Community House & Theatre (Waterford, NY: New York Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, 2013).

- 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



Figure 2: James Merrill House, Stonington, Connecticut, 2012. Photo by Logatorial.¹⁸

- 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,

¹⁷ The James Merrill House is located at 107 Water Street, Stonington, Connecticut. Rachel D. Carley, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: James Merrill House (Hartford, CT: Connecticut State Historic Preservation Office, 2013).

¹⁸ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:James_Merrill_House_exterior.jpg

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



Figure 3: Truman Capote in 1959, the year after he published *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, written at the Carrington House, Fire Island, New York. World Telegram & Sun photo by Roger Higgins, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.²⁰

- 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

¹⁹ Molly R. McDonald, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Carrington House (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2012).

²⁰ License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Truman_Capote_NYWTS.jpg

²¹ Bayard Rustin's Residence is located in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City. Mark Meinke, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Bayard Rustin Residence (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2015).

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,



Figure 4: Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo), San Juan, Puerto Rico in 1975. Photo from the NRHP nomination.

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

²³ Casa Orgullo is located at 3 Saldana Street, San Juan, Puerto Rico. Santiao Gala and Juan Llanes Santos, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Edificio Comunidad do Orgullo Gay do Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo) (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016).

²⁴ The Furies Collective is located in the Capitol Hill district of Washington, DC. Mark Meinke, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: The Furies Collective (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2015).

²⁵ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), xi-xii.

everyone’s past.”²⁶ 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.²⁷ Seeing oneself as part of the story, as part of history, is

²⁶ Hayden, *Power of Place*, 3. Emphasis added.

²⁷ See, for example, Alan McKee, “Images of Gay Men in the Media and the Development of Self Esteem,” *Australian Journal of Communication* 27, no. 2 (2000): 81-98; Larry P. Gross, *Up From*

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,

Invisibility: Lesbians, Gay Men, and the Media in America (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Kevin Coffee, “Cultural Inclusion, Exclusion and the Formative Roles of Museums,” *Museum Management & Curatorship* 23, no. 3 (2008): 261-279; Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network (GLSEN), *Teaching Respect: LGBT-Inclusive Curriculum and School Climate*, Research Brief (New York: GLSEN, 2011), <http://www.glsen.org/learn/research/national/teaching-respect>; and Sarah C. Gomillion and Traci A. Giuliano, “The Influence of Media Role Models on Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Identity,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 58 (2011): 330-354.

²⁸ Hayden, *Power of Place*, 8.

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

³² Ehn Nothin, "Queens Against Society," in *Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries: Survival, Revolt, and Queer Antagonist Struggle* (Untorellipress, 2013), 6, accessed October 27, 2015, <https://untorellipress.noblogs.org/post/2013/03/12/street-transvestite-action-revolutionaries-survival-revolt-and-queer-antagonist-struggle>. See also Tim Retzliff, "Eliding Trans Latino/a Queer Experience in US LGBT History: José Sarria and Sylvia Rivera Reexamined," *Centro Journal* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 140-161. For a discussion of bisexual erasure, see Kenji Yoshino, "The Epistemic Contract of Bisexual Erasure," *Stanford Law Review* 52 (2000): 353-461; Ann E. Tweeny and Karen Yescavage, "Employment Discrimination Against Bisexuals: An Empirical Study," *William & Mary Journal of Women and the Law* 21, no. 3 (2015): 699-741; and Hutchins (this volume).

³³ Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

³⁴ Michael Sibal, "Gay Liberation Comes to France: The *Front Homosexuel d'Action Revolutionnaire* (FHAR)," *French History and Civilization, Papers from the George Rudé Seminar*, vol. 1 (2005).

³⁵ See, for example, Brendan O'Neill, "Gay Marriage: A Case Study in Conformism," *Spiked*, April 11, 2013, accessed June 12, 2015, <http://www.spiked-online.com/newsite/article/13518>.

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to It.”³⁶ 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.³⁷ O’Neill writes that “anyone who values diversity of thought and tolerance of dissent should find the sweeping consensus on gay marriage terrifying.”³⁸

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.³⁹

“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.”⁴⁰

³⁶ Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 186.

³⁷ Urvashi Vaid, *Irresistible Revolution: Confronting Race, Class and the Assumptions of LGBT Politics* (New York: Magnus Books, 2012).

³⁸ O’Neill, *Gay Marriage*.

³⁹ Heather Love, *Feeling Backward: Loss and the Politics of Queer History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 10.

⁴⁰ Melinda Chateauvert, *Sex Workers Unite: A History of the Movement from Stonewall to SlutWalk* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2013), 11.



Figure 6: Marcia P. Johnson pickets outside Bellevue Hospital in New York City to protest the treatment of street people and gays, ca. 1968-1975. Photo by Diana Davies, courtesy of the New York Public Library.

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.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."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.⁴³ This history of Stonewall is, more often than not, left out

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

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and silenced out of a conviction that “heroes must be noble and virtuous, worthy of acceptance by straight America.”⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵

Historians and community activists increasingly insist that more complete and diverse LGBTQ histories must be recorded and told, and they are doing the work.⁴⁶ 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 Chateaufort, *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 Chateaufort, *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.⁴⁷ 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

⁴⁷ For a list of peer reviewers for the theme study, see the front matter.

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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 Giesecking
- 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

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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.

- Nominating 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



Figure 7: Lambda Rising bookstore, Rehoboth Beach, Delaware. One of four Lambda Rising bookstore locations, this one was open from 1991 to January 2010. It was the last Lambda Rising to close. The other locations were Washington, DC (1974-2009), Baltimore, Maryland (1984-2008), and Norfolk, Virginia (1996-2007). Photo by Kevin, 2006.⁴⁸

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.

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.



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

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

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.

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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.).⁵⁰ In order to provide the most complete context possible, the often very divergent histories of these many communities must be acknowledged and included.⁵¹

Multiple Voices

Gumbo ya-ya, or multiple voices talking at once, is an approach to “doing” intersectionality proposed by historian Elsa Barkley Brown.⁵² 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).

⁵² 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.

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.⁵³ Identities are complex, personal and collective, created through experiences and imposed from without. They are about both being

⁵³ Barbara L. Voss, *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 13.

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different than or alienated from some people, and about belonging with, or the same as, others.⁵⁴ Hayden argues that place nurtures profound cultural belonging.⁵⁵ “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.”⁵⁶ This shared history can convey a sense of belonging and of civic identity.⁵⁷ 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.”⁵⁸ 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”

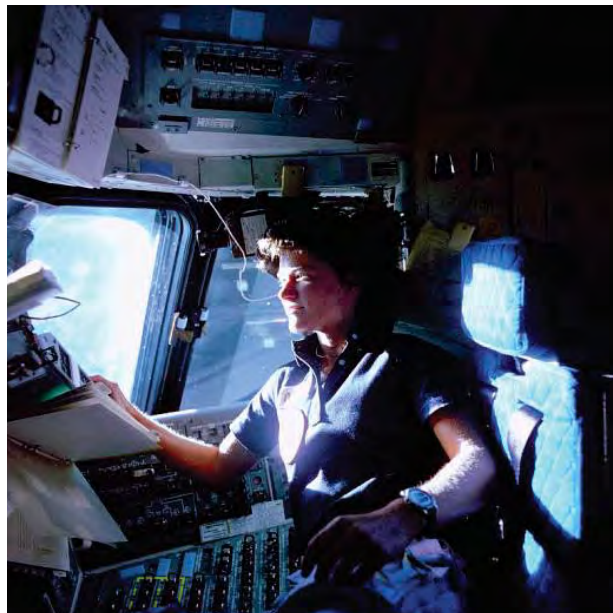


Figure 9: In orbit high above the Earth, America's first female astronaut, Sally K. Ride, monitors flight status from the pilot's chair of the Space Shuttle Challenger, June 1983. It was not until Ride's death in 2012 that her 27-year long relationship with another woman, Tam O'Shaughnessy, was made public. NASA photo.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Voss, *Ethnogenesis*, 13-14.

⁵⁵ Hayden, *Power of Place*.

⁵⁶ Hayden, *Power of Place*, 9.

⁵⁷ Hayden, *Power of Place*, 9-11.

⁵⁸ Love, *Feeling Backward*, 45.

⁵⁹ License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ride_on_the_Flight_Deck_-_GPN-2000-001083.jpg. Lynn Sherr, *Sally Ride: America's First Woman in Space* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014).

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.⁶⁰ 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:⁶¹

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.⁶²

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.⁶³ One such example is Jane Addams, founder of

⁶⁰ See, for example, Love, *Feeling Backward*.

⁶¹ Patrick E. Johnson, “Gays and Gospel: A Queer History of Sacred Music,” in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads*, eds. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 116.

⁶² John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 5.

⁶³ For a more in-depth discussion, see Judith M. Bennett, “Lesbian-Like” and the Social History of Lesbianisms,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9 (2000): 1-24.

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the Hull House settlement in Chicago.⁶⁴ 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,



Figure 10: Hotel Alma, Portland, Oregon during renovations, 2009. From the 1970s, the building housed the Club Baths and Portland Baths, Flossie's gay bar, and later, Silverado, a gay strip club. The baths closed and Silverado changed locations in 2007 when the Hotel Alma was sold to a developer. It reopened as the Crystal Hotel in 2011.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ 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.

⁶⁵ See Victoria Bissell Brown, "Queer or Not: What Jane Addams Teaches Us About Not Knowing," in *Out in Chicago*, 63-76.

⁶⁶ License: CC BY-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hotel_Alma_-_Portland_Oregon.jpg. Hotel Alma was located at 1201-1217 SW Stark Street, Portland, Oregon The Hotel Alma was added to the NRHP on September 9, 2009.

and clubs are included throughout; when it was illegal to be intimate with someone of the same gender, communities was 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.”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.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.

⁶⁷ Love, *Feeling Backward*, 3.

⁶⁸ Love, *Feeling Backward*, 1, 45.

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.

03 INTRODUCTION TO LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, TRANSGENDER, AND QUEER HISTORY (LGBTQ HISTORY) IN THE UNITED STATES

Leisa Meyer and Helis Sikk

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.

¹ George Chauncey, Jr., *Gay New York: Urban Culture and the Making of the Gay Male World* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 9-10.

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.² 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.³ 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

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.

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Figure 1: Deborah Sampson who fought as Robert Shurtleff with the Fourth Massachusetts Regiment during the Revolutionary War, c. 1797. Engraving by George Graham from a drawing by William Beastall, which in turn was based on a painting by Joseph Stone.⁴

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).⁵ 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

⁴ License: Public Domain. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:DeborahSampson.jpg> From Herman Mann, *The Female Review: Life of Deborah Sampson, the Female Soldier in the War of Revolution* (Boston: J.K. Wiggin & W.P. Lunt, 1866).

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

⁶ Leisa Meyer, *Creating G.I. Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps During World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Julie Wheelwright, *Amazons and Military Maids: Women Who Dressed as Men in Pursuit of Life, Liberty, and Happiness* (London: Pandora Press, 1989).

⁷ For a detailed discussion, see Roscoe (this volume).

⁸ See Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lang, eds., *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

⁹ See Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, 213-247; Jacobs, Thomas, and Lang, eds., *Two-Spirit People*, 15.

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Figure 2: We'Wha (1849-1896), a Zuni *Ihamana*, weaving. Photo by John K. Hillers, c. 1781-1896, for the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology (National Archives and Records Administration ID: 523558).¹⁰

These definitions could be much more complex than a man who lives as a woman: Zuni *Ihamana* 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 *Ihamana*, 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.¹¹ Other colonial encounters

¹⁰ License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:We-Wa,_a_Zuni_berdache_weaving_-_NARA_-_523797.jpg

¹¹ Matilda Coxe Stevenson, “The Zuni Indians: Their Mythology, Esoteric Fraternities, and Ceremonies,” *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1901-1902* (Washington, DC:

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 Qānqon 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.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.¹³ It is often in the correspondence between women and between men that we find LGBTQ history.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).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

Government Printing Office, 1904); Will Roscoe, *The Zuni-Man Woman* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991).

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

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).

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

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.

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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



Figure 3: Redcliffe Plantation house, Beach Island, South Carolina, home of James Henry Hammond from 1859. Photo by Bill Fitzpatrick, 2012.¹⁷

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

¹⁶ Martin Duberman, “Writing Bedfellows’ In Antebellum South Carolina: Historical Interpretations and the Politics of Evidence,” in *Carryin’ On in the Lesbian and Gay South*, ed. John Howard (New York: New York University Press, 1997): 15-33, see especially note 15.

¹⁷ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Redcliffe.jpg>

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.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.”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.”²⁰ At the same time Frances Willard, a white middle-

¹⁸ Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth Century America,” in *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Knopf, 1985), 53-76. Martha Vicinus, ed., *Lesbian Subjects: A Feminist Studies Reader* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1996).

¹⁹ Grew and Burleigh were “close companions” from the mid-1850s, and lived together until Burleigh’s death in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1891. Burleigh’s funeral took place at their residence, 116 North Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (now demolished). Chris Dixon, “Grew, Mary,” *American National Biography Online*, <http://www.anb.org/articles/15/15-00893.html>, accessed via H-SHGAP <http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=h-shgape&month=0312&week=d&msg=pkWnqRyrfD6OV4scePKjca>. Burleigh’s obituary is online at “Margaret Jones Burleigh,” Find A Grave website, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=99784442>.

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.”

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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).²¹ 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.²² 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.²³ 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.

²³ Elizabeth W. Knowlton, "'Only a Woman Like Yourself' - Rebecca Alice Baldy; Dutiful Daughter, Stalwart Sister, and Lesbian Love of Nineteenth-Century Georgia," in Howard, *Carryin' On*, 34-53; Estelle Freedman, "'The Burning of Letters Continues': Elusive Identities and the Historical Construction of Sexuality," *Journal of Women's History* 9, no. 4 (Winter 1998).



Figure 4: Frances E. Willard House, Evanston, Illinois. Photo by Philip Turner, 1967 (Historic American Buildings Survey HABS ILL, 16-EVAN, 4-1).

“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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centuries.²⁴ 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.”²⁵

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.²⁶ Here emerges another key question for those looking to excavate and document LGBTQ histories: who created modern understandings of sexual and gender

²⁴ Leisa D. Meyer, “Lesbians: Historical Perspectives,” in *International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences*, eds. Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes (Oxford, UK: Elsevier Science Ltd., 2001), 8720-8725. See also, Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present*, paperback ed. (New York: Morrow Quill, 1981); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct*; Vicinus, *Lesbian Subjects*; Gifford, *Writing Out My Heart*.

²⁵ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume I, An Introduction*, reissue ed. (New York: Vintage Press, 1990), 101.

²⁶ Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. I (New York: Random House, 1915), see “The Sexual Impulse in Women,” 193-211; “Sexual Inversion in Men,” 82-96; “Sexual Inversion in Women,” 219-229; “The Nature of Sexual Inversion,” 289-297.

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.²⁷ 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).

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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

²⁸ Sigmund Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), see "The Sexual Aberrations," 1-38; "The Transformations of Puberty," and "Summary," 73-109; Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*.

²⁹ See Stein (this volume).

³⁰ Nayan Shah, "'Oriental Depravity' and 'Natural Degenerates': Spatial Borderlands and the Making of Ordinary Americans," *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2005): 703-725.

³¹ Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 9-10, 12-13.

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.³² 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.³³

³² Domna Stanton, “Introduction,” in *Discourses of Sexuality: From Aristotle to AIDS* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 20. See also Hortense Spillers, “Interstices: A Small Drama of Words,” in *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*, ed. Carole S. Vance (London: Pandora Press, 1992), 74.

³³ E. Patrick Johnson, “Gays and Gospel: A Queer History of Sacred Music,” in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads*, eds. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011),

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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.³⁴ 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



Figure 5: Gertrude Pridgett “Ma” Rainey, 1917. Photographer unknown.³⁵

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

116; John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 5.

³⁴ Siobhan Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 3

³⁵ License: Public Domain. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:MaRainey.jpg>

references intimate relationships between women, has become a staple of lesbian genealogy (Figure 5).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.³⁷ To complicate these racial ethnic narratives and directly challenge the black/white binary within sexuality studies, historian Emma Pérez draws our attention to *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.³⁸

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 *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 Kraulik 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

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.

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,” *Ebony* 7, no. 10 (August 1952): 94.

³⁸ Emma Pérez, “Queering the Borderlands: The Challenges of Excavating the Invisible and Unheard,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 24, nos. 2&3 (2003): 125.

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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



Figure 6: The Atlantic House, Provincetown, Massachusetts. Built in 1798, it has been a gay bar since the 1950s. Photo by Thomas Beauchamp-Arnold, 2004.⁴⁰

some white gay men to appear in blackface during local parades in the 1990s maintained and reinvigorated racial stereotypes and hierarchies. Kraulik 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 Kraulik, *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>

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 Giesecking (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).

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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.⁴⁵

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

⁴⁵ License: Free to use. <http://fdipmm.libertynet.org/word6/fdrp.html>

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.”⁴⁶

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.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ 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

⁴⁶ Horacio Roque Ramirez, “Communities of Desire: Queer Latina/Latino History and Memory, San Francisco Bay Area, 1960s-1990s,” PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2001. See also, Horacio Roque Ramirez, “‘That’s My Place!’: Negotiating Racial, Sexual and Gender Politics in San Francisco’s Gay Latino Alliance, 1975-1984,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12, no. 2 (April 2003): 258. See González and Hernández, Harris, Sueyoshi, Roscoe (this volume). A similar argument can be made for other communities that fall under the LGBTQ umbrella, including bisexual and transgender communities; see Hutchins and Stryker (this volume).

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.

⁴⁸ John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 12.

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within” broader queer networks and “self-identified gay men shared spaces with presumably large numbers of non-gay-identified queers.”⁴⁹

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



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, 2008.⁵⁰

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).⁵¹

⁴⁹ Howard, *Men Like That*, 78.

⁵⁰ License: Public Domain.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Castle_Williams_land_side_jeh.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.⁵² With massive quantities of data,

Governors Island, New York. Because of his homosexuality, he was subject to beatings, blackmail, and other harassment including confinement in the guardhouse by other members of the military also stationed at Governors Island. Gerber was honorably discharged in 1942. See “Henry Gerber,” Governor’s Island National Monument website, <https://www.nps.gov/gois/learn/historyculture/henry-gerber.htm>. Governor’s Island was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on February 4, 1985. It was designated a National Monument, becoming part of the NPS system, on January 19, 2001. Gerber’s residence in Chicago was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015. Beginning in 2014, Rosie the Riveter/WWII Home Front National Historical Park began collecting stories about life on the home front of WWII from LGBTQ people. See “NPS Seeking LGBT Stories,” National Park Service website, March 5, 2014, <https://www.nps.gov/resources/news.htm?newsID=A5D4EBC4-EB30-573F-B14BE1C932E3CB9A>. For more on LGBTQ in the military, see Estes (this volume). See also, Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II* (New York: The Free Press, 2000); Leisa D. Meyer, *Creating G.I. Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women’s Army Corps During World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

⁵² From 1927 until his death in 1956, Kinsey lived in a house he built near the University of Indiana in Bloomington. He lived there with his wife and daughter; after his daughter moved out in 1940, he

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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

began using her old bedroom for some of his studies. The Alfred and Clara Kinsey House is a contributing element of the Vinegar Hill Historic District, listed on the NRHP on June 17, 2005. Originally founded by Kinsey in 1947 as the Institute for Sex Research to house his decades of research notes, the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction is located in Morrison Hall, University of Indiana, Bloomington. Alfred Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948; repr., Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Alfred Kinsey et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953; repr., Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

⁵³ Donna Drucker, *The Classification of Sex: Alfred Kinsey and the Organization of Knowledge* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014). See also, Janice Irvine, *Disorders of Desire: Sexuality and Gender in Modern American Sexology*, revised and expanded ed. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005); James H. Jones, *Alfred C. Kinsey: A Life* (New York: W.W. Norton Company, 2005).

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).⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ 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.

⁵⁵ 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).

⁵⁶ 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.

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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.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹

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.⁶⁰ 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

⁵⁷ John D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of A Homosexual Minority, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). See also, Marcia Gallo, *Different Daughters*.

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.

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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,



Figure 9: Sylvia Rivera at the 1973 Christopher Street Liberation Day Rally, New York City. Still image taken from the video "y'all better quiet down!" by Reina Gossett.⁶³

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

⁶² Sylvia Rivera, "Y'all Better Quiet Down" speech at New York City's 1973 Christopher Street Liberation Day, YouTube video, posted by Luz Violeta, October 22, 2014, accessed March 16, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9QiiGZCEtQ>.

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.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ 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!”⁶⁶

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.⁶⁷ 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).⁶⁸

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.

⁶⁶ John D’Emilio, Urvashi Vaid, and William Turner, eds. *Creating Change: Sexuality, Public Policy, and Civil Rights* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000).

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.



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

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

⁶⁹ License: Free to use.

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

⁷⁰ Randy Shilts, *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987); Jennifer Brier, *Infectious Ideas: U.S. Political Responses to the AIDS Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); "Fact Sheet 2016," UNAIDS website, http://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/media_asset/20150901_FactSheet_2015_en.pdf; "A Timeline of HIV/AIDS," AIDS.gov website, <https://www.aids.gov/hiv-aids-basics/hiv-aids-101/aids-timeline>, accessed May 20, 2016.

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.

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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

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

⁷² License: CC BY-NC-SA 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/nihlibrary/5489664638>

⁷³ “A Brief Timeline of AIDS,” Fighting AIDS Continuously Together website, accessed April 14, 2016, <http://www.factlv.org/timeline.htm>.

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.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.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.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.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.

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

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.

⁷⁶ Samantha Michaels, "It's Incredibly Scary to Be a Transgender Woman of Color Right Now," *Mother Jones*, June 26, 2015, accessed March 15, 2016, <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2015/06/transgender-women-disproportionately-targeted-violent-hate-crimes>.

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.

⁷⁸ Center for American Progress and Movement Advancement Project, *Paying an Unfair Price: The Financial Penalty for Being LGBT in America* (Denver, CO: Movement Advancement Project, 2014), accessed January 8, 2016, <http://www.lgbtmap.org/file/paying-an-unfair-price-full-report.pdf>; "HIV Among Transgender People," Centers for Disease Control and Prevention website, last modified April 18, 2016, accessed January 8, 2016, <http://www.cdc.gov/hiv/group/gender/transgender/index.html>.

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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).

⁸⁰ John D'Emilio, "The Day the Supreme Court Quoted My Book," *History News Network*, July 14, 2003, <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/1563>; Rick Perlstein, "What Gay Studies Taught the Court," *Washington Post*, July 13, 2003, B03, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/opinions/2003/07/13/what-gay-studies-taught-the-court/d8e3988c-dfa7-498c-a281-15d2b043a3a0>; Peter Edidin, "In Changing the Law of the Land, Six Justices Turned to Its History," *New York Times*, July 20, 2003, <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/07/20/weekinreview/20WORD.html>.

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).⁸² 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 2015.⁸¹

⁸¹ License: CC BY-NC 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/iip-photo-archive/19080149740>

⁸² *United States v. Windsor*, online at http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/12pdf/12-307_6j37.pdf; “*Obergefell v. Hodges*,” *SCOTUSblog*, <http://www.scotusblog.com/case-files/cases/obergefell-v-hodges>; for *Shelby County v. Holder*, see Adam Liptak, “Supreme Court Invalidates Key Part of Voting Rights Act,” *New York Times*, June 25, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/26/us/supreme-court-ruling.html>.

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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.⁸³ 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.”⁸⁴ 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.⁸⁵

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

⁸³ 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.

⁸⁴ “Anti-LGBT Religious Exemption Legislation Across the Country,” American Civil Liberties Union website, May 5, 2016, accessed May 7, 2016, <https://www.aclu.org/anti-lgbt-religious-exemption-legislation-across-country>.

⁸⁵ Colin Campbell and Craig Jarvis, “LGBT Protections End As NC governor Signs Bill,” *The News and Observer* (Raleigh, NC), March 23, 2016, accessed May 7, 2016, <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, <http://www.cnn.com/2016/05/12/politics/transgender-bathrooms-obama-administration/index.html>; “Obama Administration Sues North Carolina Over Anti-LGBT Law,” *BBC News*, May 9, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-36252949>.

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.

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.



04 THE HISTORY OF QUEER HISTORY: ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE SEARCH FOR SHARED HERITAGE

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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

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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

¹ David M. Halperin, *How to Be Gay* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 7.

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

² Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A National Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997), xi.

³ “San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project,” flyer (circa 1979); GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco), San Francisco LGBT Groups Ephemera Collection (collection no. GRP EPH), folder: “San Francisco Gay and Lesbian History Project, 1979–1983.”

⁴ Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey Jr., eds., *Hidden From History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: New American Library, 1989).

⁵ The phrase “desire for history” is borrowed from the title of a posthumous collection of essays by the gay community-based historian Allan Bérubé, edited with an introduction by John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *My Desire for History: Essays in Gay, Community and Labor History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011). Bérubé discusses the complexity of his own desires—homosexual, intellectual, historical—in “Intellectual Desire,” a talk he gave in 1992, reprinted in the collection, pages 161–181.

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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.⁶ 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.

⁶ 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).⁷ 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....”⁸ 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

⁷ Mary Casal, *The Stone Wall: An Autobiography* (Chicago: Eyncourt Press, 1930), 178–180. On the identity of the pseudonymous author, see Sherry A. Darling, “A Critical Introduction to *The Stone Wall: An Autobiography*,” PhD diss., Tufts University, Department of Drama, 2003), 2. For a brief overview of Field’s life, excerpts from *The Stone Wall*, and a bibliography of works by and about Field, see “Mary Casal, Pseudonym of Ruth Fuller Field: The Autobiography of an American Lesbian,” introduction by Jonathan Ned Katz, Outhistory.org, accessed August 5, 2015, <http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/casal>.

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.⁹ 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).¹⁰ 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).¹¹ 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.¹² By the 1920s and 1930s, a handful of popular books also offered details about the history of homosexuality and nonnormative gender.¹³

⁹ For a discussion of homosexual men drawing on such materials to create folk histories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 282–286.

¹⁰ J. Richardson Parke, *Human Sexuality: A Medico-Literary Treatise on the History and Pathology of the Sex Instinct for the Use of Physicians and Jurists* (Philadelphia: Professional Publishing Company, 1912). Parke had been found guilty of counterfeiting patent medicines in 1887; see “Legal Reports: Imitating Patent Medicines in America,” *The Chemist and Druggist* (April 16, 1887): 473. For Parke’s birth and death dates, see Susan G. Kennedy-Ajax, “My Genealogy Home Page: Information About Joseph Richardson Parke,” Genealogy.com, accessed June 13, 2015, <http://www.genealogy.com/ftm/k/e/n/Susan-G-Kennedy-Ajax/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0109.html>.

¹¹ Parke, *Human Sexuality*, viii (list of subheads for chap. 6, “Inversion of the Sexual Impulse”). On the Freda Ward case, see Lisa Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers: Sex, Violence, and American Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); also see Lisa J. Lindquist, “Images of Alice: Gender, Deviancy, and a Love Murder in Memphis,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6, no. 1 (July 1995): 30–61.

¹² Parke, *Human Sexuality*, 11–12. Note that Parke himself had been arrested in 1909 on a complaint of obscenity for sending an earlier edition of *Human Sexuality* through the mail, but no charges were brought; see Theodore Schroeder, “Obscene” *Literature and Constitutional Law: A Forensic Defense of Freedom of the Press* (New York: Privately Printed, 1911), 71–72.

¹³ See, for example, O.P. Gilbert, *Men in Women’s Guise: Some Historical Instances of Female Impersonation* (New York: Brentano’s, 1926), trans. Robert B. Douglas; LaForest Potter, *Strange Loves: A Study in Sexual Abnormalities* (New York: Robert Dodsley, 1933); and Dr. Caufeynon, *Unisexual Love: A Documentary Study of the Sources, Manifestations, the Physiology and Psychology of Sexual Perversion in the Two Sexes* (New York: New Era Press, 1934). Although not stated by the publisher, *Unisexual Love* is an adaptation from a French book by a prolific author of trashy fiction and putative nonfiction with sexual themes: Dr. Caufeynon (pseudonym of Jean Fauconney), *L’Homosexualité chez l’homme et chez la femme: physiologie et psychologie de l’inversion sexuelle—étude documentaire sur ses origines et ses manifestations dans les deux sexes* (Paris, France: Librairie Offenstadt, 1909).



Figure 2: Dr. J. Richardson Parke lived and practiced medicine at a brick townhouse on Spruce Street in Philadelphia at the time he published *Human Sexuality* in 1912 (seen at center with yellow chairs in front in this image). Photo courtesy of photographer Lou Phillips, 2015.

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*

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

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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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ 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>. 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.¹⁷ 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."¹⁸ 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."¹⁹ 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."²⁰

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

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.

¹⁹ Niles, *Strange Brother*, 299–309; ellipses in the original. The publication dates for the books mentioned in this paragraph are for the American first editions: Edward Carpenter, *Love's Coming of Age* (Chicago: Stockham, 1902), and Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: F.A. Davis, 1900–1905); presumably the character was reading vol. 2, *Sexual Inversion* (1901).

²⁰ Niles, *Strange Brother*, 234–235. Mark's inspiration was Alain Locke, ed., *The New Negro: An Interpretation* (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1925).



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.

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....”²¹

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.²² By the 1920s she was

²¹ Donald Webster Cory, *The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach* (New York: Greenberg, 1951), 157, 167. The author likely drew on personal observations of these phenomena going back to the 1930s. On Edward Sagarin, see Gerard Sullivan, “Cory, Donald Webster,” in Robert Aldrich and Gary Wotherspoon, eds., *Who's Who in Contemporary Gay and Lesbian History From World War II to Today* (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 92–93.

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.

²⁴ Marion Zimmer Bradley, "Variant Women in Literature," *The Ladder* 1, no. 8 (May 1956): 8–10, observes that Foster was reduced to publishing through a vanity press due to trade publishers' refusal to take on serious books of limited interest. Also see Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2006), 38. On the postwar anti-homosexual panic, see David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

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.

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.²⁶ 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).²⁷ 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.²⁸ As John D'Emilio notes,

²⁶ A fairly extensive scholarly literature has been produced on the politics and organizational strategies of the homophile period. For a founding study in the field, see 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). For monographs on individual organizations, see Gallo, *Different Daughters*, which focuses on the Daughters of Bilitis; James T. Sears, *Behind the Mask of Mattachine: The Hal Call Chronicles and the Early Movement for Homosexual Emancipation* (Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press, 2006); and C. Todd White, *Pre-Gay L.A.: A Social History of the Movement for Homosexual Rights* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), which focuses on One Incorporated.

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.³² 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.³³

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.³⁴ 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

³² See the following, all in the *Mattachine Review*: Mack Fingal, “Hadrian and Antinous: The Love-Life of an Emperor,” 1, no. 6 (November–December 1956): 21–22; “Books: *Sex in History* by G. Rattray Taylor,” 3, no. 3 (March 1957): 8–10; Omer C. Stewart, “Homosexuality Among American Indians and Other Native Peoples of the World,” 6, no. 1 (January 1960): 9–15, and 6, no. 2 (February 1960): 13–18; “Mattachine Society Inc.: First Decade, 1950–1960,” 6, no. 4 (April 1960): 2, 26–30; and Joseph Charles Salak, “Civil War Heroine,” 6, no. 11 (November 1960): 5–6. Apparently none of the authors were professional historians, but one was an academic: Omer C. Stewart was a professor of anthropology at the University of Colorado; see “Mattachine Breaks Through the Conspiracy of Silence,” *The Ladder* 4, no. 1 (October 1958): 18.

³³ See D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 111. For the first installment of the bibliography, see “Bibliography of Books on the Homosexual (and Related) Subjects,” *Mattachine Review* 3, no. 8 (August 1957): 24–29.

³⁴ See the following, all in *The Ladder*: Gene Damon, “Radclyffe Hall,” 3, no. 3 (December 1958): 8–9; Gene Damon and Lee Stuart, “Transvestism in Women,” 3, no. 5 (February 1959): 11–13; LauraJean Ermayne, “The Sapphic Cinema,” 4, no. 7 (April 1960): 5–9; and David Hamblen, “Lesbianism and the Law,” 5, no. 2 (November 1960): 6–9.

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.³⁶ In 1956, the leaders of the organization went beyond publishing the occasional



Figure 4: The front door of One Institute at 2256 Venice Boulevard in the Arlington Heights neighborhood of Los Angeles, circa 1970. At left: Jim Kepner; at right: W. Dorr Legg. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of the One Archives at USC Libraries (Los Angeles).

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

the magazine, see Barbara Grier, also known as Gene Damon, *Lesbiana: Book Reviews From The Ladder, 1966–1972* (Reno, NV: Naiad Press, 1976).

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.

the arts” (Figure 4).³⁷ 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.

³⁸ See W. Dorr Legg, *Homophile Studies in Theory and Practice* (Los Angeles: One Institute Press & San Francisco: GLB Publishers, 1994), 27, note 15. For an example of Hay’s ethnohistorical analysis that provided a basis for his work with the One Institute, see Harry Hay, “The Homosexual and History ... An Invitation to Further Study,” in *Radically Gay: Gay Liberation in the Words of Its Founder*, ed., Will Roscoe (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 94–119; written in 1953, the essay draws on talks Hay had presented at a Mattachine Society discussion group in 1952–1953. In his introduction to the text, Roscoe, pages 92–93, provides a brief assessment of the sources of Hay’s historiography.

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.”

⁴⁰ Jim Kepner, “Editorial,” *One Institute Quarterly: Homophile Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1958): 3.

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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.⁴¹ 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.⁴² 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 1994.⁴³

⁴¹ For examples, see Harry Benjamin, "Transvestism and Transsexualism," *One Institute Quarterly: Homophile Studies* 1, no. 3 (Fall 1958): 102–104, written by an endocrinologist; and Virginia Arman, "Some Facts About Lesbians: Introduction," *One Institute Quarterly: Homophile Studies* 2, no. 4 (Fall 1959): 111–112, written by a psychologist.

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.

⁴³ See "History," One Archives. On the authorization to grant degrees, also see White, *Pre-Gay L.A.*, 206. In its final years from 1983 to 1994, One Incorporated was based at the Millbank Estate, a large villa in the Arlington Heights neighborhood of Los Angeles. The only PhD awarded to a student in the institute's program went to Michael Lombardi for his German history dissertation, "The Translation of the Works by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs with Special Emphasis on Research on the Riddle of Man-Manly Love," PhD diss., One Institute for Homophile Studies, 1984; see Michael Lombardi-Nash, e-mail to the author, June 10, 2015. Lombardi-Nash went on to publish translations of foundational documents in LGBTQ studies, including Karl-Heinrich Ulrichs, *The Riddle of Man-Manly Love: The Pioneering Work on Male Homosexuality* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1994) and Magnus Hirschfeld, *The Homosexuality of Men and Women* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2000).

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.

⁴⁶ Gayle Rubin comments on the gaps and links in the production of “queer knowledge” between the homophile and gay liberation eras in “Geologies of Queer Studies: It’s Déjà Vu All Over Again,” in Gayle S. Rubin, *Deviations: A Gayle Rubin Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 347–349. Also see “Sexual Traffic: Interview With Gayle Rubin by Judith Butler,” in *Ibid.*, 301–302.

⁴⁷ For instance, Gayle Rubin describes her delight when discovering around 1970 that lesbian bibliographies already existed from the homophile period; see Rubin, “Geologies of Queer Studies,” in Rubin, *Deviations*, 348–349. Both the Daughters of Bilitis and DOB member Marion Zimmer Bradley had published such bibliographies as stand-alone publications in the years from 1958 to 1967; see Maida Tilchen, “The Legendary Lesbian Treasure Map,” in Barbara Grier, *The Lesbian in Literature* (Tallahassee, FL: Naiad Press, 1981), xi–xii. For a bibliography focused on male homosexuality by an author who was associated with the One Institute, see Noel I. Garde, *The Homosexual in Literature: A Chronological Bibliography, Circa 700 B.C. – 1958* (New York: Village Books, 1959).

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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

⁴⁸ Jeffrey Escoffier, *American Homo: Community and Perversity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 110.

⁴⁹ On uses of lesbian and gay history in the context of political debates in the 1980s, see Escoffier, *American Homo*, 169–170.

considerably to support the educational initiatives of the One Institute.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.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.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

⁵⁰ See Gerard Koskovich, “Libraries and Archives,” in John C. Hawley, ed., *LGBTQ America Today: An Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2009), 684–692. On the One Incorporated library, also see Leslie Colfax, “Library,” in Cutler, *Homosexuals Today*, 83–84, and White, *Pre-Gay L.A.*, 78.

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, <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.

⁵² See Tim Retzlöff, “Edward Weber, Retired Labadie Collection Curator at U of M, Dies at 83,” *Pride Source*, April 20, 2006, accessed June 1, 2015, <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.”⁵³

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.⁵⁴ 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.”⁵⁵

⁵³ Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Duke, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 241.

⁵⁴ On the founding, see “Lesbian Herstory Archives: History and Mission,” Lesbian Herstory Archives website, accessed June 6, 2015, <http://www.lesbianherstoryarchives.org/history.html>; on Nestle’s self-definition, see Joan Nestle, *A Fragile Union: New and Collected Writings* (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 1998), “Introduction”; posted on JoanNestle.com, July 1998, accessed June 6, 2015, <http://www.ioannestle.com/fragileu.html>. For a history of the institution through the late 1990s, see Polly J. Thistlethwaite, “Building ‘A Home of Our Own’: The Construction of the Lesbian Herstory Archives,” in James V. Carmichael Jr., ed., *Daring to Find Our Names: The Search for Lesbian Library History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 153–173.

⁵⁵ Lesbian Herstory Archive, “Lesbian Herstory Archives: History and Mission.” Julia Stanley (1941–2013) was better known as Julia Penelope, an early openly lesbian academic and a lesbian-separatist author and theorist; see Tracy Baim, “Passages: Author Julia Penelope Dead at 71,” *Windy City Times*, January 24, 2013, accessed June 19, 2015, <http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/PASSAGES-Author-Julia-Penelope-dead-at-71/41298.html>.

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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ 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.

⁵⁷ Joan Nestle, e-mails to the author, May 22, 2015 and June 8, 2015. For an overview of Hampton's life, see Joan Nestle, "I Lift My Eyes to the Hill: The Life of Mabel Hampton," published in *A Fragile Union* (1998) and as a seven-part series on the author's blog, *Don't Stop Talking 2*, October 27, 2011, accessed June 7, 2015, <http://joannestle2.blogspot.com/2011/10/in-memory-on-october-26-i-lift-my-eyes.html>.

women of color who played significant roles in the early years of LHA; others have provided ongoing leadership as members of the governing collective.⁵⁸

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.⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹

These two groundbreaking institutions embodied in several ways the organizational outlines for the LGBTQ archives and libraries that would be

⁵⁸ Thistlethwaite, "Building 'A Home of Our Own,'" 161.

⁵⁹ 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."

⁶⁰ 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.

⁶¹ See One Archives "History."

established around the United States throughout the 1980s, into the 1990s, and beyond.⁶² 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 1985.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴

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

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>.

⁶³ On the Gerber/Hart Library, see Michael McCaslin, “A Brief History of Gerber/Hart Library,” *Illinois Libraries* 81, no. 4 (Fall 1999): 228–31; posted on Illinois Periodicals Online, accessed October 25, 2015, <http://www.lib.niu.edu/1999/i19904228.html>; the article notes that Gerber-Hart’s first location was in the offices of Gay Horizon at 3225 North Sheffield Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. On the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society (now known as the GLBT Historical Society), see Gerard Koskovich, “Displaying the Queer Past: Purposes, Publics, and Possibilities at the GLBT History Museum,” *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking* 1, no. 2 (2014): 61–78; the article indicates that the society’s collections initially were housed in the apartment of cofounder Willie Walker on Seventeenth Street near Sanchez Street in San Francisco’s Castro District.

⁶⁴ On the Quatrefoil Library, see Adam G. Keim, *History of the Quatrefoil Library* (Golden Valley, MN: Friends of the Bill of Rights Foundation, 2009), posted on the library’s website, accessed June 8, 2015, http://www.qlibrary.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/QUATRE_FINAL_E-BOOK.pdf; Keim notes that the library was housed from its founding until 1986 in Irwin and Hewetson’s condominium on Grand Avenue near Dale Street in St. Paul, Minnesota. On the Stonewall Library (now known as the Stonewall National Museum and Archives), see “About Us: History,” Stonewall National Museum and Archives website, accessed June 8, 2015, <http://www.stonewall-museum.org/about-us/history>. The Stonewall Library collections initially were located in founder Mark Silber’s house on Jefferson Street near South Sixteenth Avenue in Hollywood, Florida; see David Jobin, executive director, Stonewall National Museum and Archives, e-mail to the author, May 19, 2015.

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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.

⁶⁵ For a brief discussion of gaps in LGBT archives and the systems that produce them, see Amy L. Stone and Jamie Cantrell, eds., *Out of the Closet, Into the Archives: Researching Sexual Histories* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2015): 8–9.

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 2007.⁶⁷

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.⁶⁸ 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.”⁶⁹

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.⁷⁰ “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

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.

⁷⁰ See Jim Downs, “The Education of Jonathan Ned Katz,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 21, 2016, accessed February 22, 2016, <http://chronicle.com/article/The-Education-of-Jonathan-Ned/235343/>. On the Bobst Library, see Jonathan Ned Katz, e-mail to the author, May 22, 2015. On the cultural and intellectual significance of Katz’s work in the 1970s, see Escoffier, *American Homo*, 109, 126–127.

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

⁷¹ Jonathan Ned Katz, e-mail to the author, May 7, 2015. Also see Jonathan Katz, *Coming Out! A Documentary Play About Gay Life and Liberation in the U.S.A.* (New York: Arno Press, 1975), which includes an introduction by the author recounting the productions of the play, along with a selection of reviews and news coverage, and Jonathan Ned Katz, “Recalling My Play ‘Coming Out!’ June 1972,” [OutHistory.org](http://outhistory.org), last modified September 3, 2013, accessed June 8, 2015, http://outhistory.org/oldwiki/Jonathan_Ned_Katz,_Recalling_My_Play_%22Coming_Out!%22_June_1_1972. These sources note that *Coming Out!* was first presented at the Gay Activist Alliance Firehouse at 99 Wooster Street. The building now houses a watch store on the ground floor. It is located in the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District, listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on June 29, 1978.

⁷² Jonathan Ned Katz, e-mail to the author, May 22, 2015.

⁷³ Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.—A Documentary* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1976).

and long out-of-print titles and brought unpublished original scholarship into print.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.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.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.”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

⁷⁴ See Escoffier, *American Homo*, 109. Also see the preliminary announcement for the series, which was subsequently expanded to include additional titles: *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).

⁷⁵ On the lack of welcome for lesbian and gay history—and for lesbian and gay studies in general—in universities in the 1970s, see Escoffier, *American Homo*, 104–110. For the development of careers in the field, see Marc Stein, “Committee on Lesbian and Gay History Survey on LGBTQ History Careers,” Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History website, June 2001, accessed June 9, 2015, <http://clgbthistory.org/resources/reports/lgbtq-history-careers>.

⁷⁶ For an overview of the production of doctoral dissertations on LGBTQ history, see “Dissertations and Theses,” see “Dissertations and Theses,” Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History website, accessed June 9, 2015, <http://clgbthistory.org/resources/dissertations>. For the development of careers in the field, see Marc Stein, “Committee on Lesbian and Gay History Survey on LGBTQ History Careers,” Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History website, June 2001, accessed June 9, 2015, <http://clgbthistory.org/resources/reports/lgbtq-history-careers>.

⁷⁷ Gayle Rubin, “Blood Under the Bridge: Reflections on ‘Thinking Sex,’” in Rubin, *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., *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

⁷⁸ Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History, “Dissertations and Theses”; John D’Emilio, “Out of the Shadows: The Homosexual Emancipation Movement in the United States,” PhD diss., Columbia University, 1982; Lombardi, “The Translation of the Works by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs,” 1984; George Chauncey, “Gay New York: Urban Culture and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940,” PhD diss., Yale University, 1989.

⁷⁹ On Norton’s graduate school experiences, see Rictor Norton, e-mails to the author, June 3, 2015 and June 4, 2015.

⁸⁰ Rictor Norton, “The Homosexual Literary Tradition: An Interpretation,” PhD diss., Florida State University, Tallahassee, 1972; the dissertation formed the basis for Norton’s book *The Homosexual Literary Tradition: An Interpretation* (New York: Revisionist Press, 1974). Norton notes that he spent much of his time as a grad student at FSU’s Strozier Library, located on campus at 116 Honors Way, Tallahassee, Florida; Norton, e-mail to the author, 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>.

⁸² Salvatore John Licata, “Gay Power: A History of the American Gay Movement, 1908–1974,” PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1978.

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history seminar at USC in 1976.⁸³ 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.⁸⁴

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 1980.⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶ In contrast to Norton and Licata, Gutiérrez built an academic career and now holds an endowed chair in history at the University of Chicago.⁸⁷

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.

⁸⁴ See "Salvatore J. Licata, 50, an Educator on AIDS," *New York Times*, January 4, 1990, accessed June 9, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/1990/01/04/obituaries/salvatore-j-licata-50-an-educator-on-aids.html>.

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

⁸⁶ Ramón A. Gutiérrez, "Marriage, Sex, and the Family: Social Change in Colonial New Mexico, 1690-1846," PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1980. The dissertation formed the basis for a subsequent book: Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991). While working on his dissertation, Gutiérrez spent nine months in 1979-1980 conducting research at the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, then located in a former post office at 404 Montezuma Avenue in Santa Fe; Ramon A. Gutiérrez, e-mail to the author, June 15, 2015. The structure is extant and apparently is still owned by the State of New Mexico, but no longer houses the Records Center and Archives.

