

LGBTQ CIVIL RIGHTS IN 18 AMERICA

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[T]he evolution of our present understanding of civil rights is deeply tied to our collective story and represents the highest aspirations and deepest tragedies that followed the adoption of our national charter. It is wholly within the mission of the National Park Service to locate, evaluate, recognize, preserve, and interpret nationally significant sites associated with the many threads of the civil rights story.¹

The stories of LGBTQ America are, in large part, stories of civil rights—rights denied, fought for, fought against, won, lost, won again, and threatened. Broadly, civil rights are understood as freedoms of life, safety, thought and conscience, speech, expression, the press, assembly, and movement as well as the right to privacy and protection from discrimination. These struggles have touched almost every facet of LGBTQ life, and mention of them can be found in every chapter of this theme study.² It is not possible to identify people as LGBTQ just by looking at them; it is through the political act of coming out—claiming an LGBTQ

¹ National Park Service (NPS), *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2000, rev. 2008), 1.

² See in particular Stein (this volume).

identity—or through the effects of state regulation that members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer communities are identifiable.³ This chapter explores not just battles for LGBTQ civil rights, but also touches on the role of LGBTQ Americans in other civil rights struggles.

Organizationally, this chapter is divided into several periods. Many of these are identified by the National Park Service’s Civil Rights Framework (Colonization and Cultural Contact, 16th century-1776; An Emerging Cause, 1776-1865; Reconstruction and Repression, 1865-1900; Rekindling Civil Rights, 1900-1941; Birth of the Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1954; and The Modern Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1964). The periods following diverge from the Civil Rights Framework after 1964 and include periods associated with LGBTQ civil rights that bring us to the present day.⁴ These are: Militancy and Backlash, 1964-1981; The Second Revolution: The Age of AIDS, 1981-1993; and Battle for Federal Rights, 1993-2016.⁵

³ Examples of state regulation include raids, arrests, and charges for violating morality laws. One example includes the arrests of Naval personnel at the Old Army-Navy YMCA, 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island in 1919 (listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988). In many cases, the names, addresses, and places of employment of those rounded up in raids on bars, cruising locations, and other places have been published in the media without any charges being laid. In all cases, being outed through arrest or other legal proceedings has resulted in people losing their jobs, families, housing, and lives. See, for example, Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); Emily K. Hobson, “Policing Gay LA: Mapping Racial Divides in the Homophile Era, 1950-1967,” in *The Rising Tide of Color: Race, State Violence, and Radical Movements Across the Pacific*, ed. Moon-Ho Jung (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014); and John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1998), 294. Though less frequent than in the past, bar raids continue; see, for example, “Six Police Officers Fired, Nine Disciplined over Botched Raid of Atlanta Gay Bar,” *LGBTQ Nation*, July 10, 2011, <http://www.lgbtqnation.com/2011/07/six-police-officers-fired-nine-disciplined-over-botched-raid-of-atlanta-gay-bar>. The Atlanta Eagle is located at 306 Ponce De Leon Avenue NE, Atlanta, Georgia.

⁴ Periods in the Civil Rights Framework extend only to 1976, the bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence. Due to the number and importance of civil rights struggles in the United States since 1976, I have extended the periods through June 2016. NPS, *Civil Rights in America*.

⁵ While the periods used in the Civil Rights Framework do not line up directly with LGBTQ civil rights struggles, they do allow an understanding of LGBTQ civil rights in a broader context. An alternative set of LGBTQ civil rights periods is presented by Marc Stein, and is used in part to extend the NPS Civil Rights Framework: Before the Movement, 1500-1940; Homophile Activism, 1940-1969; Gay Liberation, Lesbian Feminism, and Gay and Lesbian Liberalism, 1969-1973; Gay and Lesbian Activism in the Era of Conservative Backlash, 1973-1981; Gay and Lesbian Activism in the Age of AIDS, 1981-1990; and LGBT and Queer Activism Beyond 1990. Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

The path has not been a smooth one; civil rights of gender and sexual minorities have been explicitly taken away through law and infringed without penalty by violence, including gay bashing and murder, and exclusion from housing, employment, and public accommodation. Even civil rights recognized and gained have been taken away. Neither have we all traveled together on the road to civil rights. The first LGBTQ civil rights organizations, including the Society for Human Rights and Mattachine, were for gay men only; bisexuals and lesbians were largely excluded either by design or by groups focusing exclusively on men's experiences. Women later founded their own organizations, including the Daughters of Bilitis.



Figure 1: Places associated with LGBTQ civil rights have become place of pilgrimage and remembrance. This photo of an impromptu memorial at the Stonewall Inn, New York was taken on June 12, 2016 after forty-nine people were murdered at Latino Night at the Pulse nightclub, 1912 South Orange Avenue, Orlando, Florida. An organized memorial took place the next night. Photo courtesy of Daniel Smith.

Respectability politics has played varying roles in LGBTQ quests for civil rights, including the assimilationist policies of the early Mattachine Society and push for respectability by the later marriage equality battles. More radical, anti-assimilationist groups, including Queer Nation, have demanded that all LGBTQ people, regardless of whether they are acceptable to mainstream society, deserve both civil rights and respect. Bisexuals and others attracted to more than one gender were (and continue to be) very often excluded from the agendas of earlier groups, and in the late twentieth century organized to fight for their civil rights.⁶

⁶ Bisexuals have been active in LGBTQ civil rights struggles from the beginning. Despite this, they remain largely invisible in both the popular understanding of discrimination and in case law. A recent study, however, shows that bisexuals face considerable discrimination as bisexuals, including in the workplace. This disconnect can be attributed to bisexual invisibility—that when someone is in a

Transgender people, likewise, were (and continue) to be excluded from many LGBTQ civil rights agendas except in name only.⁷ The intersecting oppressions experienced by LGBTQ ethnic minorities, including African Americans and Asians and Pacific Islanders, have not traditionally been acknowledged or addressed by predominantly white LGBTQ civil rights groups. Feeling both unwelcome and unrepresented, people in these ethnic minorities have begun their own community-building and activist organizations. While many gains have been made in LGBTQ civil rights, there remain challenges both from within the LGBTQ communities and from those working to strip us of our rights (Figure 1). When considering the battle for civil rights, it must be remembered that securing LGBTQ civil rights does not mean an end to oppression and discrimination for all LGBTQ people. Deeper forms of inequality will continue to affect LGBTQ people and others who share marginalized identities including homeless youth, immigrants, and nonwhites.