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>.

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Madeline D. Davis, and Avra Michelson.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 1970.⁸⁹ Kennedy and Davis ultimately produced a book drawn from the work of the project: *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.”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.⁹¹ Meeting initially in the apartment of founding

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, *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,” *American Archivist* 50 (Spring 1987): 192. Kennedy lived in a rambling shingled house on a corner lot in the 300 block of Bryant Street in Buffalo at the time; see Kennedy, e-mail to the author, June 15, 2015. The structure is extant. Other sites associated with the project remain to be identified.

⁸⁹ Edwards went on to work as a musician, editor, and legal assistant; see Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold*, xvi, and “Wanda D. Edwards, Musician, Artist,” *Buffalo News*, December 22, 1995, A12.

⁹⁰ Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold*, xvi.

⁹¹ See Rubin, “Blood Under the Bridge,” in Rubin, *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., *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, *Deviations*, 362, note 57, and Escoffier, *American Homo*, 169. Note

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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.⁹² 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.”⁹³



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).

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

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.”

⁹² 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.”

⁹³ D’Emilio and Freedman, eds., *My Desire for History*, 10–11.

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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



Figure 8: The collections of the GLBT Historical Society were housed in the apartment of co-founder Willie Walker in this building on Seventeenth Street in the Castro District in San Francisco from 1985 through 1990. Photo courtesy of photographer Gerard Koskovich, 2012.

⁹⁴ For examples of the members’ work, see Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Free Press, 1990); *The Times of Harvey Milk*, directed by Rob Epstein (1984); Jeffrey Escoffier, *Bigger Than Life: The History of Gay Porn Cinema from Beefcake to Hardcore* (Philadelphia: Running Press, 2009); Eric Garber and Lynn Paleo, *Uranian Worlds: A Guide to Alternative Sexuality in Science Fiction, Fantasy and Horror* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1990); and Amber Hollibaugh, *My Dangerous Desires: A Queer Girl Dreaming Her Way Home* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).

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 Kiyu 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

“Willie Walker—Archivist for the Bay Area Gay Community,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 22, 2004, accessed June 10, 2015, <http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/Willie-Walker-archivist-for-Bay-Area-gay-2679957.php>. Note that the obituary erroneously refers to the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project as the “San Francisco History Project.” On the GLBT Historical Society and its GLBT History Museum, see Koskovich, “Displaying the Queer Past”; Don Romesburg, “Presenting the Queer Past: A Case for the GLBT History Museum,” *Radical History Review* 120 (2014): 131–144; and Jennifer Tyburczy, *Sex Museums: The Politics and Performance of Display* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 115–124.

⁹⁷ See D’Emilio’s curriculum vitae, posted on his emeritus faculty page on the University of Chicago website, accessed January 30, 2016, <http://hist.uic.edu/history/people/emeriti/john-d'emilio>.

⁹⁸ See “Curriculum Vitae: Estelle B. Freedman,” Stanford History Department website, accessed January 30, 2016, <http://ebf.stanford.edu/cv.html> Jan. 30, 2016; and Nancy Williams, “Estelle Freedman Wins Long Battle for Tenure,” *Stanford Daily* 184, no. 1 (September 26, 1983): 1, 15; accessed January 30, 2016, <http://stanforddailyarchive.com/cgi-bin/stanford?a=d&d=stanford19830926-01.2.3>.

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

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.

¹⁰² See Lisa Duggan, “The Trials of Alice Mitchell: Sex, Science, and Sensationalism in Turn of the Century America,” PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992, which deals with the Freda Ward lesbian murder case, and David Serlin, “Built for Living: Imagining the American Body Through Medical Science, 1945–65,” PhD diss., New York University, 1999, which focuses substantially on transgender and genderqueer history including the lives of Christine Jorgensen (1966–1989), one of the first highly visible American transwomen, and Gladys Bentley (1907–1969), an African American blues singer who spent much of her life as a butch who dressed in men’s clothing. As best I can document, no dissertations focusing entirely or substantially on the history of bisexuality have been produced to date in the United States.

Louisiana, the University of New Mexico, the University of North Carolina, and Yale.¹⁰³

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.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History, “Dissertations and Theses”; the totals exclude dissertations produced at institutions outside the United States. The list has not yet been updated to show PhDs granted since 2013. Note that the wide recognition of LGBTQ history should not be taken as an indication that universities have prioritized hiring in the field: most of those who receive PhDs focused on LGBTQ history do not find work in history departments, and many do not find work in any academic setting. See Stein, “Committee on Lesbian and Gay History Survey,” and Allison Miller, “Historians on the Edge: The LGBTQ Historians Task Force Report and the AHA,” *Perspectives on History*, February 2016, accessed February 29, 2016, <http://historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/february-2016/scholars-on-the-edge-the-lgbtq-historians-task-force-report-and-the-aha>.

¹⁰⁴ Marjorie Garber, *Vice Versa: Bisexuality and the Eroticism of Everyday Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995) draws on cultural, literary, medical, and other histories as part of a wider work of contemporary cultural and social criticism. Leslie Feinberg, *Transgender Warriors: Making History from Joan of Arc to RuPaul* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996) offers an intellectual autobiography tracing the author’s creation of an alternative history that highlights nonnormative gender. On Feinberg, also see Bruce Weber, “Leslie Feinberg, Writer and Transgender Activist Dies at 65,” *New York Times*, November 24, 2014, accessed January 31, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/25/nyregion/leslie-feinberg-writer-and-transgender-activist-dies-at-65.html>.

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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

¹⁰⁵ Establishing the history of bisexual history poses several challenges, notably because the bisexual movement in its formative years did not produce its own national publications equivalent to the homophile journals. Furthermore, the homophile journals themselves largely ignored bisexual history, in contrast to their occasional discussion of transgender figures from the past. My review of more recent bisexual periodicals and anthologies suggests that compared to homophile, gay-liberation and lesbian-feminist cultures, bisexual publics may have taken less interest in using history as a political and cultural tool—or bisexual organizers may have faced more obstacles in uncovering historical evidence and in producing and transmitting historical knowledge.

For instance, the complete run of *Bi-Monthly*, published by the Bisexual Center in San Francisco from 1976 to 1985, includes just four articles devoted in whole or part to history: Sally R. Binford, "Anthropological Perspectives on Bisexuality," *Bi-Monthly* 3, no. 3 (March–April 1979): 1, 3–4; Jim Barnes, "Casanova: Some Bi-ographical Notes," *Bi-Monthly* 3, no. 4 (May–June 1979): 3–4; Jim Barnes, "Options Unlimited: Bisexuality in Science Fiction (Part I)," *Bi-Monthly* 6, no. 4 (July–August 1982): 5–6; Jim Barnes, "Options Unlimited: Bisexuality in Science Fiction (Part II)," *Bi-Monthly* 6, no. 6 (November–December 1982): 3–6. Likewise, the complete run of *Anything That Moves*, published by the Bay Area Bisexual Network from 1991 to 2001, shows only two such articles: Lisa Jean Moore, "The Native American Berdache," *Anything That Moves*, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 27–30, and Liz Highleyman, "History of the Bi Movement: How We Got Here and Where We're Going," *Anything That Moves*, no. 8 (Summer 1994): 24–25.

¹⁰⁶ For a striking example that echoes the search for heroes common to early LGBTQ folk historiography, see Sarah Prager, "Every LGBTQ+ Person Should Read This," *Huffington Post*, February 2, 2016, accessed February 29, 2016, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sarah-prager/every-lgbtq-person-should-read-8232316.html>.

¹⁰⁷ See Steven L. Brawley, "The Emergence of America's LGBT History Between the Coasts," Boom website, February 15, 2016, updated February 22, 2016, accessed February 29, 2016, <http://www.boom.lgbt/index.php/equal/126-our-tribe/851-the-emergence-of-america-s-lgbt-history-between-the-coasts>. For community-based archives, also see the roster in Lesbian and Gay Archives Roundtable, "Lavender Legacies Guide," which shows that such collections are now available to the public in all regions and in many major cities of the United States.

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.

¹⁰⁸ For instance, the Fair, Accurate, Inclusive and Respectful (FAIR) Education Act went into effect in 2012 in California, mandating inclusion of LGBTQ history in lessons in the state's public K–12 curriculums; see "The FAIR Education Act," FAIR Education Act website, accessed June 13, 2015, <http://www.faireducationact.com/about-fair>. Another initiative, History UnErased, provides national teacher trainings at the Lowell National Historical Park in Lowell, Massachusetts (established as a national historical park on June 5, 1978); see the History UnErased website, <https://historyun erased.com>.

¹⁰⁹ Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 110–114, notes numerous instances of libraries, history museums, house museums, historical societies, and LGBTQ community archives in the United States sponsoring LGBT exhibitions since the mid-1990s. For examples of published catalogs from such exhibitions for the same time period, see Jill Austin and Jennifer Bryer, *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads* (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2013); Ryan Conrad, *Future of the Past: Reviving the Queer Archives* (Portland, ME: Maine College of Art/Moth Press, 2009); David Frantz and Mia Locks, eds., *Cruising the Archive: Queer Art and Culture in Los Angeles, 1945–1980* (Los Angeles: One National Gay and Lesbian Archives at USC, 2012); Dan Luckenbill, *With Equal Pride: Gay and Lesbian Studies at UCLA—Catalog of an Exhibit at the University Research Library, January–March 1993* (Los Angeles: Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, University of California, 1993); Molly McGarry and Fred Wasserman, *Becoming Visible: An Illustrated History of Lesbian and Gay Life in Twentieth Century America* (New York: New York Public Library/Penguin Group, 1998); Don Romesburg and Amy Sueyoshi, eds., "Passionate Struggle: Dynamics of San Francisco's GLBT History," *Fabulas: The Journal of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society* (Winter 2008): 1–17; Stephanie Snyder, ed., *Out at the Library: Celebrating the James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center* (San Francisco: San Francisco Public Library, 2005); and Stuart Timmons, *Out West: L.A.'s Influence on the Lesbian and Gay Movement* (Los Angeles: Doheny Memorial Library, University of Southern California, 2003).

05 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.³ 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.⁴ 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).⁵ 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

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.

⁴ See, for example, Justin Kaplan, *Walt Whitman: A Life* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2003), 287; John Stokes, *Oscar Wilde: Myths, Miracles and Imitations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 194n7.

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.⁶ 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



Figure 2: Future first lady Eleanor Roosevelt (right) with her personal aide Malvina Thompson and attorney Elizabeth Read at Salt Meadow, the summer home of couple Elizabeth Read and Esther Lape. Salt Meadow is now part of the Stewart B. McKinney National Wildlife Refuge, Connecticut. Image by © CORBIS.⁷

⁶ See "Will Cather's Biography: The Early Years, 1873-1890," Willa Cather Foundation website, <https://www.willacather.org/willa-cathers-biography>.

⁷ License: CC BY 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/usfwsq/8511114962>

to tackle the subject head-on or deflect potential controversy by only addressing it when visitors make inquiries.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.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.¹⁰ Evidence of this passionate relationship challenges long-standing stereotypes of Eleanor as “cold, remote...ugly, terminally insecure, dry-as-dust.”¹¹

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

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.

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, <https://www.gwu.edu/~erpapers/teaching/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, <https://usfwsnortheast.wordpress.com/2016/03/21/esther-lape-and-elizabeth-read-pioneers-for-womens-rights-and-conservation>.

¹⁰ Leila J. Rupp, “Imagine My Surprise”: Women’s Relationships in Historical Perspective,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 5, no. 3 (1980): 61-70; Blanche Wiesen Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt, Volume I, 1884-1933* (New York: Viking, 1992); and *Eleanor Roosevelt, Volume II, 1933-1938: The Defining Years* (New York: Viking, 1999); Judith C. Kohl, “Eleanor Roosevelt,” in *Lesbian Histories and Cultures: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Bonnie Zimmerman (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 2000).

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, <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

¹² See "Interview: Blanche Wiesen Cook," *The American Experience*, PBS, 1999, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/interview/eleanor-cook>.

¹³ Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997); also see Paula Martinac, "ER at Val-kill," *The Queerest Places: A Guide to LGBT Historic Sites* (blog), January 16, 2009, <https://queerestplaces.com/2009/01/16/er-at-val-kill>.

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.



Figure 3: Frances Perkins House, Washington, DC. Photo by AgnosticPreachersKid, 2008.¹⁶

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

husband suffered from a mental illness that had him in and out of hospitals and boarding houses), but attributes her shared living arrangements in DC during the mid-1930s to economy measures, skirting entirely the evidence of her intimate same-sex relationships.

¹⁵ Kirstin Downey, *The Woman Behind the New Deal: The Life and Legacy of Frances Perkins* (New York: Anchor Books, 2009), 250.

¹⁶ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Frances_Perkins_House.JPG

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.

¹⁸ See "NEH Grants," National Endowment for the Humanities website, "Museums, Libraries, and Cultural Organizations: Planning Grants" <http://www.neh.gov/grants/public/museums-libraries-and-cultural-organizations-planning-grants>.

¹⁹ Kim Moon, "Raising Our Sites": A Pilot Project for Integrating Women's History into Museums," in *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation*, eds. Gail Dubrow and Jennifer Goodman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 248-262.

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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 1969.²⁰ 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

²⁰ New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, *Greenwich Village Historic District Designation Report*, vols. 1 and 2 (1969). For more on historic preservation in New York City, see Shockley (this volume).

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.

²³ LPC Staff Christopher D. Brazee, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, "James Baldwin and Lorraine Hansberry Residences, Greenwich Village Historic District and Upper West Side/Central Park West Historic District, Manhattan," in *150 Years of LGBT History*, PowerPoint presentation prepared for LGBT Pride 2014, http://www.nyc.gov/html/lpc/downloads/pdf/LGBT-PRIDE_2014.pdf.

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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.²⁴

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).²⁵



Figure 4: The John V. Gridley House, Marianne Moore's childhood home, New York City, New York, 1936. Photo by Arnold Moses for the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS NY,31-NEYO,31-1).

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.

²⁶ Details of Marianne Moore's life and critical appraisals of her literary works are contained in Linda Leavell, Cristanne Miller, and Robin G. Schulze, eds., *Critics and Poets on Marianne Moore: "A Right Good Salvo of Barks"* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2005); and Linda Leavell, *Holding On Upside Down: The Life and Work of Marianne Moore* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013).

²⁷ See "Marianne Moore Collection," Rosenbach Museum and Library website, <https://www.rosenbach.org/learn/collections/marianne-moore-collection>. The Rosenbach Museum and Library is located at 2008-2010 Delancey Place, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

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.²⁸ 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.²⁹ 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).

³¹ For an overview of the GVSHP’s LGBTQ-positive initiatives, see “LGBT History of Greenwich Village,” Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation website, <http://www.gvshp.org/lesbianandgayhistory.htm>.

³² Andrew S. Dolkart, *The South Village: A Proposal for Historic District Designation* (New York: Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation, 2006), 58.

costumed balls.³³ 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.³⁴ 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.³⁵ 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.³⁶ 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.

³³ Webster Hall is located at 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, New York, see "Webster Hall 402, Pl and Annex Designation List, LP-2273," New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission website, <http://www.nyc.gov/html/lpc/downloads/pdf/reports/websterhall.pdf>.

³⁴ Jay Shockley, *Weehawken Street Historic District Designation Report* (New York: New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, May 2, 2006), 19; and Jay Shockley, *Gansevoort Market Historic District Designation Report* (New York: New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, 2003), 19. The Gansevoort Market Historic District was added to the NRHP on May 30, 2007.

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.

³⁶ Robert Wagner, "Lakeview Historic District," Chicago Illinois 60613 and 60657 (1976). The Lakeview Historic District was added to the NRHP on September 15, 1977; boundary increase on May 16, 1986.



Figure 5: German Village Historic District, Hamilton, Ohio. Photo by Greg Hume, 2010.³⁷

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.

Nancy Recchie, "German Village Amendment: National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form," 1980. The German Village Historic District was added to the NRHP on February 7, 1991.

³⁹ Sarah Marsom, "Gay Pioneers Tour Aligns with Preservation Message," German Village Society website, <https://germanvillage.com/gay-pioneers-tour-aligns-with-preservation-message>.

⁴⁰ Will Fellows, *A Passion to Preserve: Gay Men as Keepers of Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 194-198. Pendarvis, located at 114 Shake Rag Street, Mineral Point, Wisconsin was listed on the NRHP on January 25, 1971.

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

⁴¹ For key sites of significance in Seattle's LGBTQ history, see *A Historical Map of Lesbian and Gay Seattle* (Seattle: Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, 1996). NLGHMP's projects can be found at <http://home.earthlink.net/~ruthpett/lgbthistorynw/index.htm>. An expanded and updated version of the 1996 map, *Claiming Space: Seattle's Lesbian and Gay Historical Geography*, published in 2004, is available online at <http://cdm16118.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16118coll2/id/35>. Seattle's Pioneer Square-Skid Road Historic District was added to the NRHP on June 22, 1970 with boundary increases on July 7, 1978 and June 16, 1988.

⁴² The Double Header was located at 407 Second Avenue Ext S, Seattle, Washington, see Yani Robinson, "One last inning for the Double Header," *Jetspace Magazine*, December 31, 2015, <http://jetspacemagazine.com/last-inning-for-the-double-header>.

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.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵

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.”⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷

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

⁴⁴ “Harvard-Belmont,” Seattle Department of Neighborhoods, City of Seattle website, <http://www.seattle.gov/neighborhoods/programs-and-services/historic-preservation/historic-districts/harvard-belmont>. The Harvard-Belmont Historic District was listed on the NRHP on May 13, 1982.

⁴⁵ While early scholarship addressed the role of gay men in gentrification, a recent body of work interrogates the impact of a new wave of gentrification on LGBTQ communities. See Petra Doan and Harrison Higgins, “The Demise of Queer Space? Resurgent Gentrification and the Assimilation of LGBT Neighborhoods,” *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 31, no. 1 (2011): 6-25.

⁴⁶ Nancy Wick, “Geographer Puts Gays, Lesbians on the Map,” *UW Today*, July 22, 2004, <http://www.washington.edu/news/2004/07/22/geographer-puts-gays-lesbians-on-the-map>.

⁴⁷ For more about community formation, see Hanhardt and Gieseck (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* 21, no. 1 (1997): 36-60.

Addressing Overlooked Property Types in Federal, State, and Local Preservation Programs

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).

⁵¹ Carl Luss, "Cherry Grove Community House and Theater," 180 Bayview Walk, Cherry Grove, New York. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, February 12, 2013. The Cherry Grove Community House and Theater was added to the NRHP on June 4, 2013.

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

⁵² University of Michigan Public History Initiative, "Henry Gerber House: National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," Chicago, Illinois, December 12, 2014. The Henry Gerber House is a contributing element in the Old Town Triangle Chicago Landmark District, which was listed on the NRHP on November 8, 1984. The property associated with Gerber was first designated a Chicago City Landmark based on its significance in LGBTQ history in 2001 and designated an NHL on June 19, 2015.

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.

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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.⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ Mapping projects have reflected this convergence of archival collecting, public history projects, and local scholarship.

⁵⁵ Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects and Designers, *A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks* (New York: Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects and Designers, 1994). For a digitized version, see <http://www.gvshp.org/LGBTguide.htm>.

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."⁵⁷

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.⁵⁹ 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.

⁶⁰ Although it was not



Figure 6: Rainbow crosswalk being installed, Capitol Hill neighborhood, Tenth Avenue and East Pike Street, Seattle, Washington, 2015. Photo by Gordon Werner.⁵⁸

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

historians, activists, and archivists, <http://www.historyproject.org>. Among its earliest initiatives were the exhibit *Public Faces/Private Lives* at the Boston Public Library (1996) and the book *Improper Bostonians: Lesbian and Gay History from the Puritans to Playland* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998).

⁶¹ Andrew Thompson, “The Success of Philly’s Gayborhood May Be Its Undoing,” *NBC10.com*, September 17, 2013, <http://www.nbcphiladelphia.com/news/local/The-Success-of-Phillys-Gayborhood-May-be-its-Undoing-224067791.html>.

⁶² Jorge Rivas, “America’s Crosswalks are Getting Gayer,” *Fusion*, June 3, 2015, <http://fusion.net/story/143596/the-gay-crosswalks-are-coming-gay-crosswalks-are-coming>.

⁶³ Lauren Lloyd, “West Hollywood’s Permanent Rainbow Crosswalk to Color Streets Come October,” *Hollywood LAist*, September 3, 2012, http://laist.com/2012/09/03/west_hollywoods_permanent_rainbow_crosswalks.php; Katia Hetter, “Rainbow Sidewalks and Other LGBT Pride Celebrations,” *CNN*, June 29, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/06/24/travel/lgbt-gay-pride-celebrations-2015-feat>. In an even bolder move, Reykjavik Pride 2015 painted an entire central street in rainbow colors.

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



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/jkdeveleer04/6832888247>

Halsted Street corridor.⁶⁵ 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).⁶⁶ In 2016, the state erected a state historical marker commemorating the life and work of Barbara Gittings.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸

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

⁶⁵ "The Legacy Walk..." The Legacy Project website, <http://www.legacyprojectchicago.org/About.html>.

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.

⁶⁷ "Barbara Gittings," National LGBT 50th Anniversary website, <http://lgbt50.org/barbara-gittings>.

⁶⁸ Matthew S. Bajko, "Online Extra: Political Notes: SF Street Could Honor Historic Transgender Site," *Bay Area Reporter*, April 28, 2016, <http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=71494>.

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.⁶⁹ 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.⁷⁰ Many of these enterprises operate under the banner of the International Gay and

⁶⁹ "History that Disturbs the Present: An Interview with REPOHistory Artist Greg Sholette," interview by Dipti Desai, April 26, 2007, <http://www.gregorysholette.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/History-that-disturbs-the-Present1.pdf>.

⁷⁰ A typical feature reads: "Great Inns for Gay Girls: Ten Lesbian-Owned Bed-and-Breakfasts from Florida to New England," *Curve* 19, no. 3 (April 2009): 50. There is also a body of scholarship on LGBTQ tourism, for example Yaniv Poria, "Assessing Gay Men and Lesbian Women's Hotel Experiences," *Journal of Travel Research* 44, no. 3 (2006): 327-334.

Lesbian Travel Association, founded in 1983, whose reach now extends to eighty countries on six continents.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.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.”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 *The Gayborhood Guru*, which translates the

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

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 <https://gaygames.org/wp>.

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 http://gophila.com/pub/campaign/gay](http://gophila.com/pub/campaign/gay).

city's queer history into site-specific historical information, occasionally leading walking tours of these places under the Way Center's auspices.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 1989.⁷⁵ 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.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, *The Queerest Places*.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

⁷⁴ See "The Philadelphia Gayborhood Guru: About the Author," Philadelphia Gayborhood Guru website, <https://thegayborhoodguru.wordpress.com/about-the-author>.

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>.

⁷⁶ Sarah Prager, "LGBT History Walking Tours for Every City," Quist website, September 13, 2015, <http://www.quistapp.com/lgbt-history-walking-tours-for-every-city>.

⁷⁷ Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Hold and Company, 1997).

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

⁷⁸ For information on the Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History, see their website at <http://clgbthistory.org>.

⁷⁹ See “Committee on LGBT History at the 2013 AHA [Convention] in New Orleans, LA,” Committee on LGBT History website, <http://clgbthistory.org/aha-convention-2013>.

⁸⁰ See “2015 OAH Annual Meeting. Sessions by Special Interest: LGBTQ,” Organization of American Historians website, <http://www.oah.org/meetings-events/2015/highlights/lgbtq>.

⁸¹ See “Lesbian and Gay Archives Roundtable,” Society of American Archivists website, <http://www2.archivists.org/groups/lesbian-and-gay-archives-roundtable-lagar#.VwQaOjYr11>.

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.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.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.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.⁸⁵

The emergence of LGBTQ advocacy groups within the architecture and design professions has had direct consequences for historic preservation.⁸⁶ As well as OLGAD’s work in New York City,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

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.

⁸³ Renae Youngs, Christopher Leitch, and Michael Lesperance, “Setting the Standard for LGBTQ Inclusion,” *Museum*, January/February 2016, 33-35.

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

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

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

⁸⁷ See Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects and Designers, *A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks*.

and gay historic places in 1995.⁸⁸ *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.⁸⁹ 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.⁹⁰

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.⁹¹ 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

⁸⁸ See *Location: A Historical Map of Lesbian and Gay Boston* (Boston: Boston Area Gay and Lesbian History Project and Boston Gay and Lesbian Architects and Designers, 1995).

⁸⁹ Philip Arcidi, "Defining Gay Design," *Progressive Architecture* 75, no. 8 (August 1994): 36. An earlier symposium on "Sexuality and Space," organized by Beatriz Colomina in March 1990, pioneered the topic, though it was not entirely focused on LGBTQ issues. It was the basis for the published volume, *Sexuality and Space*, ed. Beatriz Colomina (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996).

Related articles about architecture and same-sex desire, published around the time of the first OLGAD conference, included: Henry Urbach, "Spatial Rubbing: the Zone," *Sites* 25 (1993): 90-95; Aaron Betsky, "Closet Conundrum: How 'Out' Can the Design Professions Be?" *Architectural Record* 182, no. 6 (June 1994): 36; John Paul Ricco, "Coming Together," *A/R/C architecture, research, criticism* 1, no. 5 (1994-1995): 26-31; and Henry Urbach, "Closets, Clothes, Disclosure," *Assemblage* 30 (August 1996): 62-73. The edited volume *Stud: Architectures of Masculinity*, ed. Joel Sanders (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), also addressed gay male experience and drew on queer theory for analyses of the social construction of masculinity in urban and architectural space. Also see Aaron Betsky, *Building Sex: Men, Women, Architecture, and the Construction of Sexuality* (New York: William Morrow, 1995); Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter, eds., *Queers in Space: Communities, Public Spaces, Sites of Resistance* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1997).

⁹⁰ See "Arcus Endowment and Arcus Foundation Chair," College of Environmental Design, University of California, Berkeley, website, <http://ced.berkeley.edu/give-to-ced/faculty-support/arcus-endowment-and-arcus-foundation-chair>.

⁹¹ See "Gays and Lesbians in Planning," American Planning Association website, <https://www.planning.org/divisions/galip>.

preservation on the queer planning agenda.⁹² 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.⁹³

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.⁹⁴ 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.⁹⁵ Within the Association of American Geographers (AAG), the specialty group Sexuality and Space formed in 1996, arising out of serious concern about the

⁹² Early and influential articles explaining the import of LGBTQ populations for planning practice included: Ann Forsyth, "Sexuality and Space: Nonconformist Populations and Planning Practice," *Journal of Planning Literature* 15, no. 3 (2001): 339-358; and Michael Frisch, "Planning as a Heterosexist Project," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 21, no. 3 (March 2002): 264-266. The edited volumes by Petra L. Doan include: *Queering Planning: Challenging Heteronormative Assumptions and Reframing Planning Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2011); and *Planning and LGBTQ Communities: The Need for Inclusive Queer Spaces* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

⁹³ Anthony, *Designing for Diversity*, 105.

⁹⁴ Influential early work on the geography of LGBTQ communities included: Sy Adler and Johanna Brenner, "Gender and Space: Lesbians and Gay Men in the City," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 16, no. 1 (March 1992): 24-34; David Bell and Gill Valentine, *Mapping Desire* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Gill Valentine's article, "Out and About: Geographies of Lesbian Landscapes," also published in the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 19, no. 1 (1995): 96-111; and Ruth Fincher and Jane M. Jacobs, eds., *Cities of Difference* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1998).

⁹⁵ Examples of scholarship in the geography of LGBTQ communities include: Adler and Brenner, "Gender and Space: Lesbians and Gay Men in the City"; Bell and Valentine, *Mapping Desire*; Valentine, "Out and About: Geographies of Lesbian Landscapes"; Fincher and Jacobs, *Cities of Difference*; James T. Sears, *Rebels, Rubyfruit, and Rhinestones: Queering Space in the Post Stonewall South* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001); Michael Brown and Larry Knopp, "Queer Cultural Geographies: We're Here! We're Queer! We're Over There Too!" in *The Handbook of Cultural Geography*, eds. Kay Anderson et al. (London: Sage, 2002), 460-481; Charles I. Nero, "Why Are the Gay Ghettos White?" in *Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology*, eds. E. Patrick Johnson and Mae G. Henderson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 228-245; Michael Brown and Larry Knopp, "Queering the Map: The Productive Tensions of Colliding Epistemologies," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 98, no. 1 (March 2008): 40-58; and Michael Brown, Sean Wang, and Larry Knopp, "Queering Gay Space," in *Seattle Geographies*, eds. Michael Brown and Richard Morrill (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 155-162; J. Giesekeing, "Crossing Over into Territories of the Body: Urban Territories, Borders, and Lesbian-Queer Bodies in New York City," *Area*, doi: 10.1111/area.12147.

“unquestioned heterosexuality of the geographic enterprise.”⁹⁶ 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.⁹⁷ 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.”⁹⁸ 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.⁹⁹ 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.

⁹⁶ A reliable account of the formation of the AAG’s Sexuality and Space specialty group is contained in Glen Elder, Lawrence Knopp, and Heidi Nast, “Sexuality and Space,” in *Geography in America at the Dawn of the 21st Century*, eds. Gary L. Gaile and Cort J. Willmott (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 200-208.

⁹⁷ The Society of American Archaeology published a special section, “Toward an Inclusive Queer Archaeology,” in its journal, *Archaeological Record* 16, no. 1 (January 2016) that provides the best overview of the current state of the field. For an introduction to the scholarly literature, see Tom Boellstorff, “Queer Studies in the House of Anthropology,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 36 (October 2007): 17-35; Barbara Voss, “Sexuality Studies in Archaeology,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 37 (2008): 317-336; and Thomas A. Dowson, ed., “Queer Archaeologies,” a special issue of *World Archaeologies* 32, no. 2 (2000); Robert A. Schmidt, “The Iceman Cometh: Queering the Archaeological Past,” in *Out in Theory: The Emergence of Lesbian and Gay Anthropology*, eds. Ellen Lewin and William L. Leap (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 155-185.

⁹⁸ Chelsea Blackmore and Dawn M. Ruteki, “Introducing the Queer Archaeology Interest Group: Who We Are and Why We Need Your Support,” *The SAA Archaeological Record* 14, no. 5 (November 2014): 18-19.

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

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

¹⁰⁰ The Carmel Fallon Building is located at 1800-1806 Market Street, San Francisco, California. See "About Friends of 1800," The Friends of 1800 website, <http://www.friendsof1800.org/friendsof1800.html>.

¹⁰¹ "About the Friends of 1800," The Friends of 1800 website, <http://www.friendsof1800.org/friendsof1800.htm>.

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,¹⁰² 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 preservationists 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.¹⁰³ 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.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² The Carmel Fallon Building is San Francisco Landmark #223 (1998).

¹⁰³ Gerry Takano, "Tiptoeing through the GLBT Preservation Movement," April 28, 2011, <http://www.friendsof1800.org/EVENTS/Tiptoeing-through-GLBT-Preservation.pdf>.

¹⁰⁴ Damon Scott for the Friends of 1800, "Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979," Final Draft Historic Context Statement, July 2004.

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.¹⁰⁵ 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.

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 1997.¹⁰⁶ It was followed in 1998 by the publication of my essay, “Blazing Trails with Pink Triangles and Rainbow Flags,” in *Forum*.¹⁰⁷ 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.¹⁰⁸ 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

¹⁰⁶ Dennis Drabelle, “Out and About in the City,” *Preservation* 49, no. 1 (January-February 1997): 76-78

¹⁰⁷ Gail Dubrow, “Blazing Trails with Pink Triangles and Rainbow Flags: New Directions in the Preservation and Interpretation of Gay and Lesbian Heritage,” *Preservation Forum* 12, no. 3 (Spring 1998): 31-44.

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



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

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

¹⁰⁹ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Casa_de_Cristal_P.J.jpg

someone against their wishes.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.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.”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.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,

¹¹⁰ The couple became more open about the significance of their relationship in the 1990s. Johnson boldly appeared on the cover of *Out Magazine* in 1996. Other open treatment of their relationship includes Martin Fuller, “Art: The Architect of a Master Builder’s Art,” *New York Times*, June 2, 1996. For a description of the couple’s routine at the Glass House, see Alexandra Lange, “Philip Johnson’s Not Glass Houses,” *New York Times Magazine*, February 13, 2015.

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

¹¹² Julie Baumgardner, “A Performance Project that Brings Some Mystery to the Glass House,” *New York Times*, May 10, 2016.

¹¹³ See, for example, “LGBT Heritage Stories,” National Trust for Historic Preservation website, <https://savingplaces.org/story-categories/lgbt-heritage-stories#.VxYreyMrl11>; or its affinity-group listserv for those interested in LGBT preservation issues, subscribe-lgbtpreservation@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.¹¹⁴ 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

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?¹¹⁵ 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.¹¹⁶ 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.

¹¹⁶ Brock Keeling, "SOMA to Get Another LGBT-Themed Public Space," *Curbed San Francisco*, June 2, 2016, <http://sf.curbed.com/2016/6/2/11841692/soma-leather-kink-public-space>. The Tool Box, located on the corner of Fourth Street and Harrison in the South of Market neighborhood of San Francisco, California opened in 1962 and closed in 1971, when the building was demolished for redevelopment. Gayle Rubin, "Folsom Street: The Miracle Mile, Part One," Found SF, http://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=Folsom_Street:_The_Miracle_Mile.

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.¹¹⁸

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

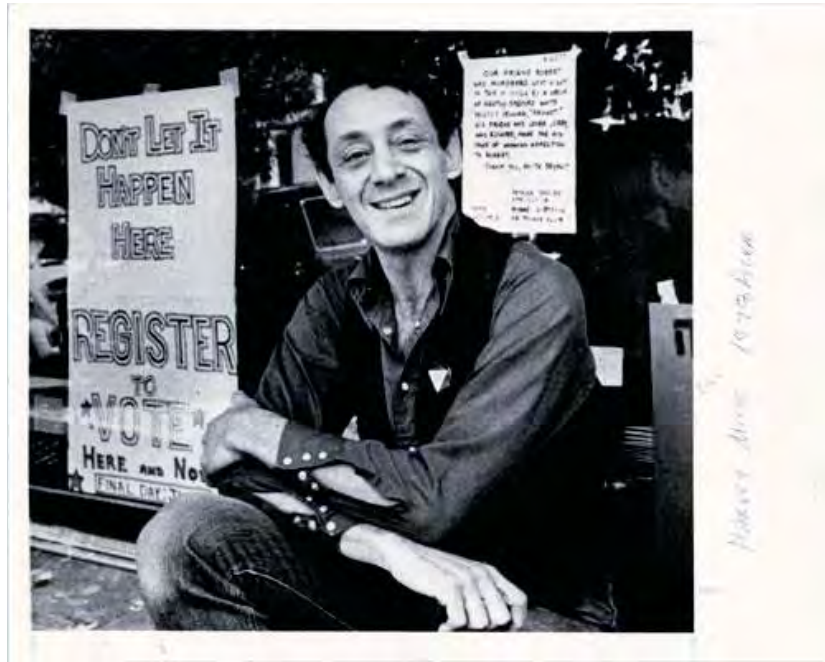


Figure 9: Harvey Milk in front of Castro Camera, San Francisco, California, 1977. Photo from the Harvey Milk Archives – Scott Smith Collection, Hormel Gay & Lesbian Center, San Francisco Public Library.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0.

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/sfplsanfranciscohistoricalphotographcollection/3574510522>

¹¹⁸ 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.

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 2011.¹¹⁹ 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 NHRP 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].¹²⁰

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. Interior

¹¹⁹ 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.

¹²⁰ Stephen A. Morris, “Interior Globe Sparked and Guided the Collaborative Effort to Recognize Stonewall Inn,” *Interior Globe News* 1 (Spring 2000).

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.

¹²² Jenna Sauber, "Saving the House of the Furies," National Trust for Historic Preservation website, December 9, 2015, <https://savingplaces.org/stories/the-house-of-the-furies#.Vw6T1DYr11>; and Lou Chibbaro, Jr., "Honoring Home of D.C.'s Furies," *Washington Blade*, January 20, 2016, <http://www.washingtonblade.com/2016/01/20/honoring-home-of-d-c-s-furies>. For a history of the Furies, see Julie N. Enszner, "Have Fun So We Do Not Go Mad in 'Male Supremacist Heterosexual Amerika: Lesbian-Feminist Poetry in The Furies,'" *Beltway Poetry Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (Spring 2010), <http://washingtonart.com/beltway/furies.html>. The Furies Collective house in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on May 2, 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.¹²³ 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.¹²⁴

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 2016.¹²⁵ 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

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, *Queers in Space*; and The Lesbian Avengers' website at <http://lesbianavengers.com>.

¹²⁵ For an excellent treatment of Rustin's life, see John D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). For a brief overview, see Steven Thrasher, "Bayard Rustin: The Man Homophobia Almost Erased From History," *BuzzFeed LGBT*, August 27, 2013, <http://www.buzzfeed.com/steventhrasher/walter-naegle-partner-of-the-late-bayard-rustin-talks-about#.tgKkoNZav>. Also see "Bayard Rustin Residence," National Park Service website, <https://www.nps.gov/places/bayard-rustin-residence.htm>. The Bayard Rustin Home, located in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City, was added to the NRHP on March 8, 2016.

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

¹²⁶ Justin Snow, "Obama Honors Bayard Rustin and Sally Ride with Medal of Freedom," *Metro Weekly*, November 20, 2013, <http://www.metroweekly.com/2013/11/obama-honors-bayard-rustin-and>.

¹²⁷ Some relevant student projects include: Meaghan K. Nappo, "Not a Quiet Riot: Stonewall and the Creation of Lesbian, Gay, and Transgender Community and Identity Through Public History Techniques," master's thesis, Department of History, University of North Carolina at Wilmington, 2010, <http://dl.uncw.edu/etd/2010-3/nappom/meaghannappo.pdf>; Tatum Taylor, "Undeniable Conjecture: Placing LGBT Heritage," 2011 Cleo and James Marston Fitch Prize, Preservation Alumni, Columbia University, <http://preservation alumni.org/Resources/Documents/Fitch%20Prize%202011%20Taylor.pdf>; Elizabeth Rose Hessmiller, "Saving Each Other: Using Historic Preservation as a Tool for Therapeutic City Planning," master's thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2013; Catherine Aust, "Be Proud: The Recognition and Preservation of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Heritage in the United States," master's thesis, Graduate Program in Art History, Rutgers University, 2014; Kasey Jaren Fulwood, "The National Register of Historic Places and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Heritage," master's thesis, University of Georgia, 2014, https://getd.libs.uga.edu/pdfs/fulwood_kasey_j_201405_mhp.pdf; Vigdís María Hermannsdóttir, "Here I Am and Here I'm Not: Queer Women's Use of Temporary Urban Spaces in Post-Katrina New Orleans," master's thesis, University of New Orleans, 2015, <http://scholarworks.uno.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3060&context=td>; and Grey Pierce, "Throwing Open the Door: Preserving Philadelphia's Gay Bathhouses," master's thesis, Historic Preservation, University of Pennsylvania, 2015, http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1586&context=hp_theses.

¹²⁸ Ken Lustbader, "Landscape of Liberation: Preserving Gay and Lesbian History in Greenwich Village," master's thesis, Historic Preservation Program, Columbia University, 1993.

¹²⁹ Moira Rachel Kenney, "Strategic Invisibility: Gay and Lesbian Place-Claiming in Los Angeles, 1970-1994," PhD diss., Urban Planning, University of California Los Angeles, 1994; and Bill Adair, "Celebrating a Hidden History: Gay and Lesbian Historic Places in Los Angeles," master's thesis, Urban Planning, University of California Los Angeles, 1997. Coverage of the "Gay and Lesbian LA History

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.¹³⁰ 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.

Map" produced by Jeff Samudio, Rachel Kenney, and Bill Adair can be found in Larry Gordon, "A Guide to Where L.A.'s Gays Came of Age," *Los Angeles Times*, July 8, 2001.

¹³⁰ Shayne Elizabeth Watson, "Preserving the Tangible Remains of San Francisco's Lesbian Community in North Beach, 1933 to 1960," master's thesis, Master of Historic Preservation, University of Southern California, 2009.

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

The first known example of a 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 metropolises 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.¹³¹ It focused on

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.¹³² 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

<http://www.preservation.lacity.org/files/LGBT%20Historic%20Context%209-14.pdf#page=66&zoom=auto,-73,373>.

¹³² Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson, "Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco" (San Francisco, CA: City and County of San Francisco, October 2015), http://208.121.200.84/ftp/files/Preservation/lgbt_HCS/LGBTQ_HCS_October2015.pdf.

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.

¹³⁴ "Secretary Jewell, Director Jarvis Announce 500,000 in Matching Grants to Support Diversity in National Register of Historic Places," US Department of the Interior press release, October 2, 2014; and "Interior Department Announces Grants for Underrepresented Communities Through Historic Preservation Fund," US Department of the Interior press release, November 6, 2015, <https://www.doi.gov/pressreleases/interior-department-announces-grants-underrepresented-communities-through-historic>.

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.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, 1967.¹³⁶ 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.

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.

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, *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.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.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 <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," *LA Weekly*, December 4, 2015, <http://www.laweekly.com/music/say-goodbye-to-circus-disco-with-one-last-night-of-disco-music-6347338>.

Gail Dubrow

at the bar, where he offered strategies for organizing boycotts and coalition fundraising.”¹³⁹

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.¹⁴⁰ Most news is bleaker: the shuttering of legacy businesses due to soaring rents or threatened demolition of historic properties due to redevelopment.¹⁴¹ 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).¹⁴² Under Lisa Yun Lee's direction, museum staff invited visitor responses to alternative descriptions of the bonds between these women:

¹³⁹ See "Circus Disco," Los Angeles Conservancy website, last updated January 25, 2016, <https://www.laconservancy.org/issues/circus-disco>.

¹⁴⁰ "Historic Preservation; A Place in Gay History," *Los Angeles Times*, January 22, 2016, B2.

¹⁴¹ Seth Hemmelgarn, "Tea Room Theater Closing," *Bay Area Reporter*, May 12, 2016.

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.



Figure 10: Hull House Interior, Chicago, Illinois, 2010. Photo by fitzgene.¹⁴³

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/fitzgene/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

¹⁴⁴ “Jane Addams Hull-House Museum, Chicago, Illinois,” in *Revealing Women’s History: Best Practices at Historic Sites*, eds. Heather A. Huyck and Peg Strobel (Ukiah, CA: National Collaborative for Women’s History Sites, 2011), 48. For an extended discussion of the reinterpretation of the reinterpretation of Hull-House, see Lisa Yun Lee, “Peering into the Bedroom: Restorative Justice at the Jane Addam’s Hull House Museum,” in *The Routledge Companion to Museum Ethics: Redefining Ethics for the Twenty-First Century Museum*, ed. Janet Marstine (Abington, Oxon: Routledge, 2011), 174-187.

¹⁴⁵ Jennifer Brandel, “Should We Use the ‘L Word’ for Jane Addams?” *Curious City, WBEZ Online*, September 5, 2013, <https://www.wbez.org/shows/wbez-news/should-we-use-the-l-word-for-jane-addams/2157704a-3738-4b8f-a879-b5aed91bb8f8>. See also Victoria Bissell Brown, “Queer or Not: What Jane Addams Teaches Us About Not Knowing,” in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads*, eds. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 63-76.

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.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:¹⁴⁸

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.¹⁴⁹

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:

¹⁴⁷ Jill Messirov and Page Putnam Miller, “Alice Austen House aka Clear Comfort: NHL Nomination,” June 23, 1992.

¹⁴⁸ Tatum Taylor, “Concealed Certainty and Undeniable Conjecture: Interpreting Marginalized Heritage,” master’s thesis, Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, Columbia University, 2012.

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.

¹⁵⁰ See "Her Life," Alice Austen House website, <http://aliceausten.org/her-life>.

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.¹⁵² Independent initiatives that do not require obtaining the consent of property owners or



Figure 11: Gibson House Museum, Boston, Massachusetts, 2016. Photo by Lee Wright.¹⁵³

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

¹⁵² LPC, *150 Years of LGBT History*.

¹⁵³ License: CC BY 2.0. <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).¹⁵⁴ 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.'¹⁵⁵

This revised interpretation complicates Gibson's self-representation as an exceedingly formal and patrician man, who was viewed by others as aloof and lonely.¹⁵⁶

Deepening research about the LGBTQ dimensions of historic places, such as Beauport, located in Massachusetts, is transforming their presentation to the public.¹⁵⁷ 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.

¹⁵⁵ Jeremy C. Fox, "A Gloucester Mansion Leads the Way for LGBT Figures," *Boston Globe*, June 21, 2014, <https://www.bostonglobe.com/business/2014/06/21/gloucester-mansion-leads-way-for-gay-inclusion-history/unMQkBY4nAzgbv6q9SabCl/story.html>.

¹⁵⁶ See "The Gibson Family," The Gibson House Museum website, <http://www.thegibsonhouse.org/the-family.html>.

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.¹⁵⁸ 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.¹⁵⁹

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

¹⁵⁸ History Project, *Improper Bostonians*, 92; see Henry Davis Sleeper, *Beauport Chronicle: The Intimate Letters of Henry Davis Sleeper to Abram Piatt Andrew, Jr., 1906-1915*, eds. E. Parker Hayden, Jr. and Andrew L. Gray (Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1991).

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.¹⁶⁰ 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.