A social movement can be defined as an “organized, collective, and sustained effort to produce, prevent, or reverse social change.”⁸ Using this definition, struggles for gay and lesbian civil rights did not become movements until the 1940s and 1950s (Rekindling Civil Rights, 1900-1941), with movements for bisexual, transgender, and queer civil rights coalescing later. The roots of all of these LGBTQ civil rights movements, however, can be traced back at least as far as the sixteenth century (Colonization and Cultural Contact, 16th century-1776), when explorers and colonists encountered Native American two-spirit people.

relationship with someone of the same sex, they are perceived as homosexual, while when in a relationship with someone of the opposite sex, they are perceived as heterosexual. Kenji Yoshino documented bisexual invisibility, and attributed it to “an epistemic contract of bisexual erasure.” This leads to discrimination against bisexual people by both homosexual and heterosexual individuals and organizations, and the sense that a bisexual orientation is not legitimate. 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.

⁷ See, for example, Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008); Sylvia Rivera, “Bitch on Wheels: A Speech by Sylvia Rivera 2001,” in *Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries: Survival, Revolt, and Queer Antagonist Struggle* (Untorellipress, 2013), 36.

⁸ Stein, *Rethinking*, 13.

1. Colonization and Cultural Contact, 16th Century-1776

Explorers and early European settlers that came to what is now the United States encountered Native American two-spirit people as early as the sixteenth century.⁹ Judging Native American cultures based on their own European ideals, explorers and colonists perceived two-spirit people as engaging in same-sex sex, a practice deemed immoral. They reacted in various ways, ranging from curiosity to disgust. In many cases, two-spirit individuals, like the forty who were thrown to the dogs by Vasco Núñez de Balboa in Panama in 1513, met with violence and death.¹⁰

During this same period, colonists and slaves with same-sex desires or alternative gender expressions were subject to harsh penalties spelled out under colonial law, ranging from fines to exile to execution. And yet, few colonials were charged under these laws, and few received harsh penalties. Even within this context of religious condemnation and harsh laws, some people found ways to express their love and sexual desires. Those cases that were brought to trial often involved the use of force or abuse of minors.¹¹

⁹ Native American two spirits were male, female, and perhaps intersexed individuals who combined behaviors of both men and women with traits and social roles unique to their status. While these are often understood by those outside Native American cultures as third and fourth gender roles, within their own cultures, two-spirit identities are often more complex. See Roscoe (this volume) for a more in-depth discussion of two-spirit people.

¹⁰ An early account comes from Spaniard Hernando de Alarcón who encountered a Yuman two-spirit person, who he described as “something amazing,” during his travels up the Colorado River in 1540. On the other side of the continent in 1564, René Goulaine de Laudonnière and Jacques Le Moyne established Fort Caroline in Florida and claimed the region (home of the Timucua people) for France. Le Moyne, an artist, portrayed several Timucuan two-spirit people carrying provisions, corpses, and stretchers of injured people. In his writing, Laudonnière described at least two encounters with two-spirit Timucua: one offering water to his party during a forced march, and later, another serving as emissary for a Timucuan leader. Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 4, 12, 143-144, 170-171; Stein, *Rethinking*, 14-15. The Fort Caroline National Memorial was established on January 16, 1953 and listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1866. The Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve in Florida was established and listed on the NRHP on February 16, 1988.

¹¹ Stein, *Rethinking*, 17. See also Thomas A. Foster, “Introduction: Long Before Stonewall,” in *Long Before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in America*, ed. Thomas A. Foster (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 5-18; and Elizabeth Reis, *Bodies in Doubt: An American History of Intersex* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

Exploration, colonization, and the resulting cultural contact between Europeans and indigenous people in what we now call the United States continued through the nineteenth century. Homosexual acts continued to be viewed as immoral throughout this period, as evidenced in the writing of a member of Captain James Cook's expedition to Hawai'i from 1776 to 1780. The Cook expedition had several encounters with Hawaiian two-spirit people during their trip. During one of these, at Kealakekua Bay on the island of Hawai'i in January 1779, a two-spirit served as emissary for the local chief. Reacting in disgust to the two-spirit Hawaiians, the expedition member described them as "disagreeable...and odious to a delicate mind."¹²

2. An Emerging Cause, 1776-1865

The preamble to the Declaration of Independence states "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." This is the first assertion of American civil rights. In 1788, with the ratification of the Constitution of the United States (and subsequent amendments), additional rights were granted to US citizens to "promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty..." These rights, however, originally applied only to a small segment of the population living in the early republic: white men with property. Many of the civil rights struggles throughout American history have had at their core, an argument that everyone—regardless of gender, ethnicity, religion, ability, property ownership, or sexual orientation—are included in the protections of the Constitution.¹³

¹² 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. The Kealakekua Bay Historic District was listed on the NRHP on December 12, 1973.

¹³ NPS, *Civil Rights in America*, 4.

Civil rights movements during this period included abolition and women's rights. Anti-slavery groups proliferated in the United States beginning in the 1830s, and the First Women's Rights Convention was held in the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls, New York in 1848.¹⁴ While there were people with same-sex attractions and relationships—like Mary Grew and Margaret Burleigh—who were active in both the abolition and women's rights movements, there was not yet a movement for the rights of sexual and gender minorities that we now consider under the LGBTQ umbrella.¹⁵ Colonial-era laws making sodomy punishable by death were by and large carried over into the early years of the republic. By the turn of the nineteenth century, punishment for same-sex sex in most places had been reduced to lengthy prison terms and large fines, though it was not until the late 1860s that North and South Carolina removed the death penalty. This was also a time when cross-dressing became explicitly prohibited.¹⁶ For example, in 1851 in Chicago, legislation was passed criminalizing people who “appear in a dress not belonging to his or her sex.”¹⁷ Laws were also passed against indecent behavior, prohibiting obscene publications, and the performance of immoral plays.¹⁸ In these ways, the lives of LGBTQ individuals were limited and restricted by laws, in ways that the lives of heterosexual people were not.¹⁹

¹⁴ Among the organizers of the First Women's Rights Convention was Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who later formed a close (some argue intimate) relationship with Susan B. Anthony. The Elizabeth Cady Stanton House, where she lived from 1847 through 1862, is located at 32 Washington Street, Seneca Falls, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965. The Wesleyan Chapel is located at 126 Fall Street, Seneca Falls, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on August 29, 1980. Both of these places are part of the Women's Rights National Historical Park, established December 28, 1980.

¹⁵ Mary Grew and Margaret Burleigh, well-known activists in both the abolition and women's rights movements, made no secret of the fact among friends that they were also a couple, sharing a home and a bed. Lillian Faderman, *To Believe in Women: What Lesbians Have Done For America – A History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 20-21.

¹⁶ NPS, *Civil Rights in America*.

¹⁷ Stein, *Rethinking*, 19; Stein, *Crime, Punishment, and the Law*, this volume; 1851 ordinance, City of Chicago book of ordinances, 1856, cited in Herzog-Konecny (this volume).

¹⁸ See Stein (this volume).

¹⁹ Laws against sodomy and cross-dressing could also be used against heterosexual people, but have generally been enforced only among LGBTQ people. For a discussion of the historical variability of sexual regulation, see George Chauncey, “What Gay Studies Taught the Court”: The Historians' Amicus Brief in *Lawrence v. Texas*,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 10, no. 3 (2004): 509-538.

3. Reconstruction and Repression, 1865-1900

Following the Civil War, in response to efforts to restrict the rights of newly-freed African Americans and maintain the plantation system, Congress passed the Thirteenth through Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution as well as the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875. The Thirteenth Amendment (ratified in 1865) abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, except as punishment for a crime. The Civil Rights Act of 1866 defined US citizenship and affirmed that all US citizens were equally protected under the law. This was followed in 1868 by the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, which provided a broad definition of United States citizenship, prohibited state and local governments from depriving people of life, liberty, or property without due process, and required states to provide equal protection under the law to all people under their jurisdiction. It has been the Fourteenth Amendment that has been the basis of many LGBTQ civil rights victories (and those of other civil rights cases). The Fifteenth Amendment (ratified in 1870) prohibits federal and state governments from denying a citizen the right to vote based on race, color, or previous condition of servitude. These are collectively known as the Reconstruction Amendments. The Civil Rights Act of 1875 guaranteed African Americans equal treatment in public accommodations, public transportation, and prohibited exclusion from jury service.²⁰

The enfranchisement of African American men by the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments essentially created a gender-based definition of citizenship in the United States and caused a rift among those working for women's rights. Some felt that guaranteeing only black men the right to vote was a necessary compromise following the Civil War;

²⁰ For more information on Reconstruction, see Eric Foner, *A Short History of Reconstruction, 1863-1877* (New York: Perennial Library, 1990). See also Susan Cianci Salvatore et al., *Racial Desegregation in Public Education in the United States Theme Study* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2000); Susan Cianci Salvatore et al., *Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations, A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2004, rev. 2009); Susan Cianci Salvatore et al., *Civil Rights in America: Racial Voting Rights, A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2007, rev. 2009).

others felt betrayed by the exclusion of women. Women's suffrage became the focus of women's rights work.²¹ One of the most well-known activists for women's suffrage is Susan B. Anthony, who tirelessly traveled the country advocating for women's right to vote. She worked closely with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who had been one of the organizers of the 1848 First Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York. While Anthony never married, her letters make it clear that she had deeply meaningful, flirtatious, and affectionately loving—if not intimate—relationships with other women, including Stanton, Anna Dickinson, and Emily Gross.²² The demands and restrictions on the lives (and property) of married women and mothers during this time made it much more likely that movements like suffrage, temperance, and abolition would be led by unmarried, “single” women who were more likely to be in loving, supportive, and intimate relationships with other women.

In the Jim Crow decades following Reconstruction, both Republican and Democratic parties traded away these hard-won civil rights in exchange for white southern votes. In addition, the 1883 US Supreme Court ruled that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment applied only to state activities, and not those of individuals. In the 1896 case *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the US Supreme Court affirmed separate but equal public facilities, sanctioning segregation. As a result of these decisions, businesses, real estate agents, bankers, and others could legally refuse service to or fire African Americans, and public transportation, schools, and housing were segregated.²³

²¹ NPS, *Civil Rights in America*.

²² Faderman, *To Believe*, 22-30. The Susan B. Anthony House is located at 17 Madison Street, Rochester, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965. Stanton lived at the Elizabeth Cady Stanton House in Tenafly, New Jersey from 1868 through 1887, her most active years working towards women's suffrage. This house was added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on May 15, 1975.

²³ See, for example, William H. Chafe, *Remembering Jim Crow: African Americans Tell about Life in the Segregated South* (New York: New Press, 2001); Jerrold M. Packard, *American Nightmare: The History of Jim Crow* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002); Michael J. Klarman, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

The civil rights gains during this period were not equally shared. Women and Native Americans remained disenfranchised; Chinese were forbidden to immigrate to the United States after 1882, and other nonwhites allowed to immigrate were forbidden from becoming citizens. Additional laws criminalizing LGBTQ acts and identities were passed following the Civil War. These included the federal Comstock Act of 1873, which prohibited the mailing of obscenity, and was used (in concert with state and local laws it inspired) to censor LGBTQ speech and expression.²⁴ Recent studies have focused on “passing women” during this time (women who dress and live as men), as well as the experiences of those that we would now consider transgender.²⁵ In addition, same-sex attraction became increasingly medicalized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; those who were caught engaging in same-sex sex or who admitted same-sex attraction were commonly sent to mental institutions like the Willard Asylum, where they remained indefinitely (and often permanently) incarcerated.²⁶ It was the continued constricting of freedoms and rights through legislation like the Comstock Act, the perception of homosexuality as a danger to society, and new forms of punishment like medical institutionalization that laid the groundwork for the first glimmers of the LGBTQ civil rights movement that began during the Rekindling Civil Rights period, 1900-1941.

4. Rekindling Civil Rights, 1900-1941

Driven by the social reforms of the Progressive Era, the upheavals of World War I, and the impact and responses to the Great Depression,

²⁴ The Comstock Act was passed as the Act for the “Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of, Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use.” It prohibited the US Postal System from being used to send erotica, contraceptives, abortifacients, sex toys, or any information about them. Vicki L. Eaklor, *Queer America: A People’s GLBT History of the United States* (New York: New Press, 2008), 48; Molly McGarry, *Ghosts of Futures Past: Spiritualism and the Cultural Politics of Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 95-96, 114-115.

²⁵ See, for example, Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015); Stryker, *Transgender History*; Stryker (this volume).

²⁶ For more on the medicalization of LGBTQ identities, see Batza and Stryker (this volume). The Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in Ovid, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 7, 1975.

American society and government underwent significant change in the early years of the twentieth century. The Progressive Era brought with it the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, giving some women the right to vote (poor women and African American men and women remained disenfranchised by discriminatory identification, literacy, and residency laws until much later). World War I and New Deal programs following the Great Depression led many to hope for equality in hiring and jobs.²⁷

As more and more people moved away from rural towns to urban centers for work, LGBTQ people began to find each other in greater numbers. Gay bars, like the Double Header, the White Horse Inn, the Crown Jewel, the Horseshoe, and Café Lafitte in Exile opened in the 1930s (as did lesbian bars, like Galante's and the Howdy Club).²⁹ Other bars, like Ralph Martin's, San Remo, and the Rendezvous Room at the Hotel Muehlebach hosted a



Figure 2: The Gangway in San Francisco, California. It was the target of a same-sex raid in 1911. Photo by teanltlkl, 2010.²⁸

²⁷ NPS, *Framework*.