¹⁶⁰ See "Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California," Facebook, <https://www.facebook.com/PreservingLGBTHistory>; "California Pride: Mapping Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Histories," Historypin website, <https://www.historypin.org/project/469-california-pride/#!/map/index/#!/geo:37.271875,-119.270415/zoom:6>; and Rainbow Heritage Network, <http://rainbowheritagenetwork.org> and on Facebook at <https://www.facebook.com/groups/439557382858786>.

A nomination in progress for the San Francisco Women's Building captures multiple layers of historical significance and intersectional themes.¹⁶¹ 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.¹⁶² 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.

¹⁶² See "History and Mission," The Women's Building website, <http://womensbuilding.org/about/mission-history>.

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



Figure 12: Women embracing at Michigan Womyn's Music Festival, 1976. Photo by Diana Davies, courtesy of the New York Public Library, Diana Davies Photographs (b14442517).

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.¹⁶³ 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.

¹⁶³ 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 *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).

LGBTQ ARCHEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Megan E. Springate

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

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.³

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.

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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

⁴ Important works in queer archeology include: Thomas A. Dowson, "Why Queer Archaeology? An Introduction," *World Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2000): 161-165; Barbara L. Voss, "Feminisms, Queer Theories, and the Archaeological Study of Past Sexualities," *World Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2000): 180-192; Robert A. Schmidt, "The Iceman Cometh: Queering the Archaeological Past," in Ellen Lewin and William L. Leap, eds., *Out in Theory: The Emergence of Lesbian and Gay Anthropology* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 155-185; Karina Croucher, "Queering Near Eastern Archaeology," *World Archaeology* 37 (2005): 610-620; Thomas Dowson, "Archaeologists, Feminists and Queers: Sexual Politics in the Construction of the Past," in P. L. Geller and M. K. Stockett, eds., *Feminist Anthropology: Past, Present, and Future* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); A. Asa Eger, "Architectures of Desire and Queered Space in the Roman Bathhouse," in Susan Terendy et al., eds., *Que(e)rying Archaeology* (Calgary, Alberta, Canada: Chacmool Archaeological Association, 2009), 118-128; Barbara L. Voss, "Looking for Gender, Finding Sexuality: A Queer Politic of Archaeology, Fifteen Years Later," in *Que(e)rying Archaeology*, 29-39; Chelsea Blackmore, "How to Queer the Past without Sex: Queer Theory, Feminisms and the Archaeology of Identity," *Archaeologies* 7, no. 1 (2011):

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.⁵ The study of gender and sexual minorities in archeology developed out of gender, feminist, and queer archeologies.⁶ 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.⁷

75-96; Meredith Reifschneider, "Towards a Queer Materialism in Archaeology; Materiality and the Sexed and Gendered Subject," presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology Conference, Quebec City, Canada, 2014; Joel Lennen and Jamie Arjona, "Queering Historical Worlds: Disorienting Materialities in Archaeology," presented at the Society for American Archaeology Conference, San Francisco, California, 2015; Dawn Rutecki, "Ambiguous Iconography: Queering the Shell Game," presented at the Society for American Archaeology Conference, 2015; James Aimers and Dawn M. Rutecki, "Brave New World: Interpreting Sex, Gender, and Sexuality in the Past," *SAA Archaeological Record*, 16, no. 1 (2016): 12-17; and Katrina Eichner and Erin Rodríguez, eds., Queer Theory issue of *Historical Archaeology*, forthcoming.

⁵ For examples of this, see González and Hernández, Harris, Meyer, Roscoe, Stryker, and Sueyoshi (this volume).

⁶ For references in queer archeology, see Note 3. Margaret W. Conkey and Janet Spector, "Archaeology and the Study of Gender," in M. B. Schiffer, ed., *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* Vol. 7 (New York: Academic Press, 1984), 1-38; Joan M. Gero, "Socio-Politics and the Woman-At-Home-Ideology," *American Antiquity* 50, no. 2 (1985): 342-350; Janet Spector, *What This Awl Means: Feminist Archaeology at a Wahpeton Dakota Village* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1993); Sandra E. Hollimon, "Gender in the Archaeological Record of the Santa Barbara Channel Area," *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 9 (1996): 205-208; Margaret W. Conkey and Joan M. Gero, "Programme to Practice: Gender and Feminism in Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26 (1997): 411-437; Laurie A. Wilke, "The Other Gender: The Archaeology of an Early 20th Century Fraternity," *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 11 (1998): 7-11; Maria Franklin, "A Black Feminist-Inspired Archaeology?" *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1, no. 1 (2001): 108-125; Sarah M. Nelson, *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006); Laurie A. Wilkie and Katherine H. Hayes, "Engendered and Feminist Archaeologies of the Recent and Documented Pasts," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 14, no. 3 (2006): 243-264; Rosemary A. Joyce, *Ancient Bodies, Ancient Lives: Sex, Gender, and Archaeology* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2008); Pamela L. Geller, "Identity and Difference: Complicating Gender in Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 38 (2009): 65-81; and Whitney Battle-Baptiste, *Black Feminist Archaeology* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2011).

⁷ Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in Rayna Reiter, ed., *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité* Vols. 1, 2, and 3 (France: Editions Gallimard, 1976, 1984, 1984; translation by Robert Hurley); and Eve Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

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.⁸ 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.⁹

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.¹⁰

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,

⁸ Keith Matthews, "An Archaeology of Homosexuality? Perspectives from the Classical World," in S. Cottam et al., eds., *TRAC 94: Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference* (Oxford, UK: Oxbow Books, 1994); Barbara L. Voss and Richard A. Schmidt, "Archaeologies of Sexuality: An Introduction," in Richard A. Schmidt and Barbara L. Voss, eds., *Archaeologies of Sexuality* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 1-32; Barbara L. Voss, "Sexuality Studies in Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 37 (2008): 317-336; Sandra E. Hollimon, "Archaeology of the 'Aqi: Gender and Sexuality in Prehistoric Chumash Society," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, 176-196; Sandra E. Hollimon, "The Archaeology of Nonbinary Genders in Native North American Societies," in *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*, 435-450; Eger, "Architectures of Desire"; Sandra E. Hollimon, "Examining Third and Fourth Genders in Mortuary Contexts," in *Que(e)rying Archaeology*, 171-175; Eleanor Casella, "Bulldaggers and Gentle Ladies: Archaeological Approaches to Female Homosexuality in Convict-Era Australia," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, 143-159; Eleanor Casella, "Doing Trade: A Sexual Economy of Nineteenth-century Australian Female Convict Prisons," *World Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2000): 209-221.

⁹ Casella, "Doing Trade".

¹⁰ See, for example, Dowson, "Why Queer Archaeology?"; Gayle Rubin, "Sites, Settlements, and Urban Sex: Archaeology and the Study of Gay Leathermen in San Francisco," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, 65.

bisexual, transgender, and queer identities on to people who might have chosen not to take those identities or could not, as these categories may not have existed or were not culturally relevant.¹¹ Two-spirit identities of Native Americans, for example, fall outside the binary (male-female) sex and gender system dominant in Western culture.¹² 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.¹³

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).¹⁴ More recent work has taken

¹¹ These are themes that wind their way throughout the theme study. In particular, see Meyer, Roscoe, and Stryker (this volume).

¹² The term two-spirit is used here as an umbrella term encompassing identities in both the past and the present. See Roscoe (this volume).

¹³ For a nuanced discussion of two-spirit identities and archeological interpretation, see Hollimon, “Nonbinary Genders.” The role of sexuality and gender as essential, core characteristics of Western identity is described by Barbara Voss as being at the root of coming out stories where confusing or puzzling feelings or actions are “explained” when the narrator realized they are “really” gay, lesbian, bisexual, and/or transgender. Barbara L. Voss, “Sexual Subjects: Identity and Taxonomy in Archaeological Research,” in Eleanor C. Casella and Chris Fowler, eds., *Archaeology of Plural and Changing Identities: Beyond Identification* (New York: Kluwer/Plenum, 2005), 64, 66. Note that these Western ideas of essential sexuality and gender identities are despite the work of Alfred Kinsey, who found in part, that people’s sexuality shifted and changed according to social circumstances in their lives. Alfred C. Kinsey et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1948); and Alfred C. Kinsey and the Institute for Sex Research, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1953).

¹⁴ See Mary K. Whelan, “Gender and Historical Archaeology: Eastern Dakota Patterns in the 19th Century,” *Historical Archaeology* 25, no. 4 (1991): 17-32; Hollimon, “Gender in the Archaeological Record”; Sandra E. Hollimon, “The Third Gender in Native California: Two-Spirit Undertakers among the Chumash and their Neighbors,” in Cheryl Claassen and Rosemary A. Joyce, eds., *Women in Prehistory: North America and Mesoamerica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997). For a summary of these early studies, see Voss, “Sexual Subjects,” 64-65; Hollimon, “Nonbinary Genders.” Similar approaches have been used elsewhere in the world to identify gender diversity; for an overview see Bettina Arnold, “Gender and Archaeological Mortuary Analysis,” in Sarah M. Nelson, ed., *Women in Antiquity: Theoretical Approaches to Gender and Archaeology* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007), 107-140; Joanna Sofaer and Marie Stig Sørensen, “Death and Gender,” in Sarah Tarlow and Liv Nilsson Stutz, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), 527-542. For work that addresses the false dichotomy of biological sex, see Anne Fausto-Sterling, “The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough,” *The Sciences*

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.¹⁵ 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 archeologist Elizabeth Prine in her study of the *miati* of the Hidatsa and by Perry and Joyce in their examination of Zuni *Ihamana* identities.¹⁶

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.¹⁷ 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,

March/April (1993): 20-25; Anne Fausto-Sterling, “The Five Sexes, Revisited,” *The Sciences* July/Aug (2000): 18-23; and in archeological context, Sofaer and Sørensen, “Death and Gender,” 535.

¹⁵ Hollimon, “‘*Aqi*’.” The Chumash studied by Hollimon were located in the Santa Barbara Channel area of coastal southern California. The Chumash continue to live in and around this area.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Prine, “The Ethnography of Place: Landscape and Culture in Middle Missouri Archaeology,” PhD diss., University of California Berkeley, 1997; Elizabeth Prine, “Searching for Third Gender: Towards a Prehistory of Domestic Space in Middle Missouri Villages,” in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, 197-219; Elizabeth M. Perry and Rosemary Joyce, “Providing a Past for ‘Bodies that Matter’: Judith Butler’s Impact on the Archaeology of Gender,” *International Journal of Gender and Sexuality Studies* 6, no. 1/2 (2001): 63-76. The Hidatsa studied by Prine lived in palisaded villages along the Missouri River in North Dakota from the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries. The Hidatsa continue to live in and around this area. The Zuni studied by Perry and Joyce lived in New Mexico. The Zuni continue to live in and around this area.

¹⁷ Donna J. Seifert, “Within Sight of the White House: The Archaeology of Working Women,” *Historical Archaeology* 24, no. 4 (1991): 82-108; Donna J. Seifert et al., “Mary Ann Hall’s First-Class House: The Archaeology of a Capital Brothel,” in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, 117-128; J. G. Costello, “Red Light Voices: An Archaeological Drama of Late Nineteenth-Century Prostitution,” in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, 160-175; Michael Foster et al., “The Soiled Doves of South Granite Street: The History and Archaeology of a Prescott Arizona Brothel,” *KIVA* 70, no. 4 (2005): 349-374; Timothy J. Gilfoyle, “Archaeologists in the Brothel: “Sin City,” Historical Archaeology and Prostitution,” *Historical Archaeology* 39, no. 1 (2005): 133-141; Michael D. Meyer et al., “City of Angels, City of Sin: Archaeology in the Los Angeles Red-Light District ca. 1900,” *Historical Archaeology* 39, no. 1 (2005): 107-125; Catherine H. Spude, “Brothels and Saloons: An Archaeology of Gender in the American West,” *Historical Archaeology* 39, no. 1 (2005): 89-106; Rebecca Yamin, “Wealthy, Free, and Female: Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century New York,” *Historical Archaeology* 39, no. 1 (2005): 4-18.

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.

Classification and Identification

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?¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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.

²³ See, for example, Voss, *Ethnogenesis*. For a discussion of personal artifacts and identity, see White and Beaudry, “Artifacts and Personal Identity”. For a summary of current work in the archeology of ethnogenesis, see Terrance M. Weik, “The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 43 (2014): 291-305. Gerald Sider, “Identity as History: Ethnohistory, Ethnogenesis, and

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.

Ethnocide in the Southeastern United States," *Identities* 1, no. 1 (1994): 109-122 explores identity in the broader context of history, including a discussion of Native Americans both claiming and resisting identities thrust upon them by colonial powers. In her book, archeologist Laurie A. Wilkie, *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000) examines identities imposed on Africans in a slave context and discusses how they were adapted, maintained, and contested. Archeologist Alison Bell, "White Ethnogenesis and Gradual Capitalism: Perspectives from Colonial Archaeological Sites in the Chesapeake," *American Anthropologist* 107, no. 3 (2005): 446-460 looks at the ethnogenesis of whiteness in the colonial Chesapeake. Examples of overviews of other aspects of the archeology of identities include Siân Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Timothy Insoll, *The Archaeology of Identities* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Lynn Meskell, "The Intersections of Identity and Politics in Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31(2002): 279-301; and Geller, "Identity and Difference".

²⁴ See also Rubin, "Thinking Sex", 149; Kinsey *Human Male* and *Human Female*; and Hollimon "Aqi". An important challenge to the essential nature of sexuality comes from Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction* (New York: Pantheon, 1978). The idea of homosexuality as a social construct (rather than an essential state of being) came largely out of early research in LGBTQ history including Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics, and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800* (New York: Longman, 1981) and John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of the Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

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.²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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.²⁸

²⁵ Examples of archeology of households across several contexts include Kerri S. Barile and Jamie C. Brandon, eds., *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004); Thomas J. Pluckhahn, “Household Archaeology in the Southeastern United States: History, Trends, and Challenges,” *Journal of Archaeological Research* 18, no. 4 (2010): 331-385; Kevin R. Fogle et al., *Beyond the Walls: New Perspectives on the Archaeology of Historic Households* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015).

²⁶ Mark D. Groover, “Linking Artifact Assemblages to Household Cycles: An Example from the Gibbs Site,” *Historical Archaeology* 35, no. 4 (2001): 38-57; and Deborah L. Rotman, “Newlyweds, Young Families, and Spinsters: A Consideration of Developmental Cycle in Historical Archaeologies of Gender,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 9, no. 1 (2005):1-36.

²⁷ An understanding of intersectionality goes back at least to the nineteenth century (Sojourner Truth (1851) “Ain’t I A Woman” delivered December 1851 at the Women’s Convention in Akron, Ohio). See work by black feminists including the Combahee River Collective Statement of 1977 for a discussion of interlocking oppressions and Kimberlé Crenshaw, “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics,” *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140 (1989): 139-167. See Springate on intersectionality (this volume) for a more in-depth discussion.

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.

³⁰ Alison Wylie, "The Integrity of Narratives: Deliberative Practice, Pluralism, and Multivocality," in Junko Habu et al., eds., *Evaluating Multiple Narratives: Beyond Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist Archaeologies* (New York: Springer, 2008), 201-212.

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 archeologically. 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

³² Spector, *What This Awl Means*; Voss, *Ethnogenesis*; Battle-Baptiste, *Black Feminist Archaeology*; Whitney Battle-Baptiste, "Standing at the Crossroads: Toward an Intersectional Archaeology of the African Diaspora," *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage*, forthcoming. See also Chelsea Blackmore and Leslie A. Crippen, "Queer Intersections: Sexuality, Race, and Strategic Essentialism in Historical Archaeology," *Historical Archaeology*, forthcoming; and Megan E. Springate, "Making Women: Gender and Class at an Early Twentieth Century Women's Retreat," *Historical Archaeology*, forthcoming.

³³ Conkey and Gero, "Programme to Practice"; Perry and Joyce, "Bodies that Matter"; Rosemary A. Joyce, "Embodied Subjectivity: Gender, Femininity, Masculinity, Sexuality," in Lynn Meskell and Robert W. Preucel, eds., *A Companion to Social Archaeology* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 2004), 82-95; Benjamin Alberti, "Archaeology, Men, and Masculinities," in *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*, 401-434; Geller, "Identity and Difference"; Barbara L. Voss, "Engendered Archaeology: Men, Women, and Others," in Martin Hall and Stephen W. Silliman, eds., *Historical Archaeology* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 107-127; Joyce, *Ancient Bodies*; and Voss, "Looking for Gender."

³⁴ Chelsea Blackmore, "How to Queer the Past".

³⁵ Voss, "Sexual Subjects", 64. See above for a discussion of the archeology of two-spirit identities.

³⁶ See Judith M. Bennett, "'Lesbian-Like' and the Social History of Lesbianisms," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9 (2000): 10-11 for a discussion of the instability of a lesbian identity (and therefore of other sexual/gender identities).

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,

³⁷ Alberti, “Men and Masculinities”; S. Voutaski, “Agency and Personhood at the Onset of the Mycenaean Period,” *Archaeological Dialogues* 17, no. 1 (2010): 65-92; Blackmore, “How to Queer the Past”.

³⁸ Esther Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972); Esther Newton, “Beyond Freud, Ken, and Barbie,” in Esther Newton, ed., *Margaret Mead Made Me Gay: Personal Essays, Public Ideas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 189-194; reprint of *Closing the Gender Gap*, *The Women’s Review of Books*, 1986); Elizabeth L. Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Esther Newton, “My Butch Career,” in *Margaret Mead*, 204-206 (originally read as the David R. Kessler Lecture, December 6, 1996, at the Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies, City University of New York); Ellen Lewin, “Who’s Gay? What’s Gay? Dilemmas of Identity among Gay Fathers,” in Ellen Lewin and William L. Leap, eds., *Out in Public: Reinventing Lesbian/Gay Anthropology in a Globalizing World* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 86-103. Emily Kazyak finds that female masculinity is associated with lesbian identity in urban areas, but in rural areas has no such association; Emily Kazyak, “Midwest or Lesbian? Gender, Rurality, and Sexuality,” *Gender & Society* 26, no. 6 (2012): 825-848.

³⁹ J. Jack Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998).

behaviors once considered deviant can become increasingly acceptable, moving towards the center, and vice versa.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ 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.⁴²

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.⁴³ 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

⁴⁰ Rubin, “Thinking Sex”.

⁴¹ Barbara Voss, personal communication with the author.

⁴² Voss, “Sexual Subjects”, 67.

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”.

both oppression and resistance to it.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ Archeologists studying labor,

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.

⁴⁵ W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903), 3; and Chela Sandoval, “US Third World Feminism: The Theory and Method of Oppositional Consciousness in the Postmodern World,” *Genders* 10 (1991): 1-24.

⁴⁶ For slave resistance and rebellion, see Charles E. Orser, Jr. and Pedro P. A. Funari, “Archaeology and Slave Resistance and Rebellion,” *World Archaeology* 33, no. 1 (2001): 61-72. For African and African American resistance and rebellion in the US, see Terry Weik, “The Archaeology of Maroon Societies in the Americas: Resistance, Cultural Continuity, and Transformation in the African Diaspora,” *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (1997): 81-92; and Christopher C. Fennell, “Early African America: Archaeological Studies of Significance and Diversity,” *Journal of Archaeological Research* 19 (2011): 29-33. For work dealing with double consciousness, see Megan E. Springate, “Double Consciousness and the Intersection of Beliefs in an African American Home in Northern New Jersey,” *Historical Archaeology* 48, no. 3 (2014): 125-143; Kathryn H. Deeley, “Double “Double Consciousness”: An Archaeology of African American Class and Identity in Annapolis, Maryland, 1850-1930,” PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2015. For a discussion of religion, see Lu Ann De Cunzo, *A Historical Archaeology of Delaware: People, Contexts, and the Cultures of Agriculture* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004); Fennell, “Early African America”, 34-36; and Springate, “Double

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, archeology 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

Consciousness". Important work on the archeology of late twentieth century repression and resistance has also been done in a Latin American context; Pedro P. A. Funari et al., *Memories from Darkness: Archaeology of Repression and Resistance in Latin America* (New York: Springer, 2009).

⁴⁷ For the Colorado Coalfield Strike, Ludlow, Colorado, see Randall H. McGuire and Paul Reckner, "Building a Working-Class Archaeology: The Colorado Coal Field War Project," *Industrial Archaeology Review* 25, no. 2 (2003): 83-95; Karin Larkin and Randall H. McGuire, *The Archaeology of Class War: The Colorado Coalfield Strike of 1913-1914* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2009). For the Lattimer Massacre, Pennsylvania, see Michael Roller, "Rewriting Narratives of Labor Violence: A Transnational Perspective of the Lattimer Massacre," *Historical Archaeology* 42, no. 2 (2013): 109-123. For the Battle at Blair Mountain, West Virginia, see Brandon Nida and Michael Jessee Adkins, "The Social and Environmental Upheaval of Blair Mountain: A Working Class Struggle for Unionisation and Historic Preservation," in Laurajane Smith et al., eds., *Heritage, Labour, and the Working Classes* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 52-68.

⁴⁸ While the thread of community coalescence and dissipation winds its way throughout this theme study, several chapters in particular look at this; see Hanhardt (this volume) as well as the individual city chapters in this theme study.

⁴⁹ Discussions of gentrification, redevelopment, and police harassment in the shifting neighborhoods of San Francisco can be found in Rubin, "Urban Sex"; in Washington, DC, in William Leap, "Professional Baseball, Urban Restructuring and (Changing) Gay Geographies in Washington, DC," in *Out in Public*, 202-221; and in Atlanta in Petra L. Doan and Harrison Higgins, "The Demise of Queer Space? Resurgent Gentrification and the Assimilation of LGBT Neighborhoods," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 31, no. 1 (2011): 6-25. Amin Ghaziani looks at changes in LGBTQ neighborhoods as LGBTQ individuals have become more accepted in American society; Amin Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

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(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

⁵⁰ For landscape archeology, see overviews by Rebecca Yamin and Karen B. Metheny, eds., *Landscape Archaeology: Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996); Kurt F. Anschuetz et al., "An Archaeology of Landscapes: Perspectives and Directions," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9, no. 2 (2001): 157-211; Julian Thomas and David Bruno, eds., *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008); Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, "A Feminist Framework for Analyzing Powered Cultural Landscapes in Historical Archaeology," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 14, no. 4 (2010): 498-526. For archeological work on communities, see overviews and examples by Lynda Carroll, "Communities and Other Social Actors: Rethinking Commodities and Consumption in Global Historical Archaeology," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 3, no. 3 (1999): 131-136; Marcello Canuto and Jason Yaeger, eds., *The Archaeology of Communities: A New World Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2000); and Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, "A Feminist Theoretical Approach to the Historical Archaeology of Utopian Communities," *Historical Archaeology* 40, no. 1 (2006): 152-185.

⁵¹ Yvonne Marshall, "What is Community Archaeology?" *World Archaeology* 34, no. 2 (2002): 211-219; Carol McDavid, "Archaeologies that Hurt; Descendants that Matter: A Pragmatic Approach to Collaboration in the Public Interpretation of African-American Archaeology," *World Archaeology* 34, no. 2 (2002): 303-314; Dean J. Saitta, Ethics, "Objectivity and Emancipatory Archaeology," in Yannis Hamilakis and P. G. Duke, eds., *Archaeology and Capitalism: From Ethics to Politics* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2007), 267-280; Barbara J. Little and Paul A. Shackel, eds., *Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007); M. Jay Stottman, ed., *Archaeologists as Activists: Can Archaeologists Change the World?* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010); Gemma Tully, "Community Archaeology: General Methods and Standards of Practice," *Public Archaeology* 6, no. 3 (2007): 155-187; Sonya Atalay, *Community-Based Archaeology: Research With, By, and For Indigenous and Local Communities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Barbara J. Little and Paul A. Shackel, *Archaeology, Heritage, and Civic Engagement: Working Toward the Public Good* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2014).

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

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.

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Massachusetts; and the Georgia O’Keeffe Home and Studio in New Mexico.⁵⁶

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.⁵⁷ 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

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 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.

07 A NOTE ABOUT INTERSECTIONALITY

Megan E. Springate

There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle, because we do not live single-issue lives. –Audre Lorde¹

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.² 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.³ The axes of gender, generation, geographic location, ethnicity, and other factors play an important role in the history of

¹ Audre Lorde, “Learning from the 60s,” in *Sister Outsider: Essays & Speeches by Audre Lorde* (Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press, 2007), 138.

² Lisa Bowleg, “When Black + Lesbian + Woman ≠ Black Lesbian Woman: The Methodological Challenges to Qualitative and Quantitative Intersectionality Research,” *Sex Roles* 59 (2008): 312-325.

³ Judith M. Bennett, “‘Lesbian-Like’ and the Social History of Lesbianisms,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9 (2000): 1-24; Trina Grillo, “Anti-Essentialism and Intersectionality: Tools to Dismantle the Master’s House,” *Berkeley Women’s Law Journal* 10 (1995): 16-30.

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.⁴ 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.⁵ 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.⁶ Since then, intersectionality has become an important concept across many disciplines, including history, art and architectural history, anthropology, geography, sociology, psychology, and law.⁷

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.

⁵ Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge, *Intersectionality* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2016), 63-87. See, for example, Alma M. Garcia, "The Development of Chicana Feminist Discourse, 1870-1980," *Gender and Society* 3, no. 2 (1989): 217-238; Alma M. Garcia, *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Combahee River Collective, "The Combahee River Collective Statement," Circuitous.org website, <http://circuitous.org/scraps/combahee.html>.

⁶ Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* (1989): 139-167.

⁷ See, for example, Bowleg, "When Black + Lesbian + Woman ≠ Black Lesbian Woman;" Grillo, "Anti-Essentialism and Intersectionality;" Mike C. Parent, Cirleen DeBlaere, and Bonnie Moradi, "Approaches to Research on Intersectionality: Perspectives on Gender, LGBT, and Racial/Ethnic Identities," *Sex Roles* 68 (2013): 639-645; Gill Valentine, "Theorizing and Researching

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

Intersectionality: A Challenge for Feminist Geography," *The Professional Geographer* 59, no. 1 (2007): 10-21; and Leah R. Warner and Stephanie A. Shields, "The Intersections of Sexuality, Gender, and Race: Identity Research at the Crossroads," *Sex Roles* 68 (2013): 803-810.

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.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.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.”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.”¹³ Especially alienated are those whose identities encompass more than one of these axes of exclusion.¹⁴

¹⁰ Compare, for example, *Voices from the Land*, <http://www.michfestmatters.com>; Cristan Williams, “Michigan Womyn’s Music Festival,” *TransAdvocate*, 2013, http://transadvocate.com/michigan-womyns-music-festival_n_8943.htm.

¹¹ See, for example, Sabrina Alimahomed, “Thinking Outside the Rainbow: Women of Color Redefining Queer Politics and Identity,” *Social Identities* 16, no. 2 (2010): 151-168; Amy L. Brandzel, “Haunted by Citizenship: Whitenormative Citizen-Subjects and the Uses of History in Women’s Studies,” *Feminist Studies* 37, no. 3 (2011): 503-533.

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).

¹³ Gayle S. Rubin, “Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality,” in *Culture, Society and Sexuality: A Reader*, 2nd ed., eds. Richard Parker and Peter Aggleton (New York: Routledge, 1984), 143-178.

¹⁴ See, for example, Alimahomed, *Thinking Outside the Rainbow*; Lou Chibbaro, Jr., “Special Report: Poverty in the LGBT Community,” *Washington Blade*, February 12, 2014, <http://www.washingtonblade.com/2014/02/12/special-report-poverty-lgbt-community>; Eli Clare, *Exile & Pride: Disability, Queerness, and Liberation* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1999); Petra L. Doan, “The Tyranny of Gendered Spaces – Reflections from Beyond the Gender Dichotomy,” *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 17, no. 5 (2010): 635-654; Heron Greenesmith, “Drawing Bisexuality Back into the Picture: How Bisexuality Fits into LGBT Legal Strategy Ten Years After Bisexual Erasure,” *Cardozo Journal of Law & Gender* 17, no. 65 (2010): 65-80; Daniel Hirsch, “R-Rated and Ephemeral: Spinning LGBT History,” *MissionLocal*, July 18, 2014, <http://missionlocal.org/2014/07/r-rated-and-ephemeral-spinning-lgbt-history>; E. Patrick Johnson, “Gays and Gospel: A Queer History of Sacred Music,” in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the*

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

Crossroads, eds. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 109-126; Emily Kazyak, "Midwest or Lesbian? Gender, Rurality, and Sexuality," *Gender & Society* 26, no. 6 (2012): 825-848; Love, *Feeling Backward*; Jeff Maskovsky, "Do We All 'Reek of the Commodity'? Consumption and the Erasure of Poverty in Lesbian and Gay Studies," in *Out in Theory: The Emergence of Lesbian and Gay Anthropology*, eds. Ellen Lewin and William L. Leap (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 264-286; Doug Meyer, "An Intersectional Analysis of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) People's Evaluations of Anti-Queer Violence," *Gender & Society* 26, no. 6 (2012): 849-873; Mignon R. Moore, *Invisible Families: Gay Identities, Relationships, and Motherhood among Black Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Mignon R. Moore, "Intersectionality and the Study of Black, Sexual Minority Women," *Gender & Society* 26, no. 1 (2012): 33-39; Rubin, *Thinking Sex*; Gayle S. Rubin, *Deviations: A Gayle Rubin Reader* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); Stephanie A. Shields, "Gender: An Intersectionality Perspective," *Sex Roles* 59 (2008): 301-311; Megan Sinnott, "Public Sex: The Geography of Female Homoeroticism and the (In)Visibility of Female Sexualities," in *Out in Public: Reinventing Lesbian/Gay Anthropology in a Globalizing World*, eds. Ellen Lewin and William L. Leap (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 225-239; Urvasi Vaid, *Irresistible Revolution: Confronting Race, Class and the Assumptions of LGBT Politics* (New York: Magnus Books, 2012); and Kathi Wolfe, "Special Report In Their Own Words: Elders Facing Poverty, Ageism," *Washington Blade*, March 27, 2014, <http://www.washingtonblade.com/2014/03/27/special-report-words-elders-facing-poverty-ageism>.

See also González and Hernández, Harris, Hutchins, Roscoe, Stryker, and Sueyoshi (this volume).

¹⁵ Cynthia Levine-Rasky, "Intersectionality Theory Applied to Whiteness and Middle-Classness," *Social Identities* 17, no. 2 (2011): 239-253.



Figure 1: Wesleyan Chapel, 126 Fall Street, Seneca Falls, New York, site of the First Women's Rights Convention in the United States, 1848. The Chapel was listed on the NRHP on August 29, 1980. It is part of Women's Rights National Historical Park, established December 28, 1980. Photo by the author, 2011.

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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ After 1920, women who had been



Figure 2: Anna Howard Shaw-Lucy Anthony House, Moylan, Pennsylvania. Photo by Smallbones, 2011.¹⁶

¹⁶ License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Anna_Howard_Shaw_House.JPG

¹⁷ See, for example, Nancy A. Hewitt, introduction to *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U.S. Feminism* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 2-14; Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Becky Thompson, "Multiracial Feminism: Recasting the Chronology of Second Wave Feminism," in Hewitt, *No Permanent Waves*, 39-60.

¹⁸ Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963); Daniel Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of The Feminine Mystique: The American Left, the Cold War and Modern Feminism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000).

¹⁹ See, for example, Nancy Felice Gabin, *Feminism in the Labor Movement: Women and the United Auto Workers, 1935-1975* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990); Annelise Orleck, *Common Sense & a Little Fire: Women and Working-Class Politics in the United States, 1900-1965* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves 1894-1994* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999); and Kate Weigand, *Red Feminism: American Communism and the Making of Women's Liberation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

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*



Figure 3: Juniper Ledge, the home that Carrie Chapman Catt shared with her partner, Mary Garret "Mollie" Hay from 1919 to 1928, Briarcliff Manor, New York. Photo by Arnold Feist, 2003.²¹

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 1966.²⁰ 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.

²⁰ Dorothy Sue Cobble, "Labor Feminists and President Kennedy's Commission on Women," in Hewitt, *No Permanent Waves*, 144-167.

²¹ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. <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



Figure 4: Women's Medical College of the New York Infirmary, Second Avenue, New York City. Engraved by William Roberts, from Common Council, Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York (New York: The Council, 1840-1870). Art and Picture Collection, The New York Public Library (b17095009).

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.²³ 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.²⁴ These many voices may come from written documents, oral histories, and autoethnography, among others.²⁵ 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.²⁶ Other authors, like Chela Sandoval and Emma Pérez, write about working intersectionally.²⁷ 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.

²³ 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.

²⁴ Alison Wylie, “The Integrity of Narratives: Deliberative Practice, Pluralism, and Multivocality,” in *Evaluating Multiple Narratives: Beyond Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist Archaeologies*, eds. Junko Habu, Clare Fawcett, and John M. Matsunaga (New York: Springer, 2008), 201-212.

²⁵ Nan Alamilla Boyd and Horacio Roque Ramirez, eds., *Bodies of Evidence: The Practice of Queer Oral History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Doan, *The Tyranny of Gendered Spaces*.

²⁶ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography,” in *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*, eds. Donna Landry and Gerald M. MacLean (New York: Routledge, 1996), 216.

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?

²⁸ Johnson, *Gays and Gospel*, 116.

²⁹ John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 5.

³⁰ Bennett, “Lesbian-Like,” 10-11.

³¹ Bennett, “Lesbian-Like,” 13.

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.³² 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.³³

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.³⁴ 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.³⁵ 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.”³⁶ Regardless of gender presentation or location, “Lesbians, suffering from the dual disqualification of being gay and female, have been repeatedly dispossessed of their history.”³⁷

³² Bennett, “Lesbian-Like,” 9-10, 14; see also Judith M. Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2006).

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.”

³⁴ Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold*; Esther Newton, “Beyond Freud, Ken, and Barbie,” in *Margaret Mead Made Me Gay: Personal Essays, Public Ideas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 189-194, reprint of “Closing the Gender Gap,” originally published in 1986 in *The Women’s Review of Books*; Esther Newton, “My Butch Career,” in *Margaret Mead Made Me Gay*, 195-212 (originally read at the David R. Kessler Lecture, December 6, 1996, at the Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York).

³⁵ Kazyak, Midwest or Lesbian?

³⁶ Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes, Lourdes Torres, and Ramon H. Rivera-Servera, “Toward an Archive of Latina/o Queer Chicago: Arts, Politics, and Social Performance,” in Austin and Brier, *Out in Chicago*, 127.

³⁷ Gayle Rubin 1976 quoted in Elizabeth L. Kennedy, “‘These Natives Can Speak for Themselves’: The Development of Gay and Lesbian Studies in Anthropology,” in Lewin and Leap, *Out in Theory: The Emergence of Lesbian and Gay Anthropology*, 95.

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

³⁸ Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1989); and 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).

³⁹ Freeman, *Time Binds*; and Jack Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press, 2010).

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>

within their ethnic community and to be respectable representatives of their ethnic community to the dominant (white) culture.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).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.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).⁴⁵

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

⁴³ Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *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.

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

⁴⁵ See, for example, Janaya Khan, "Exclusive: Black Lives Matter Toronto Co-Founder Responds to Pride Action Criticism," *Now*, July 6, 2016, <https://nowtoronto.com/news/pride-2016/exclusive-black-lives-matter-pride-action-criticism/>; INPAQ, "Queerness - On The Frontlines of #BlackLivesMatter (MSNBC)," *The LGBT Update*, February 23, 2015, <http://www.thelgbtupdate.com/queerness-on-the-frontlines-of-blacklivesmatter-msnbc>; Esperanza Garcia and Ty Brooks, "Op-ed: Why Black Lives Should Matter to All LGBT People," *Advocate*, February 2, 2015, <http://www.advocate.com/commentary/2015/02/02/op-ed-why-black-lives-should-matter-all-lgbt-people>; Cleis Abeni, "Trans Lives Matters and Black Lives Matters Join Forces for Justice," *Advocate*, September 10, 2015, <http://www.advocate.com/2015/9/10/trans-lives-matters-and-black-lives-matters-join-forces-justice>.



Figure 6: A Black Trans Lives Matter rally in Atlanta, Georgia. Photo by Hotlanta Voyeur, 2015.⁴⁶

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.⁴⁷ 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

⁴⁶ License: CC BY 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/hotlantavoyeur/21196097702>

⁴⁷ See González and Hernández (this volume).

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 seen 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).

⁵⁰ González and Hernández (this volume); Uriel Quesada, Letitia Gomez, and Salvador Vidal-Ortiz, *Queer Brown Voices: Personal Narratives of Latina/o LGBT Activism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015).

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.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ 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?”⁵⁵

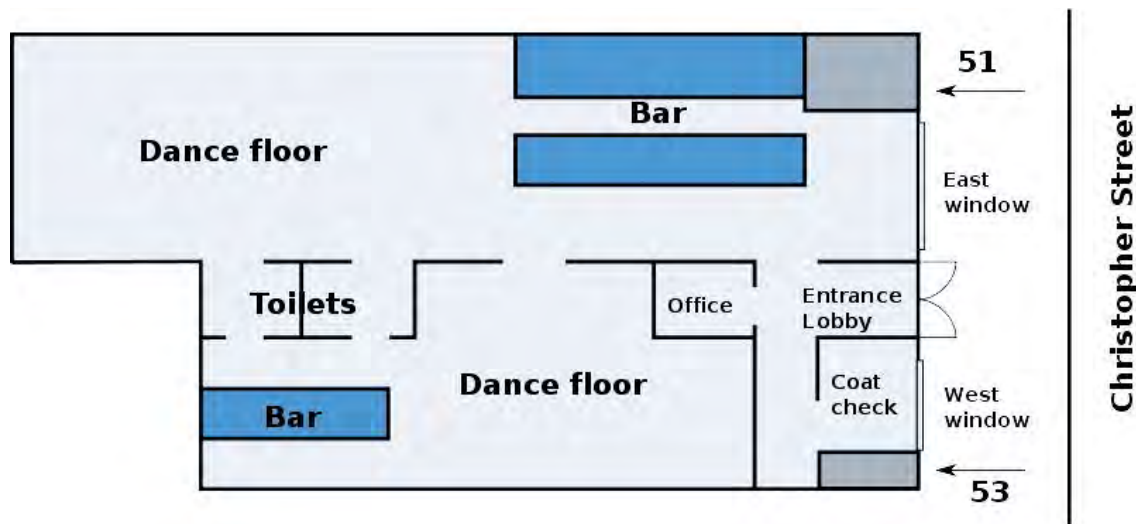


Figure 7: Layout of the Stonewall Inn in 1969. Modified by ecelan from an image in David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots that Sparked the Gay Revolution* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 2004).⁵⁶

⁵³ Johnson, *Gays and Gospel*.

⁵⁴ Johnson, *Gays and Gospel*.

⁵⁵ Johnson, *Gays and Gospel*, 117.

⁵⁶ License: CC BY-SA 3.0.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Layout_of_the_Stonewall_Inn_1969-en.svg

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.⁵⁷ For example, the interior of bars and clubs have often been remodeled extensively over time and may no longer retain their historic integrity (Figure 7).⁵⁸ 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).

08 MAKING BISEXUALS VISIBLE

Lorraine Hutchins

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

parts of their biographies.² 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.³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ Similar stories circulate about other US public figures like famous musician Leonard Bernstein.⁶ 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.⁷ "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.

² "The discussion of Whitman's sexual orientation will probably continue in spite of whatever evidence emerges." See Jerome Loving, *Walt Whitman: The Song of Himself* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 19. Millay had relationships with both women and men. In 1923, she married Eugen Boissevain. Married for twenty-six years, Millay and Boissevain had an open marriage and "acted like two bachelors." See "Edna St. Vincent Millay," Academy of American Poets website, <https://www.poets.org/poetsorg/poet/edna-st-vincent-millay>.

³ Michael Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 2011), 146.

⁴ Bronski, *Ibid*, 150.

⁵ Hank Stuever, "Gloria Vanderbilt and Anderson Cooper: Sorting Through Family Hurt and History," *Washington Post*, April 8, 2016.

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.

⁷ Margaret Cho, "Queer," *Huffpost Queer Voices*, October 3, 2011, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/margaret-cho/queer_b_984123.html; Adam Sandel, "Alan Cumming Is Bisexual - And You Might Be Too," *Advocate*, March 30, 2015, <http://www.advocate.com/bisexuality/2015/03/30/alan-cumming-bisexual-and-you-might-be-too>.

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).



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

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

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.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?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.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

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).

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>.

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

¹³ For bisexual history timelines, see for example: "Timeline: The Bisexual Health Movement in the US," BiNet USA website, <http://binetusa.org/bihealth.html>; "A Brief History of the Bisexual Movement," BiNet USA website, <http://www.binetusa.org/bi-history>; and "The Bisexual History of HIV/AIDS, In Photos," LGBT HealthLink website, <https://blog.lgbthealthlink.org/2015/01/29/the-bisexual-history-of-hiv-aids-in-photos>.

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.

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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.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.

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.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

¹⁶ See Lani Ka’ahumanu and Loraine Hutchins, eds., *Bi Any Other Name: Bisexual People Speak Out*, 25th anniversary edition (New York: Riverdale Avenue Books, [1991] 2015), 38-47, psychology overview section.

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 *The Routledge History of Queer America*, ed. Don Romesburg (London: Routledge, 2017).

ignoring or discounting the other(s).¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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.”²⁰

During the first few decades of LGBTQ Studies, bisexual erasure was, and still is, common.²¹ 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.

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.

¹⁹ Stephen Angelides, *A History of Bisexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

²⁰ Kate Millet, *Flying* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 97.

²¹ The first decades of LGBTQ studies are considered here to be the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s, beginning with the release of the first edition of Jonathan Ned Katz’s groundbreaking work, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.* (New York: Avon Books, 1978).

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.²² 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

²² BiPOL was founded in San Francisco by Autumn Courtney, Lani Ka'ahumanu, Arlene Krantz, David Lourea, Bill Mack, Alan Rockway, and Maggi Rubenstein. See Lani Ka'ahumanu, "Timeline: The Bisexual Health Movement in the US," BiNet USA website, <http://www.binetusa.org/bihealth.html>; Alan Soble, ed., *Sex from Plato to Paglia: A Philosophical Encyclopedia* (New York: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006), 115.

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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.²³ 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.²⁴ 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.²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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

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

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.

²⁸ “Brenda Howard,” LGBT History Month website, <http://lgbthistorymonth.com/brenda-howard?tab=biography>; Jade Salazar, “LGBTQ History #18: Sylvia Rivera: Transgender Activist and Stonewall Legend,” *Tagg Magazine*, October 29, 2014, <http://taggmagazine.com/community/sylvia-rivera-transgender-activist-stonewall-legend>; 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 Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.

²⁹ Eliel Cruz, “Remembering Brenda: An Ode to the ‘Mother of Pride,’” *Advocate*, June 17, 2014, <http://www.advocate.com/bisexuality/2014/06/17/remembering-brenda-ode-%E2%80%98mother-pride%E2%80%99>.

instrumental in organizing the Third International Bisexual Conference held on June 25th, the day before Stonewall 25, at Bayard Rustin High School.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.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).³² Rockway created and taught the first college-level course on bisexuality, "Psychological Views of Bisexual Behavior," offered at Sonoma State College.³³ By 1977, Rockway had founded the Miami Transperience Center, a mental health services company providing counseling to the GLBTQ community.³⁴

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.

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.

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.

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, Rhonert 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>

³⁴ "Nation's Press," *Panama City News-Herald* (Panama City, Florida), December 16, 1977, 36.



Figure 3: The first Bisexual Rights Rally in the United States at 730 Howard Street, San Francisco, California. Explicitly excluded from the lesbian and gay protests at the 1984 Democratic Party Convention held across the street at the Moscone Center, bisexual activists Alan Rockway, Lani Ka'ahumanu, and others in BiPOL arranged their own protest. Photo courtesy of Lani Ka'ahumanu.

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

³⁵ Brett Beemyn and Michele Eliason, eds., *Queer Studies: A Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Anthology* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 1-2; Monica Dorenkamp and Richard Henke, eds., *Negotiating Lesbian and Gay Subjects* (London: Routledge, 1994.)

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*.

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present absences, absent presences, whose lives matter, here, there, anywhere.⁴¹

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 bisexually-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

⁴² The Henry Gerber Residence in the Old Town Triangle neighborhood of Chicago, Illinois was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015. Vern L. Bullough, *Before Stonewall: Activists for Gay and Lesbian Rights in Historical Context* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2002), 27; John Loughery, *The Other Side of Science – Men's Lives and Gay Identities: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1998), 54.

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.

⁴⁴ Brett Beemyn, "Bisexuality, Bisexuals and Bisexual Movements," in *Encyclopedia of LGBT History in America*, vol. 1, ed. Marc Stein (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2003).



Figure 4: The Columbia Queer Alliance lounge, Furnald Hall, Columbia University, 2016. The lounge is dedicated to the memory of bisexual activist Stephen Donaldson, the Columbia University student who founded the first LGBTQ student group in the United States. Photo courtesy of Kaixi Wu, 2015.

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.