²⁸ License: CC BY-SA 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/teanitiki/4577581840>

²⁹ The Double Header, 407 Second Avenue, Ext. S, Seattle, Washington opened in 1934; it closed its doors on December 31, 2015. The White Horse Inn, at 6651 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California, opened immediately following the repeal of Prohibition in 1933 and remains in business. The Crown Jewel, 932 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, California (now demolished) had a clientele largely of businessmen who gathered discreetly after work in the 1930s and 1940s. "Less desirables" were kept out by the management's insistence on patrons producing a driver's license for entry. The Horseshoe (now demolished), located behind the Mayflower Hotel at Seventeenth Street NW, Washington, DC, was popular with both gay men and women in the 1930s. Café Lafitte in Exile, 901 Bourbon Street, New Orleans, Louisiana opened in 1933, and remains open. It is within the Vieux Carré Historic District, listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 21, 1965. In the 1930s, Galante's at 109 Wilkerson Street, Buffalo, New York (now demolished) was the premier gathering place for Buffalo's lesbians. The Howdy Club (now demolished), at 17 West 3rd Street, New York City, New York, was a lesbian bar open from the 1930s to 1940s.

mixed gay and straight clientele.³⁰ LGBTQ people also congregated in other types of establishments, including eateries like the Stewart Cafeteria; social halls like Webster Hall; and bathhouses like the Club Turkish Baths, the Riggs-Lafayette Turkish Baths, and the Mount Morris Turkish Baths.³¹ It was also in an urban setting that, in the 1930s, Dr. Harry Benjamin began helping transgender individuals with their transition.³² The Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s included many open and semi-closeted gay, lesbian, and bisexual artists and luminaries, including Richard Bruce Nugent, Langston Hughes, Gladys Bentley, and Billy Strayhorn.³³ This concentration of LGBTQ people in urban spaces made

³⁰ Ralph Martin's, 58 Elliott Street, Buffalo, New York (now demolished) catered to a broad demographic of mixed genders, orientations, and races from 1934 to 1951. San Remo on the northwest corner of Bleecker and MacDougal Streets, New York City, New York was, beginning in 1925, a watering hole popular with gay and straight bohemians. The Rendezvous Room at the Hotel Muehlebach, Twelfth and Baltimore, Kansas City, Missouri was a gay-friendly bar from the 1930s until the hotel closed in the 1980s.

³¹ The Stewart Cafeteria, 116 Seventh Avenue South, New York City, New York opened in 1933 and quickly became popular with LGBTQ patrons. It closed in the mid-1930s and was replaced by the Life Cafeteria, equally as popular with the LGBTQ community. Webster Hall and Annex are located at 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, New York. It was the site of masquerade and drag balls from 1910 to 1930. The Club Turkish Baths, 132 Turk Street, San Francisco, California opened in the 1930s and had a reputation as a safe place for gay men; they closed in 1983. The building is within the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, NRHP February 5, 2009. The Mount Morris Turkish Baths, 1944 Madison Avenue in the Harlem neighborhood of New York City, New York catered to black men. They opened in 1893 and began attracting a gay and bisexual clientele in the 1930s. They closed in 2003. The Riggs-Lafayette Turkish Baths, 1426 G Street NW, Washington, DC, opened in 1913. Until 1929, they were male only, but after 1929 a women's section was opened. They closed in 1946. Gladys Bentley performed at the Ubangi Club, 131st Street at Seventh Avenue, Harlem, New York City, New York (now demolished). Musician Billy Strayhorn grew up at 7212 Tioga Street, Rear, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (now demolished), where he was teased for being a "sissy." Later moving to New York City, he was part of the Harlem Renaissance. In 1939, he moved to an apartment with his lover, jazz pianist Aaron Bridgers in the Hamilton Heights neighborhood of New York City, New York. He wrote many of his famous tunes here, including "Take the A Train." The building is within the Hamilton Heights Historic District, listed on the NRHP on September 30, 1983.

³² From 1930 through about 1955, Dr. Harry Benjamin operated his practice out of an office in the Medical-Dental Building at 450 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California. The building was listed on the NRHP on December 22, 2009.

³³ Richard Bruce Nugent met Langston Hughes at the S Street Salon, a literary salon run by Georgia Douglas Johnson in her Logan Circle neighborhood home in Washington, DC. It was one of the most important literary salons of the Harlem Renaissance. The building is a contributing property to the Greater U Street Historic District, added to the NRHP on December 31, 1998. The Langston Hughes House in Harlem, New York City, New York was added to the NRHP on October 29, 1982. Gladys Bentley performed at several venues, including the Ubangi Club and the Black Cat Club, 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. The Black Cat is a contributing resource to the Jackson Square Historic District, added to the NRHP on November 18, 1971. See Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

them more visible and easier targets of persecution, but also laid the groundwork for the developing LGBTQ civil rights movement (Figure 2).³⁴

Eleanor Roosevelt was also active in social justice work and advocating for civil rights during this period. Married to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Eleanor also had a decades-long intimate relationship with reporter Lorena Hickok.³⁵ The two met in 1928 when Hickok interviewed Eleanor for the Associated Press, and their relationship blossomed when she covered the soon-to-be First Lady during Franklin Roosevelt's presidential campaign.³⁶ Eleanor was also friends with other female couples active in civil rights struggles of the time. These included writer Esther Lape and lawyer Elizabeth Read, influential suffragists, political reformers, and founders of the League of Women Voters, and suffragists and educators Nancy Cook and Marion Dickerman, co-owner and vice-principal (respectively) of the Todhunter School.³⁷ Nancy Cook and Marion Dickerman built the Stone Cottage at Val-Kill with Eleanor, and lived there

³⁴ The Black Rabbit at 183 Bleeker Street, New York City, New York was a gay bar raided in 1900 by Anthony Comstock of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. The Ariston Baths, in the basement of the Ariston Hotel, 1732 Broadway, New York City, New York, were opened as early as 1897. This was the location of the first recorded police raid on a gay bathhouse in the United States, conducted in 1903. The Everard Turkish Bathhouse, 28 West 28th Street, New York City, New York opened in 1888 as a health/fitness spa for the general public, with an increasing gay clientele as bathhouses became safer places for gay men to congregate. The Everard was raided for lewd behavior, with nine arrests; in 1920, another raid resulted in fifteen arrests. It closed in 1985. The Gangway, at 841 Larkin Street, San Francisco, California, was the target of a same-sex raid in 1911, though did not become a primarily LGBTQ bar until the 1960s.