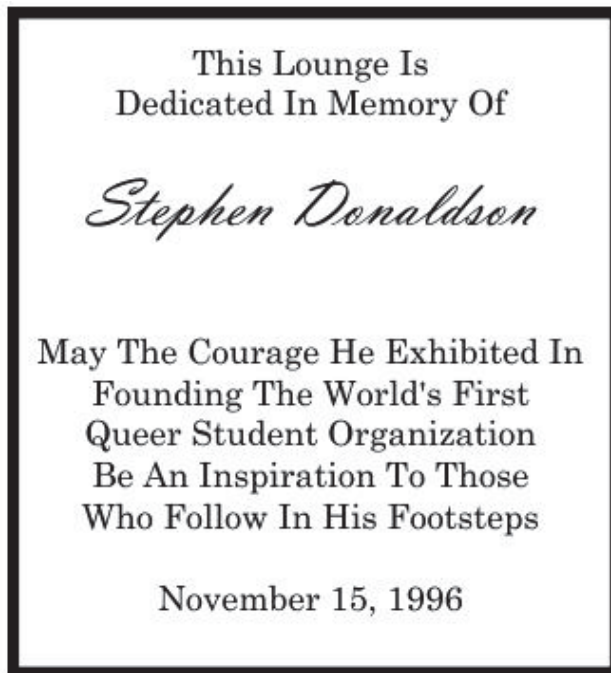


Figure 5: Text of the plaque outside the Columbia Queer Alliance lounge at Furnald Hall, Columbia University commemorating Stephen Donaldson. From an image courtesy of Kaixi Wu, 2015.

it moved to the Institute of Sexism and Sexuality at Miami Dade College, where it often hosted up to fifty LGBTQ youth at the meetings. In 1996, the group incorporated and renamed itself Pridelines; it continues to provide a number of programs and services for the LGBTQ youth of Miami.⁴⁶ In 1975, Carol Queen—a young woman growing up in rural Oregon—cofounded Growing Alternative Youth (GAYouth) in Eugene, Oregon. When founded, it was only the third

LGBTQ youth support/social group in the nation. It later affiliated itself with the Metropolitan Community Church of Eugene.

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.

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.⁴⁷ 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 1985.⁴⁸ 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.

⁴⁸ Lourea also worked professionally with LGBTQ and HIV/AIDS communities, and published articles including “HIV Prevention: A Dramaturgical Analysis and Practical Guide to Creating Safer Sex Interventions,” (with Clark L. Taylor), in *Bisexualities: Theory and Research*, eds. Dr. Fritz Klein and Timothy J. Wolf (New York: Haworth Press, 1985). Lourea died in 1992; Slater in 1989.

targeting young high-risk lesbian and bisexual women for HIV/AIDS prevention and education research.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.



Figure 6: The Center for Sex and Culture hosts a World AIDS Day show in 2014 featuring posters from the collection of safer sex activist Buzz Bense. Photo courtesy of Robert Morgan Lawrence, EdD.

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, <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, <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.

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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.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 1994-2009.⁵¹ 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.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.

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>.

⁵¹ Bryant was the author of the first book ever to critique films from a bisexual point of view, *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.

⁵² Green Mountain National Forest is located near Rutland, Vermont. Part of the US Forest Service, it was established on April 25, 1932.



Figure 7: BiRequest/ NYC Bisexuality Rocks contingent in the June 2012 Pride march in New York City. Holding the banner are long-time bisexual activists and leaders Estraven (L) and Matt LeGrant (R). BiRequest is a bisexual social and support group in Manhattan. Photo courtesy of Efrain Gonzalez.

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.⁵³ 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, 1979.⁵⁴ 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

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>.

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moving to the Washington, DC, area.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.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.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

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.

⁵⁶ The Harambee House Hotel was located on the 2200 block of Georgia Avenue NW, Washington, DC, near the Howard University campus. It opened in 1978. In 1981, Howard University purchased the Harambee House Hotel from the federal Economic Development Administration. Profitable in the 1980s, Howard University operated the hotel until 1995, when they closed it after continued financial losses. See Ronald Roach, "The Promise and the Peril – African American Colleges and Universities' Hotel and Conference Center Ownership," *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education*, July 5, 2007, <http://diverseeducation.com/article/8075>.

⁵⁷ Bisexual leaders have met twice with Obama Administration officials for roundtable consultations focused on the specific needs of bisexual people regarding health, education, employment, and immigration, among others. See Amy Andre, "Obama Administration Invites Bisexual Leaders to the White House," *Huffpost Queer Voices*, August 27, 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/amy-andre/obama-bisexual-leaders_b_3819857.html; Faith Cheltenham, "BiNet USA in the White House Photo Blast #whatbilooklike," *BiNet USA's Blog*, September 4, 2014, <http://binetusa.blogspot.com/2014/09/binet-usa-in-white-house-photo-blast.html>.

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>. Klein lived with his partner, Tom Reise, in the Emerald Hills neighborhood of San Diego, California from 1995 until his death in 2006.



Figure 8: Participants of the first ever National Conference on Bisexuality sit on the steps of the Mission High School, San Francisco, California, June 1990. Photo courtesy of Efrain Gonzalez.

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).⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹

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>.



Figure 9: Cliff Arnesen (age 12) and Wiltwyck School for Boys Chairman, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt at her estate in Val-Kill, Hyde Park, New York, July 1959. Photo taken during Mrs. Roosevelt's Annual Picnic for the 100 boys of the predominantly African-American Wiltwyck School for Boys, Esopus, New York. Photo courtesy of Clifton Francis Arnesen, Jr.⁶³

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

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.

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congressional subcommittee about the health needs and rights of his fellow service members.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.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.⁶⁶ The workshop was

⁶⁴ *Bi Any Other Name*

⁶⁵ The Lavender Law Conference that year was held at the San Francisco Marriott Marquis Hotel, 55 Fourth Street, San Francisco, California.

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.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹ 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

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.

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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.

⁷⁰ "Creating Change Wrap-up," National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Press Release, November 19, 1996, <http://www.qrd.org/qrd/orgs/NGLTF/1996/creating.change.wrap-up-11.19.96>. Richard Socarides, ironically, is an out gay man who is the son of Charles Socarides, a psychiatrist who worked to "treat" homosexuality beginning in the 1960s. In 1992, he helped found an organization offering conversion therapy to change the sexual orientation of people with same-sex attraction. See "Deaths: Socarides, Charles William, MD," *New York Times*, December 27, 2005, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9B0DEED91230F934A15751C1A9639C8B63>. Use of conversion therapy on minors is currently banned in California, New Jersey, Illinois, Oregon, and the District of Columbia. It is considered unethical by the American Psychiatric Association.

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

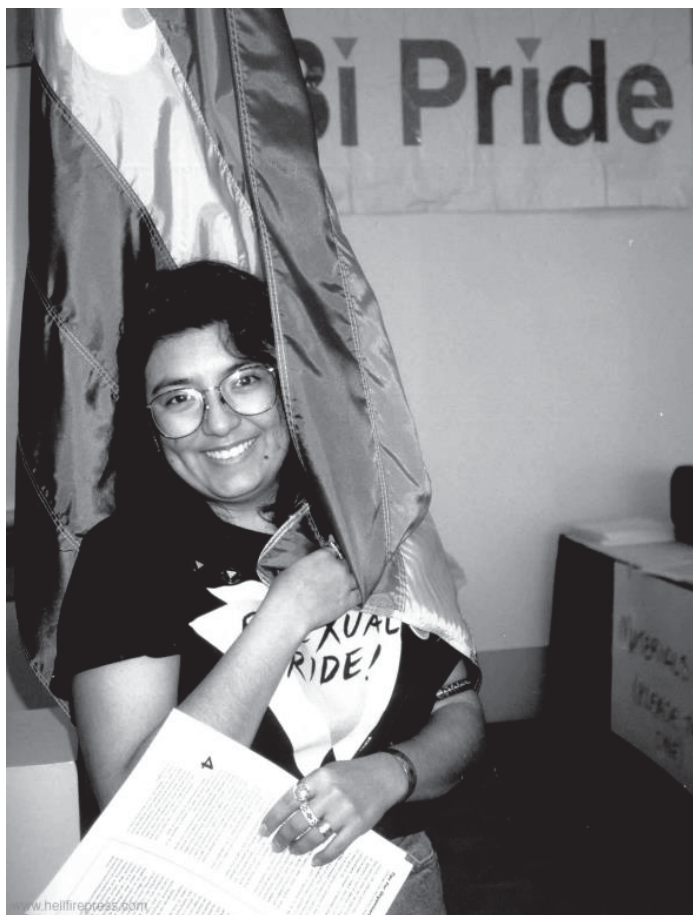


Figure 10: Bisexual activist and reproductive justice and rights activist Laura Perez at the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation. Photo courtesy of Efrain Gonzalez.

speaking from the main stage on the National Mall for the first time as well.⁷¹ 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). They camped out in the homes of local bisexual activists in the Mt. Pleasant, Adams Morgan, and Takoma neighborhoods; organized the Second National Conference Celebrating Bisexuality that took place two days before the march;

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.

Lorraine Hutchins

and held a national meeting of BiNet USA, followed by a Bi Dance at George Washington University's Marvin Center, the night before.⁷² 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.⁷³ 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.

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.

SEXUAL AND GENDER DIVERSITY IN NATIVE AMERICA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

Will Roscoe

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

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people.¹ 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, wherwith she greatly refreshed us.... And I beleeve that without the succour of that Indian Hermaphrodite... we had taken up our lodging all night in the wood.”² 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

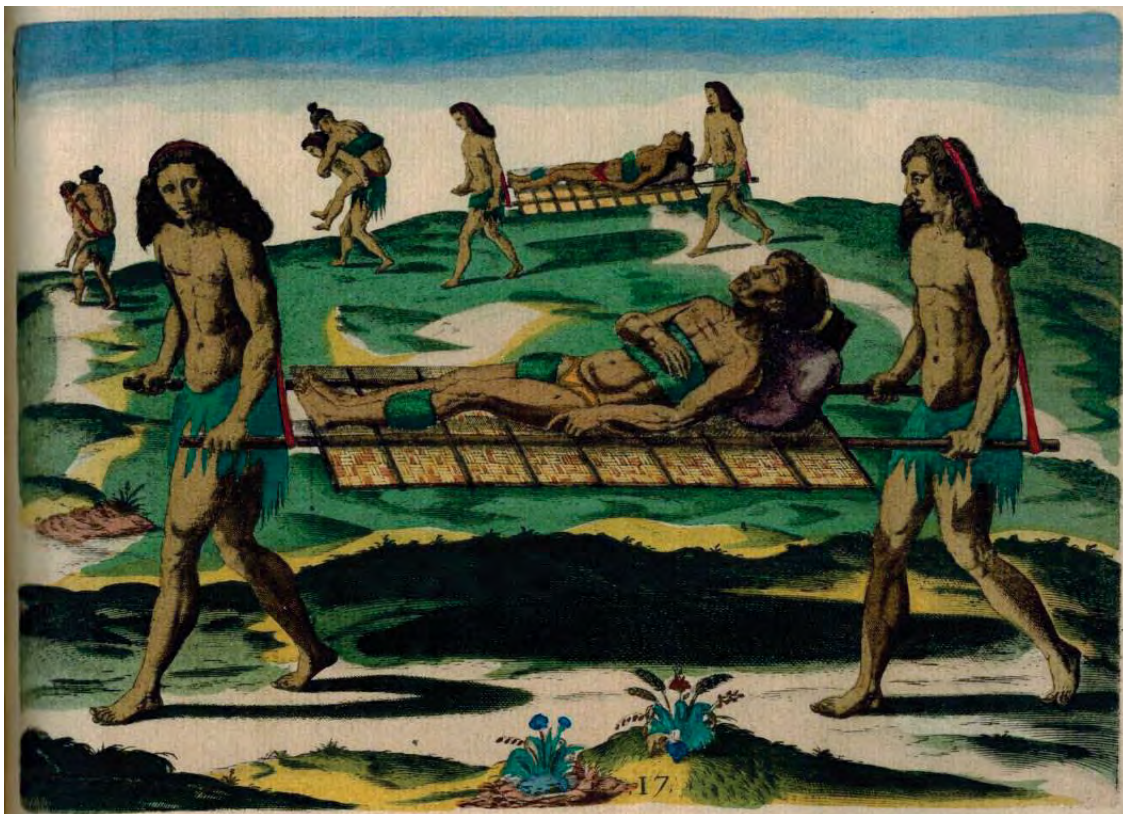


Figure 1: “Employments of the Hermaphrodites,” engraving based on a watercolor by Jacques Le Moyne depicting Timucuan two spirits, published by Theodore De Bry, 1591. Source: Charles Bourel de La Roncière, ed., *La Floride Française: Scènes de la Vie Indienne Peintes en 1564* (Paris: Les Éditions Nationales, 1928), plate 17.

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.

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(Figure 1). 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.

³ Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, *Brevis Narratio Eorum quae in Florida Americae Provicina Gallis Acciderunt, Secunda in illam Navigatione, duce Renato de Laudoniere Classis Praefecto Anno MDLXIII; quae est Secunda pars Americae*, ed. Theodore de Bry (Frankfurt, Germany: Theodore de Bry, 1591), pl. 17, 23.

⁴ Fernando Alarcón, “Report of Alarcón's Expedition,” in *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition 1540–1542*, ed. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, 124–155 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 130, 148; Robert J. Morris, “Aikāne: Accounts of Hawaiian Same-Sex Relationships in the Journals of Captain Cook's Third Voyage (1776–80),” *Journal of Homosexuality* 19, no. 4 (1990): 21–54; and Stephen O. Murray, “The Traditional Kodiak and Aleutian Islanders' Non-Sacralized Trans-generational, Trans-gender role,” ed. Stephen O. Murray, *Oceanic Homosexualities* (New York: Garland, 1992), 341–352.

⁵ Peter Martyr, “De Orbe Novo Petri Martyris ab Angleria, Mediolanensis Protonotarii Caesaris Senatoris Decades,” *Opera*, facs. ed. (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck and Verlagsanstalt, [1516] 1966), 106.

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.”⁶

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 1800.⁷ 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.⁸ 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.⁹ 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, berdache, bird-ash, bredache, and so forth—and identified it merely as French-

⁶ Pedro Font, *Font's Complete Diary: A Chronicle of the Founding of San Francisco*, trans. Herbert E. Bolton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1931), 105.

⁷ Pierre Deliette, “The Memoir of Pierre Liette,” in *The Western Country in the 17th Century: The Memoirs of Lamothe Cadillac and Pierre Liette*, ed. Milo Milton Quaife, 87-174 (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1947), 124.

⁸ John F. McDermott, “A Glossary of Mississippi Valley French, 1673-1850,” *Washington University Studies, Language and Literature*, n.s., 12 (1941): 22-23.

⁹ See “Chinook Jargon Phrase Book,” accessed August 28, 2015, <http://www.fortlangley.ca/chinook%20jargon/people.html#engl>

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Canadian in origin, unaware of its longer history in European, Arabic, and Persian languages.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.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.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

¹⁰ See Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 7, 249; Randy P. Conner, *Blossom of Bone* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993), 186–187.

¹¹ Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, chap. 5; Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lang, eds., *Two-Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); and “Revisiting the ‘North American Berdache’ Empirically and Theoretically: A Wenner-Gren Conference,” November 17–21, 1993, Quality Inn, 1900 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, DC.

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., *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,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*: 1999, 23 no. 2 (1993): 91-107; Joseph Gilley, *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, *Two-Spirit People*. For a discussion of the interrelationships of white colonialism, modern queer identity, and two-spirit activism, see Scott L. Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

lifestyle existed as well.¹³ 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 *Ihamana*, in Navajo *nádleehí*.¹⁴ 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: *tw!inna'ek* in Klamath, *t'übás* 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.”¹⁵

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.¹⁶ Although Western cultures

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, *Memoires 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 Lang, 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

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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

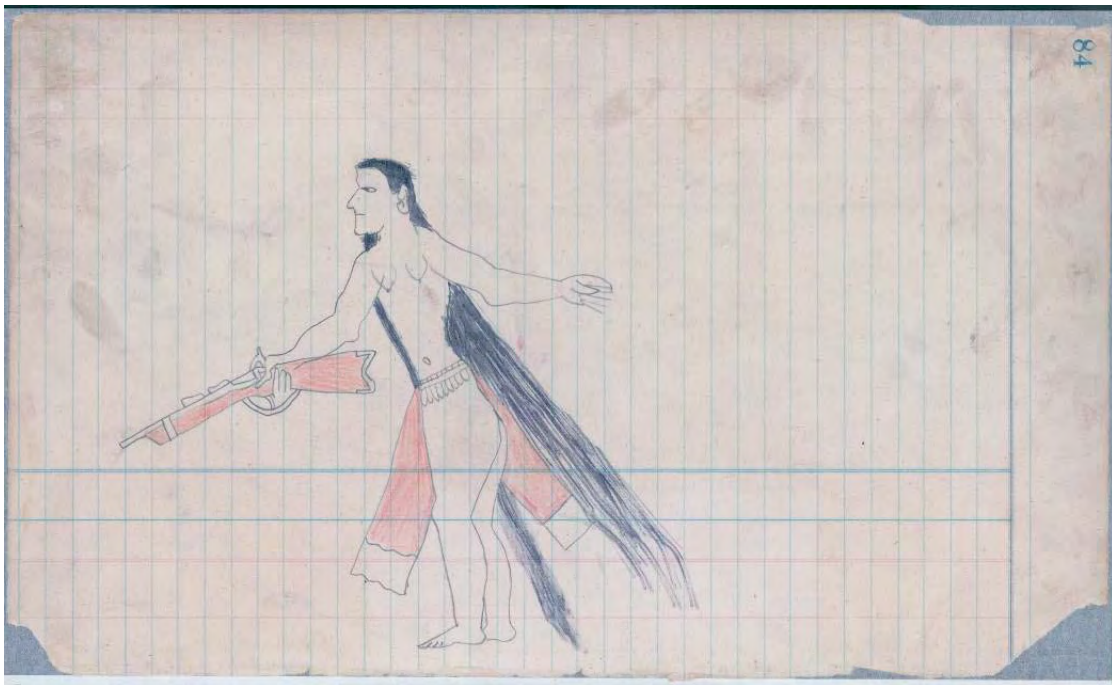


Figure 2: Cheyenne *hetaneman*, or female two spirit, in battle wearing a man's breechcloth. Ledger book drawing attributed to Yellow Nose, ca. 1889. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives (MS 166,032, 08709000).

Societies,” in *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*, ed. Sarah M. Nelson (Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2006), 435–450.

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.”¹⁷ 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’emaneo* 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 *hwame*:, 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

¹⁷ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), 264.

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 Hawai'i

In native Hawai'i, 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

¹⁸ See Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, chap. 4. Weetamoo 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.

¹⁹ Willard W. Hill. "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture," *American Anthropologist* 37 (1935): 276.

²⁰ Terms for a similar status in other Polynesian languages include *fa'afafine* 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

²¹ Andrew Matzner, *O Au No Keia: Voice from Hawai‘i’s Mahu and Transgender Communities* (n.p.: Xlibris, 2001); Carol E. Robertson, “The Māhū of Hawai‘i,” *Feminist Studies* 15, no. 2 (1989): Watts, op. cit.; Mario Vargas Llosa, “The Men-Women of the Pacific,” *Tate Etc.* 2 (Autumn 2010), accessed April 4, 2015, www.tate.org.uk/context-comment/articles/men-women-pacific.

²² Morris, “*Aikāne*,” 32; Robert J. Morris, “Same-Sex Friendships in Hawaiian Lore: Constructing the Canon,” in *Oceanic Homosexualities*, 71–102.

²³ Matzner, “*O Au No Keia*,” 222.

²⁴ Abraham Fornander, *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore*, Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1918–1919), 4: 384–405, 5: 498–517.

²⁵ Kealakekua Bay Historic District, Hawai‘i (listed on the NRHP on December 12, 1973).

²⁶ Morris, “*Aikāne*,” 33–34.

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.”²⁷ 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.²⁸

In 1975, Barbara Cameron (Lakota) and Randy Burns (Northern Paiute) founded Gay American Indians in San Francisco.²⁹ 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.³⁰ In 1988, a conference organized by American Indian Gay and Lesbians in Minneapolis inaugurated a tradition of annual gatherings.³¹ 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.

²⁷ Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, 101. Alcatraz, San Francisco Bay, California (became a National Recreation Area in 1972; listed on the NRHP on June 23, 1976; designated an NHL District on January 17, 1986).

²⁸ Maurice Kenny, “Tinselled Bucks: An Historical Study in Indian Homosexuality,” *Gay Sunshine*, nos. 26–27 (Winter 1975–76): 17–48; Paula Gunn Allen, “Lesbians in American Indian Cultures” *Conditions* 7 (1981): 65–87.

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).

³¹ “The Basket and the Bow: A Gathering of Lesbian and Gay Native Americans,” June 18–19, 1988, American Indian Center, 1530 East Franklin Avenue and Gay 90’s Bar, 408 Hennepin Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota. See Megan L. McDonald, “Two-Spirits Organizing: Indigenous Two-Spirit Identity in the Twin Cities Region,” in *Queer Twin Cities*, ed. Twin Cities GLBT Oral History Project (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 150–170; See also Qwo-Li Driskill, Daniel Heath Justice, Deborah Miranda, and Lisa Tatonetti, ed., *Sovereign Erotics: A Collection of Two-Spirit Literature* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011).

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.³² 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.”³³ 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



Figure 3: Hina Wong-Kalu, Hawai‘ian *kumu* (teacher), transgender woman, and *māhū*. Kumu Hina photograph by Kai Markell, 2013. Copyright Qwaves, LLC, <http://kumuhina.com>.

³² Bay Area American Indian Two Spirits Fourth Annual Two-Spirit Powwow, February 7, 2015, Cow Palace, 2600 Geneva Avenue, Daly City, California.

³³ Jorge Rivas, “Native Americans Talk Gender Identity at ‘Two-Spirit’ Powwow,” *Fusion*, February 9, 2015, accessed March 22, 2015, www.fusion.net/story/46014/native-americans-talk-gender-identity-at-a-two-spirit-powwow.

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).³⁴ 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 ā Kapuni), Kuhio Beach Park, Waikiki, Hawai‘i. Photograph by Wally Gobetz, 2010.³⁵

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 Kapaemāhū, 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: Hawaiian 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 (*Waikīkī: A History of Forgetting and Remembering* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), 79.

³⁹ Matzner, *‘O Au No Keia*, 279; Feeser, *Waikīkī*, 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 Hastíin 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.

⁴¹ Luan Fauteck Makes Marks, *A Typology of Native North American Sacred Lands and Places* (Little Canada, MN: Indian Land Tenure Foundation, 2008), 45, accessed August 28, 2015, <http://sacrednaturalsites.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/NaturesoftheSacredTypology.pdf>.

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.⁴³ 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.”⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵

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

⁴³ Claude E. Schaeffer, “The Kutenai Female Berdache: Courier, Guide, Prophetess, and Warrior,” *Ethnohistory* 12, no. 3 (1965): 193–236.

⁴⁴ David Thompson, *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto, Canada: The Champlain Society, 1916), 512–513.

⁴⁵ Schaeffer, “The Kutenai Female Berdache,” 196–197.

man.”⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸

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.⁴⁹

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.”⁵⁰ 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).

⁴⁸ Schaeffer, “The Kutenai Female Berdache,” 202.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 212.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 206.

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Eventually, they led the Americans to the confluence of the Columbia and Okanogan rivers, where the Astorians established Fort Okanogan.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.'"⁵² In the early twentieth century, Kutenai elders remembered her as a shaman as well, who on one occasion cured a chief.⁵³

In 1825, Qánqon appeared at Flathead Post in western Montana with a group of Kutenai.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

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).

⁵² John Franklin, *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.

⁵³ Schaeffer, "The Kutenai Female Berdache," 214.

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.



Figure 5: Kuilix, Pend D'Oreilles (Kalispel) warrior woman, in a painting by Father Nicolas Point ca. 1846. According to Point, after advancing into enemy lines she made such a swift about face that her opponents were left "stupefied." Courtesy of The Archive of the Jesuits in Canada/Archives des jésuites au Canada (Nicolas Point, fonds).

permitted to go from all the camps, without molestation, to carry any message given her to either camp."⁵⁵

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

⁵⁵ Schaeffer, "The Kutenai Female Berdache," 214-215.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 217.

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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).

⁵⁷ See Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, chap. 4.

⁵⁸ Watson Smith, Richard B. Woodbury, and Nathalie F. S. Woodbury, *The Excavation of Hawikuh by Frederick Webb Hodge: Report of the Hendricks-Hodge Expedition 1917–1923*, Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, vol. 20 (New York, 1966). Hawikuh, Cibola County, New Mexico (added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966; designated an NHL on October 9, 1960; part of the Zuni-Cibola Complex NHL designated on December 2, 1974).

⁵⁹ Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians: Their Mythology, Esoteric Fraternities, and Ceremonies," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1901–1902* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), 20, 37, 310–311. Stevenson uses both male and female pronouns in referring to We'wha. We'wha's life is the subject of Will Roscoe, *The Zuni-Man Woman* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991).



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

The *Ihamana* 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 *Ihamana*. 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.⁶¹ 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.⁶² 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

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).

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Museum of Natural History bear a crude signature with a version of that name.⁶³

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

⁶³ See Dwight P. Lanmon and Francis H. Harlow, *The Pottery of Zuni Pueblo* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2008).

⁶⁴ Fort Wingate Historic District, near Gallup, New Mexico (added to the NRHP on May 26, 1978).

⁶⁵ Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," 311–312.

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.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



Figure 7: Ohchiish (Finds-Them-and-Kills-Them) standing in front of his cabin, wearing clothes he had prepared for his burial. Photograph by C. H. Asbury, 1928. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, National Anthropological Archives (INV 00476300).

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).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:

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.

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

⁷⁰ Frank B. Linderman, *Red Mother* (New York: John Day Company, 1932), 227–231.

Sexual and Gender Diversity in Native America and the Pacific Islands

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 *badés*, 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.”⁷¹

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.”⁷²

Hastíin 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

⁷¹ Walter L. Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 179. Chief Plenty Coups (Alek-Chea-Ahoosh) Home, Pryor, Montana (added to the NRHP on October 6, 1970; designated an NHL on January 20, 1999).

⁷² Martin F. Schmitt, ed. *General George Crook: His Autobiography* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946), 197.

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*, Hastíín Klah (Figure 8).



Figure 8: Hastíín Klah, weaving a sandpainting tapestry. Photograph by Dane Coolidge, ca. 1925. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (BANC PIC 1905.17171:47).

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).

⁷⁴ The following account of Klah's life is based on Roscoe, *Changing Ones*, chap. 3 and Franc Johnson Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah: Navaho Medicine Man and Sand Painter* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964).

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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.

⁷⁶ Gladys A. Reichard, "Individualism and Mythological Style," *Journal of American Folklore* 57 (1944): 23.

⁷⁷ Burnham Park, Lakefront and Northerly Island, 5491 South Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

⁷⁸ James C. Faris, *The Nightway: A History and a History of Documentation of a Navajo Ceremonial* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 87.

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museum. He said he would think about it.”⁷⁹ 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.⁸⁰ 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.⁸¹

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

⁷⁹ Newcomb, *Hosteen Klah*, 157.

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 *nádhleeh*. 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.

10 TRANSGENDER HISTORY IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE PLACES THAT MATTER

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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.

¹ Cristan Williams, “Transgender,” *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 1-2 (2014): 232-234.

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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,

² Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2008), 1.

³ There is an extensive literature on cross-cultural gender variance; some helpful starting places are: Trystan Cotten, ed., *Transgender Migrations: The Bodies, Borders, and Politics of Transition* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Gilbert Herdt, ed., *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in History and Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Zone Books, 1996); Toni Lester, ed., *Gender Nonconformity, Race, and Sexuality: Charting the Connections* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002); DeWight R. Middleton, *Exotics and Erotics: Human Cultural and Sexual Diversity* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 2001); Serena Nanda, *Gender Diversity: Crosscultural Variations*, 2nd ed. (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 2014); Evan B. Towle and Lynn M. Morgan, “Romancing the Transgender Native: Rethinking the Use of the ‘Third Gender’ Concept,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 8, no. 4 (2002): 469-497; David Valentine, *Imagining Transgender: An Ethnography of a Category* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

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, Álvaro 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

⁵ See Roscoe (this volume).

⁶ Primary documents in English translation are included in Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1976), see 281-284 for Cabeza de Vaca, and 287 for Marquette.

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 río Carmelo (Carmel Mission); Mission San Antonio de Padua (Mission San Antonio); Mission Basilica San Diego de Alcalá (Mission San Diego); Mission Santa Barbara; Mission San José; Mission San Francisco de Asís (Mission Dolores); Mission Santa Clara de Asís (Mission Santa Clara); and Mission Santa Ynez (Mission Santa Inés). The Carmel Mission, 3080 Rio Road, Carmel-by-the-Sea, California, was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated



Figure 1: The chapel at the Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo (Carmel Mission), Carmel-by-the-Sea, California. Photo by Kristina D.C. Hoeppner, 2011.⁸

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.⁹ 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.

⁸ License: CC BY-SA 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/4nitsirk/6095826918>

⁹ 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.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.

¹⁰ H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *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, *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.”¹¹ In 1677, Dorothee 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 1696.¹² 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



Figure 2: Deborah Sampson Gannett House, East Street, Sharon, Massachusetts. Photo by Leon H. Abdalian, 1930, from the collections of the Boston Public Library.¹⁴

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

¹³ Herbert Wisbey, Jr., *Pioneer Prophetess: Jemima Wilkinson, the Publick Universal Friend* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009); Paul B. Moyer, *The Public Universal Friend: Jemima Wilkinson and Religious Enthusiasm in Revolutionary America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015). The Jemima Wilkinson House in Jerusalem, New York was added to the NRHP on August 24, 1994.

¹⁴ License: CC BY 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/boston_public_library/2589479441

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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).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 accidentally 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.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

¹⁵ Alfred Fabian Young, *Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Soldier* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004); Sheila Solomon Klass, *Soldier's Secret: The Story of Deborah Sampson* (New York: Henry Holt, 2009). The town of Sharon, Massachusetts is home to the Deborah Sampson Gannett House on East Street, a Deborah Sampson Park, and a commemorative Deborah Sampson statue in front of the public library. The Plympton city flag incorporates Sampson as the Official Heroine of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

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.

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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

¹⁷ In May 1863, Private Cashier was captured at the Siege of Vicksburg before escaping, see “Jennie Hodgers, aka Private Albert Cashier,” National Park Service website, <https://www.nps.gov/resources/story.htm?id=187>. Vicksburg National Military Park (an NPS unit), located in Vicksburg, Mississippi and Delta, Louisiana was established February 21, 1899; it was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966. Cashier’s post-Civil War residence and grave are designated historical sites in Saunemin, Illinois. On the broader history of female-bodied people serving in the Civil War, see Elizabeth D. Leonard, *All the Daring of the Soldier: Women of the Civil War Armies* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1999); and Larry G. Eggleston, *Women in the Civil War: Extraordinary Stories of Soldiers, Spies, Nurses, Doctors, Crusaders, and Others* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2003). On how Cashier’s gender and identity should be conceptualized, see Amy Benck, “Albert D. J. Cashier: Woman Warrior, Insane Civil War Veteran, or Transman?” *OutHistory.org*, <http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/tgi-bios/albert-cashier>.

¹⁸ Dan Lamothe, “The Pentagon’s Ban on Transgender Service Just Fell – But the Details are Complicated.” *Washington Post*, June 30, 2016. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/06/30/the-pentagons-ban-on-transgender-service-just-fell-but-the-details-are-complicated/>.

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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.¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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.²¹ 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.²²

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.

²¹ Bambi Lobdell, *A Strange Sort of Being: The Transgender Life of Lucy Ann/Joseph Israel Lobdell, 1829-1912* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011).

²² P. M. Wise, “A Case of Sexual Perversion,” *Alienist and Neurologist: A Quarterly Journal of Scientific, Clinical and Forensic Psychiatry and Neurology* 4, no. 1 (1883): 87-91.

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

²³ Hart's medical treatment is discussed in J. Allen Gilbert, "Homo-Sexuality and Its Treatment," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 2, no. 4 (October 1920): 297-332; Gilbert's office was located at 610 SW Alder Street, Seventh Floor, Portland, Oregon. On Hart's life, see Emile Devereaux, "Doctor Alan Hart: X-Ray Vision in the Archive," *Australian Feminist Studies* 25, no. 64 (2010): 175-187, Brian Booth, *The Life and Career of Alberta Lucille / Dr. Alan L. Hart with Collected Early Writings* (Portland, OR: Friends of the Aubrey Watzek Library, Lewis & Clark College, 2003); and Colin Patrick Close, "Manifesting Manhood: Dr. Alan Hart's Transformation and the Embodiment of Sex in Early Twentieth-Century Sexology," master's thesis, Sonoma State University, 2014, available online at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/272831386_Manifesting_Manhood_Dr_Alban_Hart's_Transformation_and_the_Embodiment_of_Sex_in_Early_Twentieth-Century_Sexology.

²⁴ On the relationship between race and sex classification in scientific sexology, see Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); on the long history of Johns Hopkins University in the biomedicalization of race and sex, see Rebecca Skloot, *The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks* (New York: Random House, 2010).

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.²⁵ 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 1966.²⁶

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."²⁷ 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

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.

²⁶ On Money's role in bridging intersex and transsexual medicine, see John Money and Anke A. Ehrhardt, *Man and Woman, Boy and Girl* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).

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.

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



Figure 3: John Colton, aka “Girl Miner,” from a daguerreotype taken at Long Wharf, San Francisco, California, 1850. From Lorenzo Dow Stephens, *Live Sketches of a Jayhawker of '49* (San Jose: Nolta Brothers, 1916).

West (Figure 3).²⁸ 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.²⁹

Gender variance played a different role in the movements of communities of color into the United States than it did for whites. Asian

²⁸ Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 36-37. See also Auer and Graves and Watson (this volume).

²⁹ Leslie Ferris, ed., *Crossing the Stage: Controversies on Cross-Dressing* (London: Routledge, 1993); Laurence Senelick, *The Changing Room: Sex, Drag, and Theater* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Laura Horak, *Girls Will Be Boys: Crossed-Dressed Women, Lesbians, and American Cinema, 1908-1920* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015).

immigrants to the West Coast faced social conditions that cast them all as gender variant vis-à-vis white gender norms.³⁰ 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.³¹ 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.³² The celebrated Western writer Ambrose Bierce drew on these sociological conditions in his first published short story, “The Haunted Valley,” which appeared in *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.³³

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.³⁴ 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 1855.³⁵ Blacks often had to assert their belonging in gender categories in

³⁰ See Sueyoshi (this volume).

³¹ Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

³² Sears, *Arresting Dress*, 34-35, 83-84, 113-114, and passim.

³³ See “Civilizing Violence: ‘The Haunted Valley,’” Ambrose Bierce Project, Pennsylvania State University website, <http://www.ambrosebierce.org/journal2lee-keller.html>.

³⁴ Hortense Spillers, “Mama’s Baby, Papa’s Maybe: An American Grammar Book,” *Diacritics* 17, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 64-81.

³⁵ See “Ann Maria Weems,” National Park Service website, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/ugrr/discover_history/vignette_details.htm?ID=4073143.

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).

³⁷ Magnus Hirschfeld, *The Transvestites: The Erotic Urge to Cross-Dress*, trans. Michael Lombardi-Nash (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1991), 83-94.

³⁸ See also Stein (this volume).

anyone to appear in public “in a dress not belonging to his or her sex.”³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹

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

³⁹ William N. Eskridge, *Gaylaw: Challenging the Apartheid of the Closet* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), see 326-355 for lists of anti-cross-dressing laws.

⁴⁰ Clare Sears, “Electric Brilliance: Cross-Dressing Laws and Freak Show Displays in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco,” *WSQ: Women’s Studies Quarterly* 36, no. 3-4 (Fall/Winter 2008): 170-187.

⁴¹ For treatments of two paradigmatic “tenderloins,” see Randy Shaw, *The Tenderloin: Sex, Crime and Resistance in the Heart of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Urban Reality Press, 2015); and Marilyn S. Johnson, *Street Justice: A History of Police Violence in New York City* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004). San Francisco’s Uptown Tenderloin Historic District was added to the NRHP on February 5, 2009. New Orleans’ French Quarter was listed on the NRHP as the Vieux Carre Historic District on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 21, 1965. Seattle’s Pioneer Square-Skid Road Historic District was added to the NRHP on June 22, 1970 with boundary increases on July 7, 1978 and June 16, 1988. Philadelphia’s Northern Liberties Historic District was added to the NRHP on October 31, 1985.

primarily to transgender clientele, such as the El Rosa and Hyland Hotels in San Francisco (Figure 4).⁴³ Lucy Hicks Anderson, an African American transgender woman from Oxnard, California, was a Prohibition-era



Figure 4: Sign for the El Rosa Hotel, San Francisco, California. Photo by Jeremy Brooks, 2009.⁴²

bootlegger who ran a boarding house and brothel on the city's waterfront.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵

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.

⁴⁴ Frank P. Barajas, “Work and Leisure in La Colonia: Class, Generation, and Interethnic Alliances among Mexicanos in Oxnard, California, 189-1945,” PhD diss., Claremont Graduate University, 2001.

⁴⁵ The Arlington Hotel was on First Avenue between University and Seneca Streets, Seattle, Washington (now demolished). See Don Paulson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah: A Gay Cabaret in Seattle* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). Finocchio's, established by Italian American impresario Joseph Finocchio, began as an illegal speakeasy in the basement of 406 Stockton Street in 1929, and moved upstairs in the same building in 1933 with the repeal of Prohibition. After a police raid temporarily closed the club in 1936, it soon reopened (protected by police graft) at its larger and longtime location at 506 Broadway, where it remained until its closing on November 27, 1999. See Susan Stryker, “Finocchio's: A Short Retrospective,” http://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=Finocchio%27s._a_Short_Retrospective. Perhaps coincidentally, “finochio,” Italian for “fennel,” is a derogatory slang term for homosexual. Club My-O-My

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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; see also “Club My-O-My: New Orleans Vintage Drag,” YouTube video, posted by New Orleans Historical, September 13, 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2U_lvJLROdw.

⁴⁶ George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), see 12 for quote, but passim for detailed discussion of gay cross-gender expression, underground venues for drag performance, “fairies,” and the pansy craze. Esther Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972) offers the classic anthropological account of the topic.

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.



Figure 5: Paresis (Columbia) Hall, New York City, New York (located just left of the former Village Voice building). Photo by Justin van Dyke, 2011.⁴⁹

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.”⁴⁸ 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

⁴⁸ Ralph Werther, *Autobiography of an Androgyne*, ed. Scott Herring (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008), originally published 1918.

⁴⁹ License: CC BY-NC 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/justinbvandyke/6132754617>

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publishing the journal *Transvestia* in 1952.⁵⁰ 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).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.⁵²

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.

⁵¹ On Prince, see Richard F. Docter, *From Man to Woman: The Transgender Journey of Virginia Prince* (Northridge, CA: Docter Press, 2004); Richard Ekins and David King, eds., *Virginia Prince: Pioneer of Transgendering*, special issue of *International Journal of Transgenderism* 8, no. 4 (2005); and Darell G. Raynor, *A Year Among the Girls* (London: Mayflower-Dell, 1968).

⁵² Docter, *From Man to Woman*, 19, 26.

Transgender History in the United States and the Places that Matter

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.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ Her longtime residence would become an informal way station for transsexual women seeking medical services for gender-transition in the 1950s and 1960s.⁵⁵ 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

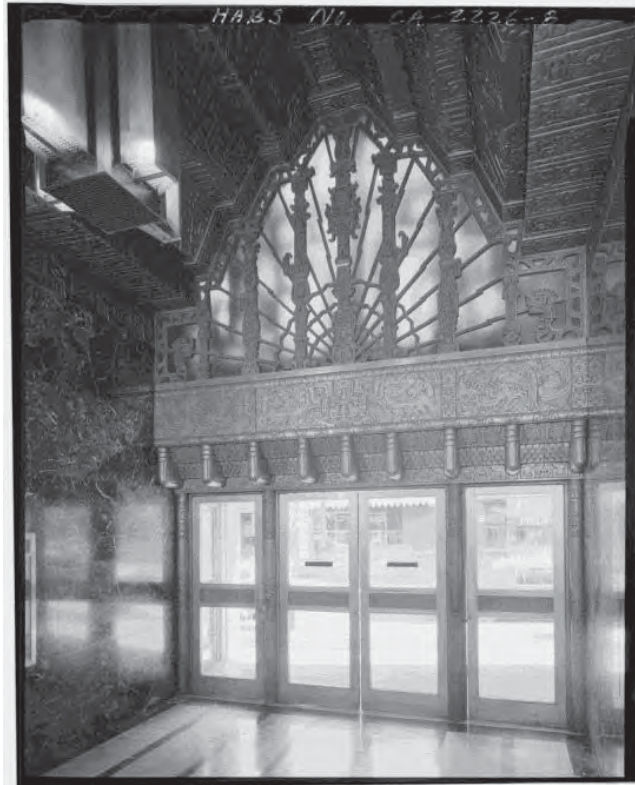


Figure 6: The interior lobby of the Medical-Dental Building, 450 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California. Photo taken by Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) staff, after 1933 (HABS CAL,38-SANFRA,158-8).

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).⁵⁶

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.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ 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.

⁵⁷ Jorgensen's father, a carpenter and building contractor, built the family home on Dudley Avenue in the Throgs Neck section of the Bronx, where Jorgensen was born and lived her first twenty-six years. See Christine Jorgensen, *A Personal Autobiography* (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 2000), 4, originally published 1967. In addition to Jorgensen's own autobiography, see Richard Docter, *Becoming A Woman: A Biography of Christine Jorgensen* (New York: Haworth Press, 2008); and Emily Skidmore, "Constructing the 'Good Transsexual': Christine Jorgensen, Whiteness, and Heteronormativity in the Mid-Twentieth-Century Press," *Feminist Studies* 37, no. 2 (Summer 2011): 270-300.

⁵⁸ On the history of genital surgeries, see Reis, *Bodies in Doubt*; on the history of endocrinology, see Sengoopta, *The Most Secret Quintessence of Life*; and Nelly Oudshoorn, *Beyond the Natural Body: An Archeology of the Sex Hormones* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

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.⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰

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 (néé 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 punningly 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-

⁶¹ Casa Susanna, described by the *New York Times* as a "slightly run-down bungalow camp in Hunter, N.Y.," was a retreat for cross-dressers that existed in the late 1950s and early 1960s, see Penelope Green, "A Safe House for the Girl Within," *New York Times*, September 7, 2006,

http://www.nytimes.com/2006/09/07/garden/07trann.html?_r=1. A collection of photographs from the resort have been published, Michael Hurst and Robert Swope, eds., *Casa Susanna* (New York: Powerhouse Books, 2006). A play by Harvey Fierstein based on the history of the resort, *Casa Valentina*, premiered on Broadway in 2014. For a firsthand account of a consequential visit to Casa Susanna by noted sex researchers Alfred Kinsey and Wardell Pomeroy, see Katherine Cummings, *Katherine's Diary: The Story of a Transsexual* (Sydney: William Heinemann Australia, 1992).

⁶² Snorton has delivered many public lectures, circa 2014-2016, under the title "Jorgensen's Shadows," related to his forthcoming book on black transgender history in the United States; for a synopsis of this larger project, see H. Roger Segelken, "Examining Black Transness Through Contemporary Media," *Cornell Chronicle*, June 8, 2015, <http://www.news.cornell.edu/stories/2015/06/examining-black-transness-through-contemporary-media>.

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.⁶⁵ 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 Ramón 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*.⁶⁶

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.⁶⁷ 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

⁶⁵ On transgender carnival, circus, sideshow, and strip club performers, see Minette (as told to Steve Watson), *Minette: Recollections of a Part-Time Lady* (Chicago: Novel Books, 1965); Hedy Jo Star, *I Changed My Sex!* (Chicago: Allied Books, 1955); Tamara Rees, *Reborn: A Factual Life Story of a Transition from Male to Female*. (Los Angeles: Irene Lipman, 1955); and the film *Forever’s Gonna Start Tonight*, about the entertainer Vicki Marlane, directed by Michelle Lawler (Los Angeles: Aggressively Enthusiastic Films, 2009.) Of the traveling revues, the best known was Doc Brenner and Danny Brown’s Jewel Box Revue, founded in Miami in 1939, and touring until 1969; see Zagria, “The Jewel Box Revue,” *A Gender Variance Who’s Who* (blog), August 15, 2010, <http://zagria.blogspot.it/2010/08/jewel-box-revue.html#.V2shFWN1Hwx>. The troupe was notable for being racially integrated, featuring African American transmasculine emcee Stormé DeLarverie, as well as Miss Major Griffin-Gracy, who became a leading transgender prisoner’s rights activist in the 1990s and subject of the documentary film *Major!* directed by Annalise Ophelia (San Francisco: Floating Ophelia Productions, 2015).

⁶⁶ Don Romesburg, “Longevity and Limits in Rae Bourbon’s Life in Motion,” in *The Transgender Studies Reader 2*, eds. Susan Stryker and Aren Z. Aizura (New York: Routledge, 2013), 479-491. An extensive and well-researched website constructed by Randy Riddle, containing many digital media versions of Bourbon’s written and performed works, can be found at <http://www.coolcatdaddy.com/bourbon.html>. See also Auer (this volume).

⁶⁷ Cooper Do-Nut, sometimes remembered as Cooper’s Donuts, was located at either 553 or 557 W. Main in Los Angeles, between two of the city’s oldest gay bars, the Waldorf and Harold’s; see Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 1.



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).

discrimination against "youth in unconventional attire."⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹ 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 1969.⁷⁰

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

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.

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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).⁷¹ 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.⁷² 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.⁷³

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.



Figure 8: Glide Memorial Church, San Francisco, California. Photo by Andrew Turner, 2008.⁷⁴

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 Transsexual Activist Organization.⁷⁵ 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).⁷⁶ Another New York group, the Queens Liberation Front, published *Drag* magazine, which reported on political happenings all across the country.⁷⁷ 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 DYKETACTIONS. 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

⁷⁴ License: CC BY 2.0. <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.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



Figure 9: Sylvia Rivera Way, New York City, New York. Photo by Gotty, 2007.⁷⁹

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 *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 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”

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.