³⁵ From 1929 through 1933, Hickok lived in an apartment near the United Nations in New York City. Eleanor and Lorena spent a night together at the Mayflower Hotel, 1127 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC, in January 1933. The hotel was listed on the NRHP on November 14, 1983. The intimacy of Roosevelt and Hickok and other romantic friendships are the subject of considerable scholarship. See, for example, Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Leila J. Rupp, *Sapphistries: A Global History of Love Between Women* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: Morrow, 1981); and 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.

³⁶ Blanche Wiesen Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt: Volume One, 1884-1933* (New York: Viking Press, 1993), 2, 450; Hazel Rowley, *Franklin and Eleanor: An Extraordinary Marriage* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010), 184; "Lorena Alice Hickok (1893-1968)," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Project, George Washington University website, accessed October 15, 2015, <http://www.gwu.edu/~erpapers/teaching/glossary/hickok-lorena.cfm>.

³⁷ The Todhunter School was a school for girls in New York City that provided solid preparation for college at a time when few women pursued post-secondary education. The close relationships that Eleanor had with lesbian couples was particularly ironic, given the solidification of anti-gay policy under her husband; see Canaday, *The Straight State*.

until 1947. With Caroline O’Day, they founded the Val-Kill Furniture Shop in 1927, providing supplemental income for local farming families.³⁸

Despite the advances of the era, the establishment of equal rights under the law remained unmet. Minorities, including African Americans and Latino/Latinas began to organize and litigate for their civil rights: the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was established in 1909, and the Congress of Spanish Speaking People formed in 1939.³⁹ In the military, gay men continued to be the targets of unequal treatment and harassment. In World War I, they were perceived as both dangerous and ineffective fighters. In 1919, the year after the war ended, the US Articles of War categorized sodomy as a felony. Then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin Delano Roosevelt authorized an investigation of reported homosexual activities at the Newport, Rhode Island YMCA. Seventeen sailors were court-martialed, many sentenced to years in the brig.⁴⁰ Many of the first inmates at Alcatraz, which opened as a federal maximum security prison in 1933, were there on charges of sodomy—including Frank Bolt, Prisoner Number 1.⁴¹ From the early years of the twentieth century, homosexuals began to be explicitly excluded from immigration to the United States under “moral turpitude” statutes, a process that became coded into law in the 1950s. The result was an exclusion of LGBTQ immigrants at ports of entry, or the deportation of

³⁸ Kenneth Davis, *Invincible Summer: An Intimate Portrait of the Roosevelts Based on the Recollections of Marion Dickerman* (New York: Atheneum Press, 1974); Cook, *Eleanor Volume One*; Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt: Volume Two, 1933-1938* (New York: Viking Press, 1999); Val-Kill, Factory, State Route 9G, Hyde Park, Dutchess County, New York, HABS NY, 14-HYP, 8B (sheet 1 of 5), Library of Congress HABS/HAER collection. The Eleanor Roosevelt National Historical Site (Val-Kill; established on 5/27/1977) is located in Hyde Park, New York. It was added to the NRHP on March 20, 1980.

³⁹ NPS, *Framework*, 10.

⁴⁰ See Estes (this volume); Canaday, *The Straight State*, 72-75; and Randy Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming: Gays & Lesbians in the U.S. Military* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993), 15-16. The YMCA, now known as the Old Army-Navy YMCA, is located at 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island. It was listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988.

⁴¹ Alcatraz Federal Penitentiary, San Francisco, California was added to the NRHP on June 23, 1976 and designated an NHL Historic District on January 17, 1986. It became part of the NPS, incorporated into the Golden Gate National Recreation Area on October 27, 1972.

immigrants already on American soil.⁴² Sexual psychopath laws, which were passed in twenty-six states and DC between 1937 and 1967, called for the indefinite civil commitment of sex offenders—a category that, at the time, included consensual same-sex encounters between adults.⁴³

The early stirrings of a gay and lesbian movement began during this period, despite police harassment. These early stirrings were fueled, in part, by communities forming in urban areas. In 1924 Chicago, World War I veteran Henry Gerber and a small group of other men founded the Society for Human Rights. Operating out of Gerber's rooming-house residence, this was the first chartered gay rights group in the United States, working in part to combat the criminalization of homosexual acts.⁴⁴ While the Society for Human Rights ceased following police harassment in 1925 (Gerber and others were arrested but not charged, and the organization's files seized and not returned) Gerber remained active in homosexual and homophile movements into the 1960s, providing a connection across the twentieth century.⁴⁵

⁴² Canaday, *The Straight State*. Perhaps the most well-known port of entry into the United States is Ellis Island located in Upper New York Bay, New York and New Jersey. It was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated the Statue of Liberty National Monument on October 15, 1965.

⁴³ Tamara Rice Lave, "Only Yesterday: The Rise and Fall of Twentieth Century Sexual Psychopath Laws," *Louisiana Law Review* 69, no. 3 (Spring 2009): 549-591. See also David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

⁴⁴ Gerber signed the application for a nonprofit charter for the Society for Human Rights as secretary; the Reverend John T. Graves signed as president. The document lists five other directors, including Vice President Al Meninger, who was married, despite the fact that the organization did not allow bisexual members. The Society for Human Rights published the first American gay civil rights publication, *Friendship and Freedom*. The rooming house where Henry Gerber lived (now known as the Henry Gerber House) is located within the Old Town Triangle Historic District (listed on the NRHP on November 8, 1984), Chicago, Illinois. The Gerber house was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015. Vern L. Bullough, *Before Stonewall: Activists for Gay and Lesbian Rights in Historical Context* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2002), 25; Jonathan Farr, Amanda Hendrix-Komoto, Andrea Rottmann, April Slabosheski, and Michelle McClellan, National Historic Landmark Nomination (Draft): Henry Gerber House (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2014); Adrian Brooks, *The Right Side of History: 100 Years of LGBTQI Activism* (New York: Cleis Press, 2015), 14.

⁴⁵ Farr et al., *Gerber House Nomination*.

5. Birth of the Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1954

Social change accelerated with the start of World War II. Women and minority men served in the military and worked in industry, and thousands of African Americans left the South, moving to the North where they could vote and find work. The ability to vote led both political parties to solicit African American support in elections. Direct action (strikes and protests) and threats of it led to changes in government policy, including the creation of the Federal Employment Practices Committee which both exposed discrimination against African Americans and Hispanics in employment, and helped minorities find work in the North. Women were also increasingly working outside the home, including serving in high-level government posts.⁴⁶

At the same time that civil rights were once again becoming a national conversation, groups of people in the United States were having their rights infringed and revoked. Even though minorities served in the military, racial discrimination backed by federal law persisted. In 1942, President Roosevelt authorized the clearing of civilians from places designated as military zones. Almost 120,000 people of Japanese descent, as well as thousands of people with Italian and German ancestry were removed to internment camps scattered across the country. Many of these people were United States citizens, and many were LGBTQ.⁴⁷ Jiro Onuma, a gay man from the San Francisco Bay Area, was one of many Japanese immigrants to be rounded up. He was interred at the Topaz War Relocation Center in Millard County, Utah (Figure 3).⁴⁸

⁴⁶ NPS, *Civil Rights Framework*.

⁴⁷ See "Brief Overview of the World War II Enemy Alien Control Program," National Archives website, accessed October 7, 2015, <http://www.archives.gov/research/immigration/enemy-aliens-overview.html>; Kathleen Hunter, "The War Relocation Centers of World War II: When Fear was Stronger than Justice," National Park Service website, Teaching with Historic Places Lesson Plans, accessed October 7, 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/89manzanar/89manzanar.htm>.

⁴⁸ Jiro Onuma was a first generation Japanese immigrant who lived in the Oakland and San Francisco, California area for twenty years. Before World War II, he lived in a rooming house at 769 Brush Street, Oakland, California (since demolished). In 1943, he was sent to Topaz. In 1956, Jiro became a United States citizen. At that time, he was living at 1492 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California (now



Figure 3: Aerial view of the Topaz War Relocation Center, Utah. Gay man Jiro Onuma was among those who were interred here. Photo by Francis Stewart, War Relocation Authority, 1943.⁴⁹

Although technically banned from military service and excluded through psychiatric screening and categorization, gays, bisexuals, and lesbians still successfully enlisted or were conscripted. After the war, they fought to have their dishonorable discharges for sexual orientation

reclassified as honorable; many gay and lesbian veterans went on to become active in the struggle for LGBTQ civil rights.⁵⁰ The homophile and later LGBTQ civil rights movements also drew heavily from those who had, before the Lavender Scare, been influenced by Marxism.⁵¹ In 1948, the

demolished). See 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. The Topaz War Relocation Center (also known as the Central Utah Relocation Center (Topaz) was listed on the NRHP on January 2, 1974 and designated an NHL on March 29, 2007. See also Sueyoshi (this volume).

⁴⁹ License: Public Domain.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Topaz,_Utah._A_panorama_view_of_the_Central_Utah_Relocation_Center,_taken_from_the_water_tower._-NARA_-_536975.jpg

⁵⁰ A dishonorable discharge meant that veterans were ineligible for programs like the GI Bill. In New York City, the Veterans Benevolent Association, founded in 1945, fought to have dishonorable discharges overturned. Lillian Faderman, *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015), 55. See also Stein, *Rethinking*, 44-45; Eaklor, *Queer America*, 72; Estes (this volume). World War II veterans who went on to become active in LGBTQ civil rights include José Sarria, the first openly LGBTQ person to run for public office. For more discussion of gay men and lesbians in World War II, see Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Free Press, 1990).

⁵¹ Leftists, including Marxists and socialists who became involved with LGBTQ civil rights include Harry Hay, cofounder of the Mattachine Society. The Lavender Scare connected communism and homosexuality and identified homosexuals as threats to national security. 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); Daniel Hurewitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles and the Making of Modern Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Hobson, "Policing Gay LA," 188-212; and Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*.

Kinsey Report, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* was published, suggesting that there were millions of men in the United States who were attracted to other men.⁵² In 1950, the US State Department identified homosexuals as security risks, leading to dismissal of government employees suspected of being gay as well as politically motivated police raids on gay bars.⁵³ The Immigration and Nationality Act (also known as the McCarran-Walter Act) of 1952 excluded people formerly associated with the Communist Party, and required that immigrants be of “good moral character,” effectively preventing LGBTQ individuals from immigrating to, or even visiting, the United States.⁵⁴ Bar raids during this time may be the most significant aspect of LGBTQ life in this era, as well as street arrests for men and gender nonconformists. This was the backdrop against which the homophile movement emerged. The Mattachine Society was the first national homophile movement organization in the United States, founded in 1950 by Harry Hay and a small group made up predominantly of men.⁵⁵ Early meetings of the Mattachine Society took place in Los Angeles at the residence Hay shared with his wife and daughters, overlooking the Silver Lake Reservoir.⁵⁶ There were eventually Mattachine Society chapters in cities across the country, including Washington, DC; Detroit, Michigan; Chicago, Illinois; and Buffalo, New York (Figure 4).⁵⁷

⁵² Faderman, *Revolution*, 54. The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction is located at the University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana.

⁵³ Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A., A Documentary* (New York: Crowell, 1976), 410-411; Barry Adam, *The Rise of a Gay and Lesbian Movement* (Boston: Twayne, 1987), 58-80.

⁵⁴ Canaday, *The Straight State*.

⁵⁵ A small number of women were involved with Mattachine at the beginning, but eventually stopped coming to meetings as discussions focused largely on male homosexuality. See Faderman, *Revolution*, 58.

⁵⁶ Harry Hay married Anita Platky in 1938, and they adopted two daughters. She always knew he was gay. Following the founding of Mattachine, however, which would lead to public disclosure of his homosexuality, Anita divorced Harry and was awarded sole custody of their daughters. See Faderman, *Revolution*, 53-59.

⁵⁷ In 1952, the same year they were incorporated, Mattachine moved into their first offices at 232 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, California (now demolished). The Mattachine Society moved their headquarters to the Williams Building, 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California in 1954. Their national offices (along with those of other organizations, including the Daughters of Bilitis and Pan Graphic Press) were located in in the Williams Building into the 1960s and later moved to the former Japanese YWCA, 1830 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California. The founding meeting of the Detroit Chapter of the Mattachine Society, the first LGBTQ organization in Michigan, was in 1958 at the Fort Shelby Hotel, 525 West Lafayette Boulevard, Detroit, Michigan (listed on the NRHP on November 25,

Through discussion groups, members of the Mattachine Society talked about homosexual rights and oppression, and worked against police harassment. In 1953, there was an internal revolt, and Harry Hay and other “radicals” were removed from leadership, replaced by Hal Call as the new



Figure 4: The Fort Shelby Hotel was the location of the founding meeting of Detroit’s Mattachine Society in 1958; it was the first LGBTQ organization in Michigan. Photo by Mike Russell, 2009.⁵⁸

president.⁵⁹ While still focusing on civil rights for homosexuals, the Mattachine Society began emphasizing assimilation as a means to acceptance and gaining civil rights.⁶⁰ Other groups formed at this time; ONE, Inc. was founded by a group of men who initially met at Mattachine. In 1953, they began publishing their magazine, *One*, the first widely-distributed homosexual publication in the United States.⁶¹ The following year, the United States postmaster in Los Angeles declared *One* obscene

1983). The Mattachine Society of the Niagara Frontier had their headquarters in the Avenue bar at Townsend Hall. This building was demolished in 1972 and replaced by the Buffalo City Court building. See Preservation Buffalo Niagara, “Buffalo’s Early LGBT Roots,” HistPres.com, June 30, 2014, accessed October 8, 2015, <http://histpres.com/2014/06/buffalos-early-lgbt-roots>, (web link no longer online, see archived link at <https://web.archive.org/web/20151029061803/http://histpres.com/2014/06/buffalos-early-lgbt-roots>).