⁷⁹ License: Public Domain. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:SylviaRiveraWay.jpg>

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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

⁸⁰ Brice Smith, "Yours in Liberation": Lou Sullivan and the Construction of FTM Identity," PhD diss., History Department, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2010.

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.

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York and Queer Nation in San Francisco, and with other militant protest groups like the Lesbian Avengers.⁸³ 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*.⁸⁴ 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



Figure 10: The Women’s Building, San Francisco, California. Photo by Jeremy Weate, 2011.⁸²

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

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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.

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(Female-to-Male) Conference in 1995 (Figure 10).⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶

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.⁸⁷ 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.⁸⁸ 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

⁸⁵ FTM Conference of the Americas, San Francisco, California, August 18-20, 1995.

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 since 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.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 2015.⁹⁰

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 (né 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

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, <http://www.transgenderlegal.com/ictlephis1.htm>.

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 is an outgrowth of Gulf Coast Transgender Community (GCTC), which traces its roots to 1965.

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US history, and in Manning's eventual conviction and incarceration at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas (Figure 11).⁹¹ 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 2009.⁹²



Figure 11: How Chelsea Manning Sees Herself. Image by Alicia Neal, in cooperation with Chelsea Manning, commissioned by the Chelsea Manning Support Network, 2014.⁹³

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

⁹¹ Manning is incarcerated at the United States Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Transgender populations in the United State 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).

⁹² 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.

⁹³ License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:C_Manning_Finish-1.jpg

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

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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 Ordinance in 2015, and the passage of HB2 in North Carolina in 2016. 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.

BREATHING FIRE: REMEMBERING ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN ACTIVISM IN QUEER HISTORY

Amy Sueyoshi

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

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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



Figure 1: Lt. Dan Choi, 2014. Photo courtesy of Dan Choi.

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

¹ "Remembering Christopher Lee as Respect After Death Act Takes Effect," Transgender Law Center website, July 7, 2015, accessed July 30, 2015, <http://transgenderlawcenter.org/archives/11746>. The 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>. 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 in a Fragmented State," *Perspectives on Politics* 13, no. 2 (May 31, 2015): 287-311.

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

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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,

himself to the White House fence on April 20, 2010. The White House is located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. It was designated an NHL on December 19, 1960. Maria Streshinsky, "Dan Choi," *Atlantic Monthly* 306, no. 4 (November 2010): 88; Gabriel Arana, "The Passion of Dan Choi," *The American Prospect: Longform*, February 9, 2014, accessed July 23, 2015, <http://prospect.org/article/passion-dan-choi>.

⁶ "Stuart Gaffney," *Huffington Post*, accessed July 29, 2015, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/stuart-gaffney>.

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.

⁸ Frank Chin and Jeffery Paul Chan, "Racist Love," in *Seeing Through Shuck*, ed., Richard Kostelanetz (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972), 65-79; Amy Sueyoshi, "Queer Asian American Historiography," in *The Oxford Handbook of Asian American History*, eds. David K. Yoo and Eiichiro Azuma (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 267-278.

⁹ David Eng speaks to the dearth of scholarship on queers of color generally in queer studies, which includes APAs. David Eng, Judith Halberstam, and José Esteban Muñoz, "Introduction: What's Queer about Queer Studies Now," *Social Text* 23, nos. 3-4 (2005): 2.

¹⁰ Susan Lee Johnson, "'My Own Private Life': Toward a History of Desire in Gold Rush California," *California History* 79, no. 2 (July 1, 2000): 316-346.

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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

¹¹ Mary Roberts Coolidge, *Chinese Immigration* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1909); Yong Chen, *Chinese San Francisco, 1850-1943: A Trans-Pacific Community* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000); Yuji Ichioka, *Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: Free Press, 1988); Yuji Ichioka, “Ameyuki-san: Japanese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Amerasia Journal* 4, no. 1 (1977): 1-22; Lucie Cheng Hirata, “Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth Century America,” *Signs* 5, no. 1 (1979): 3-29; George Anthony Peffer, *If They Don't Bring Their Women Here: Chinese Female Immigration Before Exclusion* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

¹² Robert G. Lee, *Orientalism: Asian Americans in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1999); Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

provide.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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 understand it... was constituted in no small part through the collision with Polynesian culture.”¹⁵

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.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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

¹³ Amy Sueyoshi, *Queer Compulsions: Race, Nation, and Sexuality in the Affairs of Yone Noguchi* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2012), 16. See also Gregory Tomso, “The Queer History of Leprosy and Same-Sex Love,” *American Literary History* 14, no. 2 (2002): 747-775. For more on Stoddard, see Roger Austen, *Genteel Pagan: The Double Life of Charles Warren Stoddard*, ed. John W. Crowley (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991).

¹⁴ Austen, *Genteel Pagan*, 92.

¹⁵ Lee Wallace, *Sexual Encounters: Pacific Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).

¹⁶ See “*Emporia Daily Gazette*, 25 July 1893, 1,” in Peter Boag, *Re-dressing the America’s Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 149.

¹⁷ See “*Oakland Tribune*, 22 July 1908, 3” in Boag, *Re-dressing the America’s Frontier Past*, 148.

¹⁸ Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 75-76.

youth.¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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.²² In fact, male gold seekers during the



Figure 2: Yone Noguchi, 1903. Photo by Charles W. Hearn. Miscellaneous photographs collection, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.²¹

¹⁹ Nayan Shah, “Between ‘Oriental Depravity’ and ‘Natural Degenerates’: Spatial Borderlands and the Making of Ordinary Americans,” *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (September 2005): 703-725.

²⁰ Jack Mason and Donald Guimary, “Asian Labor Contractors in Alaska Canned Salmon Industry, 1880-1937,” *Labor History* 22, no. 3 (1981): 391; Lauren Casady, “Labor Unrest and the Labor Movement in the Salmon Industry of the Pacific Coast,” PhD diss., University of California Berkeley, 1938, 79, 201, 240. Chris Friday summarized the content of the above two citations and added his own analysis of “homosexuality” in the canneries in his book *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1994), 45-55, 114.

²¹ License: Public Domain. <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/items/detail/yone-noguchi-2851>

²² Madeline Y. Hsu, “Unwrapping Orientalist Constraints: Restoring Homosocial Normativity to Chinese American History,” *Amerasia Journal* 29, no. 2 (2003): 230-253.

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

²³ Susan Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2000).

²⁴ The *Shin Sekai*, founded in 1894, functioned as the house organ for the San Francisco Japanese YMCA until 1897. The San Francisco YMCA was located at 121 Haight Street. See Brian Niiya, “Shin Sekai (newspaper),” *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed October 4, 2015, http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Shin_Sekai_%28newspaper%29; *Langley’s San Francisco Directory, 1895* (San Francisco, CA: J. B. Painter Co., 1895). In 1906, at the height of the newspaper’s circulation, *Shin Sekai*’s San Francisco office was located at 948 Geary Street. Japanese American History Archive, Japanese American Cultural and Community Center of Northern California, San Francisco, California.

²⁵ Sueyoshi, *Queer Compulsions*, 83.

²⁶ Sueyoshi, *Queer Compulsions*, 83. “Issei,” which means first generation in Japanese, refers to the first wave of immigrants from Japan who arrived in the United States before the 1924 passage of the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act. See “Issei,” *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed May 7, 2016, <http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Issei>.

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.

²⁸ Stoddard lived at 300 M Street at the corner of Third and M Streets in a two-story red brick house with six rooms and one bath. Ethel Armes, “Aloha, Wela, Wela!” *National Magazine* 21, no. 3 (December 1904): 308; Austen, *Genteel Pagan*, 134.

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."²⁹ 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.³⁰

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.³¹ 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.³²

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.

³⁰ Yone Noguchi's more famous son Isamu Noguchi was born in Pasadena, California on November 17, 1904. Ethel Armes would become famous as Alabama's first historian. Amy Sueyoshi, *Queer Compulsions: Race, Nation, and Sexuality in the Affairs of Yone Noguchi* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012). For more on Isamu Noguchi, see Masayo Duus, *The Life of Isamu Noguchi: Journey Without Borders* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

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



Figure 3: Portrait of Margaret Chung. Courtesy of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society (Lisa Gidlow Collection 91-16).

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).³³ 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.³⁴ 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.³⁵ 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

³³ Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, *Doctor Mom Chung of the Fair-Haired Bastards: The Life of a Wartime Celebrity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005). The 1929 San Francisco city directory lists Chung as living at 340 Stockton Place (now demolished). See *Crocker-Langley San Francisco City Directory, 1929* (San Francisco, CA: R. L. Polk and Co., 1928).

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.

³⁸ Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (Hinsdale, IL: Dryden Press, 1971); Greg Robinson, *A Tragedy of Democracy: Japanese Confinement in North America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009); Greg Robinson, *By Order of the President: FDR and the Internment of Japanese Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

throughout the 1920s and 1930s.³⁹ While incarcerated at Topaz, evidence suggests that Onuma had a lover named Ronald.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....”⁴¹ For queer Asians who sought to keep their desires private particularly before

³⁹ Tina Takemoto, “Looking for Jiro Onuma: A Queer Meditation on the Incarceration of Japanese Americans during WWII,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 20, no. 3 (November 2013): 241-275.

⁴⁰ John Howard, *Concentration Camps on the Homefront: Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Takemoto, “Looking for Jiro Onuma.”

⁴¹ Andrew Leong, “The Pocket and the Watch: A Collective Individualist Reading of Japanese American Literature,” *Verge: Studies in Global Asias* 1, no. 2 (2015): 76-114.

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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.⁴² 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.⁴³ 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

⁴² Cathy Cohen, *Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1999).

⁴³ In 1955, Rose Bamberger or "Rosalie Bamberger" appears in the city directory as living in San Francisco's Silver Terrace neighborhood. See 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), 4, 5.

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.

⁴⁷ Interview with Crystal Jang, conducted by author, January 31, 2012, San Francisco, California. For more on the Asian American movement see Daryl J. Maeda, *Rethinking the Asian American Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

⁴⁸ Eric C. Wat, *The Making of a Gay Asian Community: An Oral History of Pre-AIDS Los Angeles* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), 102.

program. He and other student activists negotiated with the administration to ensure that courses in Filipino history and Tagalog be included in the curricula.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 *manong* or elderly Filipino men.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.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.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.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

⁴⁹ Gil Mangaoang, "From the 1970s to the 1990s: Perspective of a Gay Filipino American Activist," in *Asian American Sexualities: Dimensions of the Gay and Lesbian Experience*, ed. Russell Leong (New York: Routledge, 1996), 102-103.

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.

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, *San Francisco's International Hotel: Mobilizing the Filipino American Community in the Anti-Eviction Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007).

⁵² Daniel Tseng, "Slicing Silence: Asian Progressives Come Out," in *Asian Americans: The Movement and the Moment*, eds. Steve Louie and Glenn K. Omatsu (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 2001); Kitty Tsui, *The Words of a Woman who Breathes Fire* (Argyle, NY: Spinsters Ink, 1983); Helen Zia, *Asian American Dreams: The Emergence of an American People* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2000).

⁵³ Tseng, "Slicing Silence," 228.

believed homosexuality would be eliminated with the eventual demise of capitalism.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.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.⁵⁶ The Briggs Initiative would have legalized the firing of all LGBTQ teachers and those who supported them.⁵⁷ When she appeared in the local newspapers as a result, she became one of 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.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 *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Wat, *The Making of a Gay Asian Community*, 93.

⁵⁵ Interview with Crystal Jang, conducted by author, January 31, 2012, San Francisco, California. 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,” *Ocala Star Banner*, May 13, 1965, 8.

⁵⁶ Benjamin Franklin Middle School is located at 1430 Scott Street, San Francisco, California.

⁵⁷ Karen Graves, “Political Pawns in an Educational Endgame: Reflections on Bryant, Briggs, and Some Twentieth Century School Questions,” *History of Education Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (February 2013): 1-20.

⁵⁸ Interview with Crystal Jang, conducted by author, January 31, 2012, San Francisco, California; Crystal Jang, e-mail message to author, October 17, 2015.

⁵⁹ Alfred C. Kinsey and the Institute for Sex Research, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Philadelphia, PA: Saunders, 1953). The North Beach branch of the San Francisco public library

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

recently re-opened at 850 Columbus Avenue, San Francisco, California. This new construction replaces the previous building, constructed in 1959 on an adjacent lot.

⁶⁰ Gil Mangaoang, "From the 1970s to the 1990s," 103-109; Trinity Ann Ordone, "Coming Out Together: An Ethnohistory of the Asian and Pacific Islander Queer Women's and Transgendered People's Movement of San Francisco," PhD diss., University of California, Santa Cruz, 2000. The KDP National Headquarters was located at 4704 Shattuck Avenue in Oakland in the 1970s and moved to 526 Thirty-Second Street in Oakland in the late 1970s. In the 1980s, the office moved to 3600 Lincoln Way in Oakland. Trinity Ordone, e-mail message to author, December 16, 2015.

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

people against police harassment. The building is a contributing resource to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, added to the NRHP on February 5, 2009.

⁶² Interview with Kiyoshi Kuromiya, conducted by Marc Stein, see Marc Stein, “Kiyoshi Kuromiya, June 17, 1997,” *Outhistory.org*, 2009, accessed July 14, 2014, <http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/philadelphia-lgbt-interviews/interviews/kiyoshi-kuromiya>. Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004).

⁶³ Trinity Ordonez, “Asian Lesbians in San Francisco: Struggles to Create a Safe Space, 1970s–1980s,” in *Asian/Pacific Islander Women: A Historical Anthology*, eds. Shirley Hune and Gail Nomura (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 327. Merle Woo is of both Chinese and Korean ancestry.

⁶⁴ Members of Asian American Feminists would share food and talk about racism and sexism in a group of nearly all queer Asian women. The first session of Asian American Feminists took place in Sam’s Castro neighborhood San Francisco apartment, see Ordonez, “Coming Out Together,” 128-132; Canyon Sam, e-mail message to author, November 24, 2015.

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real existence of lesbians within the Asian American community and drew a significant Asian lesbian following.⁶⁵

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 112.⁶⁶

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



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.

⁶⁵ Ordone, "Coming Out Together," 134-135.

⁶⁶ Ordone, "Coming Out Together," 142; Stephen Stewart, *Positive Image: A Portrait of Gay America* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1985), 181.

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.

⁶⁸ Ordone, “Coming Out Together,” 136-137. Unbound Feet Three comprised of Kitty Tsui, Nellie Wong, and Merle Woo performed on Friday, October 16 at La Peña Cultural Center. Margaret Krouskoff, “Unbound Feet Three,” *Off Our Backs* 11, no. 11 (December 31, 1985): 25. La Peña Cultural Center is located at 3105 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

⁶⁹ Tseng, “Slicing Silence,” 231. Howard University is located at 2400 Sixth Street NW, Washington, DC.

⁷⁰ Michiyo Cornell, “Living in Asian America,” in Leong, *Asian American Sexualities*, 83. See also Gwendolyn Shervington, ed., *A Fire is Burning, It is in Me: The Life and Writings of Michiyo Fukaya* (Norwich, VT: New Victoria Publishers, 1996).

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

⁷² Christy Chung, Aly Kim, Zoon Nguyen, and Trinity Ordone with Arlene Stein, “In Our Own Way,” in Leong, *Asian American Sexualities*, 91; Alice Hom, “Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders,” in *Encyclopedia of Lesbian and Gay Histories and Cultures*, eds., George Haggerty and Bonnie Zimmerman (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2000), 72-75. Likely bisexual and transgender people also participated, though firsthand accounts only mention gays and lesbians.

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 Ordone, “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.

⁷⁶ Helen Zia, *Asian American Dreams*; Interview with Helen Zia, conducted by the author, November 16, 2013, San Francisco, California. In New Jersey, Helen Zia lived in an apartment in downtown Jersey City. Helen Zia, e-mail message to author, December 7, 2015. Zia currently resides in Oakland, California.

⁷⁷ Interview with Kitty Tsui, conducted by author, December 21, 2014, Long Beach, California; Ordone, “Coming Out Together,” 134-135.

decades.⁷⁸ Tsui's work offered, in the words of Aguilar-San Juan, "an image of a 'proud, defiant, no bullshit woman, the dyke we all wanted to be.'"⁷⁹ 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 1972.⁸⁰ 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.⁸¹ 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.⁸²

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*

⁷⁸ Kitty Tsui, *The Words of a Woman who Breathes Fire* (San Francisco, CA: Spinsters Ink, 1983). In 1981, Sherry Thomas, editor of Spinsters Ink, worked out of her San Francisco apartment. The press moved to a warehouse location in 1985 until it moved to Duluth, Minnesota in 1993. From 1985 to 1986 Spinsters Ink was located at 803 DeHaro Street. From 1986 to 1992 the publishing company was located at 223 Mississippi. Spinsters Ink, Fall Catalogue 1993, GLC 105, Box 13, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, California; *San Francisco Telephone Directory, 1981-1992*.

⁷⁹ Aguilar-San Juan, "Landmarks in Literature by Asian American Lesbians," 936.

⁸⁰ Willyce Kim, *Eating Artichokes* (Oakland, CA: Women's Press Collective, 1972). The Women's Press Collective was located at 5251 Broadway, Oakland, California. Kim additionally published *Dancer Dawkins and the California Kid* (Boston: Alyson Publications, 1985); Tseng, "Slicing Silence," 236; Interview with Kitty Tsui, conducted by author, December 22, 2014, Long Beach, California. Kim self-published an earlier book of poetry in 1971 titled *Curtains of Light*. See "Kim, Willyce," Encyclopedia.com website, accessed June 1, 2016, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/article-1G2-3403600274/kim-willyce.html>.

⁸¹ Tsui, *Woman Who Breathes Fire*; Tsui, *Breathless*; Merle Woo, *Yellow Woman Speaks: Selected Poems* (Seattle: Radical Women Publications, 1986); Chea Villanueva, *Jessie's Song and Other Stories* (New York: Masquerade Books, 1995); Chea Villanueva, *Bulletproof Butches* (New York: Hard Candy Books, 1997). Queer Asian women writers also contributed individual essays, poetry, and prose to anthologies dedicated to women of color in hopes of changing the heteronormative discourse around race, inequality, and gender. See Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds., *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981); Asian Women United of California, eds., *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings by and about Asian American Women* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989).

⁸² Barbara Smith, "A Press of Our Own Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 10, no. 3 (1989): 11-13.



Figure 5: Kitty Tsui on the cover of *On Our Backs* 5 no. 1 (Summer 1988). Photo by Jill Posener, courtesy of Kitty Tsui.

Backs in 1988 and 1990, as well as in New York City's *Village Voice* (Figure 5).⁸³ 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 1996.⁸⁴ The fact that Tsui wrote of explicitly desiring Asian lesbians became content worth noting to a white lesbian community.⁸⁵

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 1983.⁸⁶ 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).⁸⁷ The group would later become over run with "rice

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).

⁸⁴ Interview with Kitty Tsui, conducted by author, December 22, 2014, Long Beach, California. Kitty Tsui, *Breathless* (Ithaca, NY: Firebrand Books, 1996). Firebrand Books was located in offices at 141 The Commons, Ithaca, New York.

⁸⁵ Writer Judith Stelbourn, who reviewed Tsui's book for *The Lesbian Review of Books*, commented with surprise, "the narrator is especially attracted to Asian lesbians." See Judith Stelbourn, "Catching Your Breath," *The Lesbian Review of Books* 3, no. 1 (October 31, 1996): 24.

⁸⁶ Ordonez, "Coming Out Together," 219; Emi Minemura, "Asian Pacific Islander Lesbian and Bisexual Women in North America: Activism and Politics," master's thesis, Michigan State University, 1996, 10.

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



Figure 6: Asian/Pacific Lesbians marching in the 1989 San Francisco LGBT Pride parade. Photo by Cathy Cade, courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley.

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

Making of a Gay Asian Community, 110, 115. Morris Kight lived in the Westlake neighborhood of Los Angeles, California. See “Morris Kight Residence,” Los Angeles Conservancy website, accessed December 6, 2015, <https://www.laconservancy.org/locations/morris-kight-residence>.

⁸⁸ Wat, *The Making of a Gay Asian Community*.

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.

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-

⁹¹ Trikone's current address is 60 Twenty-Ninth Street, #614, San Francisco, California, see "Contact Us," Trikone website, accessed December 29, 2015, <http://www.trikone.org/index.php/about-us/contact-us>. The other four organizations that formed in the 1980s are Khush Kayal in Canada, Shakti Khabar in the United Kingdom, Freedom in India, and Bombay Dost in India as well. Nayan Shah, "Sexuality, Identity, and the Uses of History," in *Q&A: Queer in Asian America*, eds. David L. Eng and Alice Y. Hom (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1998), 141.

⁹² Liu was a member of both organizations from 1984 to 1997. Alice Y. Hom, "Unifying Differences: Lesbian of Color Community Building in Los Angeles and New York, 1970s-1980s," PhD diss., Claremont Graduate University, 2011, 114-115. CAAAV is located at 55 Hester Street, New York City, New York.

⁹³ The Women's Building is located at 3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California. The Women's Building was the first women-owned community center established in 1979 in the Mission District of San Francisco that advocates self-determination, gender equality, and social justice. See "History & Mission," The Women's Building website, accessed October 31, 2015, <http://womensbuilding.org/about/mission-history>; Sushawn Robb, *Mothering the Movement: The Story of the San Francisco Women's Building* (Denver: Outskirts Press, 2011).

⁹⁴ Ozawa cofounded LYRIC with Beth Kivel, see "History," LYRIC website, accessed August 1, 2015, <http://lyric.org/history>.

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

⁹⁵ Interview with Lia Shigemura, conducted by author, July 31, 2015, Oakland, California. "Timeline – Achievements and Milestones," Asian Women's Shelter website, accessed June 4, 2016, <http://www.sfaws.org/about-us/history/timeline-%E2%80%93-achievements-and-milestones.aspx>.

⁹⁶ Website of Urvashi Vaid, accessed August 1, 2015, http://urvashivaid.net/wp/?page_id=578; "NGLTF's Paras to Leave; Lobel Appointed ED," National Gay and Lesbian Task Force press release, September 30, 1996, <http://www.grd.org/grd/orgs/NGLTF/1996/paras.to.leave-09.30.96>.

⁹⁷ Deborah Gould, *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight Against AIDS* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

⁹⁸ Nancy E. Stoller, *Lessons from the Damned: Queers, Whores, and Junkies Respond to AIDS* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 63-79.

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:

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Asian Pacific Alliance (GAPA) implemented an informal support group for HIV-positive gay Asians later called GCHP.¹⁰¹ 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.¹⁰² 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.¹⁰³

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



Figure 7: George Choy. Photo courtesy of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society (George Choy Papers 94-35).

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.¹⁰⁴ 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.¹⁰⁵ 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).¹⁰⁶ 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.¹⁰⁷

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).¹⁰⁸ Transwoman Nikki Calma, better

¹⁰⁴ The current address for Critical Path is 1233 Locust Street, Fifth Floor, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. At its founding Critical Path was located in Kuromiya's home in Philadelphia's Fitler Square neighborhood. See Interview with Kiyoshi Kuromiya, conducted by Marc Stein, <http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/philadelphia-lgbt-interviews/interviews/kiyoshi-kuromiya>; "History," Critical Path Project website, accessed October 5, 2015, <http://www.critpath.org/about-us/history>; Alyssa Richman, e-mail message to author, October 7, 2015.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Vince Crisostomo, conducted by Toby Wu, November 13, 2013, San Francisco, California.

¹⁰⁶ George Choy Papers, GLBT Historical Society, San Francisco, California. For more on the discrimination suit in Tokyo see Wim Lunsing, "LGBT Rights in Japan," *Peace Review* 17, no. 2 (2005): 143-148.

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.

¹⁰⁸ Tamara Ching, "Piece of Mind: Stranger in Paradise," *A Magazine* 3, no. 1 (March 31, 1994): 85.

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known as “Tita Aida,”¹⁰⁹ 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 2008.¹¹⁰ 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.¹¹¹



Figure 8: “God Mother of Polk” Tamara Ching, by Tanya Wischerath in San Francisco’s Clarion Alley. Photo by Aaron Muszalski, 2013.¹¹²

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

¹⁰⁹ “Tita Aida,” translated as Auntie AIDS in Tagalog, is a fantastical transmogrification of AIDS from a deadly disease into a familiar feminine figure. For more on the sociopolitical use of “Tita Aida,” see Martin Manalansan, *Global Divas: Filipino Gay Men in the Diaspora* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

¹¹⁰ Anonymous, “PSA Targeting API Transgender Communities for World AIDS Day,” *AsianWeek*, December 5, 2008, 17; Celeste Chan, “Tita Aida – A Community Icon,” *Hyphen Magazine*, July 26, 2014, accessed June 5, 2016, <http://hyphenmagazine.com/blog/2014/7/26/tita-aida-community-icon>.

¹¹¹ Steve Lew, e-mail message to author, June 5, 2016; Willy Wilkinson, *Born on the Edge of Race and Gender: A Voice of Cultural Competency* (Oakland, CA: Hapa Papa Press, 2015).

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.¹¹³ 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.¹¹⁴ 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 or 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

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).

¹¹⁴ The first community meeting that would later formally become American Citizens for Justice (ACJ) took place on March 20, 1983 at Golden Star Restaurant at 22828 Woodward Avenue in Ferndale, Michigan. The founding ACJ meeting took place on March 31, 1983 at the Detroit Chinese Welfare Council building at 3153 Cass Avenue in Detroit, Michigan. See Zia, *Asian American Dreams*, 64-66.

of one of the actors.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.”¹¹⁶

Queer API publications too flourished through the 1990s. Asian Pacific Islander lesbians and bisexual women produced *The Very Inside*, an anthology of over one hundred pieces edited by Sharon Lim-Hing in 1994.¹¹⁷ 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.”¹¹⁸ At the time, except for *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.¹¹⁹ Lim-Hing sought to create something as large as Gloria Anzaldúa’s and Cherrie Moraga’s *This Bridge Called My Back* to speak to Asian Pacific bisexual and lesbian women’s strength, beauty, creativity, and rage so that these

¹¹⁵ Yoko Yoshikawa, “The Heat is on Miss Saigon Coalition: Organizing Across Race and Sexuality,” in *Q&A: Queer in Asian America*, 41-56; Alex Witchel, “Actor’s Equity Attacks Casting of ‘Miss Saigon,’” *New York Times*, July 26, 1990, accessed June 5, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/1990/07/26/theater/actors-equity-attacks-casting-of-miss-saigon.html>.

¹¹⁶ Yoshikawa, “The Heat is on Miss Saigon Coalition,” 55.

¹¹⁷ Sharon Lim-Hing, *The Very Inside: An Anthology of Writing by Asian and Pacific Islander Lesbian and Bisexual Women* (Toronto, Ontario: Sister Vision Press, 1994).

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.

¹¹⁹ C. Chung, A. Kim, and A. K. Lemeshefsky, *Between the Lines: An Anthology by Pacific/Asian Lesbians of Santa Cruz, California* (Santa Cruz, CA: Dancing Bird Press, 1987).

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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.”¹²⁰

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.¹²¹ 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.”¹²² 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

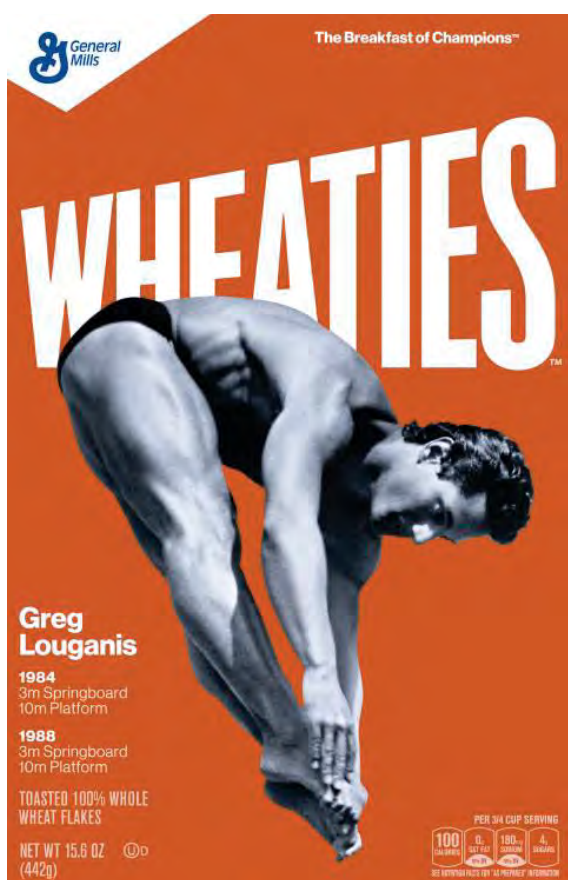


Figure 9: Greg Louganis was the first openly gay athlete to appear on a Wheaties box, part of the Wheaties Legends series, announced April 5, 2016. Image courtesy of General Mills¹²³

¹²⁰ Lim-Hing, *The Very Inside*, Introduction.

¹²¹ The Asian American Writer’s Workshop was located at 16 West 32nd Street, Suite 10A, New York City, New York. See Quang Bao and Hanya Yanagihara, *Take Out: Queer Writing from Asian Pacific America* (New York: Asian American Writer’s Workshop, 2000).

¹²² Bao and Yanagihara, *Take Out*.

¹²³ LicenseL CC BY-NC-ND 2.0 <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,

¹²⁴ Greg Louganis, *Breaking the Surface* (New York: Random House, 1994); Larry Reibstein and Gregory Beals, “Public Glory, Secret Agony,” *Newsweek* 125, no. 10 (March 6, 1995): 48. See also Richard Sandmir, “Movement Builds to Honor Greg Louganis on a Wheaties Box,” *New York Times*, August 22, 2015, accessed June 1, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/23/sports/olympics/movement-builds-to-honor-greg-louganis-on-a-wheaties-box.html?_r=0. See also Schweighofer (this volume).

¹²⁵ Ka`ahumanu was born Lani Farrell and took the last name Ka`ahumanu in 1979 at the suggestion of her mother. Trinity Ordonia 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.” Ordonia, “Coming Out Together,” 292. See also Hutchins (this volume).

¹²⁶ “BiNet USA,” GLBTQ Encyclopedia Project website, accessed June 4, 2016, http://www.glbtcarchive.com/ssh/binet_usa_S.pdf.

GayBombay, and Khushnet.com multiplied as the web become more accessible.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 2000.¹²⁸

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.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.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

¹²⁷ Mala Nagarajan, "Queer South Asian Organizing in the United States," *Trikone Magazine* 28, no. 1 (Summer 2014): 4-7.

¹²⁸ Gina Masequesmay, "Becoming Queer and Vietnamese American: Negotiating Multiple Identities in an Ethnic Support Group of Lesbians, Bisexual Women, and Female-to-Male Transgenders," PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2001.

¹²⁹ Harold Kameya, "Asian American LGBT Pioneers Recognized," San Fernando Valley JACL website, July 27, 2012, accessed July 14, 2014, <http://sfvjacl.weebly.com/1/post/2012/07/apa-lgbt-pioneers-recognized.html>; "Tak Yamamoto, Pioneer Nikkei Gay Activist, Dies at 74," *The Rafu Shimpo*, November 19, 2012, accessed July 14, 2014, <http://www.rafu.com/2012/11/tak-yamamoto-pioneer-nikkei-gay-activist-dies-at-74>.

¹³⁰ "A Timeline of HIV/AIDS," AIDS.gov website, accessed July 14, 2014, <http://www.aids.gov/hiv-aids-basics/hiv-aids-101/aids-timeline>; "Pine is Proud to be a Reconciling Church," Pine United Methodist Church website, accessed July 14, 2014, <http://www.pineumc.org/reconciling.htm>. Pine United Methodist Church is located at 426 Thirty-Third Avenue, San Francisco, California.

Amy Sueyoshi

important to recognize and support the lesbian and gay people in our Japanese American community.”¹³¹

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.¹³² In Northern California, the API-PFLAG Family Project, later known as API Family Pride, formed in 1996. Filipina lesbian Trinity Ordon 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*.¹³³ 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

¹³¹ Linh H. Pham, “Another First: Lesbian and Gay Asian Americans to March in Cherry Blossom Parade,” Gay Asian Pacific Alliance, Asian/Pacific Sisters, and Older Asian Sisters in Solidarity press release, Google Groups website, April 13, 1994, accessed July 14, 2014, https://groups.google.com/forum/#!topic/bit.listserv.gaynet/On2kPOFp7_s; Elisa Lee, “Lavender Godzilla,” *Third Force* 2, no. 2 (June 30, 1994): 7.

¹³² The Kameyas live in the Granada Hills neighborhood of Los Angeles. The Westwood Methodist Church is located at 10947 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. The San Gabriel Valley API PFLAG meets at Sage Granada Methodist Church in Alhambra at 1850 West Hellman Avenue. Harold Kameya, e-mail message to author, October 2, 2015. Harold Kameya, “A Sansei Family's Unexpected Journey,” *Pacific Citizen*, December 2001.

¹³³ “First Person: Trinity Ordon recently helped make a video aimed at opening discussion between Asian parents and their gay children,” *San Francisco Examiner*, June 26, 1996, A-8.

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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.¹³⁴ These early works laid the groundwork for a flurry of

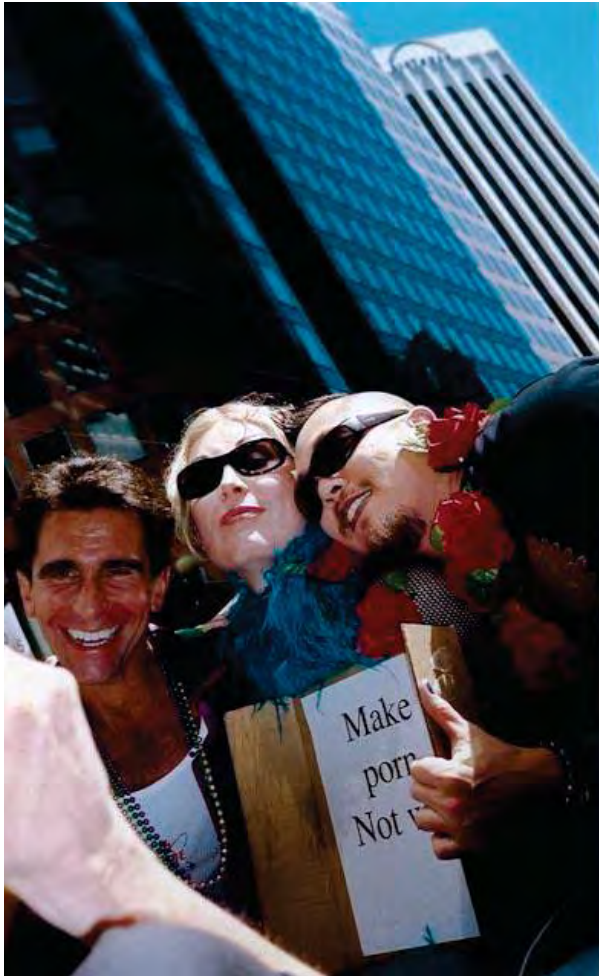


Figure 10: Christopher Lee (right) with Shawna Virago and Senator Mark Leno. Christopher and Shawna were the first transgender Grand Marshals in the San Francisco Pride parade, 2002. Photo courtesy of Alex Austin.

publications and memoirs by queer APIs or their parents in the decades that followed.¹³⁵

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

¹³⁴ Molly Fumia, *Honor Thy Children: One Family's Journey to Wholeness* (Berkeley, CA: Conari Press, 1997); Harold Kameya, "Our Journey," Network on Religion and Justice website, accessed July 19, 2014, see archived web page at <https://web.archive.org/web/20150530060824/http://www.netri.org/?p=library&id=2>; *In God's House: Asian American Lesbian and Gay Families in the Church*, directed by Lina Hoshino (Berkeley, CA: PANA Institute, 2007).

¹³⁵ For examples of memoirs by Asian Americans see Kenji Yoshino, *Covering: The Hidden Assault on our Civil Rights* (New York: Random House, 2006); Thomas Beatie, *Labor of Love: The Story of One Man's Extraordinary Pregnancy* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008); and Marsha Aizumi, *Two Spirits, One Heart: A Mother, Her Transgender Son and Their Journey to Love and Acceptance* (Bronx, NY: Magnus Books, 2012).

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."

¹³⁷ The Harvey Milk Democratic Club honored Ching at their annual dinner on May 25, 2006 at the Ramada Plaza Hotel on 1231 Market Street at Eighth Street in San Francisco, California. See Cynthia Laird, "News in Brief: Milk Club dinner tonight," *Bay Area Reporter*, May 25, 2006, accessed November 2, 2015, <http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?article=868&sec=news>.

¹³⁸ Caitlin Donohue, "Trans activists honored in Clarion Alley mural," *San Francisco Bay Guardian Online*, October 24, 2012, accessed November 2, 2015, http://www.sfbg.com/pixel_vision/2012/10/24/trans-activists-honored-clarion-alley-mural (web page no longer online, see archived link at https://web.archive.org/web/20150911001552/http://www.sfbg.com/pixel_vision/2012/10/24/trans-activists-honored-clarion-alley-mural).

¹³⁹ Interview with Crystal Jang, conducted by author, January 31, 2012, San Francisco, California; Crystal Jang, e-mail message to author, October 17, 2015.

¹⁴⁰ The plaque is located in front of 468 Castro Street. Bill Lipsky, "Rainbow Honor Walk: Passionate Activist George Choy," *San Francisco Bay Times*, accessed August 1, 2015, <http://sfbaytimes.com/rainbow-honor-walk-passionate-activist-george-choy>; Rainbow Honor Walk website, accessed August 1, 2015, <http://rainbowhonorwalk.org>; Queerty Editor, "San Francisco's New 'Rainbow Honor Walk' Littered with Offensive Typos and Misinformation," *Queerty*, September 3,

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

2014, accessed August 1, 2015, <http://www.queerty.com/san-franciscos-new-rainbow-honor-walk-littered-with-offensive-typos-and-misinformation-20140903>.

¹⁴¹ *Kumu Hina: The True Meaning of Aloha*, directed by Dean Hamer and Joe Wilson (Qwaves, 2014).

¹⁴² Cal Q&A at UC Berkeley originally called CAL B GAY and Q&A at Stanford formed in the 1990s. AQUA at San Francisco State University and Q&A at San Jose State University began later in the 2000s. See Cal Q&A web page, accessed October 2, 2015, <http://calqanda.tumblr.com>; Q&A at San Jose State Tumblr page, accessed October 2, 2015, <http://qnasjsu.tumblr.com>; See Queer and Asian at Stanford web page, accessed October 2, 2015, <http://web.stanford.edu/group/queerasians/index.html>; Asians and Queers United for Awareness Twitter page, accessed October 2, 2015, <https://twitter.com/AQUASFSU>; Tiffany Chen, e-mail message to author, October 2, 2015; Joseph Lee, e-mail message to author, October 2, 2015.

¹⁴³ Victoria, “Queer, Asian, and Proud,” *South Asian Americans Leading Together* (blog), October 6, 2014, <http://saalt.org/queer-asian-and-proud>.

¹⁴⁴ For history of Asian Americans settling dominantly in the Western United States see Chan, *Asian Americans*. For the West and specifically San Francisco as a place of sexual freedom see Kath Weston, “Get Thee to a Big City: Sexual Imaginary and the Great Gay Migration,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 2, no. 3 (1995): 253-277; Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

history as well as Wikipedia Hackathons.¹⁴⁵ 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 2011.¹⁴⁶ 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.¹⁴⁷ 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.

¹⁴⁵ API Equality-LA website, accessed August 1, 2015, <http://apiequalityla.org>; API Equality-Northern California website, accessed August 1, 2015, <http://www.apiequalitync.org>. API Equality-LA is located at 1137 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. API Equality-Northern California is located at 17 Walter U. Lum Place, San Francisco, California.

¹⁴⁶ Jessica Kwong, "SF Gay History Museum Finds Home, Identity," *SFGate*, January 12, 2011, <http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/SF-gay-history-museum-finds-home-identity-2478991.php>; Win Mixer, "All About the Castro's GLBT Historical Society and Museum," *Hoodline*, February 9, 2015, <http://hoodline.com/2015/02/all-about-the-castro-s-glbh-historical-society-and-museum>.

¹⁴⁷ For more on post-racial America see David Eng, *The Feeling of Kinship: Queer Liberalism and the Racialization of Intimacy* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (New York: New Press, 2010), 1-57.

12 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.



Figure 1: La Malinche, detail from the Monumento al Mestizaje by Julian Martinez and M. Maldonado (1982). The monument is of Hernan Cortes, La Malinche, and their son, Martin Cortes. The monument was originally located in the Center of Coyoacan, Mexico City but was moved to Jardin Xicotencatl, Barrio de San Diego Churubusco, Mexico City (a lesser known park) due to public protests. Photo by Javier Delgado Rosas, 2009.¹

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

¹ License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:La_Malinche_statue.jpg

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."² 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.³ 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).

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,

⁴ See Ruth Padawer, “BoyGirl,” *New York Times Magazine*, August 12, 2012, 19-36.

⁵ For a detailed treatment, see Roscoe (this volume).

⁶ On the soldaderas of the Mexican Revolution, see Elizabeth Salas, *Soldaderas in the Mexican Military: Myth and History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

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

⁷ For an overview, see Luz Calvo and Catriona Esquibel, “Latina Lesbians, BiMujeres, and Trans Identities: Charting Courses in the Social Sciences,” in *Latino/a Sexualities: Probing Powers, Passions, Practices, and Policies*, ed. Marysol Ascencio (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 217-229.

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,

⁸ Tzvetan Todorov, "The Reasons for Victory" in *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984).

⁹ See Adelaida del Castillo, "Malintzin Tenépal: A Preliminary Look into a New Perspective," in *Essays on la Mujer*, eds. Rosaura Sánchez and Rosa Martínez Cruz (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, 1977), 124-149.

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



Figure 2: Chicana lesbian feminist artist Judy Baca and Stanley Smith from the Getty in front of Baca's work, *The History of California/The Great Wall of Los Angeles*. The work highlights the histories of California not often told, including those about the Native Americans who lived in the area, Japanese American internment, the Freedom Bus Rides, the Zoot Suit riots of 1943 (during which white Marines assaulted young Mexican-American men in Los Angeles), and the founding of the gay rights organization, the Mattachine Society in 1950. Baca and her team of artists, including Isabel Castro, Yreina Cervantez, Judith Hernandez, Olga Muñoz, Patssi Valdez, Margaret Garcia, began work in 1978. Over 400 youth, including those from the juvenile justice system and from other underrepresented groups, were paid to help work on the mural. It was finished in 1984, and measures 2,754 in length. Additional sections are planned. Photo by Roger Howard, 2011.¹¹

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

¹⁰ See *Leyes de Burgos* in John A. Crow, *The Epic of Latin America* (Oakland: University of California Press, 1992).

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

¹² For the full list of laws, see Spain/Council of the Indies, *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias, 1681*. 5 vols. (Mexico: M. A. Porrúa, 1987).

church. Phillip II established the Inquisition officially in Mexico in 1569.¹³ By 1662, accounts of homosexual behavior led the Duke of Albuquerque to indict over a hundred people and execute a substantial number of them.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



Figure 3: Mission San Diego de Alcalá, 10818 San Diego Mission Road, San Diego, California. Founded in 1769 by Spanish friar Junipero Serra, it was the first Franciscan mission in The Californias, a province of New Spain. The Native American Kumeyaay, who lived in the area, called the two-spirit members of their society Warharmi. Photo by ((brian)), 2005.¹⁵

Americas and the New World.¹⁶ Most of the active persecution of sodomy by the Inquisition belonged to the New World.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

¹³ Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 319.

¹⁵ License: CC BY 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/brian-m/168494874/>. Mission San Diego was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on April 15, 1970. See Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York City: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 218.

¹⁶ Cristian Berco, *Sexual Hierarchies, Public Status: Men, Sodomy, and Society in Spain's Golden Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

men and women.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ Nash observes that “while women continued to have important roles in the domestic economy, they were [ultimately] excluded from the predatory economy.”²⁰ 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).²¹ 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.

¹⁸ Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).

¹⁹ June Nash, “Aztec Women: The Transition from Status to Class in Empire and Colony,” in *Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives*, eds. Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock (New York: Praeger, 1980), 134-148.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 67.

²¹ Antonia I. Castañeda “Engendering the History of Alta California, 1769-1848: Gender, Sexuality, and the Family,” *California History* 76, no. 2-3 (Summer-Fall 1997): 230-259.

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.”²² 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

²² See Deena J. González, *Refusing the Favor: The Spanish-Mexican Women of Santa Fe, 1820-1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), chap. ii.

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.

Twentieth Century: Codes of Transformation

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



Figure 4: The founding director of The Women's Building (TWB), 3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California was lesbian Latina activist Carmen Vazquez. The Women's Building opened in 1979 and continues to serve as a home and community resource for numerous social justice groups at the intersections of race, class, sexuality, and gender. In 1984, a group of Latina activists, including Vazquez, founded Somos Hermanas, a Central American Women's Solidarity Network, at TWB. La Casa de Las Madres, a women's shelter founded in 1976, had its home at TWB, and in the early 1990s, Ellas en Acción, a group for lesbian and bisexual Latinas met here. Photo by Gary Stevens, 2009.²⁴

²⁴ License: CC BY 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/garysoup/3256659047>

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

²⁵ Castañeda, “Engendering,” 150.

²⁶ See Catholic News Service, “U.S. Bishops Urge Constitutional Amendment to Protect Marriage,” *AmericanCatholic.org*, 2003, <http://www.americancatholic.org/News/Homosexuality/default.asp>.

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>.

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.

³⁰ See Tomás Almaguer, “Chicano Men: Cartography of Homosexual Identity and Behavior,” in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, eds. Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale, and David M. Halperin (New York: Routledge, 1993).



Figure 5: The Samuel-Navarro House, Hollywood Hills neighborhood, Los Angeles, California The home was designed by Frank Lloyd Wright's son, Lloyd Wright, and built in 1928 for Louis Samuel, personal assistant and business manager for Mexican-American silent film star, Ramón Navarro (born Jose Ramón Gil Samaniego). Navarro is most famous for his role as Ben Hur in *Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ*. Navarro's family moved to Los Angeles in 1913 to escape the Mexican Revolution. When he discovered that Samuel was embezzling money from him, Navarro opted not to press charges, but took over ownership of the house in Hollywood Hills. In 1945, Navarro moved to a home in the Studio City neighborhood of Los Angeles. Navarro was gay, and struggled with his homosexuality and Catholic upbringing. Unlike other gay actors at the time, however, Navarro refused to marry a woman to hide his sexuality. He was murdered in his Studio City home in 1968 by two brothers who were hustlers and physique photo models. The sensational coverage of Navarro's murder made his homosexuality a matter of public record. Photo by J. Jakobson, 2013.³¹

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

³¹ License: CC BY-NC 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/30811353@N04/8666179554>. Big Orange Landmarks, "No. 130 – Samuel-Navarro House," April 5, 2008. <http://bigorangelandmarks.blogspot.com/2008/04/no-130-samuel-navarro-house.html>

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

³² See R.M. Hill and C.I. Vasquez, *The Maria Paradox: How Latinas Can Merge Old World Traditions With New World Self-Esteem* (New York: G.P. Putnam & Sons, 1996).

³³ Judith Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press, 2005).

predominate as the primary assigned or prescribed gender categories.³⁴ 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.³⁵

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.³⁶ 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.

³⁵ See Olivia Espín, “Cultural and Historical Influences on Sexuality in Hispanic/Latin Women: Implications for Psychotherapy,” in *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*, ed. Carole S. Vance (London: Pandora Press, 1989).

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.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



Figure 6: Lukas Avendaño, contemporary Zapotec Muxe from Mexico. Photo by Mario Patinho, 2015.³⁸

³⁷ Elena R. Gutiérrez, *Fertile Matters: The Politics of Mexican-Origin Women's Reproduction* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008); on cultural tradition, a young woman's fifteenth birthday "coming of age" ritual, see Karen Mary Davalos, "La Quinceañera: Making Gender and Ethnic Identities," in *Velvet Barrios: Popular Culture and Chicana/o Sexualities*, ed. Alicia Gaspar de Alba (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

³⁸ License: CC BY-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lukas_Avendano-Mario_Patino-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

³⁹ See Meyer, Stryker, and Hutchins (this volume).

⁴⁰ See Bruce Bagemihl, *Biological Exuberance: Animal Homosexuality and Natural Diversity* (New York: Macmillan, 2000).

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.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.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.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.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,

⁴² For more on transgender identities, see Stryker (this volume).

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," *Meridians: Feminism, Race, and Transnationalism* 3, no. 2 (2003): 139-170.

⁴⁴ For a list of popular definitions and terms, see Fedwa Malti-Douglas, ed., *Encyclopedia of Sex and Gender* (Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference, 2007).

⁴⁵ See Elizabeth M. Iglesias and Francisco Valdes, "Religion, Gender, Sexuality, Race, and Class in Coalitional Theory: A Critical and Self-Critical Analysis of LatCrit Social Justice Agendas, 19," in *LATCRIT Primer*, vol. 1 (Boston: Harvard Latino Law Review, 1997).

cultural, social, and sexual activism 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

⁴⁶ License: CC BY-SA 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/banfyphotography/6020558384>. See Los Angeles Conservancy, Circus Disco, <https://www.laconservancy.org/issues/circus-disco>.

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,



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

⁴⁸ License: CC BY-NC-ND 4.0. <http://wellcomeimages.org/indexplus/image/L0052366.html>. See also El/La Para TransLatinas, "About Us," <http://ellaparatranslatinas.yolasite.com/about-us.php>.

political, and social initiatives particularly in the urban centers of the country.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.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.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.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.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

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?" *Creative Loafing*, July 25, 2011, <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 <http://www.projectlooksharp.org/?action=justice>.

⁵⁰ See Springate, *Civil Rights* (this volume).

⁵¹ Anthony Summers, *Official and Confidential: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: Putnam, 1993).

⁵² Tim Retzliff, "Eliding Trans Latino/a Queer Experience in U.S. LGBT History: José Sarria and Sylvia Rivera Reexamined," *CENTRO: Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 140-161.

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.⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶

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



Figure 9: Police harassment of LGBTQ bars was not limited to the 1950s and 1960s. In October of 1982, a series of violent and homophobic police raids at Blue’s, a historically black and Latino gay bar in Times Square, resulted in a protest by over eleven hundred people. No one was charged in the raids, which were part of a pattern of harassment of gays and people of color. Blue’s was located at 264 West 43rd Street, New York City, New York. Photo in the collections of the New York Public Library (b11686548), courtesy of the LGBT Community Center National History Archive.

⁵⁴ See Martin Duberman’s account of the Stonewall riots in his book, *Stonewall* (New York: Dutton, 1993).

⁵⁵ Harry Hay, *Radically Gay: Gay Liberation in the Words of its Founder*, ed. Will Roscoe (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996); Kristen Esterberg, "From Accommodation to Liberation: A Social Movement Analysis of Lesbians in the Homophile Movement," *Gender and Society* 8, no. 3 (September 1994): 424- 443.

⁵⁶ See also Sueyoshi and Harris (this volume).

communities about homophobia and especially police abuse.⁵⁷ The group worked to find a solution to the police raids of gay bars and harassment



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).⁵⁸

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.⁵⁹ She also played an important role in the organization of other queer organizations, among them the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) and another offshoot of the GLF, called the Gay

⁵⁷ Sarria performed drag at the Black Cat Club, 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. It was from the Black Cat that he launched his 1961 campaign for a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors—the first time an openly gay person ran for elected office. The Black Cat Club location is a contributing resource to the Jackson Square Historic District, added to the NRHP on November 18, 1971.

⁵⁸ Greenwich Village History, "An Army of Lovers Cannot Lose: The Occupation of NYU's Weinstein Hall," <https://greenwichvillagehistory.wordpress.com/tag/weinstein-hall/>

⁵⁹ Sylvia Rivera, "Sylvia Rivera's Talk at LGMNY, June 2001, Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center, New York City," *CENTRO: Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 116-123.

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.



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

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

⁶⁰ License: CC BY-NC 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/flavor32/2283576978>

⁶¹ Darren Rosenblum, "Queer Political Movements," in the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in Contemporary Politics, Law, and Social Movements*, eds. Suzanne Oboler and Deena J. González. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

⁶² Darren Rosenblum, "Queer Intersectionality and the Failure of Recent Lesbian and Gay 'Victories,'" *Law and Sexuality* 83 (1994), online at <http://digitalcommons.pace.edu/lawfaculty/210/>.

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.⁶³ 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).



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.

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

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.



Figure 13: Long the subject of rumor about his sexuality, Puerto Rican superstar singer Ricky Martin came out on his website in 2010. He is the father of twin boys, who were born to a surrogate mother. This photo shows him in the 2007 National Puerto Rican Day Parade in New York City. Photo by Brian.⁶⁵

Sexuality, Gender, and Representation

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

⁶⁵ License: CC BY-SA 2.0.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ricky_Martin_at_the_National_Puerto_Rican_Day_Parade.jpg

“Sometimes our own families act in collusion with the state to deprive us of the right to raise our own children.”⁶⁶

Issues with immigration also surfaced as lesbian or bisexual and transsexual women seeking asylum in to 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.⁶⁷ 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, 2001.⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹

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.⁷⁰ While some changes in the health care industry have developed,

⁶⁶ Juanita Ramos, *Compañeras: Latina Lesbians (An Anthology)* (New York: Latina Lesbian History Project, 1987), xxvii. See also Stein (this volume).

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.

⁶⁹ See Barbara Raab, “Same-Sex Partners Face Discrimination,” *NBC News*, December 20, 2011, <http://tampabaycoalition.homestead.com/files/1220SameSexPartnersFaceDiscrimination911.htm> (web page no longer online, see archived link at <https://web.archive.org/web/20051227141702/http://tampabaycoalition.homestead.com/files/1220SameSexPartnersFaceDiscrimination911.htm>).

⁷⁰ See, for example, Jennifer Kates, Usha Ranji, Adara Beamesderfer, Alina Salganicoff, and Lindsey Dawson, “Health and Access to Care and Coverage for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Individuals in the U.S.,” Kaiser Family Foundation website, last updated June 6, 2016, <http://kff.org/disparities-policy/issue-brief/health-and-access-to-care-and-coverage-for-lesbian-gay-bisexual-and-transgender-individuals-in-the-u-s>; and Amanda Machado, “Why Many Latinos Dread Going to the Doctor,” *Atlantic*, May 7, 2014,

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.”⁷¹

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.⁷² 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).⁷³ The Latino

<http://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2014/05/why-many-latinos-dread-going-to-the-doctor/361547>.

⁷¹ *Nuestra Salud: Lesbianas Latinas Rompiendo Barreras (Our Health: Latina Lesbians Breaking Barriers)*, directed by Teresa Cuadra and Suzanne Newman (Brooklyn, NY: Fan Light Productions, 2002).

⁷² See the Chicago Gay and Lesbian Hall of Fame website at <http://www.gllhalloffame.org>.

⁷³ ALMA is located at 3656 North Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois. ALLGO was founded in 1985 and is currently located at 701 Tillery Street, Austin, Texas. The Latino Pride Center, founded in 2013 is an evolution of the Hispanic AIDS Forum, the first Latino organization in the United States established to fight HIV/AIDS, itself founded in 1983; they are currently located in East Harlem, New York City, New York. AGUILAS was founded in 1991, and met in people's homes until early 1992, when they began regular meetings at St. Francis Lutheran Church, 152 Church Street, San Francisco, California; they are currently located at the San Francisco LGBT Center, 1800 Market Street, San Francisco, California. The Unity Coalition/Coalicion Unida was founded in 2002. LLEGÓ was founded in 1987



Figure 14: José Gutierrez wearing a shawl and Native American blossom necklace that once belonged to José Sarria (shown wearing both in the photo held by Gutierrez). Gutierrez organized the first DC Latino Pride, “20 Years of Struggle – 20 Años de Lucha” in 2006, which included a panel discussion at the Human Rights Campaign offices. He also was a founder of the Latino GLBT History Project in 2000 (www.latinoglbthistory.org). This photo was taken at the Coronation of the Imperial Court of Washington, DC – one of the chapters of the Imperial Court System founded by Sarria in 1965. The Human Rights Campaign offices are located at 1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW, Washington, DC. Photo courtesy of Jose Gutierrez.

GLBT History Project works to preserve LGBTQ Latina/o history (Figure 14).⁷⁴

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.⁷⁵ 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://thegavoice.com/new-organization-tackles-latino-lgbt-needs-in-georgia>.

⁷⁴ 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>.

⁷⁵ 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



Figure 15: Women sharing their stories of San Antonio at the Esperanza Peace & Justice Center, 2010. Photo by Jennifer Herrera.⁷⁸

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

⁷⁶ Vives passed away in March 2012. See “In Memoriam: Olga Vives,” National Organization for Women website, March 19, 2012, <http://www.now.org/history/vives-memoriam.html>, (web page no longer online, see archived web link at <https://web.archive.org/web/20131011091857/http://www.now.org/history/vives-memoriam.html>).

⁷⁷ For examples of Ingrid Duran’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/jenherrera/4759590950>

⁷⁹ A previous website could be found at <http://delatierra.net>.

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

⁸⁰ See Alicia Gaspar de Alba and Alma López, eds., *Our Lady of Controversy: Alma López’s “Irreverent Apparition”* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011). On the earlier Chicana re-configurations of the Virgen de Guadalupe, see the work of the artist, Yolanda López, in Karen Mary Davalos, *Yolanda López* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).

⁸¹ See the MACHA Theatre website at <http://www.machatheatre.org>.

⁸² Luz Calvo, “Embodied at the Shrine of Cultural Disjunction,” in *Beyond the Frame: Women of Color and Visual Representation*, eds. Neferti X.M. Tadiar and Angela Y. Davis (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005). On the Lesbian History Project, see the Latino LGBT History Project website at <http://www.latinoglbthistory.org/about-the-archive>.

⁸³ Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999), 105.

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.ⁱ

ⁱ Additional resources used in preparing this chapter: Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1987); Anzaldúa, *The Gloria Anzaldúa Reader*, ed. Ana Louise Keating (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Luis Aponte-Parés and Jorge Merced, "Páginas Omitidas: The Gay and Lesbian Presence" in *The Puerto Rican Movement: Voices from the Diaspora*, eds. Andrés Torres and Jose Velá (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998); Emilio Bejel, *Gay Cuban Nation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Combahee River Collective, "The Combahee River Collective Statement," in *Homegirls: A Black Feminist Anthology*, ed. Barbara Smith (New York: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, 1983); Tatiana de la Tierra, *Para las duras/For the Hard Ones: A Lesbian Phenomenology* (San Diego: Calaca, 2002); Terence Kissack, "Freaking Fag Revolutionaries: New York's Gay Liberation Front," *Radical History Review* 62 (1995): 105-134; Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes, *Queer Ricans: Cultures and Sexualities in the Diaspora* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2009); La Fountain-Stokes, "De un pájaro las dos alas: Travel Notes of a Queer Puerto Rican in Havana," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 8, no. 1-2 (2002): 7-33; Yolanda Chávez Leyva, "Listening to the Silences in Latina/Chicana Lesbian History," in *Living Chicana Theory*, ed. Carla Trujillo (Berkeley, CA: Third Woman Press, 1998), 429-434; Jacqueline M. Martinez, *Phenomenology of Chicana Experience and Identity: Communication and Transformation in Practice* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000); Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981); José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1999); Emma Pérez, "Irigaray's Female Symbolic in the Making of Chicana Lesbian Sitios y Lenguas (Sites and Discourses)," in *The Lesbian Postmodern*, ed. Laura Doan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Yolanda Retter, "Identity Development of Lifelong vs. Catalyzed Latina Lesbians," master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of California, Los Angeles, 1987; Juana Maria Rodríguez, *Queer Latinidad: Identity Practices, Discursive Spaces* (New York: New York University Press, 2003); Richard T. Rodríguez, *Next of Kin: The Family in Chicano/a Cultural Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Horacio Roque Ramírez, "'That's my Place': Negotiating Racial, Sexual, and Gender Politics in San Francisco's Gay Latino Alliance (GALA), 1975-1983," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12, no. 3 (2003): 224-258; Yvette Saavedra with Deena J. González, "Latino/Latina Americans and LGBTQ Issues," in *LGBTQ America Today: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John C. Hawley (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2009); Eve Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, and Performativity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Carla Trujillo, *Chicana Lesbians: The Girls Our Mothers Warned Us About* (Berkeley, CA: Third Woman Press, 1991); Antonia Villaseñor, "Latina Lesbians," in *The Reader's Companion to U.S. Women's History*, ed. Wilma Pearl Mankiller (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 340; Antonio Viego, *Dead Subjects: Toward a Politics of Loss in Latino Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

“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.

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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 Of

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

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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



Figure 1: Azurest South, Ettrick, Virginia, 1987. Courtesy of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

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

added to the NRHP on November 18, 1992. Azurest South, at 2900 Boisseau Street, Ettrick, Virginia, was added to the NRHP on December 30, 1993.

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.⁶ 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....”⁷ 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

⁶ Azurest South now serves as the home of the Virginia State University Alumni Association.

⁷ “While the idea of privacy continues to be critical to protecting the right of queer folk to love whomever they choose, it is an increasingly problematic concept for public policy and practice, particularly when used as a rationale for the suppression of public discourse on controversial subjects. Gail Dubrow, “Deviant History, Defiant Heritage,” The Friends of 1800 website, 2002, accessed June 5, 2016, <http://www.friendsof1800.org/VIEWPOINT/dubrow.html>.

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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.⁸ 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.”⁹ 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.”¹⁰ 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.

⁹ Charles I. Nero, “Why Are the Gay Ghettoes White?” in *Black Queer Studies: A Cultural Anthology*, eds. E. Patrick Johnson and Mae Henderson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 233.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 234.

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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.”¹¹ 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.¹² 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.¹³ 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.”¹⁴ 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

¹¹ William G. Hawkeswood, *One of the Children: Black Gay Men in Harlem*, ed. Alex W. Costley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), xii.

¹² Timothy Stewart-Winter, *Queer Clout: Chicago and the Rise of Gay Politics* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 19.

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.

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elsewhere during this period.¹⁵ 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.”¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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 ascendancy 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.

¹⁶ Martin Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Penguin Group, 1994), 42.

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>.

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poor Harlemites and managed to earn a degree of begrudging respect from others, they were excoriated by the district’s moral guardians.”¹⁸ 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.”¹⁹ 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.”²⁰ 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.”²¹

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.

¹⁹ Shane Vogel, *The Scene of Harlem Cabaret: Race, Sexuality, Performance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 4.

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.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.²³ The Dunbar Apartments were home to Countee Cullen, and the complex is listed on the National Register.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.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.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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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



Figure 2: Villa Lewaro, Irvington, New York. Photo from the Historic American Buildings Survey, n.d. (HABS NY,60-IRV,5-1).

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.

²⁸ David Levering Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919-1963* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 2000), 224-225.

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.



Figure 3: Plaque commemorating the Savoy Ballroom, Harlem, New York City, New York, 2013. Photo by Lukeholladay.³¹

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).³² 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.³³

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."³³ And there has been a

³¹ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Savoyplaque_large.jpg

³² 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.

³³ 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*.

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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 Harlemiter, Howard University professor Dr. Alain Locke, the nation's first African American Rhodes Scholar, was central to the Harlem Renaissance.³⁵ 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.³⁶ 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

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

York (now demolished) where he socialized with other members of the Harlem Renaissance; Rockland Palace (now demolished), 280 West 155th Street, New York City, New York where he attended and wrote about the drag balls; and Yaddo in Saratoga Springs, New York, located within the Union Avenue Historic District (listed on the NRHP on April 4, 1978 and designated an NHL on March 11, 2013) where Hughes spent time as an artist in residence.

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.

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Bronzeville community of Chicago.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ It was rumored that his 1916 song “Pretty Baby” originally referred to one of Jackson’s male lovers.⁴¹ 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.⁴² Rainey, who maintained her base primarily in her hometown of Columbus, Georgia, hid in plain sight, using her lyrics to suggest certain truths.⁴³

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.

³⁹ Jackson performed at the Beaux Arts Café on the second floor of the Pekin Theater (now demolished), 2700 South State Street, Chicago, Illinois. The Beaux Arts, which opened in 1911, was a “scandalous” venue where a racially diverse audience socialized and danced. See Kendall, “Bob Mott and the Pekin Theater,” *The Chicago Crime Scenes Project* (blog), January 17, 2009, <http://chicagocrimescenes.blogspot.com/2009/01/bob-mott-and-pekin-theater.html>. In 2011,

Jackson was inducted into Chicago’s Gay and Lesbian Hall of Fame, see “Tony Jackson,” Chicago Gay and Lesbian Hall of Fame website, http://www.gllhalloffame.org/index.pl?item=372&todo=view_item.

⁴⁰ Tristan Cabello, “Queer Bronzeville: African American LGBTs on Chicago’s South Side, 1900-1985,” *Windy City Times*, February 29, 2012, accessed June 19, 2016, <http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/Queer-Bronzeville-African-American-LGBTs-on-Chicagos-South-Side-1900-1985/36389.html>.

⁴¹ David Ehrenstein, “Gay New Orleans 101,” *Advocate*, October 11, 2005, 50.

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.

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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

⁴⁴ Eric Garber, "A Spectacle in Color: The Lesbian and Gay Subculture of Jazz Age Harlem," American Studies at the University of Virginia website, accessed June 19, 2016, <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ug97/blues/garber.html>.

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.

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Figure 5: The Hotel Pershing, Chicago, Illinois, home to drag balls in the 1930s. From a postcard, ca. 1948, courtesy of Megan E. Springate.

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

⁴⁷ Langston Hughes, *Autobiography: The Big Sea (The Collected Works of Langston Hughes)*, vol. 13, ed. Joseph McLaren (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002), 208. Rockland Palace (now demolished) was located at 280 West 115th Street, New York City, New York.

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 Swagging,” 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-

⁵³ Tom Vitale, “100 Years of Billy Strayhorn, Emotional Architect of Song,” NPR, *Weekend Edition Sunday*, November 29, 2015, accessed June 21, 2016, <http://www.npr.org/2015/11/29/457598579/100-years-of-billy-strayhorn-emotional-architect-of-song>.

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.⁵⁶ 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



Figure 6: Bayard Rustin Residence, New York City, New York, ca. 2013. Photo courtesy of Walter Naegle.

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.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ See Springate, *Civil Rights* (this volume).

⁵⁷ 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," *Dallas Voice*, February 17, 2015, accessed July 30, 2016, <http://www.dallasvoice.com/henry-gerber-gay-rights-pioneer-heard-10190163.html>.

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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).⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰ 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

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.

⁶⁰ John D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin* (New York: The Free Press, 2003), 1.

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been a resurrection of Rustin's name as a significant civil rights and gay rights activist.⁶¹

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."⁶² 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.⁶³

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

⁶¹ See, for example, D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet*.

⁶² Pauli Murray, "The Liberation of Black Women," in *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought*, ed. Beverly Guy-Sheftall (New York: The New Press, 1995).

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>.

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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

⁶⁴ Mumford, 12-13.

⁶⁵ Baldwin’s residence on Horatio Street, Greenwich Village, New York City, New York is within the Greenwich Village Historic District, listed on the NRHP on June 19, 1979. A plaque was unveiled at this location in 2015. The James Baldwin House is located on the Upper West Side, New York City, New York. Danielle Tcholakian, “James Baldwin Historic Plaque to Be Unveiled at 81 Horatio St.,” *DNAinfo*, October 6, 2015, accessed June 21, 2016, <https://www.dnainfo.com/new-york/20151006/west-village/james-baldwin-historic-plaque-be-unveiled-at-81-horatio-st>.

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://lcrim.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

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*

Hansberry’s Bleecker Street home was less than two blocks away from the site. See NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission, *150 Years of LGBT History*, PowerPoint presentation, accessed June 21, 2016, http://www.nyc.gov/html/lpc/downloads/pdf/LGBT-PRIDE_2014.pdf, 13.

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.

Post-Stonewall & HIV/AIDS Era African American LGBTQ Organizations

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

⁷³ There were also concerns that existing LGBTQ organizations at that time simply weren't interested in working on “non-LGBTQ” issues that directly affected the African American LGBTQ community, like employment, police brutality, poverty, and health care.

⁷⁴ Criteria considerations for both NRHP and NHL nominations exist that allow researchers to nominate places where the significant events took place less than fifty years prior. See Springate and de la Vega (this volume).

⁷⁵ The Salsa Soul Sisters, Third World Wimmin Incorporated Collective included African American and Latina women. They met primarily at a private residence near Washington Square Park in Greenwich Village, New York City, New York. The AALUSC currently meets at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community Center, 208 West 13th Street, New York City, New York. Third World Gay Women, Inc., “Salsa Soul Sisters Pamphlet,” *Greenwich Village History* website, accessed June 18, 2016, <http://gvh.aphdigital.org/items/show/1159>.

⁷⁶ In the mid-1970s, the Combahee River Collective met at the Women's Center, 595 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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1980.”⁷⁷ 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.⁷⁸ 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 NCGB 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.⁷⁹ The NCGB 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.⁸⁰

The National Conference of Third World Lesbians and Gays was a catalyst for the creation of the Lambda Student Alliance (LSA) at Howard

⁷⁷ The retreats themselves took place “mostly in private homes,” which is reflective of the overarching theme of this study, highlighting the spaces where members of the African American LGBTQ community could be themselves. Duchess Harris, “From the Kennedy Commission to the Combahee Collective: Black Feminist Organizing, 1960-1980,” in *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement*, eds. Bettye Collier-Thomas and V.P. Franklin (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 295.

⁷⁸ See also Springate, *Intersectionality* (this volume).

⁷⁹ Robert Crisman, “History Made: First Lesbians/gays of Color Conference,” Freedom Socialist Party website, Winter 1979, accessed June 19, 2016, <http://www.socialism.com/drupal-6.8/articles/history-made-first-lesbians-gays-color-conference>. The Harambee House Hotel was located on the 2200 block of Georgia Avenue NW, Washington, DC.

⁸⁰ See “ABilly S. Jones-Hennin,” Rainbow History Project Digital Collections website, accessed June 19, 2016, <https://rainbowhistory.omeka.net/exhibits/show/pioneers/2007awardees/jones-hennin>. The National Conference on AIDS in the Black Community was held at the Washington Convention Center (now demolished), 909 H Street NW, Washington, DC. Gil Gerald, “Speech to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference Women’s Conference on AIDS,” in *Speaking for Our Lives: Historic Speeches and Rhetoric for Gay and Lesbian Rights (1892-2000)*, ed. Robert B. Marks Ridinger (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2004), 515.

University in 1979.⁸¹ 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.⁸² 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.⁸³

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.⁸⁴ "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."⁸⁵ 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

⁸¹ Howard University is located at 2400 Sixth Street NW, Washington, DC.

⁸² Bill Stevens, "The Gay Movement Comes to Howard University," *Blacklight*, 2014, accessed June 19, 2016, <http://www.blacklightonline.com/howard.html>.

⁸³ Mumford, 157.

⁸⁴ GMAD was located at 540 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

⁸⁵ "Gay Men of African Descent, Inc. records, 1986-1998," New York Public Library Archives & Manuscripts website, accessed June 22, 2016, <http://archives.nypl.org/scm/21213>.

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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.⁸⁷ 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, 2011.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Banneker_Rec_Center_DC.jpg

⁸⁷ The Clubhouse was located at 1296 Upshur Street NW, Washington, DC.

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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.⁸⁸ It was held at Banneker Field, and served as the model for subsequent Black Pride events (Figure 8).⁸⁹ 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 1997.⁹⁰

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.⁹¹ 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?⁹²

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,

⁸⁸ Frank Muzzy, *Gay and Lesbian Washington, D.C.*, Images of America Series (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2005), 51.

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.

⁹⁰ Atlanta held its first Black Pride event in 1996. Les Fabian Brathwaite, "Black Pride Matters," *Advocate*, June/July 2016, 55.

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 Giesecking (this volume). See also Dubrow (this volume) for a discussion regarding pushback to having LGBTQ places added to the NRHP and designated NHLs.

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providing patrons with access to alcohol and entertainment, but as a bordello, it also served as a site of [hetero]sexual engagement.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 1975.⁹⁴ 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.⁹⁵

One of the most significant African American LGBTQ historic sites related to cruising/sexual engagement is the Mount Morris Turkish Baths in Harlem.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....”⁹⁷ Mount Morris Baths was one of the very few bathhouses

⁹³ The Fort Laramie Three Mile Hog Ranch, located outside Fort Laramie, Wyoming was added to the NRHP on April 23, 1975.

⁹⁴ “National Register of Historic Places: Fort Laramie Three Mile Hog Ranch,” Wyoming State Historic Preservation Office website, accessed June 14, 2016, <http://wyoshpo.state.wy.us/NationalRegister/Site.aspx?ID=179>.

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).

⁹⁶ Mount Morris Turkish Baths were located at 28 East 125th Street, New York City, New York.

⁹⁷ Alan Feuer, “Mount Morris Journal; A Gay Bathhouse in Harlem? Hey, It’s No Secret,” *New York Times*, January 19, 2003.

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.⁹⁸ 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;⁹⁹ 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.¹⁰⁰ 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.¹⁰¹ 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.¹⁰² Other examples could

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.

⁹⁹ Anonymous, "The Secret Garden," *Washington City Paper*, August 25, 2000, accessed June 14, 2016, <http://www.washingtoncitypaper.com/news/article/13020626/the-secret-garden>. Meridian Hill Park (also known in the African American DC community as Malcolm X Park), 2400 Fifteenth Street NW, Washington, DC, was added to the NRHP on October 25, 1974 and designated an NHL on April 19, 1994. The term "same gender loving" includes those African American men who engage in same-sex sexual contact, but do not identify as gay or bisexual, particularly at sites of cruising/sexual engagement.

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.”¹⁰³ 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).¹⁰⁴ 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.¹⁰⁵ 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.

¹⁰⁵ Sean Bugg and Randy Shulman, “Closed for Business,” *Metro Weekly*, February 25, 2004, accessed June 21, 2016, <http://www.metroweekly.com/2004/02/closed-for-business>.

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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”



Figure 9: Nob Hill, Washington, DC, ca. 2003. Photo courtesy of Todd Franson/Metro Weekly.

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

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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



Figure 10: Jewel’s Catch One, Los Angeles, California, ca. 2015. Photo by Adrian Scott Fine/L.A. Conservancy courtesy of the L.A. Conservancy.

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>.

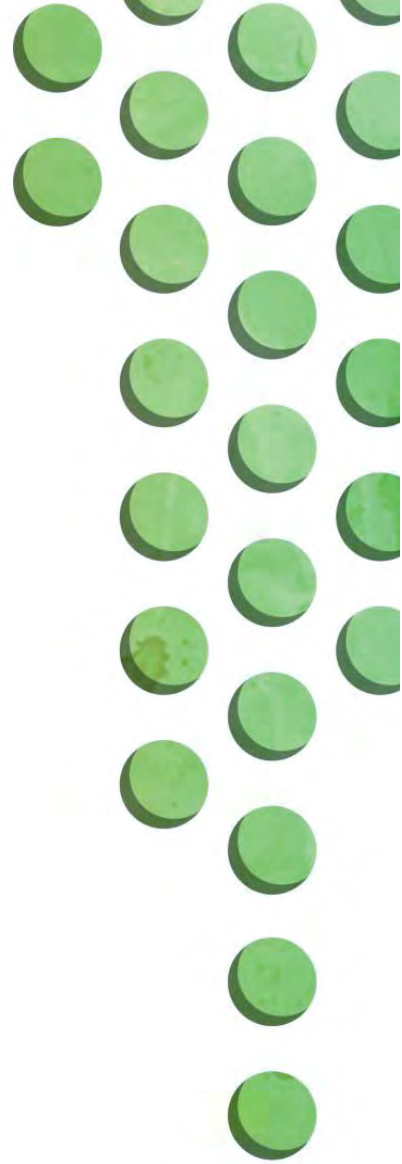
¹⁰⁷ Jewel’s Catch One, 4067 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California was the nation’s first black gay and lesbian disco, opened in 1972 by Jewel Thais-Williams. When the club closed in 2015 with Jewel’s retirement, it was the last black-owned gay club in the city.

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.

¹⁰⁸ A great example of scholarship providing new information on nineteenth-century African American LGBTQ lives is Farah Jasmine Griffin, ed., *Beloved Sisters and Loving Friends: Letters from Rebecca Primus of Royal Oak, Maryland, and Addie Brown of Hartford, Connecticut* (New York: Knopf, 1999). Unfortunately, there are no known extant historic places associated with Primus and Brown.

THEMES



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.

LGBTQ SPACES AND PLACES

Jen Jack Giesecking

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

¹ Kath Browne, “Challenging Queer Geographies,” *Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography* 38, no. 5 (2006): 885,893; Annamarie Jagose, *Queer Theory: An Introduction* (New York: NYU Press, 1997); Natalie Oswin, “Critical Geographies and the Uses of Sexuality: Deconstructing Queer Space,” *Progress in Human Geography* 32, no. 1 (February 2008): 89-103; and Melissa W. Wright, “Gender and Geography II: Bridging the Gap – Feminist, Queer, and the Geographical Imaginary,” *Progress in Human Geography* 34, no. 1 (February 2010): 56–66.

² Petra L. Doan, “Queers in the American City: Transgendered Perceptions of Urban Space,” *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 14 no. 1 (2007): 57-74; Clare Hemmings, *Bisexual Spaces: A Geography of Sexuality and Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2002); and Catherine J. Nash, “Trans Experiences in Lesbian and Queer Space,” *The Canadian Geographer* 55 no. 2 (Summer 2011): 192-207.

³Jen Jack Giesecking, “Dyked New York: Opening Up a Typology of Urban LGBTQ Spaces through Lesbian-Queer Experience,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Geographies of Sex and Sexualities*, eds. G. Brown and K. Browne (New York: Ashgate, forthcoming).

recently, some LGBTQ people claim their sexual identity is tangential and identify as “post-gay.”⁴ 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.⁵

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.⁶ Intersectionality recognizes that identity is not singular to one dimension (gender or race or class) but that each person is all identities at once.⁷

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.”⁸ Such practices of meeting in public venues for sex, friendship, and conversation still continue today.⁹ 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.¹⁰ The claims of women and transgender

⁴ Catherine J. Nash, “The Age of the ‘Post-Mo’? Toronto’s Gay Village and a New Generation,” *Geoforum*, 49 (October 2013): 243-252.

⁵ Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1989); and Elizabeth Grosz, “Bodies-Cities,” in *Sexuality & Space*, ed. Beatriz Colomina (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), 241-254.

⁶ Michael Brown, “Gender and Sexuality I: Intersectional Anxieties,” *Progress in Human Geography* 36, no.4 (2012): 541-550.

⁷ See Springate on nominating properties to the NRHP and NHL (this volume).

⁸ George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).

⁹ David J. Bell, “One-handed Geographies: An Archaeology of Public Sex,” in *Queers in Space: Communities, Public Places, Sites of Resistance*, eds. Gordon Brent Ingram, Anne-Marie Bouthillette, and Yolanda Retter (Seattle: Bay Press, 1997), 81-87; and Shaka McGlotten, “A Brief and Improper Geography of Queerspaces and Sexpublics in Austin, Texas,” *Gender, Place & Culture* 21, no. 4 (2014): 471-488.

¹⁰ Nash, “Trans Experiences”; Jen Jack Gieseking, “Queering the Meaning of ‘Neighbourhood’: Reinterpreting the Lesbian-Queer Experience of Park Slope, Brooklyn, 1983-2008,” in *Queer*

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people to public spaces are more transient and ephemeral, such as the use of softball fields (Figure 1).¹¹ 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.¹² 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 2007.¹³

Presences and Absences, eds. Yvette Taylor and Michelle Addison (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 178-200.

¹¹ See Anne Enke, *Finding the Movement: Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

¹² Arlene Stein, *Sex and Sensibility: Stories of a Lesbian Generation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Loree Cook-Daniels, “Living Memory LGBT History Timeline: Current Elders Would Have Been This Old When These Events Happened...,” Transgender Aging Network; FORGE, 2007, http://forge-forward.org/wp-content/docs/LGBT_elder_timeline_FINAL.pdf; and Giesecking, “Queering the Meaning of ‘Neighbourhood’”.

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.¹⁴ Even today, the role of class also plays out in the harassment, violence, and rape common for LGBTQ steel workers in northeastern Indiana.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶

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

¹⁴ Michelle Fine and Jessica Ruglis, "Circuits and Consequences of Dispossession: The Racialized Realignment of the Public Sphere for US Youth," *Transforming Anthropology* 17, no. 1 (2009): 20–33; Brett G. Stoudt and María Elena Torre, "The Morris Justice Project: Participatory Action Research," ed. Patrick Brindle, *SAGE Cases in Methodology* (2014); Caitlin Cahill, Brett G. Stoudt, María Elena Torre, Jose Lopez, and Researchers for Fair Policing, "Fair Policing for the Fair City?" *Aggregate 2* (March 2015), <http://we-aggregate.org/piece/fair-policing-for-the-fair-city>; Petra L. Doan, ed. *Planning and LGBTQ Communities: The Need for Inclusive Queer Spaces* (New York: Routledge, 2015); Michelle Billies, "Low Income LGBTGNC (Gender Nonconforming) Struggles over Shelters as Public Space," *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 14, no. 4 (2016): 989-10007.

¹⁵ Anne Balay, *Steel Closets: Voices of Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Steelworkers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

¹⁶ See Donna J. Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

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 in-migration 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.

¹⁸ Robert Aldrich, "Homosexuality and the City: An Historical Overview," *Urban Studies* 41, no. 9 (2004): 1719-1737.

¹⁹ Kath Weston, "Get Thee to a Big City: Sexual Imaginary and the Great Gay Migration," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 2, no. 3 (1995): 282.

²⁰ Samuel R. Delany, *Times Square Red, Times Square Blue* (New York: NYU Press, 2001).

²¹ Lawrence Knopp and Michael Brown, "Queer Diffusions," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 21, no. 4 (2003): 409-424.

²² John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983) and "Capitalism and Gay Identity" in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, eds. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 100-113; Allan Bérubé, "Marching to a Different Drummer: Lesbian and Gay GIs in World War II," in *Powers of Desire*; Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Penguin, 1992); Chauncey, *Gay New York*; and Aldrich, "Homosexuality and the City."

²³ John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); and Karen Brodtkin, "How Did the Jews Become White Folks?" in

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



Figure 2: Pride at the Idaho State Capitol Building, 700 West Jefferson Street, Boise, Idaho. Photo by Kencf0618, 2011.²⁴

Off White: Readings on Power, Privilege, and Resistance, eds. Michelle Fine et al., 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2004).

²⁴ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:StatehouseBoisePride2011.jpg>

most city infrastructures.²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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 1950.²⁸ A number of in-depth histories of everyday, urban LGBTQ lives in US cities have been written since the 1980s.²⁹ There is a recent and vast in-migration of

²⁵ Christina Hanhardt, *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).

²⁶ Neil Smith, "Class Struggle on Avenue B: The Lower East Side as the Wild Wild West" in *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 3-29; Lawrence Knopp, "Gentrification and Gay Neighborhood Formation in New Orleans: A Case Study," in *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, eds. Amy Gluckman and Betsy Reed (New York: Routledge, 1997), 45-64; and Sarah Schulman, *The Gentrification of the Mind: Witness to a Lost Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

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.

²⁹ To date, there are book-length works on various cities, including New York City: Chauncey, *Gay New York*; James F. Wilson, *Bulldaggers, Pansies, and Chocolate Babies: Performance, Race, and Sexuality in the Harlem Renaissance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011); A. B. Christa Schwarz, *Gay Voices of the Harlem Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003); Hanhardt, *Safe Space*; Philadelphia: Marc Stein, *City Of Sisterly And Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004); Elizabeth Kennedy and Madeline Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Penguin, 1994); Los Angeles: Moira Rachel Kenney, *Mapping Gay L.A.: The Intersection of Place and Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L. A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006); San Francisco: Kath Weston, *Families We Choose*, rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Hanhardt, *Safe Space*; Detroit: Enke, *Finding the Movement*; Marlon M. Bailey, *Butch Queens Up in Pumps: Gender, Performance and Ballroom Culture in Detroit* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013); Kansas City: David W. Jackson, *Changing Times: Almanac and Digest of Kansas City's Gay and Lesbian History* (Kansas City, MO: The Orderly Pack Rat, 2011);

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-gayd” 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,

Minneapolis: Enke, *Finding the Movement*; Twin Cities: GLBT Oral History Project, *Queer Twin Cities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Stewart Van Cleve, *Land of 10,000 Loves: A History of Queer Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Milwaukee: Enke, *Finding the Movement*; The History Project, *Improper Bostonians: Lesbian and Gay History from the Puritans to Playland* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998); Washington, D.C.: Kwame Holmes, “Chocolate to Rainbow City: The Dialectics of Black and Gay Community Formation in Postwar Washington, D.C., 1946-1978,” PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011; Miami: Susana Peña, *Oye Loca: From the Mariel Boatlift to Gay Cuban Miami* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013); and Chicago: Tracy Baim, *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community* (Chicago: Agate Surrey, 2008); St. Sukie de la Croix and John D’Emilio, *Chicago Whispers: A History of LGBT Chicago before Stonewall* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012); and Amin Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

³⁰ Michael Brown, “Gender and Sexuality II: There Goes the Gayborhood?” *Progress in Human Geography* 38, no. 3 (June 2014): 457-465; and Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?*

³¹ Dereka Rushbrook, “Cities, Queer Space, and the Cosmopolitan Tourist”; *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian & Gay Studies* 8, no. 1/2 (January 2002): 183; and Nan Alamilla Boyd, “San Francisco’s Castro District: From Gay Liberation to Tourist Destination,” *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 9, no. 3 (September 1, 2011): 237-248. See Auer (this volume).

³² Benjamin Forest, “West Hollywood as Symbol: The Significance of Place in the Construction of a Gay Identity,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13, no. 2 (1995): 133-157; and Esther Newton, *Cherry Grove Fire Island: Sixty Years in America’s First Gay and Lesbian Town* (New York: Beacon Press, 1995); Karen Christel Krahulik, “Cape Queer?: A Case Study of Provincetown, Massachusetts,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 52, no. 1/2 (December 10, 2006): 185-212.

and Anaheim, California, respectively.³³ 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.³⁴ 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.³⁵ Karen Tongson's recent work on Los Angeles suburbs upsets the rural/urban dichotomy.³⁶ 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.³⁷ Historically, LGBTQ people remained closeted in rural environments or relied on upper-class status and white privilege to

³³ See Petra L. Doan, *Queering Planning* (London: Ashgate, 2011).

³⁴ Gill Valentine, "Negotiating and Managing Multiple Sexual Identities: Lesbian Time-Space Strategies," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 18 no. 2 (1993): 237-248; and Petra L. Doan, "The Tyranny of Gendered Spaces - Reflections from Beyond the Gender Dichotomy," *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 17, no. 5 (2010): 635-654.

³⁵ See Doan, *Queering Planning*.

³⁶ Karen Tongson, *Relocations: Queer Suburban Imaginaries* (New York: NYU Press, 2011).

³⁷ Jon Binnie and Gill Valentine, "Geographies of Sexuality - a Review of Progress," *Progress in Human Geography* 23, no. 2 (June 1999): 175-187.

bend gender and sexual norms.³⁸ 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.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ Unlike cities that afford visible difference, processes of kinship and community override private sexual practices in longtime rural, working-class communities.⁴² 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.⁴³ 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

³⁸ James T. Sears, *Lonely Hunters: An Oral History of Lesbian and Gay Southern Life, 1948-1968* (Boulder, CO: Basic Books, 1997).

³⁹ Claire E. Rasmussen, “We’re No Metrosexuals: Identity, Place and Sexuality in the Struggle over Gay Marriage,” *Social & Cultural Geography* 7, no. 5 (October 2006): 807-825.

⁴⁰ Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998) and *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: NYU Press, 2005); E. Cram, “(Dis)locating Queer Citizenship: Imagining Rurality in Matthew Shepard’s Memory,” in *Queering the Countryside: New Frontiers in Rural Queer Studies*, eds. by Mary L. Gray, Colin R. Johnson, and Brian J. Gilley (New York: NYU Press, 2016), 267–289.

⁴¹ Mary L. Gray, Colin R. Johnson, and Brian J. Gilley, eds. *Queering the Countryside: New Frontiers in Rural Queer Studies* (New York: NYU Press, 2016).

⁴² Mary L. Gray, *Out in the Country: Youth, Media, and Queer Visibility in Rural America* (New York: NYU Press, 2009); Herring, *Another Country*; and Colin R. Johnson, *Just Queer Folks: Gender and Sexuality in Rural America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

⁴³ Shaka McGlotten, *Virtual Intimacies: Media, Affect, and Queer Sociality* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013).

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Mississippi.⁴⁴ In many of these studies and histories, gender plays out differently in these areas, and masculinity in both men and women is generally accepted.⁴⁵ 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



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, 2008.⁴⁶

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

⁴⁴ Malcolm Ingram, *Small Town Gay Bar*. Documentary, 2006.

⁴⁵ Kazyak, "Midwest or Lesbian?"

⁴⁶ License: CC BY 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/tadekk/4184079836/in/album-72157622972335626>

space (real or imagined) of total community, collectivity, and prosperity.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.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).



Figure 4: Castro Street, San Francisco showing the Castro Street Theatre, 429 Castro Street, San Francisco, California. Photo by Jamezcd, January 2009.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Brown, “Gender and Sexuality II.”

⁴⁸ Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 1994, 28.

Since the 1920s, LGBTQ spaces have been understood as being neighborhoods or territories.⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹ LGBTQ neighborhoods are also referred to more globally as “gay villages” or, in the United States, under the colloquial term “gayborhoods.”⁵² 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.⁵³

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.”⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵ 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

⁴⁹ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Castro_street_theatre.JPG

⁵⁰ Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 1994; and Weston, “Get Thee to a Big City.”

⁵¹ Derek Gregory et al., *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, 5th ed. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009); see also Monica Colombo, Cristina Mosso, and Norma De Piccoli, “Sense of Community and Participation in Urban Contexts,” *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology* 11, no. 6 (2001): 457-464.

⁵² Brown, “Gender and Sexuality II.”

⁵³ Boyd, “San Francisco’s Castro District.”

⁵⁴ Martin P. Levine, *Gay Men: The Sociology of Male Homosexuality* (New York: HarperCollins, 1979).

⁵⁵ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

culture, economy, and physical spaces.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ Yet, this viewpoint is narrow.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹

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

⁵⁶ Manuel Castells, “Cultural Identity, Sexual Liberation and Urban Structure: The Gay Community in San Francisco,” in *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 138-172.

⁵⁷ Knopp, *Homo Economics*; Sarah Elwood, “Lesbian Living Spaces: Multiple Meanings of Home,” in *From Nowhere to Everywhere: Lesbian Geographies*, ed. Gill Valentine (Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press, 2000), 11-28; and Enke, *Finding the Movement*.