⁵⁸ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:FortShelbyDoubletreeDetroit.jpg>

⁵⁹ The meeting where Hay was ousted took place at the First Universalist Church, northwest corner of West Eighth Street and Crenshaw Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. From 1960 to 2000, Hal Call lived in the Nob Hill area of San Francisco, California.

⁶⁰ This assimilation approach, also used by many of the other homophile groups that sprang up around the country, emphasized that LGBTQ people were no different than straight people. It fostered a respectability politics that excluded drag queens, feminine men, masculine women, transgender people, and very often people of color, the working classes, and other “marginal” groups.

⁶¹ The first gay publication in the United States was *Friendship and Freedom*, published by the Society for Human Rights in 1924-1925. The Society for Human Rights was founded by Henry Gerber. The first known lesbian publication in the world was *Vice Versa*, published in 1947 and 1948 by Edith Eyde under the pen name of Lisa Ben (an anagram of lesbian). She produced the publication during her shifts at RKO Studios (now CBS Paramount Television) at 780 N. Gower Street, Hollywood, California. Stein, *Rethinking*, 45.

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and banned it from the mail. ONE, Inc. sued, the case made its way to the Supreme Court, and eventually Mattachine won the landmark First Amendment case, ONE, Inc. v. Oleson.⁶²

Another landmark court case of this period was the 1951 California Supreme Court ruling in *Stoumen v. Reilly*. Ruling for Stoumen, the owner of the Black Cat in San Francisco, the court found that it was not illegal for a public restaurant or bar in California to serve homosexuals; in order for a liquor license to be revoked, proof of illegal or immoral activity was required.⁶³ Although it was still illegal under sodomy laws to engage in same-sex acts, this recognition of the right of public assembly for gay men and lesbians represented an important civil rights advance. Despite this legal recognition, however, bar raids continued with great frequency across the country.

6. The Modern Civil Rights Movement, 1954-1964

During this period, African Americans pushed for national constitutional equality and an end to segregation. In addition to presidential executive orders, this era saw the passage of three Civil Rights Acts. The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 legislated voting rights and imposed penalties for infringing upon them. This era also saw the federal government's first military enforcement of civil rights law: in 1957, the governor of Arkansas mobilized the state's National Guard to prevent black students from entering Little Rock Central High School after *Brown v. Board of Education*

⁶² ONE's original law suit was rejected in the district courts, and they lost their case (*ONE, Inc. v. Olesen*) in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. The Supreme Court overturned the appeals court ruling, establishing that the magazine (and therefore descriptions of homosexuality) were not intrinsically obscene. The Ninth Circuit trial unfolded at the James R. Browning United States Court of Appeals Building, northeast corner of Mission and Seventh Streets, San Francisco, California. It was listed on the NRHP on October 14, 1971 and designated an NHL on October 16, 2012. See also Whitney Strub, *Obscenity Rules: Roth v. United States and the Long Struggle over Sexual Expression* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2013).

⁶³ Stein, *Rethinking*, 48; Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*. Sol Stoumen, the straight owner of the Black Cat Club at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California, fought repeated court battles against police harassment of his customers in the 1950s. The Black Cat Club is a contributing resource of the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971. See also Graves and Watson (this volume).

declared “separate but equal” segregation a violation of the Constitution. In response, President Eisenhower deployed the 101st Airborne Division to Arkansas and federalized that state’s National Guard.⁶⁴

These years were filled with highly publicized collective actions to achieve civil rights for African Americans—bus boycotts, sit-ins, and freedom rides. These led to the well-known March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, where Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his “I Have a Dream” speech. The march took place on the National Mall on August 23, 1963.⁶⁵ One of the key organizers for the March on Washington and Martin Luther King, Jr.’s early civil rights career, was gay man Bayard Rustin.⁶⁶ Between two hundred thousand and three hundred thousand people attended the March on Washington, which led in part to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.⁶⁷ The successes of the African American civil rights movement during this period inspired other groups to employ similar tactics.

During this period, the homophile movement grew to include the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), the first national lesbian organization. In 1955, San Francisco Filipina Rose Bamberger invited a group of eight women, including Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, to start the DOB as a social

⁶⁴ Herb Boyd, “Little Rock Nine Paved the Way,” *New York Amsterdam News* 98, no. 40 (September 27, 2007): 28; Jean Edward Smith, *Eisenhower in War and Peace* (New York: Random House, 2012), 723; NPS, *Civil Rights Framework*.

⁶⁵ The National Mall was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966. It is part of the National Mall and Memorial Parks unit of the NPS, established in 1965.

⁶⁶ Bayard Rustin’s apartment, where he lived with his partner Walter Naegel during the planning of the March on Washington, is located in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016. See John D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin* (New York: Free Press, 2003).

⁶⁷ Bayard Rustin’s childhood home is located in West Chester, Pennsylvania. He lived there from 1912 through 1930, and is where he learned Quaker ideals from his grandmother. While in high school, Rustin organized a nonviolent demonstration against local segregation. Rustin lived the last decades of his life in an apartment in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City with his partner Walter Naegel. Charles C. Euchner, *Nobody Turn Me Around: A People’s History of the 1963 March on Washington* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010); Henry Louis Gates, Jr., “Who Designed the March on Washington?” *The African Americans: Many Rivers to Cross*, PBS, 2013, accessed October 7, 2015, <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/african-americans-many-rivers-to-cross/history/100-amazing-facts/who-designed-the-march-on-washington>.

alternative to lesbian bars (which were subject to police harassment).⁶⁸ Shortly after its founding, the focus of the DOB shifted to lesbian civil and political rights and support for those afraid of coming out. Like the early Mattachine Society, the early DOB was assimilationist, and discouraged masculine appearance in their members.⁶⁹ In 1956, the DOB began publishing their newsletter, *The Ladder*. Publications like *The Ladder*, ONE, Inc.'s *One*, and Mattachine's *Mattachine Review* served to build community across the country and advise people about their rights.