⁵⁸ Andrew Gorman-Murray and Gordon Waitt, “Queer-Friendly Neighbourhoods: Interrogating Social Cohesion Across Sexual Differences in Two Australian Neighbourhoods,” *Environment and Planning A* 41, no. 12 (2009): 2855-2873; Boyd, “San Francisco’s Castro District.”

⁵⁹ Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class—Revisited: 10th Anniversary Edition*, rev. ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2012).

⁶⁰ Tiffany Muller Myrdahl, “Queerying Creative Cities,” in *Queerying Planning*, 157-168.

⁶¹ Hanhardt, *Safe Space*.

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,

⁶² Martin F. Manalansan IV, “Race, Violence, and Neoliberal Spatial Politics in the Global City,” *Social Text* 23, no. 3/4 (Fall 2005): 41-55.

⁶³ See Tamar Y. Rothenberg, “‘And She Told Two Friends’: Lesbians Creating Urban Social Space,” in *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities*, eds. David J. Bell and Gill Valentine (New York: Routledge, 1995), 165-181; Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?*; and Deborah Goleman Wolf, *The Lesbian Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

⁶⁴ Rothenberg, “And She Told Two Friends”; Doan, *Planning and LGBTQ Communities*.

⁶⁵ S.Y. Adler and Johanna Brenner, “Gender and Space: Lesbian and Gay Men in the City,” *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research* 16, no. 1 (1992): 24-34; Melissa W. Wright, *Disposable Women and Other Myths of Global Capitalism* (New York: Routledge, 2006); and Jen Jack Giesecking, “Crossing Over into Territories of the Body: Urban Territories, Borders, and Lesbian-Queer Bodies in New York City,” *Area*, 2015.

⁶⁶ Jen Jack Giesecking, “Living in an (In)Visible World: Lesbians’ and Queer Women’s Spaces and Experiences of Justice and Oppression in New York City, 1983-2008,” PhD diss., The Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2013, <http://jgieseking.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Giesecking-dissertation-Living-in-an-InVisible-World-2013.pdf>

⁶⁷ Mignon R. Moore, *Invisible Families: Gay Identities, Relationships, and Motherhood among Black Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); and Giesecking, “Crossing Over.”

more economically stable waves of gentrification.⁶⁹ 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.⁷⁰ 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

⁶⁸ License: CC BY-SA 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/skinnylawyer/9214887596>

⁶⁹ Tiffany Muller Myrdahl, "Ordinary (small) Cities and LGBQ Lives," *ACME* 12, no. 2 (2009): 279-304; Petra L. Doan and Harrison Higgins, "The Demise of Queer Space? Resurgent Gentrification and the Assimilation of LGBT Neighborhoods," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 31, no. 1 (March 2011): 6-25; and Gieseeking, "Crossing Over."

⁷⁰ Gary Gates, Jason Ost, and Elizabeth Birch, *The Gay & Lesbian Atlas* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 2004); Michael Brown and Larry Knopp, "Places or Polygons? Governmentality, Scale, and the Census in the Gay and Lesbian Atlas," *Population, Space and Place* 12, no. 4 (July 1, 2006): 223-242; and Amy L. Spring, "Declining Segregation of Same-Sex Partners: Evidence from Census 2000 and 2010," *Population Research and Policy Review* 32, no. 5 (October 2013): 687-716.



Figure 6: Harry Hay (lower left, in the cap), one of the founders of the Radical Faeries, at San Francisco Pride—likely with other Faeries. Photo by Alan Light, June 1986.⁷²

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

⁷¹ Nathaniel M. Lewis, “Moving ‘Out,’ Moving On: Gay Men’s Migrations Through the Life Course,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 104, no. 2 (March 2014): 225-233; and Giesecking, “Crossing Over.”

⁷² License: CC BY 2.0. <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.⁷⁵ On reservations, and beyond, Native Americans who identify as two-spirit organize and gather (Figure 5).⁷⁶ 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.”⁷⁷ 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.

⁷⁵ See Kate Davis, *Southern Comfort*, 2001.

⁷⁶ See Will Roscoe, *The Zuni Man-Woman*, reprint ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992); Scott Lauria Morgensen, *Spaces between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011). For more information on Native American experiences, see Roscoe (this volume).

⁷⁷ Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*; Gill Valentine, “Making Space: Lesbian Separatist Communities in the United States,” in *Contested Countryside Cultures: Rurality and Socio-Cultural Marginalisation*, eds. Paul Cloke and Jo Little (New York: Routledge, 1997), 105-117.

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

⁷⁸ Sarah Kershaw, “My Sister’s Keeper,” *New York Times*, February 1, 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/01/fashion/01womyn.html?scp=1&sq=kershaw%20keeper&st=cs>

⁷⁹ Morgensen, *Spaces between Us*.

⁸⁰ Harold Proshansky, Anne K. Fabian, and Robert Kaminoff, “Place-Identity: Physical World Socialization of the Self,” *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 3 (1983): 57–83; and Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*, Minnesota Archive Editions (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

⁸¹ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997).

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.⁸³ 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



Figure 8: Plaque commemorating the Compton's Cafeteria riot of 1966, located at the corner of Taylor and Turk Streets, San Francisco, California. Photo by GayleSF, June 2006.⁸²

predominantly working-class establishments.⁸⁴ 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.⁸⁵ Male-to-female transgender people and drag queens more

⁸² Image in public domain.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Plaque_commemorating_Compton's_Cafeteria_riot.jpg

⁸³ See Joseph Harry, “Urbanization and the Gay Life,” *The Journal of Sex Research* 10, no. 3 (August 1, 1974): 238–247; D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*; Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold*; Joan Nestle in *Queers in Space*, 61-68; and Wolfe in *Queers in Space*, 301-324.

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.⁸⁶ 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.⁸⁷

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).⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹ 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.⁹⁰ Examples

⁸⁶ Kale Bantigue Fajardo, "Queering and Transing the Great Lakes Filipino/a Tomboy Masculinities and Manhoods across Waters," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 20, no. 1-2 (January 1, 2014): 115-140.

⁸⁷ Jen Jack Giesecking, "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-giesecking/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.

⁸⁸ Susan Stryker, "Transgender History, Homonormativity, and Disciplinarity," *Radical History Review*, no. 100 (2008): 144-157; and Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008). Compton Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. It is a contributing element to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District (listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009).

⁸⁹ Martin Bauml Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Plume, 1994); and Karla Jay, *Tales Of The Lavender Menace: A Memoir Of Liberation*, new edition (New York: Basic Books, 2000). Stonewall, at 53 Christopher Street, New York City, 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.

⁹⁰ Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*; and Hanhardt, *Safe Space*.

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

⁹¹ Horacio N. Roque Ramirez, "That's My Place!: Negotiating Racial, Sexual, and Gender Politics in San Francisco's Gay Latino Alliance, 1975-1983," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12, no. 2 (April 2003): 224-258.

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.

⁹⁴ Max J. Andrucki and Glen S. Elder, "Locating the State in Queer Space: GLBT Non-Profit Organizations in Vermont, USA," *Social & Cultural Geography* 8 (February 2007): 89-104; and INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, ed., *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2009).

⁹⁵ Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 20.

LGBTQ spaces in the future.⁹⁶

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.⁹⁸ The sexual openness of the late 1910s and 1920s afforded a wider but still small swath of places with which to find one another.⁹⁹ 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

⁹⁶ Melinda Chateauvert, *Sex Workers Unite: A History of the Movement from Stonewall to SlutWalk* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014).

⁹⁷ License: CC BY-NC-SA 2.0.

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/nihlibrary/5489664922/in/photostream/>

⁹⁸ See Gill Valentine, “Creating Transgressive Space: The Music of k. d. Lang,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 20, no. 4 (1995): 474–485; Retter in *Queers in Space*; Wolfe in *Queers in Space*, 199; Neil Miller, *Out of the Past: Gay and Lesbian History from 1869 to the Present* (New York: Advocate Books, 2008); and Tiffany Muller Myrdahl, “Lesbian Visibility and the Politics of Covering in Women’s Basketball Game Spaces,” *Leisure Studies* 30, no. 2 (2011): 139–156.

⁹⁹ Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 1994.

and more visible. In recent decades, this turning sociopolitical tide has included religious spaces.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.¹⁰¹ By the late twentieth century, LGBTQ leisure spaces maintained specific roles “as sites of safety, community, political power and identity formation.”¹⁰² For example, WNBA games across the United States are particularly welcoming spaces for lesbians.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.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.¹⁰⁵ LGBTQ archives have become cutting-edge research sites located across the country. Some examples include: the ONE National Gay & Lesbian

¹⁰⁰ For more information on the role of religion in LGBTQ spaces, see Bourn (this volume).

¹⁰¹ Jenell Williams Paris and Rory E. Anderson, “Faith-Based Queer Space in Washington, DC: The Metropolitan Community Church-DC and Mount Vernon Square,” *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 8, no. 2 (June 2001): 149–168.

¹⁰² Kath Browne and Leela Bakshi, “We Are Here to Party? Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans Leisurescapes beyond Commercial Gay Scenes,” *Leisure Studies* 30, no. 2 (April 2011): 179-196.

¹⁰³ Tiffany Muller Myrdahl, “Lesbian Visibility.”

¹⁰⁴ Holland Cotter, “As Ants Crawl Over Crucifix, Dead Artist Is Assailed Again,” *New York Times*, December 10, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/11/arts/design/11ants.html>. The National Portrait Gallery is located in the Old Patent Office Building at Eighth Street NW and F Street NW, Washington, DC. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on January 12, 1965. The Institute of Contemporary Art is located at 118 South Thirty-Sixth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

¹⁰⁵ Judith Tannenbaum, “Robert Mapplethorpe: The Philadelphia Story,” *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, *This Will Have Been: Art, Love, and Politics in the 1980s* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 369-373.

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.¹⁰⁶ Some of the archives remain in private holdings in private homes, although many have become part of public archives.¹⁰⁷

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.¹⁰⁸ LGBTQ publicly-owned and run businesses like restaurants, cafes, food co-operatives, 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.¹⁰⁹ 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).

¹⁰⁸ Alexandra Chasin, *Selling Out: The Gay and Lesbian Movement Goes to Market* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001). Milk ran his campaign from his shop, Castro Camera, at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA.

¹⁰⁹ See for example the ever dwindling numbers of bookstores at “LGBT Bookstores,” Lambda Literary Foundation website, accessed June 2, 2015, <http://www.lambdaliterary.org/resources/bookstores>.

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



Figure 10: *The Gay Liberation Monument* (1980) by artist George Segal, located in Christopher Park, across the street from the Stonewall Inn, New York City. Photo by Raphael Isla, August 2013.¹¹⁵

the early twentieth century, some upper-class women lived together in

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.

¹¹⁴ Michael Brown, "Thinking beyond Homonormativity: Performative Explorations of Diverse Gay Economies," *Environment and Planning A* 41, no. 6 (2009): 1496–1510.

¹¹⁵ License: CC BY-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gay_Liberation_Monument.jpg

¹¹⁶ Elwood, *From Nowhere to Everywhere*; Lynda Johnston and Gill Valentine, "Wherever I Lay My Girlfriend, That's My Home: The Performance and Surveillance of Lesbian Identities in Domestic Environments," in *Mapping Desire*, 66-74.

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

¹¹⁷ Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*.

¹¹⁸ Andrew Gorman-Murray, “Reconciling Self: Gay Men and Lesbians Using Domestic Materiality for Identity Management,” *Social & Cultural Geography* 9, no. 3 (May 2008): 283–301.

¹¹⁹ Adler and Brenner, “Gender and Space”; and Desiree Fields and Sabina Uffer, “The Financialisation of Rental Housing: A Comparative Analysis of New York City and Berlin,” *Urban Studies*, July 31, 2014, 0042098014543704.

¹²⁰ Karen Winkler, “Kinsey, Sex Research, and the Body of Knowledge: Let’s Talk About Sex,” *Women’s Studies Quarterly* 33, no. 3/4 (October 1, 2005): 285–313; Jose Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: NYU Press, 2009); Martin J. Downing, “Perceptions of Risk, Sexual Behaviors, and HIV Prevention in Commercial and Public Sex Venues: A Study of MSM Venue Attendees,” PhD diss., The Graduate Center, City University of New York, 2010; and Margot Weiss, *Techniques of Pleasure: BDSM and the Circuits of Sexuality*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 2011). The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction is located at the University of Indiana, Morrison Hall, 1165 East Third Street, Bloomington, Indiana.

¹²¹ Phil Hubbard, “Kissing Is Not a Universal Right: Sexuality, Law and the Scales of Citizenship,” *Geoforum* 49 (October 2013): 224-232.

rather than attacked or excluded (Figure 11).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.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.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.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.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

¹²² Stonewall Inn and the Henry Gerber House are the only NHLs at the time of writing this chapter.

¹²³ Peter S. Hawkins, “Naming Names: The Art of Memory and the NAMES Project AIDS Quilt,” *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.

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.

¹²⁵ Lawrence Knopp, “Ontologies of Place, Placelessness, and Movement: Queer Quests for Identity and Their Impacts on Contemporary Geographic Thought,” *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 11, no. 1 (March 2004): 121–134.

¹²⁶ Rothenberg, “‘And She Told Two Friends’: Lesbians Creating Urban Social Space”; Knopp, “Ontologies of Place, Placelessness, and Movement”; and Gieseck, “Queering the Meaning of ‘Neighbourhood’”.

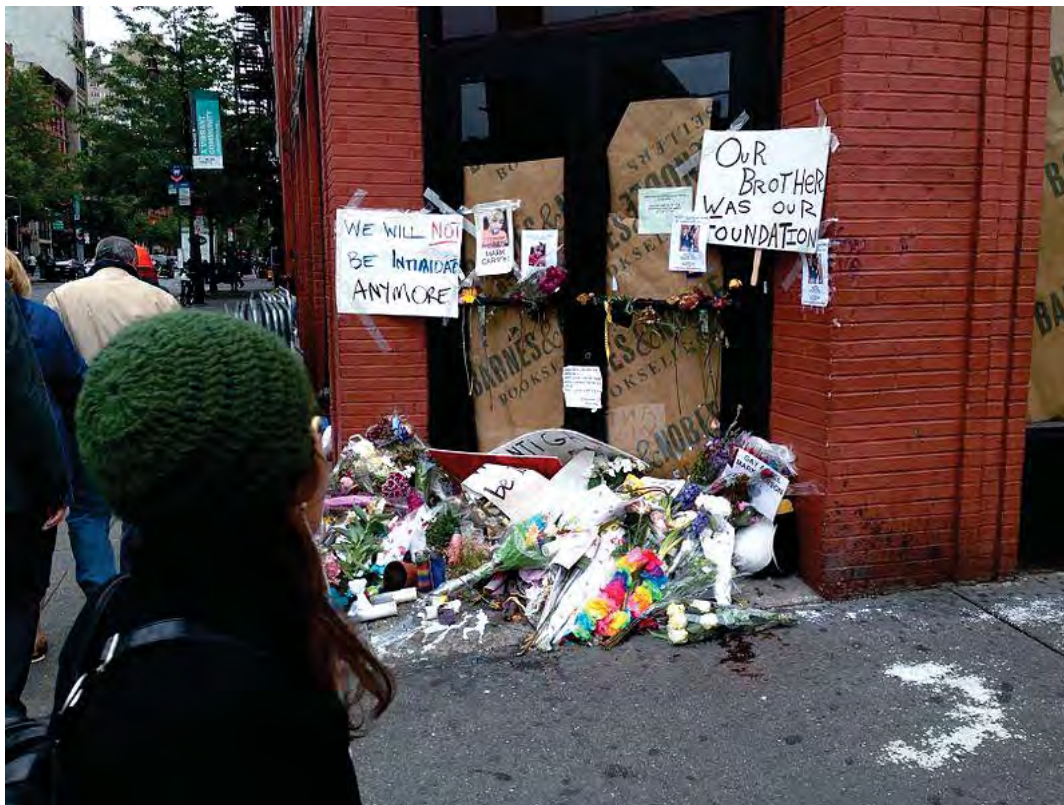


Figure 11: Memorial to Mark Carson, a 32-year old black gay man murdered in a hate crime in New York City's Greenwich Village, May 2013. Photo by David Shankbone, May 2013.¹²⁷

find one another.¹²⁸ 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.¹²⁹ 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

¹²⁷ License: CC BY 3.0.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mark_Carson_Gay_Murder_New_York_Memorial_West_Village_2013_Shankbone.JPG

¹²⁸ Nicholas L. Syrett, “Mobility, Circulation, and Correspondence Queer White Men in the Midcentury Midwest,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 20, no. 1–2 (January 1, 2014): 75–94.

¹²⁹ Andrew Gorman-Murray, Scott McKinnon, and Dale Dominey-Howes, “Queer Domicide: LGBT Displacement and Home Loss in Natural Disaster Impact, Response, and Recovery,” *Home Cultures* 11, no. 2 (July 2014): 237–261; Dean Spade, *Normal Life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics and the Limits of Law* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

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.

15 MAKING COMMUNITY: THE PLACES AND SPACES OF LGBTQ COLLECTIVE IDENTITY FORMATION

Christina B. Hanhardt

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

¹ Steve Weinstein, "Nightlife Suffers as Gay Men Move Online," *Village Voice*, June 2012; the signs in Vancouver are noted by Amin Ghaziani in *There Goes the Gayborhood?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

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.

² Kevin Rector, "Looking Out: Quest Bar in Highlandtown to Close This Weekend After Last Hurrah," *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," *City Paper*, June 10, 2014.

³ For an excellent history of communication networks in fostering the growth of lesbian and gay communities see Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). For a study of the vexed uses of early gay online networks see John Edward Campbell, "Virtual Citizens or Dream Consumers: Looking for Civic Community on Gay.com," in *Queer Intersections: Revisiting Online Media and Queer Sexualities*, eds. Kate O'Riordan and David J. Phillips (New York: Peter Lang, 2007). See also Johnson, Hutchins, and Schweighofer (this volume).

⁴ John D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity," in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, eds. Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 100-113.

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).

⁶ “San Francisco Professional Queer Theater,” Theatre Rhinoceros website, accessed July 17, 2015, <http://www.therhino.org/history.html>.

⁷ The Redstone Building is located at 2926-2948 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, California.

⁸ San Francisco Landmark #238, San Francisco Labor Temple, a.k.a. Redstone Building, 2926-2948 Sixteenth Street at Capp, built in 1914 and expanded in 1939, “San Francisco Landmarks,” NoeHill in San Francisco website, <http://noehill.com/sf/landmarks/sf238.asp>.

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.⁹ In these places, the

⁹ For a history of Los Angeles, see Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006); for Chicago see Timothy Stewart-Winter, *Queer Clout: Chicago and the Rise of Gay Politics* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); for Washington, DC, see Genny Beemyn, *A Queer Capital: A History of Gay Life in Washington DC* (New York: Routledge, 2014) and Kwame Holmes, “Chocolate to Rainbow City: The Dialectics of Black and Gay Community Formation in Postwar Washington, D.C., 1946-1978,” PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011; for Atlanta see Wesley Chenault, “Atlanta Since Stonewall, 1969-2009: A Local History,” (a collaborative project between the Atlanta History Center

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

and the Auburn Avenue Research Library on African American Culture and History), accessed July 21, 2015, Outhistory.org; and Wesley Chenault, “An Unspoken Past: Atlanta Lesbian and Gay History, 1940-1970,” PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 2008; for New Orleans see Lawrence Knopp, “Gentrification and Gay Neighborhood Formation in New Orleans: A Case Study,” in *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, eds. Amy Gluckman and Betsy Reed (New York: Routledge, 1997); for Columbus, Ohio see the film *Flag Wars*, directed by Linda Goode Bryant and Laura Poitras (New York: Praxis Films, 2003); for Provincetown, see Karen Kraulik, *Provincetown: From Pilgrim Landing to Gay Resort* (New York: NYU Press, 2005).

¹⁰ David Rothenberg, “Can Gays Save New York City?” *Christopher Street*, September 1977, 6-10.

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

¹¹ Hector Simms, “New York Gay Ghettos,” *Gay*, December 15, 1969, 4-5.

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).

¹³ See Jeffrey Escoffier, “The Political Economy of the Closet: Notes Toward an Economic History of Gay and Lesbian Life Before Stonewall,” in *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life*, eds. Amy Gluckman and Betsy Reed (New York: Routledge, 1997); and Alexandra Chasin, *Selling Out: The Gay and Lesbian Movement Goes to Market* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000). See also Johnson (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:



Figure 1: Walk Without Fear March from DuPont Circle north along Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC, November 9, 1997. Safe streets programs continued into the 1990s. The Walk Without Fear was an annual event to galvanize the community to fight violence. Photo by Elvert Barnes.¹⁶

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.¹⁷ 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-

Origins to the Age of Milk,” *Gay and Lesbian Review*, January-February 2009, 12-15. In 2000, the building that housed both Milk’s apartment and camera store, located at 575 Castro Street, was designated a San Francisco city landmark.

¹⁶ License: CC BY-SA 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/perspective/25520469563>

¹⁷ The concept of an “imagined community” comes from Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

class status (Figure 1).¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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

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*.

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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.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).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, 2014.²²

²⁰ Nan Alamilla Boyd, *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.

²¹ Ibid. Also see John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*; John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). See also Graves and Watson, Shockley, Capo, Herczeg-Konecny, and Auer (this volume).

²² License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/donbrr/14687483338>. The Nu-Towne Saloon is located at 5002 East Van Buren Street, Phoenix, Arizona.

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.²³ 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.²⁴ (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.²⁵

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.²⁶ The fact that it had its roots in a bar of

²³ George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994). The Plaza Hotel is located at 768 Fifth Avenue, New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on November 29, 1978 and designated an NHL on June 24, 1986.

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.

²⁵ Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*.

²⁶ A. Enke, *Finding the Movement: Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 38, 45. The Town House remains open at 1415 University Avenue West, St. Paul, Minnesota.

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

²⁷ Elizabeth Lapovksy Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

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 Stryker, *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



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

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,

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.³⁵ 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.³⁶ 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.³⁷ 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).³⁸

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

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.

³⁶ "Marchers Protest Raid on 43rd Street Bar," *New York Times*, October 16, 1982; Eric Lerner, "Militant Blues Rally Draws 1,100," *New York Native*, November 8-21, 1982; Sarah Schulman, "Who Wants to Drive Blues Out of Business," *Womannews*, November 1982 (included in her book *My American History: Lesbian and Gay Life During the Reagan Years* (New York: Routledge, 1994). For a more detailed analysis of the broader significance of the raid on Blue's, see Christina B. Hanhardt, "Broken Windows at Blue's: A Queer History of Gentrification and Policing," in *Policing the Planet*, eds. Christina Heatherton and Jordan Camp (New York: Verso Press, 2016). Blue's was located at 264 West 43rd Street, New York City.

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.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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

³⁹ For a brief history of such protests in San Francisco, see Don Romesburg, "Racism and Reaction in the Castro – A Brief, Incomplete History," written for IsBadlandsBad.com in 2004 and now posted at https://www.academia.edu/9677965/Racism_and_Reaction_in_the_Castro_A_Brief_Incomplete_History, accessed July 23, 2015. For a history of New York based protests, see Abram J. Lewis, "'Within the Ashes of Our Survival': Lesbian and Gay Antiracist Organizing in New York City, 1980-1984" *Thinking Gender Papers*, UCLA Center for the Study of Women, 2010, <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4zr1v4bq>, accessed July 23, 2015. Also see Sarah Schulman's commentary in *My American History*, esp. 55-56.

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

⁴¹ David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots that Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2004).

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.

⁴³ Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner, "Sex in Public," *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 2 (1998): 563.

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various other parks along Interstate 59 in Mississippi.⁴⁴ 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



Figure 4: The Crew Club, a gay bathhouse in Washington, DC, 2009. Photo by AgnosticPreachersKid.⁴⁶

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.

⁴⁵ Allen Bérubé, "The History of Gay Bathhouses," in *Policing Public Sex: Queer Politics and the Future of AIDS Activism*, ed. Dangerous Bedfellows (Boston: South End Press, 1996). Bathhouses were also common in places like Chicago, San Francisco, Washington, DC, and others.

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.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ 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*.

⁴⁸ Samuel R. Delany, *Times Square Red, Times Square Blue* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

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.

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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).



Figure 5: Morton Street Pier, Greenwich Village, New York City, New York, 1981. Photo courtesy of Richard C. Wandel.

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*.⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹

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.



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, 2013.⁵²

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).⁵³ 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

⁵² License: CC BY 3.0.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abandoned_Tuberculosis_Hospital_Jacob_Riis_Beach_Rockaways_New_York_2013_Shankbone.JPG. Jacob Riis Park is part of the Gateway National Recreation Area, a unit of the NPS. It was established on October 27, 1972.

⁵³ 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.

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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

⁵⁴ Joan Nestle, “Lesbian Memories 1: Riis Park, New York City, ca. 1960,” *Common Lives, Lesbian Lives* (Summer 1983): 14-16.

⁵⁵ sudi mae, “We Have to Be Our Own Spark: An Interview with ‘Gente’ Third-World Lesbian Softball Team,” *Tide*, July 1974.

⁵⁶ Enke, *Finding the Movement*.

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



Figure 7: The Pacific Center for Human Growth, Berkeley, California. Photo by Rina Herring, 2011.⁵⁷

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,

⁵⁷ License: CC BY-SA 3.0.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Front_of_Pacific_Center_for_Human_Growth_2011_1_19.jpg

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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).⁵⁸ 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).⁵⁹

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



Figure 8: Home of the Milwaukee LGBT Community Center, Milwaukee, Wisconsin from 2002 to 2011. Photo by BlowSky, 2007.⁶⁰

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.”⁶¹ Opened in 1970, the Pride Center of the Capital Region in Albany,

⁵⁸ The Pacific Center for Human Growth is located at 2712 Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, California.

⁵⁹ Enke maps an impressive variety of formal and informal gathering places in *Finding the Movement*.

⁶⁰ License: Public Domain.

<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:MilwaukeeLGBTCommunityBuilding.JPG>. The community center was located at 315 West Court Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

⁶¹ See “About,” Los Angeles LGBT Center website, accessed August 14, 2015,

<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.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.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

(Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2008). The Los Angeles LGBT Center was previously known as the Los Angeles Gay and Lesbian Center.

⁶² The Pride Center of the Capital Region is located at 332 Hudson Avenue, Albany, New York.

⁶³ The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Center (The Center) opened in 1983 and is located at 208 West 13th Street, New York City; San Francisco's LGBT Center, incorporated in 1996, is located in the Fallon Building at 1800 Market Street; the Phillip Rush Center is located at 1530 Dekalb Avenue NE, Atlanta, Georgia; the Montrose Center in Houston, Texas was founded in 1996, and is currently in its third location at 401 Branard Street (from 1998 through 2003, it was located at 803 Hawthorne Avenue, Houston; from 2003 through 2010 it operated out of 3400 Montrose Boulevard, Houston); the Q Center in Portland, Oregon is located at 4115 North Mississippi Avenue. A detailed list of centers can be found on the website for Centerlink: The Community of LGBT Centers at:

<http://www.lgbtcenters.org/Centers/find-a-center.aspx>.

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>). 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*.

⁶⁶ See Linda Rapp, "Rainbow Flag," in *The Queer Encyclopedia of Visual Arts*, ed. Claude J. Summers (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 2004), 268-270.

⁶⁷ See Joshua Gamson, *The Fabulous Sylvester: The Legend, The Music, The Seventies in San Francisco* (New York: Picador/Holt, 2005).



Figure 9: Rainbow flags representing the LGBTQ community, as well as flags for the bear and leather self-identified subcultures, 2016. Photo courtesy of Eva C. Hageman.

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

⁶⁸ Holly Hughes, Carmelita Tropicana, and Jill Dolan, eds. *Memories of the Revolution: The First Ten Years of the WOW Café Theater* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2015). WOW Café Theater was founded in 1980 and located at 330 East 11th Street, New York City, New York by 1981; since 1984 it has had a home at 59-61 East 4th Street, New York City, New York.

⁶⁹ For a study of queer performance venues that cites Josie’s Cabaret and Juice Joint, see Tim Miller and David Roman, “Preaching to the Converted,” *Theater Journal* 47, no. 2 (May 1995): 169-188; on later ball culture in Detroit, see Marlon Bailey, *Butch Queens Up in Pumps: Gender, Performance and Ballroom Culture in Detroit* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013); on the performance duo Kiki and Herb, see Shane Vogel, “Where Are We Now? Queer World Making and Cabaret Performance,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 6, no. 1 (2000): 29-59. For a longer history of queer cabaret performance see Shane Vogel, *The Scene of Harlem Cabaret* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). Club Heaven had been located at 19106 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Michigan and closed by the mid-1990s.



Figure 10: LGBTQ bookstore, Faubourg Marigny Art and Books (FAB), New Orleans, Louisiana. FAB opened in 1977 and remains in business. Photo by Infrogmation, 2008.⁷⁰

boundaries between commercial, nonprofit, and community-based practices.

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).⁷¹ 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,

⁷⁰ License: CC BY-SA 2.0.

<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ChartresFrenchmenBooksOct08.jpg>. FAB is located at 600 Frenchmen Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

⁷¹ The first location of A Different Light Bookstore was at 4014 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, California from 1979 through 1992. The last Different Light Bookstore, at 489 Castro Street, San Francisco, closed in 2011. See also Johnson (this volume). Lambda Rising first opened in 1974 in the Community Building at 1724 Twentieth Street NW, Washington, DC. In 1979, it moved to 2001 S Street NW, and in 1984 moved to 1625 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC; it closed in 2010. The Oscar Wilde Bookshop, which was located at 15 Christopher Street, New York City from 1973 through 2009 began as the Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookshop at 291 Mercer Street, New York City in 1967. Outwrite Bookstore and Coffeeshouse in Atlanta was located at 991 Piedmont Northeast; opened in November of 1993, it closed in January 2012. Giovanni's Room opened in 1973 at 232 South Street, Philadelphia and moved in 1979 to its current location at 345 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Charis Books and More can be found at 1189 Euclid Avenue NE, Atlanta, Georgia; previously it was located at 419 Moreland Avenue in that same city.

and as a place to distribute feminist theories and ideas.⁷² 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 1974.⁷³

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.⁷⁴ 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.⁷⁵ 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.⁷⁶ And as the national LGBTQ

⁷² For a fuller discussion of women's bookstores, see Kristen Hogan, *The Feminist Bookstore Movement: Lesbian Antiracism and Feminist Accountability* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

⁷³ Mama Bears Bookstore was located at 6536 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California from 1983 through 2003. Old Wives Tales in San Francisco opened on Halloween day 1976 at 532 Valencia Street. In 1978, the shop moved to 1009 Valencia Street, where it remained until it closed in 1995.

⁷⁴ Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired*; also see Craig Loftin, *Masked Voices: Gay Men and Lesbians in Cold War America* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2012).

⁷⁵ Ibid; also see Julian Carter, "Gay Marriage and Pulp Fiction: Homonormativity, Disidentification, and Affect in Ann Bannon's Lesbian Novels," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 15, no. 4 (2009): 583-609.

⁷⁶ Junko Onosaka, *Feminist Revolution in Literacy: Women's Bookstores in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2006). Also see Julie R. Enszer, "Night Heron Press and Lesbian Print Culture in North Carolina, 1976-1983," *Southern Cultures* 21, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 43-56 and Julie Enszer, "The Whole Naked Truth of Our Lives: Lesbian-Feminist Print Culture from 1969 to 1989," PhD diss.,

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

University of Maryland, 2013. Naiad Press operated out of a private residence in Weatherby Lake, Missouri from 1973 through 1980, when the offices moved to Tallahassee, Florida; Diana Press was founded in 1972 and had offices at 12 West Twenty-Fifth Street, Baltimore, Maryland (now demolished) from 1974 through 1977 before moving to Oakland, California; Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, was founded in Boston, Massachusetts in 1980 and moved to New York City in 1981; Persephone Press was founded in Watertown, Massachusetts in 1976 by Pomegranate Productions, a lesbian-feminist collective, and sold to Beacon Press in 1983; Firebrand Books had offices at 141 The Commons, Ithaca, New York from 1985 through 1994, when they were sold and moved to Michigan; Seal Press was founded in 1976 in Berkeley, California and continues to operate there today; Cleis Press was founded in 1980 in Minneapolis, Minnesota and is currently based in Berkeley.

⁷⁷ Mary Gray, *Out in the Country: Youth, Media, and Queer Visibility in Rural America* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

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community across generations.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.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.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

⁷⁸ Examples include the "Whose Streets Our Streets" walking tour of New York created by Wesley Flash and Anne Goodfriend, online at <http://whosestreetsourstreets.org>, and YesterQueer developed by Stewart Van Cleve for Minneapolis, see Rick Nelson, "A Local Archivist Offers a Guided Tour Through Minneapolis Gay History," *Star Tribune*, June 19, 2014,

<http://www.startribune.com/archivist-offers-guided-tour-through-minneapolis-gay-history/263685961>.
⁷⁹ Alicia Garza, "A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement," *The Feminist Wire*, October 7, 2014, <http://www.thefeministwire.com/2014/10/blacklivesmatter-2>.

⁸⁰ Information about the raid of the Atlanta Eagle, 306 Ponce De Leon Avenue NE, Atlanta, Georgia, which opened in 1987, and the federal lawsuits that followed can be found at "Police Raid at the Atlanta Eagle," <http://atlantaeagleraid.com>; for information on the saving of Giovanni's Room, see Connie Wu, "Nation's Oldest Bookstore Rescued from Closing," *Out Traveler*, July 25, 2014, <http://www.outtraveler.com/destination-guide/philadelphia/2014/07/25/nations-oldest-lgbt-bookstore-rescued-closing>; for an analysis of the racial and sexual politics of the criminalization of those with HIV see Steven Trasher, "A Black Body on Trial: The Conviction of HIV-Positive 'Tiger Mandingo,'" *Buzzfeed*, November 30, 2015, <https://www.buzzfeed.com/stevenhrasher/a-black-body-on-trial-the-conviction-of-hiv-positive-tiger-m>; and information about the disproportionate poverty and violence experienced by transgender women of color, as well as strategies for collective action to change this, can be found in the resources collected by the Sylvia Rivera Law Project at <http://srlp.org/resources>.

virtual spaces across scales, and in practices official and not. In this way, the landmarks of LGBTQ history will still be 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.⁸¹ 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.⁸² 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?*

16 LGBTQ BUSINESS AND COMMERCE

David K. Johnson

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

¹ Dennis Altman, *The Homosexualization of America: The Americanization of the Homosexual* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 21.

² See Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); and Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

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].”³ 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.⁴

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

⁵ Amy Gluckman and Betsy Reed, *Homo Economics: Capitalism, Community, and Lesbian and Gay Life* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

⁶ See Hanhardt (this volume).

⁷ Castro Camera was located at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.

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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*

⁸ Randy Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street: The Life and Times of Harvey Milk* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982); Moira Rachel Kenney, *Mapping Gay L.A.: The Intersection of Place and Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Mark Abrahamson, *Urban Enclaves: Identity and Place in the World* (New York: Worth Publishers, 2006); Amin Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

⁹ See Giesekeing (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.

¹¹ *Last Call at Maud's*, directed by Paris Poirier (San Francisco: Frameline, 1993). Maud's opened in 1966, and was located at 937 Cole, San Francisco, California. See "Maud's," *Lost Womyn's Space* (blog), March 30, 2011, <http://lostwomynsspace.blogspot.com/2011/03/mauds.html>. Former patrons of Maud's hold an annual reunion at Finnegan's Wake, the current bar in the old Maud's space. See San Francisco Bay Times Facebook page, "Maud's Reunion," May 11, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/SanFranciscoBayTimes/posts/1198052323547064>.

¹² Marie Cartier, *Baby, You Are My Religion: Women, Gay Bars, and Theology Before Stonewall* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 10. Lost and Found, 3058 West Irving Park Road, Chicago, Illinois, was in business from 1965 through early 2008. "Lost & Found," *Lost Womyn's Space* (blog), March 21, 2011, <http://lostwomynsspace.blogspot.com/2011/03/lost-found-chicago.html>.

demonstrated the continuing vital role bars hold for LGBTQ citizens, particularly in rural America.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 *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



Figure 1: Mona's Where Girls will be Boys, Anonymous Artist, 1947. Printed Napkin, courtesy of the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction.

of support.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.”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

¹³ *Small Town Gay Bar*, directed by Malcolm Ingram (Red Envelope Entertainment, 2006).

¹⁴ Helen P. Branson, *Gay Bar* (San Francisco: Pan-Graphic Press, 1957); Will Fellows and Helen P. Branson, *Gay Bar: The Fabulous, True Story of a Daring Woman and Her Boys in the 1950s* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010).

¹⁵ Kennedy and Davis, *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.

¹⁷ Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 33. Columbia Hall was located first at 32 Cooper Square, then 392 Bowery, New York City, New York. See also Melissa Hope Ditmore, ed., *Encyclopedia of Prostitution and Sex Work*, vol. 2 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing, 2006), 343-344.

¹⁸ Ralph Werther, *The Female-Impersonators* (New York: The Medico-Legal Journal, 1922), 151.

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.²⁰ 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.”²¹ 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.”²² When the Black Cat lost its liquor



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.

license for being a “hangout for homosexuals,” straight owner Sol Stoumen took the decision to court.²³ In 1951, in one of the first legal gay rights victories, the California Supreme Court found that homosexuals had

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.

²¹ 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), 186–187.

²² *Before Stonewall*, directed by Greta Schiller (New York: First Run Features, 1985).

²³ Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 121-122; *Stoumen v. Reilly* 234 P.2d 969 (Cal 1951).

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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

²⁴ Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 56-60.

²⁵ Brown, *The Evening Crowd at Kirmser's*.

²⁶ Hugh Hagijs, *Swasarn Nerf's Gay Guides for 1949* (New York: Bibliogay Publications, 2010).

²⁷ Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Lesbians in World War II* (New York: The Free Press, 1990), 271; Hagijs, *Swasarn Nerf's Gay Guides for 1949*; and Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006), 201-224.

²⁸ Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*, 146.

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.

³¹ Genny Beemyn, *A Queer Capital: A History of Gay Life in Washington, D.C.* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 106; and Justin Moyer, “D.C.’s oldest gay bar keeps flying under the radar,” *Washington City Paper*, October 29, 2007, accessed June 25, 2015, www.washingtoncitypaper.com/articles/21134/on-the-hill. The Nob Hill is recognized for its historic significance by both the National Trust for Historic Preservation and Cultural Tourism DC.

³² The Chicken Hut (now demolished) was located at 1720 H Street, Washington, DC, from 1948 until 1970.

³³ David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 163–165; Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 102–106; Hagius, *Swasarn Nerf’s Gay Guides for 1949*. It is listed as the Lafayette Chicken

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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

Hut in International Guild Guide 1965. It was not uncommon for mainstream restaurants to become gay bars at night. See Brown, *The Evening Crowd at Kirmser's*, xii.

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.

³⁶ Carter, *Stonewall*, 49–51; Martin Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Dutton, 1993), 114–117; James McCurrach, *Unrequited Time* (Indianapolis, IN: Dog Ear Publishing, 2001), 201; *New York Times*, April 22 and 26, 1966, March 9, May 11, and November 30, 1967, January 3, 2012; “Three Homosexuals in Search of a Drink,” *The Village Voice*, May 5, 1966; Julius’ was featured in the film *The Boys in the Band*, directed by William Friedkin (Hollywood, CA: Cinema Center Films, 1970).

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.



Figure 4: Exterior photograph of the Gold Coast, 501 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois, 1980s. Photo from the Renslow Photograph Collection, courtesy of the Leather Archives & Museum, 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).³⁸

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)³⁹ and the UpStairs Lounge (site of a tragic anti-LGBTQ arson in 1973), both in New Orleans' French Quarter.⁴⁰ 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).⁴¹ The Atlantic House in Provincetown, Massachusetts has had a gay following since the 1950s and remains in operation.⁴² Many major disco palaces from the 1970s, such as Studio One in Los Angeles and The Lost & Found in Washington, DC, also deserve attention.⁴³

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,

³⁸ Joseph W. Bean, ed., *Kris: The Physique Photography of Chuck Renslow* (Las Vegas: Nazca Plains Corporation, 2007); Tracy Baim and Owen Keehnen, *Leatherman: The Legend of Chuck Renslow* (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Productions, 2011).

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).

⁴⁰ The UpStairs Lounge was located at 141 Chartres Street, New Orleans, Louisiana. Clayton Delery-Edwards, *The Upstairs Lounge Arson* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014); *Upstairs Inferno*, directed by Robert L. Camina (Camina Entertainment, 2014).

⁴¹ Charles Kaiser, *The Gay Metropolis: 1940-1996* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 106.

⁴² Karen Christel Krahulik, *Provincetown: From Pilgrim Landing to Gay Resort* (New York: New York University Press, 2005). The Atlantic House, located at 4-6 Masonic Place, Provincetown, Massachusetts, opened in the eighteenth century. The Provincetown Historic District was added to the NRHP on August 30, 1989.

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.

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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.



Figure 5: Dewey's Sit-in, April 1965, 219 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Photo from *Drum* magazine, August 1965.

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

⁴⁷ David K. Johnson, "The Kids of Fairytown: Gay Male Culture on Chicago's Near North Side in the 1930s," in *Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Community Histories*, ed. Brett Beemyn (New York: Routledge, 1997), 103.

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.

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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

⁵¹Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 245–247. Marc Stein, "The First Gay Sit-in happened 40 years ago," *History News Network*, May 9, 2005, accessed June 12, 2015, <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/11652>.

⁵² Compton'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.

⁵³ Glide 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.

⁵⁴ Susan 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 1972.⁵⁵

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.⁵⁶

One of the earliest known bathhouses with a substantial gay following was New York City's Ariston Hotel Baths.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

⁵⁵ Denny's was located at 102 Parker Street, Tampa, Florida. Stratton D. Nauman, “The Metropolitan Community Church goes to Denny's: Religion, Bar Culture, and the Origins of LGBT Activism in Tampa,” *Tampa Bay History* 28 (2015): 1-24. On why Stonewall became the symbolic origin of gay liberation, see Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Suzanna M. Crage, “Movements and Memory: The Making of the Stonewall Myth,” *American Sociological Review* 71 (October 2006): 724–751.

⁵⁶ Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 207–225; Allan Bérubé, “The History of Gay Bathhouses,” in *Policing Public Sex: Queer Politics and the Future of AIDS Activism*, ed. Ephen Glenn Colter (Boston: South End Press, 1996), 187–220. On the history of gay bathhouses more generally, see Grey Pierce, “Throwing Open the Door: Preserving Philadelphia's Gay Bathhouses,” Master's Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2015.

⁵⁷ The Ariston Hotel, with the baths in the basement, was located at 1732 Broadway, New York City, New York.

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raided and closed in 1916.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰ 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



Figure 6: The Everard, 28 West 28th Street, New York City, New York, 2015. Photo courtesy of David K. Johnson.

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

⁵⁸ The Lafayette was located at 403-405 Lafayette Street, New York City, New York (now demolished).

⁵⁹ Aviva Stampfer, "Mt. Morris Turkish Baths (former)," Place Matters: Places That Matter website, July 2010, <http://www.placematters.net/node/1368>; Alan Feuer, "Mount Morris Journal; A Gay Bathhouse in Harlem? Hey, It's No Secret," *New York Times*, January 19, 2003. The Mount Morris Turkish Baths were at 1944 Madison Avenue, New York City, New York.

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

⁶¹ James McCourt, *Queer Street: Rise and Fall of an American Culture, 1947-1985* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 194.

⁶² Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 207-225.

⁶³ The Club Turkish Baths, later Bulldog Baths, was located at 132 Turk Street, San Francisco, California until 1984. Allan Bérubé, “The History of Gay Bathhouses,” indicates it opened in the 1950s, while the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Historical Society suggests the 1930s. Matt Crowley, *The Boys in the Band: A Play in Two Acts* (New York: Samuel French, 1968), 29; *Ciao!* January–February 1973, 20; *Drummer* 4, no. 34 (1979): 74–75.

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>.

⁶⁵ See Capó (this volume).

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Force, and the Human Rights Campaign.⁶⁶ Later, during the AIDS pandemic, he was a vocal advocate of turning bathhouses into health clubs that could educate members about safe sex.⁶⁷

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.⁶⁸ 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 1975.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Although many activists shunned him because of the source of his money, others found his financial support indispensable. Dudley Clendinen and Adam Nagourney, *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), 293–295; Randy Shilts, *And the Band Played On: Politics, People, and the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 180, 306.

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.

⁶⁹ Frank Keating, “Pleasure Palace,” *Queen’s Quarterly*, Winter 1970, 8-12; *Continental*, directed by Malcolm Ingram (Blowhard Films, 2013); Steve Ostrow, *Live at the Continental: The Inside Story of the World-Famous Continental Baths* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2007); Michael Schiavi, *Celluloid Activist: The Life and Times of Vito Russo* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011), 104–106; Suzanne Braun Levine and Mary Thom, *Bella Abzug: An Oral History* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2007), 99. Among the many fictionalized accounts of the Continental are John Paul Hudson and Warren Wexler, *Superstar Murder? A Prose Flick* (New York: Insider Press, 1976) and *The Ritz*, directed by Richard Lester (Hollywood: Warner Brothers, 1976).

As gay male bathhouses were closing, lesbians began opening women-only communal bathhouses. Among the first and most long-lasting was Osentó, 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. Osentó 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.⁷⁰ 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, Osentó became the target of boycotts.⁷¹ Other lesbian-feminist businesses on Valencia included Old Wives' Tales Bookstore and Amelia's, a lesbian bar.⁷²

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*.⁷³ While largely dependent on mainstream presses to publish these books, gay men and lesbians developed their own ways of selling

⁷⁰ Osentó closed in 2008 when the owner retired. The building is now a private residence.

⁷¹ Josh Sides, *Erotic City: Sexual Revolutions and the Making of Modern San Francisco* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 115; and Stephanie J. Rosenbaum, "Osentó, 1980-2008," *The Adventures of Pie Queen* (blog), accessed April 18, 2016, <http://piequeen.blogspot.com/2008/08/osento-1980-2008.html>.

⁷² Old Wives' Tales opened in 1976 on Valencia at Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, California; it closed in 1995. Amelia's, open from ca. 1977 until 1991, was located at 647 Valencia Street, San Francisco, California. This is now the location of the Elbo Room. Kristen Hogan, *The Feminist Bookstore Movement: Lesbian Antiracism and Feminist Accountability* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016); Robin, "The State of the Lesbian Bar: San Francisco Toasts to the End of an Era," *Autostraddle*, November 11, 2014, <http://www.autostraddle.com/the-state-of-the-lesbian-bar-san-francisco-toasts-to-the-end-of-an-era-262072>.

⁷³ Christopher Bram, *Eminent Outlaws: The Gay Writers Who Changed America* (New York: Twelve, 2012).

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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.⁷⁴ 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.”⁷⁵ 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.⁷⁶ 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.

⁷⁵ Donald Webster Cory, *The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach* (New York: Greenberg, 1951); Martin Duberman, *Left Out: The Politics of Exclusion: Essays 1964–2002* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2002), 59–94.

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

⁷⁷ The Book Cellar was located at 237 East 56th Street, New York City, New York.

⁷⁸ Cory Book Service circular, April 6, 1953, Kepner Papers, ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives; Cory Book Service to George Quaintance, April 16, 1953, folder 4, box 4, Mattachine Society Records, New York Public Library; Charles Kaiser, *The Gay Metropolis*, 126. The shop at 237 East 56th Street probably lasted until 1955, when Cory sold the Cory Book Service.

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.

⁸⁰ The Guild Book Service began in 1964 and operated out of Womack’s Guild Press, 807-813 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC. The DOB Book and Records Service launched in May 1960 and lasted a few years. The Dorian Book Service began in 1957. Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2006), 59-60; Drewey Wayne Gunn, ed., *The Golden Age of Gay Fiction* (Albion, NY: MLR Press, 2009), 95; Mark Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 61.

⁸¹ Adonis Bookstore opened at 350 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California.

⁸² *Free Press*, July 21, 1967 in Kepner Papers, ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives at the USC Libraries; *Golden Boys #1*, 1967; James T. Sears, *Behind the Mask of Mattachine: The Hal Call Chronicles and the Early Movement for Homosexual Emancipation* (Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press, 2006), 519.

envisioned it as an arm of the homophile movement.⁸³ 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.⁸⁴ 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).⁸⁵

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.”⁸⁶ 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.⁸⁷ Other LGBTQ bookstores across the country followed in the footsteps of Adonis and Oscar Wilde. In 1973, Ed Hermance opened Giovanni’s Room in

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.

⁸⁵ Kay Tobin and Randy Wicker, *The Gay Crusaders* (New York: Paperback Library, 1972), 65-76; “Gay is Good,” *Queen’s Quarterly*, Summer 1969, 38ff; Duberman, *Stonewall*, 165; Lionel Cuffie, “Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookstore: Nine years of successful service to the community,” *Gay Community News*, December 18, 1976, 12-13; Martha E. Stone, “After Many a Season Dies the Oscar Wilde,” *The Gay & Lesbian Review Worldwide*, (July-August 2009), 9.

⁸⁶ “Gay is Good,” *Queen’s Quarterly*, Summer 1969, 38-39.

⁸⁷ Shilts, *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.



Figure 7: Oscar Wilde Bookstore, 15 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. Photo by Steve and Sara Emry, 2009.⁸⁸

Philadelphia’s Rittenhouse Square neighborhood.⁸⁹ 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.⁹⁰ 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.⁹¹ In 1979 Canadian businessmen George Leigh

⁸⁸ License: CC BY-NC SA 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/emry/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.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.⁹³

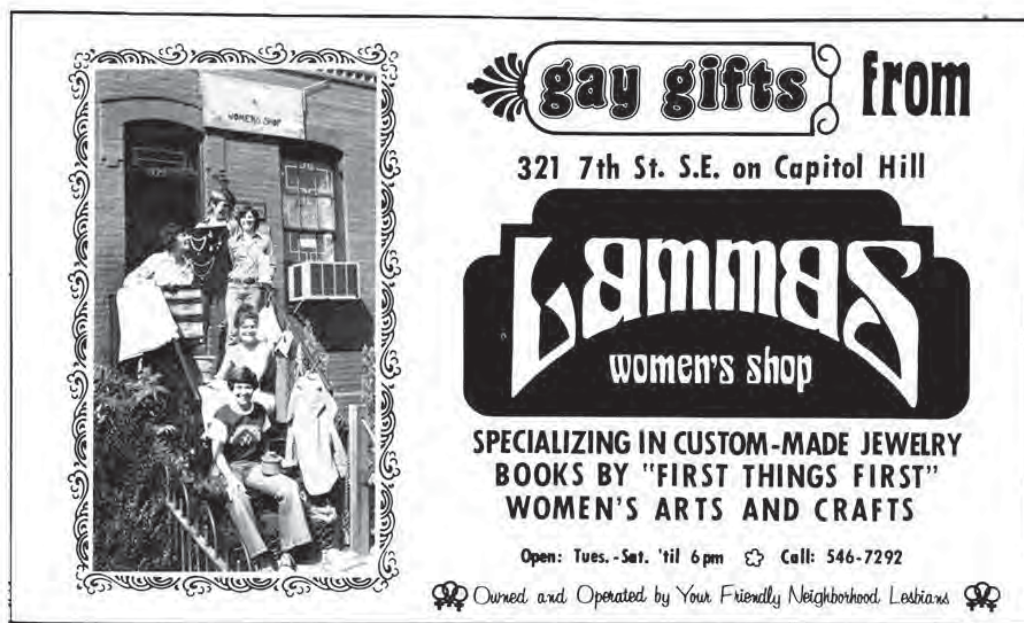


Figure 8: Lammas Women's Shop advertisement.

Although such bookstores served gay men, bisexuals, and lesbians, lesbians and feminists often felt their interests were being underserved

report (now the *Lambda Literary Review*) continue today under the auspices of the Lambda Literary Foundation.

⁹² A Different Light's first location was at 4014 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. The second Los Angeles location was in the West Hollywood neighborhood at 8853 Santa Monica Boulevard. In San Francisco, A Different Light was at 489 Castro Street. A Different Light opened at 548 Hudson Street, New York City, New York in 1983, moving to 151 West 19th Street, New York City in 1994. It closed in 2001. Before moving to Los Angeles, Laurila had been an employee of Toronto's Glad Day Bookstore, which claims to be the longest-operating LGBTQ bookstore in the world. George Leigh Obituary, *Los Angeles Times*, January 16, 1998. Jayson Blair, "Bookstore On Gay Life is a Victim of Tolerance," *New York Times*, March 19, 2001.

⁹³ Lambda Rising, "Whole Gay Catalog," Ephemera Collection, GLBT Historical Society, San Francisco; Paul Schwartzman, "End of the Story for Gay-Oriented Bookshop," *Washington Post*, December 8, 2009.

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).⁹⁴ 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.⁹⁵ 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 *Feminist Bookstore News*, before it ceased publication in 2000.⁹⁶

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.⁹⁷ 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

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, *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

<http://www.npr.org/2013/10/27/239710557/one-way-for-an-indie-bookstore-to-last-put-women-first>.

⁹⁶ Kristen Hogan, *The Feminist Bookstore Movement: Lesbian Antiracism and Feminist Accountability* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).

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 Vicente, West Hollywood, California, now a Citibank.

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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 Vicente, open a second store in nearby Silver Lake, and a franchise in Houston.⁹⁸ 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.⁹⁹

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.¹⁰⁰ 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.¹⁰¹ Not far away

⁹⁸ Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 231-234; Ah Men Clothing Catalogues, ONE National Gay and Lesbian Archives; Don Cook, interview with David K. Johnson, November 14, 2011, Los Angeles; "The Male a la Mode," *Around the World with Kenneth Marlow* (April–May 1966), 16ff.

⁹⁹ Douglas Edwards, "Gene Burkard: The Man Behind International's Mail Male," *The Advocate*, June 28, 1979; Pat Sherman, "Moments in Time: Never Get Respectable," *San Diego Gay*, January 3, 2011, accessed April 25, 2016, <http://gay-sd.com/moments-in-time-never-get-respectable>. When he retired, in 1986, Burkard sold International Male to Horn & Hardart, a New York-based mail-order company part of Hanover Direct. The last International Male catalog was mailed in 2007, though the company's website continued to be available through 2009. Bill Ritter, "International Male Catalogue Retailer Sold," *Los Angeles Times*, August 5, 1986; Steve Weinstein, "The End of International Male and Undergear," *Out*, June 25, 2015.

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.

¹⁰¹ Joey Plaster, "Polk Street History Project," Outhistory.org, accessed June 15, 2015.

in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, bisexual Peggy Caserta opened a clothing boutique in 1964 called Mnasidika as a store for "gay girls."¹⁰² 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."¹⁰³

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.¹⁰⁴ In 1973, two lesbians living outside Kansas City, Missouri, formed Naiad Press to publish and distribute lesbian literature.¹⁰⁵ 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

¹⁰² Mnasidika was located at 1510 Haight Street, San Francisco, California. It closed in 1968.

¹⁰³ Alice Echols, *Scars of Sweet Paradise: The Life and Times of Janis Joplin* (New York: Macmillan, 2000), 141; Sides, *Erotic City*, 113; Sheila Weller, "Suddenly that Summer," *Vanity Fair*, July 2012.

¹⁰⁴ Heather Murray, "Free for All Lesbians: Lesbian Cultural Production and Consumption in the United States during the 1970s," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 16 (May 2007): 251-275.

¹⁰⁵ Although originally founded in Bates City, Missouri, from 1980 to 2003, Naiad was headquartered in Tallahassee, Florida.

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many more publishing houses specializing in lesbian content. As journalist Victoria Brownworth argues, “Grier built the lesbian book industry.”¹⁰⁶

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.¹⁰⁷ 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.¹⁰⁸

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-

¹⁰⁶ Victoria A. Brownworth, “Barbara Grier: Climbing the Ladder,” in *Before Stonewall: Activists for Gay and Lesbian Rights in Historical Context*, ed. Vern L. Bullough (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2002), 253-264; Victoria Brownworth, “In Remembrance: Barbara Grier,” *Lambda Literary Report*, November 11, 2011; *New York Times*, November 3, 2011.

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.

¹⁰⁸ Bonnie Morris, “Olivia Records: The Production of a Movement,” *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 19: 290-304; Judith A. Peraino, *Listening to the Sirens: Musical Technologies of Queer Identity from Homer to Hedwig* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 163-165; Alice Echols, *Shaky Ground: The Sixties and its Aftershocks* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 87; Sue Rochman, “Cruising for Success,” *The Advocate*, April 24, 2001, 28-31. Olivia Travel became the focus of the business in 1990. See Olivia website, “About Olivia,” <https://www.olivia.com/content/about.aspx>.

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



Figure 9: Bob Mizer’s Athletic Model Guild Compound, 1834 West Eleventh Street, Los Angeles, California, 2009. Photo courtesy of David K. Johnson.

¹⁰⁹ Thomas Waugh, *Hard to Imagine: Gay Male Eroticism in Photography and Film from Their Beginnings to Stonewall* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 217-219.

¹¹⁰ David K. Johnson, “Physique Pioneers: The Politics of 1960s Gay Consumer Culture,” *The Journal of Social History*, 43 (2010): 867-892; David L. Chapman and Brett Josef Grubisic, *American Hunks: The Muscular Male Body in Popular Culture 1860–1970* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2009).

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outside downtown Los Angeles, for over forty years.¹¹¹ As his magazine *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).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).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

¹¹¹ 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>.

¹¹² Whitney Strub, "Challenging the Anti-Pleasure League: Physique Pictorial and the Cultivation of Gay Politics," in *Modern Print Activism in the United States*, ed. Rachel Schreiber (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013); Dian Hanson, *Bob's World: The Life and Boys of A.M.G.'s Bob Mizer* (Taschen, 2009); Volker Janssen, *Bob Mizer: Athletic Model Guild: American Photography of the Male Nude 1940-1970*, vol. 7 (London: Janssen Publishers, 2007); *Beefcake*, directed by Thom Fitzgerald (Culver City, CA: Strand Releasing, 1998).

¹¹³ 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.

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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

¹¹⁴ Philip Clark, "Accept Your Essential Self: The Guild Press, Identity Formation, and Gay Male Community," in *1960s Gay Pulp Fiction: The Misplaced Heritage*, eds. Drewey Wayne Gunn and Jamie Harker (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013), 78-119; Jackie Hatton, "The Pornography Empire of H. Lynn Womack: Gay Political Discourse and Popular Culture 1955-1970," *thresholds: viewing culture* 7 (Spring 1993): 9-32; Joyce Murdoch and Deb Price, *Courting Justice: Gay Men and Lesbians v. The Supreme Court* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 65-88; Rodger Streitmatter and John C. Watson, "Herman Lynn Womack: Pornographer as First Amendment Pioneer," *Journalism History* 28 (Summer 2002): 56-66; *MANual Enterprises Inc. v. J. Edward Day* (370 US 478).

¹¹⁵ DSI's offices were located at 2419 Nicollet Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

¹¹⁶ Johnson, "Physique Pioneers," 878.

¹¹⁷ Johnson, "Physique Pioneers," 878-882; Waugh, *Hard to Imagine*, 280-283; *U.S. v. Spinar and Germain*, Decision, US District Court, Minneapolis, Case 4-67 CR 15, July 26, 1967; *The Los Angeles Advocate*, September 1967, 1.

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.¹¹⁸ *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.¹¹⁹

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).¹²⁰ 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

¹¹⁸ *On Our Backs* began publishing in 1984. Founded by Myrna Elana and Debi Sundahl who worked in the peep shows and sex clubs of the Tenderloin, they brought Susie Bright on board as advertising director. *On Our Backs* ran from 1984 through 2006. *Bad Attitude* was published from 1984 to 1987 at *Gay Community News* offices at 20-30 Bromfield Street, Boston, Massachusetts. Susie Bright, “A Brief History of On Our Backs, 1984-1991,” *Susie Bright’s Journal* (blog), November 15, 2011, http://susiebright.blogs.com/susie_brights_journal_/2011/11/a-brief-history-of-on-our-backs-1984-1991.html; Rebecca Beirne, *Lesbians in Television and Text After the Millennium* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 211.

¹¹⁹ Rodger Streitmatter, *Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America* (Boston: Faber & Faber, 1995), 294-299; Arlene Stein, *Shameless: Sexual Dissidence in American Culture* (New York: NYU Press, 2006), 39-58.

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).

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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.¹²¹ 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.

¹²¹ Gluckman and Reed, *Homo Economics*.

SEX, LOVE, AND RELATIONSHIPS

Tracy Baim

Parks. Bathhouses. Bars. Piers. Private homes. The YMCA. Tearooms. Hotels. Motels. Teepees. Igloos. Bungalows. Softball fields. Department stores. Campgrounds. Picket lines. Lover's lanes. Forest preserves. Prisons. Tattoo parlors. Brothels. Barracks. Music festivals. Personal ads. Websites. Gyms. Smartphones. Street corners. These are some of the places where LGBTQ people have found each other.

Long-term relationships. Chosen family. One-night stands. Hook ups. Friends-with-benefits. Anonymous. Monogamous. Polyamorous. Open. Dating. Committed. Married. Single. Celibate. Companion. Sperm donor. Adoptive parent(s). Surrogate mother. Single parent. Co-parent. These are some of the types of families and relationships that LGBTQ people have.

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.

² Larry Kramer, *The American People, Volume 1: Search for My Heart, A Novel* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015).

³ Lord Alfred Douglas, “Two Loves” (poem), *The Chameleon* 1, no. 1 (December 1894), accessed April 15, 2016,



Figure 1: Emily Dickinson House, Amherst, Massachusetts, 2008. Photo by Daderot.⁴

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.⁵ 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.⁶ They also dismiss the relationships of women living decades under the same roof

⁴ License: Public Domain.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Emily_Dickinson_Museum,_Amherst,_MA_-_front.JPG

⁵ See, for example, C. A. Tripp, *The Intimate World of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Free Press, 2005).

⁶ For example, Lorena Hickok and Eleanor Roosevelt spent a night together at the Mayflower Hotel, 1127 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC. The Mayflower Hotel was listed on the NRHP on November 14, 1983. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover is reported to have met his long-time male companion, FBI Associate Director Clyde Tolson, at the Mayflower almost every workday for almost forty years. Upon Hoover's death, Tolson inherited his estate, including Hoover's home in the Forest Hills neighborhood of Washington, DC. See Richard M. Cohen, "FBI's Clyde A. Tolson, 74, Dies," *Washington Post*, April 15, 1975, C6. While Tolson and Hoover were acknowledged to be very close, historians debate whether Hoover had sexual relationships with men. See, for example, Anthony Summers, *Official and Confidential: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: Pocket Books, 1993); Richard Hack, *Puppetmaster: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (Beverly Hills, CA: New Millennium Press, 2004). For a nuanced discussion about the role of gossip in considering Hoover's sexuality (and historical sexualities more broadly) see Claire Bond Potter, "Queer Hoover: Sex, Lies, and Political History," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 15, no. 3 (September 2006): 355-381. For similar discussions in other contexts, see Victoria Bissell Brown, "Queer or Not: What Jane Addams Teaches Us about Not Knowing," in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads*, eds. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 63-75; and Judith M. Bennett, "'Lesbian-Like' and the Social History of Lesbianisms," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9, no. 1/2 (January-April 2000): 1-24.

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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. 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.

¹⁰ David Bret, *Rock Hudson* (London: Robson, 2004); Jeff Yarbrough, “Rock Hudson: On Camera and Off, The Tragic News That He Is The Most Famous Victim of An Infamous Disease, AIDS, Unveils the Hidden Life of a Longtime Hollywood Hero,” *People Magazine*, August 12, 1985, accessed April 16, 2016, <http://www.people.com/people/archive/article/0,,20091477,00.html>. From 1962 until his death, Rock Hudson lived in “The Castle,” his home in the Beverly Hills neighborhood of Los Angeles, California. See Paula Martinac, “Rock Hudson’s ‘Castle’” *The Queerest Places: A Guide to LGBT Historic Sites* (blog), January 8, 2009, <https://queerestplaces.com/2009/01/08/rock-hudsons-castle>.

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.”¹² 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.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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

¹² David M. Halperin, *How to Do the History of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 10, 106.

¹³ Halperin, *How to Do the History*, 106.

¹⁴ Robert T. Michael et al., *Sex in America: A Definitive Survey* (Boston: Little Brown, 1994).

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.”¹⁵

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).¹⁷ He reported that 37



Figure 2: The Kinsey House, Bloomington, Indiana. Photo by Nyttend, 2011.¹⁶

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.¹⁸

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

¹⁵ Michael et al., *Sex in America*, 172-173.

¹⁶ License: Public Domain.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:First_Street_1320,_Kinsey_House,_Vinegar_Hill_HD.jpg

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."¹⁹ 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."²⁰

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.²¹ 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

¹⁹ D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 25-33.

²⁰ Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1948), 625, 627. Alfred Kinsey designed his family's home in Bloomington, Indiana and lived in the house from 1927 until 1956 when he died. His wife Clara lived in the home until she died in 1982. The home is a contributing element of 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, 1165 East Third Street, Bloomington, Indiana.

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.”²²

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.²³ 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.²⁴ “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.”²⁵

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

²² Jean M. Twenge, Ryne A. Sherman, and Brooke E. Wells, “Changes in American Adults’ Reported Same-Sex Sexual Experiences and Attitudes, 1973-2014,” *Archives of Sexual Behavior* doi:10.1007/s10508-016-0769-4.

²³ A. Dang and S. Frazer, *Black Same-Sex Households in the United States: A Report from the 2000 Census* (New York: National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Policy Institute and the National Black Justice Coalition, 2004).

²⁴ Gary J. Gates and Taylor N. T. Brown, *Marriage and Same-sex Couples after Obergefell* (Los Angeles: The Williams Institute, November 2015), <http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/research/census-lgbt-demographics-studies/marriage-and-same-sex-couples-after-obergefell>.

²⁵ Gary J. Gates, *How Many People are Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender?* (Los Angeles: The Williams Institute, April 2011), <http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Gates-How-Many-People-LGBT-Apr-2011.pdf>.

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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.’”²⁶ 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.²⁷

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

²⁶ Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 280, 301. Republished by Penguin Books, 1994.

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.”²⁸ 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.²⁹

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.³⁰ 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.³¹ Missing from these negative sources are the everyday lives and loves of sexual and gender minorities in our past. And

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.

²⁹ See Roscoe (this volume); Tracy Brown, “‘Abominable Sin’ in Colonial New Mexico: Spanish and Pueblo Perceptions of Same-Sex Sexuality,” in Thomas A. Foster, ed., *Long Before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in Early America*, (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 51-80.

³⁰ Kathleen Brown, “‘Changed...into the Fashion of Man’: The Politics of Sexual Difference in a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Settlement,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 6 (1995): 171-193. Jamestown was designated a National Historic Site (a unit of the NPS) on December 18, 1940 and added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966.

³¹ For Civil War examples, see DeAnne Blanton, “Women Soldiers of the Civil War,” *Prologue Magazine* 25, no. 1 (Spring 1993), <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1993/spring/women-in-the-civil-war-1.html> and Rachel Nuwer, “Women Fought in the Civil War Disguised As Men (And So Do Today’s Re-enactors),” *Smithsonian Magazine*, April 29, 2014, <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/modern-day-female-civil-war-re-enactors-honor-women-who-fought-men-north-and-south-180951249>.

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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).

³³ See for example, Rachel Hope Cleves, “Lesbian Histories and Futures: A Dispatch From ‘Gay American History@40,’” *Notches (Re)marks on the History of Sexuality* (blog), May 18, 2016, <http://notchesblog.com/2016/05/18/the-question-of-lesbian-identity-a-dispatch-from-gay-american-history-40>.

³⁴ William Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America: Beyond Romantic Friendships* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2006), ix.

³⁵ John D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 10.

interpretation.”³⁶ Historian Rachel Hope Cleves describes the relationship between New Englanders Charity Bryant and Sylvia Drake as a “marriage.”³⁷ 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.”³⁸ 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.³⁹

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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ Often forcibly living apart from their families and working in sex-segregated

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).

³⁸ Farah Jasmine Griffin, *Beloved Sisters and Loving Friends: Letters from Rebecca Primus of Royal Oak, Maryland, and Addie Brown of Hartford, Connecticut, 1854-1868* (New York: Random House, 2001); Karen V. Hansen, “‘No Kisses is Like Youres’; An Erotic Friendship between Two African American Women during the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” in *Lesbian Subjects: A Feminist Studies Reader*, ed. Martha Vicinus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 178-208. After the Civil War, Primus was sent to Royal Oak, Maryland by the Hartford (Connecticut) Freedmen’s Aid Society to help educate former slaves. The school she founded, known as the Primus Institute, is no longer extant. 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. For more on black lesbians in US history, see Sherri L. Barnes, “A Multidisciplinary Bibliography, The Arts and Humanities: Lesbian Subjectivities: Theorizing, Critiquing, Personalizing,” Black American Feminisms website, last modified February 20, 2015, http://blackfeminism.library.ucsb.edu/ah_lesbian.html.

³⁹ Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America*, xvi.

⁴⁰ Thomas A. Foster, “The Sexual Abuse of Black Men under American Slavery,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20, no. 3 (September 2011): 448-449.

⁴¹ Foster, “The Sexual Abuse of Black Men,” 452-454.

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environments, enslaved men formed strong homosocial bonds with each other for companionship, survival, and resistance against their enslavers.⁴² 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.”⁴³

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.⁴⁴

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

⁴² Sergio Lussana, “‘No Band of Brothers Could Be More Loving’: Enslaved Male Homosociality, Friendship, and Resistance in the Antebellum American South,” *Journal of Social History* 46, no. 4 (2013): 872–895.

⁴³ Maurice O. Wallace, *Constructing the Black Masculine Identity and Ideality in African-American Men’s Literature and Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 2.

⁴⁴ Bayard Rustin lived in an apartment in the Penn South Complex in West Chelsea, New York City from 1962 until his death in 1987. This occupancy included the year before the 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom in Washington, DC. The Bayard Rustin Residence was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016.

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

⁴⁵ License: Public Domain.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Valley_Forge_National_Historical_Park_VAF03927.jpg

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

⁴⁶ Randy Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming: Gays and Lesbians in the US Military* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2005), 7-10; William E. Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America*; William B. Skelton, North, William, *American National Biography Online*; Paul Douglas Lockhart, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge: The Baron de Steuben and the Making of the American Army* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008). 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).

⁴⁷ Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years*, vol. 1 (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1926), 166-167; for a discussion, see Jonathan Ned Katz, *Love Stories: Sex Between Men Before Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 3-25.

⁴⁸ C. A. Tripp, *The Intimate World of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Free Press, 2005), xx.

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



Figure 4: Walt Whitman's room at his Camden, New Jersey residence. Photo from the Wellcome Library collections.⁵¹

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

⁴⁹ Tripp, *The Intimate World of Abraham Lincoln*; Mark Segal, “Abraham Lincoln: A Life in the Closet?” *Washington Blade*, October 25, 2011, accessed April 16, 2016, <http://www.washingtonblade.com/2011/10/25/abraham-lincoln-a-life-in-the-closet>.

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

⁵³ Justin Kaplan, *Walt Whitman: A Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 311-312; Rictor Norton, “Walt Whitman, Prophet of Gay Liberation,” *Gay History and Literature*, November 18, 1999, updated June 20, 2008, <http://rictornorton.co.uk/whitman.htm>; John Stokes, *Oscar Wilde: Myths, Miracles and Imitations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 194 note 7.

⁵⁴ Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Penguin, 1992). First published by Columbia University Press (1991) and republished (2011). See also Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

⁵⁵ Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 2.

⁵⁶ Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 3.

license to therefore live with other women.⁵⁷ 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.'"⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹

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

⁵⁷ Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

⁵⁸ Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 19.

⁵⁹ Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 63.

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double bed.” Addams wrote to Smith in 1899: “Miss you dreadfully and am yours ’til death.”⁶⁰

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



Figure 5: M. Carey Thomas addresses students from the porch of the Deanery, 1905. Photo by Bryn Mawr College.⁶¹

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 1915.⁶²

⁶⁰ Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 25-26.

⁶¹ License: Public Domain.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:M._Carey_Thomas_on_Deanery_Porch.jpg

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.

⁶³ Sperry was married to a man, with whom she had an open relationship; Goldman's primary relationship was with anarchist Alexander Berkman. Emma Goldman, "Offener Brief an den Herausgeber der Jahrbücher über Louis Michel, with a preface by Magnus Hirschfeld," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 23 (1923): 70. Translated from German by James Steakley. For the letters between Sperry and Goldman, see Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 34-35; "Almeda Sperry to Emma Goldman: 1912, The Letters," OutHistory website, accessed April 16, 2016, <http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/sperry-to-goldman/letters>. See also Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the USA: A Documentary History* (New York: Meridian, 1992).

⁶⁴ Sheryl, "East Village Tenement Housed 'the Most Dangerous Woman in America,'" *Off the Grid: The Blog of the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation*, November 29, 2011, accessed April 16, 2016, <http://gvshp.org/blog/2011/11/29/east-village-tenement-housed-the-most-dangerous-woman-in-america>.

⁶⁵ Their home was located just off Weston Road, north of Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts.

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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."⁶⁶

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.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ One of Taft's great works is his monumental *Fountain of Time* installed in Washington Park on Chicago's South Side (Figure 6).⁶⁹ 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."⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Marie J. Kuda, "Kudos: A Column of Books, Living History and Gallimaufry," *Windy City Times*, December 19, 2001, accessed April 15, 2016, <http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/kudos/27984.html>.

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.

⁶⁸ Baim, *Out and Proud in Chicago*, 18; Kathie Bergquist and Robert McDonald, *A Field Guide to Gay & Lesbian Chicago* (Chicago: Lake Claremont Press, 2006), 62.

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.



Figure 6: Lorado Taft standing on his partially complete work, *Fountain of Time*, 1920. Photo by the *Chicago Daily News*.⁷¹

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

⁷¹ License: Public Domain.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Lorado_Taft_Standing_on_Fountain_of_Time.jpg

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,⁷³ 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.⁷⁴ “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 1901.⁷⁵ 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.⁷⁶ 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.⁷⁷

⁷³ For an overview of cross-dressing in early San Francisco, see Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

⁷⁴ William Craft and Ellen Craft, *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom, or, The Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery* (London: William Tweedle, 1860); Amani Marshall, “They Will Endeavor to Pass for Free: Enslaved Runaways Performances of Freedom in Antebellum South Carolina,” *Slavery and Abolition* 31, no. 2 (June 2, 2010): 161-180.

⁷⁵ Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 44; James A. Franks, *Mary Fields: The Story of Black Mary* (Santa Cruz, CA: Wild Goose Press, 2000).

⁷⁶ Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 44; see also Holly Devor, *FTM: Female-to-Male Transsexuals in Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).

⁷⁷ See, for example, Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress*.

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



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.

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.⁷⁸ 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).⁷⁹ Bessie Smith, the "Empress of the Blues" also had women lovers, her mentor, "Ma Rainey" refers to female

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.

⁷⁹ Eric Garber, "A Spectacle in Color: The Lesbian and Gay Subculture of Jazz Age Harlem," in *Hidden From History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, eds. George Chauncey, Jr., Martin Duberman, and Martha Vicinus (New York: Meridian, 1989), 318-331. Bentley performed at venues including the Ubangi Club in Harlem located at West 131st Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City and at the lesbian bar, Mona's Club 440 at 440 Broadway, San Francisco, California. The Ubangi Club was among those at the epicenter of the Harlem Renaissance. The building that housed it was demolished in early 2013. David W. Dunlap, "Icon of Harlem's Gay Night Life Gives Way to Wreckers," *New York Times*, March 10, 2013, accessed April 20, 2016, <http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/03/10/vestiges-of-harlem-nightlife-and-its-gay-side-give-way-to-wreckers>.

lovers in several of her recorded songs.⁸⁰ 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.”⁸¹

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.”⁸²

Although there were novels in the 1930s that dealt with lesbian relationships,⁸³ 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.

⁸³ These include *We Too Are Drifting* by Gale Wilhelm (New York: Random House, 1935), and *Pity for Women* by Helen Anderson (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, and Co., 1937). See Lori L. Lake, “Lesbian Fiction Herstory: After the Well of Loneliness,” Lori L. Lake website, last updated April 1, 2005, accessed April 19, 2016, <http://www.lorillake.com/AfterTheWell.html>.

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*).

⁸⁴ The first pulp novel to deal with homosexuality was *Men into Beasts* by George Sylvester Viereck (New York: Fawcett Publication, 1952). It was a nonfiction work that describes the brutalities of life in prison. Thirty gay pulps were published in 1965, and over a hundred in 1966. Susan Stryker, *Queer Pulp: Perverted Passions from the Golden Age of the Paperback* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2001). See also Michael Bronski, ed., *Pulp Fiction: Uncovering the Golden Age of Gay Male Pulps* (New York: St. Martin's, 2003); Stephanie Foote, "Deviant Classics: Pulps and the Making of Lesbian Print Culture," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 31, no. 1 (2005); Katherine V. Forrest, *Lesbian Pulp Fiction: The Sexually Intrepid World of Lesbian Paperback Novels 1950-1965* (Cleis Press, 2005).

⁸⁵ For a broader discussion of physique magazines, see Johnson (this volume).

⁸⁶ Barry Werth, *The Scarlet Professor: Newton Arvin: A Literary Life Shattered by Scandal* (New York: Nan A. Talese, 2001). Smith College is located in Northampton, Massachusetts. Arvin was a trustee of Yaddo, an artist colony in Saratoga Springs, New York. While there in 1946, he met Truman Capote and began a two-year relationship. Yaddo is located within the Union Avenue Historic District, listed on the NRHP on April 4, 1978. It was individually designated an NHL on March 11, 2013.

Breaking Free

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).⁸⁷ Public bathhouses and certain YMCAs also became areas where gay men gathered.⁸⁸ For African Americans during this time, drag balls became popular in Harlem.

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/Iwo 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, Oseto, 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.



Figure 8: Aerial view of the Presidio of San Francisco, 2008. Photo by Edward Betts.⁹⁰

Gatherings of lesbians and bisexual women who were part of faculties at all-women's colleges, settlement houses, and professional associations also flourished.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.⁹¹ A similar purge, in 1920 at Harvard University, was uncovered decades after it happened by a researcher for *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.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

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.

⁹⁰ License: CCBY-SA 3.0.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Presidio_of_San_Francisco_from_the_air_in_2008.jpg

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.

⁹² William Wright, *Harvard’s Secret Court: The Savage 1920 Purge of Campus Homosexuals* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2006).

“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.”⁹³ 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.”⁹⁴ 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.”⁹⁵

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.⁹⁶ 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.⁹⁷ These types of private spaces have been described as particularly important during Prohibition, when the bar scene

⁹³ D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 25.

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.

⁹⁶ D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 32-33; Kennedy and Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold*.

⁹⁷ Elsa Gidlow, *On a Grey Thread* (Chicago: W. Ransom, 1923); Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay*, 21-22. Druid Heights is part of Muir Woods National Monument, listed on the NRHP on January 9, 2008, and part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area (an NPS unit).

was driven underground.⁹⁸ 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.⁹⁹ Gay bars were a place where men could drop “the pretension of heterosexuality” while socializing with friends and searching for sexual partners.¹⁰⁰

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 entirety from the year 1924 through 1974.”¹⁰¹ 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.”¹⁰²

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.¹⁰³ 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

⁹⁸ Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay*, 22-23.

⁹⁹ Transgender women, often mistaken for effeminate men, are also at high risk.

¹⁰⁰ D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 32-33.

¹⁰¹ Justin Spring, *Secret Historian: The Life and Times of Samuel Steward, Professor, Tattoo Artist, and Sexual Renegade* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010), xiii.

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.

¹⁰³ Spring, *Secret Historian*, 23.

Tracy Baim

described one of these as “an evening of ‘reefer, bathtub gin, a game of truth, and assorted homosexual carryings-on.’”¹⁰⁴

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.”¹⁰⁵ 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.”¹⁰⁶ 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.”¹⁰⁷

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.¹⁰⁸ 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.

¹⁰⁵ Arthur Laurents, *Original Story: A Memoir of Broadway and Hollywood* (New York: Knopf, 2000), 126.

¹⁰⁶ Charles Kaiser, *The Gay Metropolis: 1940-1996* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 7. Republished as *The Gay Metropolis: The Landmark History of Gay Life in America* (New York: Grove Press, 2007).

¹⁰⁷ Kaiser, *Gay Metropolis*, 13.

¹⁰⁸ Jerome Hunt, “Why the Gay and Transgender Population Experiences Higher Rates of Substance Use,” Center for American Progress website, March 9, 2012, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/lgbt/report/2012/03/09/11228/why-the-gay-and-transgender-population-experiences-higher-rates-of-substance-use>.

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.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 *Licensed to Kill*.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.¹¹¹ The forcing of gay men and

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, <http://www.cdc.gov/lgbthealth/youth.htm>; “Facts About Suicide,” The Trevor Project website, <http://www.thetrevorproject.org/pages/facts-about-suicide>.

¹¹⁰ *Licensed to Kill*, directed by Arthur Dong (DeepFocus Productions, Inc., 1997)

¹¹¹ D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 43; Anthony Summers, *Official and Confidential: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: Putnam Publishing, 2003); Albin Krebs, “Roy Cohn, Aide to McCarthy and Fiery Lawyer, Dies at 59,” *New York Times*, August 3, 1986, <https://partners.nytimes.com/library/national/science/aids/080386sci-aids.html>. The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in the northwest of Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011. Barbara Gittings was instrumental in organizing the Annual Reminders, picket lines from 1965 through 1969 at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to inform others that LGBTQ people did not share the same civil rights protections as other American citizens. Independence Hall is part of Independence National Historical Park, designated an NHL on October 15, 1966. Both Gittings and Kameny are buried in the “gay corner” of Congressional Cemetery, 1801 E Street SE, Washington, DC. The cemetery was listed on the NRHP on June 23, 1969 and designated an NHL on June 14, 2011. A Philadelphia state marker was recently approved for the location associated with the home that

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.”¹¹² 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.¹¹³

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.¹¹⁴ 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.¹¹⁵ 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.

¹¹⁴ Estelle B. Freedman, “‘Uncontrolled Desires’: The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920-1960,” *Journal of American History* 74, no. 1 (June 1987).

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.”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.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



Figure 9: 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.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 53.

¹¹⁷ License: Public Domain.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Heston_Baldwin_Brando_Civil_Rights_March_1963.jpg

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.

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public universities were caught up in the witch hunt, one of many “Lavender Scare” attacks of the era.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, *Another Country* and *The Fire Next Time* and his attendance at the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (Figure 9).¹²⁰ “The bureau was never so obviously fixated on Baldwin’s sexual tastes as when it undertook to determine whether or not *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.¹²¹

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.¹²² Harry Hay sparked the formation of the Mattachine Society in 1950 in Los Angeles,

¹¹⁹ James A. Schnur, “Closet Crusaders: The Johns Committee and Homophobia, 1956-1965,” in *Carryin’ on in the Lesbian and Gay South*, ed. John Howard (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 132-163; Karen Graves, *And They Were Wonderful Teachers: Florida’s Purge of Gay and Lesbian Teachers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009). For a broader discussion of the Lavender Scare, see David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

¹²⁰ James Baldwin, *Another Country* (New York: Dial Press, 1962); James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (New York: Dial Press, 1963).

¹²¹ Wallace, *Constructing the Black Masculine*, 138. Baldwin wrote *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.

¹²² Tracy Baim, *Barbara Gittings: Gay Pioneer* (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Productions, 2015), 47.

which led soon to ONE, Inc. in San Francisco.¹²³ In 1955 in San Francisco, Del Martin and Phyllis Lyons joined with other lesbian couples in launching the Daughters of Bilitis, a lesbian group.¹²⁴ 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.¹²⁵ There were protests against police harassment in 1959 at Cooper's Donuts in Los Angeles,¹²⁶ at the Dewey's Lunch Counter in 1965 in Philadelphia for its treatment of young queers,¹²⁷ and in 1966 at Compton's Cafeteria in San Francisco¹²⁸ 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.

¹²⁷ Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 245-246; Marc Stein, "The First Gay Sit-in Happened 40 Years Ago," *History News Network*, May 9, 2005, accessed April 15, 2016, <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/11652>. Dewey's was located at 219 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

¹²⁸ Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal, 2008); *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria*, directed by Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005).

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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

¹³¹ Tracy Baim, “In Defense of Cynthia Nixon: Why ‘Born This Way’ Doesn’t Matter,” *Huffpost Queer Voices*, January 23, 2012, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/tracy-baim/cynthia-nixon-choice_b_1224241.html.

¹³² Audre Lorde, “Learning from the 60s,” in *Sister Outsider: Essays & Speeches by Audre Lorde* (Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press, 2007), 138.

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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

¹³³ *Gay DC Walking Tours: S. Capitol Street* (Washington, DC: Rainbow History Project, 2003), www.rainbowhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/socapst-web.pdf. Pier Nine (now demolished) was located at 1824 Half Street SW, Washington, DC.

¹³⁴ Andrea Dworkin, *Life and Death* (New York: Free Press, 1997), 71; Ellen Willis, "Lust Horizons: Is the Women's Movement Pro-Sex?" originally published in 1981, reprinted in Ellen Willis, *No More Nice Girls: Countercultural Essays* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1992).

¹³⁵ Henry E. Hudson et al., *Attorney General's Commission on Pornography, Final Report* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1986).

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

¹³⁶ Tracy Baim, “Gay Newspapers, An Overview,” in *Gay Press, Gay Power: The Growth of LGBT Community Newspapers in America*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Books, 2012), 103; Melinda Chateaufvert, *Sex Workers Unite! A History of the Movement from Stonewall to SlutWalk* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014), 184-190; Susie Bright, “A Brief History of On Our Backs, 1984-1991,” *Susie Bright’s Journal* (blog), November 15, 2011, http://susiebright.blogs.com/susie_brights_journal_/2011/11/a-brief-history-of-on-our-backs-1984-1991.html.

¹³⁷ Tracy Baim, ed., *Gay Press, Gay Power: The Growth of LGBT Community Newspapers in America* (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Books, 2012).

¹³⁸ Boston Women’s Health Course Collective, *Our Bodies, Our Selves: A Course By and For Women* (Boston: New England Free Press, 1971); Laura Erickson-Schroth, *Trans Bodies, Trans Selves: A Resource for the Transgender Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Charles

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.¹³⁹ 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

Silverstein and Edmund White, *The Joy of Gay Sex: An Intimate Guide for Gay Men to the Pleasures of a Gay Lifestyle* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977); Emily L. Sisley and Bertha Harris, *The Joy of Lesbian Sex: A Tender and Liberated Guide to the Pleasures and Problems of a Lesbian Lifestyle* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1977); Samois, *What Color is Your Handkerchief: A Lesbian S/M Sexuality Reader* (Berkeley, CA: Samois, 1979); Donald H. Clark, *Loving Someone Gay* (Millbrae, CA: Celestial Arts, 1977).

¹³⁹ 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.

as straight ones.¹⁴⁰ Segregation has been enforced through “tradition” of who goes to what bars, but also through discriminatory identification policies.¹⁴¹ 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.¹⁴²

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,

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.

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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.

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Book of Lesbian Sexuality.¹⁴⁵ 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.¹⁴⁶ 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."¹⁴⁸



Figure 11: Authors (L to R) Audre Lorde, Meridel Le Sueur, and Adrienne Rich at a writing workshop in Austin, Texas, 1980. Photo by K. Kendall.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ See Kayann Short, "Feminism Pressed, Practiced, and Preserved," October 2013, Boyer Lecture, Center for Women's Studies and Gender Research, Colorado State University, <http://lib.colostate.edu/archives/feminist/boyerlecture.pdf>.

¹⁴⁶ Grace & Rubies was a woman-owned social space that operated from 1976 to 1978 at 209 North Linn Street, Iowa City, Iowa.

¹⁴⁷ License: CC BY 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Audre_Lorde,_Meridel_Lesueur,_Adrienne_Rich_1980_%28820298895%29.jpg

¹⁴⁸ Larry Kramer, *Faggots* (New York: Random House, 1978), 323. Reissued by Grove Press in 2000.

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

¹⁴⁹ Lillian Faderman, *Chloe Plus Olivia: An Anthology of Lesbian Literature from the 17th Century to the Present* (New York: Viking/Penguin, 1994), 560. Audre Lorde, *Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power* (Brooklyn, NY: Out & Out Books, 1978); republished and more easily available in Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press, 1984). From 1972 through 1987, Audre Lorde lived on Staten Island, New York with her partner, Frances Clayton.

¹⁵⁰ Tracy Baim, “AIDS: The Angry ‘Heart’ of Larry Kramer,” *Windy City Times*, May 25, 2011, <http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=31922>.

¹⁵¹ Kira Gressman and Noah Selzler, “The Evolution of HIV Stigma: An Interview with Barb Cardell, Positive Women’s Network,” Atlas: Boulder County AIDS Project website, August 8, 2013, <http://atlas.bcap.org/evolution-hiv-stigma-interview-barb-cardell-positive-womens-network-2>.

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.¹⁵² 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.¹⁵³

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.¹⁵⁴

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.¹⁵⁵ 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."¹⁵⁶

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).

¹⁵⁵ Essex Hemphill, *Ceremonies: Prose and Poetry* (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 2000), xiii-xv.

¹⁵⁶ Hemphill, *Ceremonies*, 35.

court system.¹⁵⁷ 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.¹⁵⁸ 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.¹⁵⁹ In response, the Congressional

¹⁵⁷ Karen Thompson and Julie Andrzejewski, *Why Can't Sharon Kowalski Come Home?* (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1988).

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; Kandis 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 Killed 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.¹⁶⁰ 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.¹⁶¹

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.¹⁶² 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

[black-lives-matter-event](#); and “List of Unlawfully Killed Transgender People,” Wikipedia, last modified on June 9, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_unlawfully_killed_transgender_people.

¹⁶⁰ Camila Domonoske, “Congressional LGBT Caucus Launches Task Force On Transgender Equality,” *The Two-Way: Breaking News from National Public Radio*, November 18, 2015, accessed April 20, 2016, <http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2015/11/18/456495475/congress-lgbt-caucus-launches-task-force-on-transgender-equality>.

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

¹⁶³ "Legal Issues for Gay and Lesbian Adoption," FindLaw website, accessed April 30, 2016, <http://family.findlaw.com/adoption/legal-issues-for-gay-and-lesbian-adoption.html>.

¹⁶⁴ For a discussion of the legal landscape leading up to the United States Supreme Court decision making same-sex legal across the country, see Stein (this volume) and "Developments in Same-Sex Marriage Law," FindLaw website, accessed April 29, 2016, <http://family.findlaw.com/marriage/developments-in-same-sex-marriage-law.html>.

¹⁶⁵ Robert Drayton, "The Personal Life of Bayard Rustin," *Out Magazine*, January 18, 2016, accessed May 1, 2016, <http://www.out.com/news-opinion/2013/08/28/bayard-rustin-walter-naegle-partner-gay-civil-rights-activist-march-washington>. The apartment shared by Rustin and Nagle in New York City was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016.

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,

burned by an arsonist in January 1973. For more information on LGBTQ and religion, see Bourn (this volume).

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.