In 1961, Dr. Franklin E. Kameny, who had received his PhD in astronomy in 1956, co-founded Mattachine DC. Kameny was radicalized after being fired from his job at the Army Map Service in Washington, DC, and barred from further federal employment for failing to disclose his sexual orientation. He appealed his firing to the United States Supreme Court, who turned down his petition for judicial review (*certiorari*).⁷⁰ Kameny remained active in LGBTQ rights for the rest of his life, and was instrumental in having DC's sodomy laws overturned; having homosexuality reclassified as no longer a mental disorder in the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* in 1973 (Figure 5). Kameny's influential work has been widely commemorated. In addition to his house being listed on the NRHP, a portion of Seventeenth Street NW in Washington, DC, has been named Frank Kameny Way and Minor Planet 1999 RE44 was renamed (40463) *Frankkameny* in his honor by the International Astronomical Union.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Bamberger left the organization shortly after its founding. See JoAnne Myers, *Historical Dictionary of the Lesbian and Gay Liberation Movements* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2013), 127. Two of the cofounders of the Daughters of Bilitis, Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin were living together at their home in San Francisco's Noe Valley neighborhood when the organization was founded. They continued to live together in their home in Noe Valley until Del passed away in 2008. The national office of the Daughters of Bilitis was located at 165 O'Farrell Street, San Francisco, California. The DOB's journal, *The Ladder*, was published by Pan Graphic Press at the Williams Building, 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California. See also Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Carrol & Graf Publishers, 2006).

⁶⁹ Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 24.

⁷⁰ Dr. Franklin Kameny's Residence in northwestern DC was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011, shortly after his death on October 11, 2011.

⁷¹ Minor Planet (40463) *Frankkameny* was discovered in 1999 and named in honor of Kameny on July 3, 2012.



Figure 5: Dr. Franklin E. Kameny, Dr. Henry Anonymous (Dr. John E. Fryer), and Barbara Gittings at the 1972 American Psychological Association (APA)'s annual meeting at the Dallas Memorial Auditorium and Convention Center (now the Kay Bailey Hutchison Convention Center), Canton and Akard Streets. This was the first time a psychiatrist (Fryer) had addressed the APA as a gay man, though he needed to do so anonymously at the time to protect his career. The APA voted to remove homosexuality as a disease from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* in during their annual meeting at the Sheraton Waikiki Hotel (2255 Kalakaua Avenue, Honolulu, Hawai'i) in 1973. Photo by Kay Tobin, 1972, courtesy of the New York Public Library (Barbara Gittings and Kay Tobin Lahusen Gay History Papers and Photographs Collection).

The same year that Frank Kameny cofounded Mattachine DC, in San Francisco, José Sarria became the first openly gay LGBTQ person to run for American public office, and perhaps the first in the world.⁷² Returning to San Francisco in 1947, following his military service, Sarria began studies to become a teacher. His hopes of teaching were derailed when he was arrested on morals charges at the St. Francis Hotel.⁷³ In the 1950s

⁷² Serkan Ozturk, "United We Stand, Divided They Catch Us One By One": The Extraordinary José Sarria," *Star Observer* (Australia), September 20, 2013, <http://www.starobserver.com.au/news/united-we-stand-divided-they-catch-us-one-by-one-the-extraordinary-jose-sarria/109625>.

⁷³ The St. Francis Hotel (now the Westin St. Francis) is located at 335 Powell Street, San Francisco, California. Bullough, *Before Stonewall*, 377; Michael R. Gorman, *The Empress is a Man: Stories from the Life of José Sarria* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1998), 139.

and 1960s, Sarria performed as a popular drag queen at the Black Cat Café, noted especially for his parodies of operas and torch songs. As well as entertainment, his performances had an activist flavor, as he encouraged the LGBTQ patrons to come out of the closet: “united we stand, divided they catch us one by one.”⁷⁴ In 1961, Sarria ran for a position on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, using the Black Cat as his informal campaign headquarters.⁷⁵ Though he did not win, the number of people who voted for him made it clear that LGBTQ people held clout in city politics: “From that day on, nobody ran for anything in San Francisco without knocking on the door of the gay community.”⁷⁶ In 1962, Sarria and others formed the Tavern Guild, the first US gay business association. The Guild raised money to help bar owners coordinate against police harassment and to help those arrested at gay bars.⁷⁷ He continued to be active in LGBTQ rights (see next section). In 1964, transman Reed Erickson founded the Erickson Educational Foundation (EEF) from his home in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. In operation for twenty years, the foundation funded research and activism in support of transgender people and LGBTQ rights. ONE, Inc. was one of the largest recipients of EEF funding.⁷⁸

Like Bayard Rustin, other LGBTQ people including Pauli Murray, James Baldwin, and Lorraine Hansberry also continued civil rights and social justice work in other contexts.⁷⁹ Pauli Murray was a civil rights activist, women’s rights activist, attorney (the first black person to receive a JD degree from Yale Law School), author, and the first black woman to be

⁷⁴ Randy Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1982), 52.

⁷⁵ The Black Cat was located at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. It is a contributing resource to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP November 18, 1971. The Black Cat lost its liquor license in 1963 after years of police pressure. Boyd, *Wide-Open Town*; Neil Miller, *Out of the Past: Gay and Lesbian History from 1869 to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 347; Shilts, *Mayor of Castro Street*, 57.

⁷⁶ Ozturk, “United We Stand.”

⁷⁷ Bullough, *Before Stonewall*, 157; John D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 189. The Tavern Guild was founded at Suzy-Q at 1741 Polk Street, San Francisco, California; see Johnson (this volume).

⁷⁸ A. H. Devor, “Reed Erickson and The Erickson Educational Foundation,” University of Victoria website, last revised September 18, 2013, <http://web.uvic.ca/~erick123>.

⁷⁹ NPS, *Civil Rights Framework*.

ordained as an Episcopal priest. In 2012, Murray was named an Episcopal Saint. Especially known in law for her pioneering work on gender discrimination, her book, *States' Laws on Race and Color* was referred to by Thurgood Marshall as the “bible” of the civil rights movement. Murray struggled with gender identity and sexuality. Attracted to women, Murray did not describe herself as homosexual. Instead, she wrote of feeling more like a man attracted to women, and described herself as having an “inverted sex instinct.”⁸⁰ James Baldwin, whose book, *Giovanni's Room* (1956) caused controversy because of its homoerotic content, is also known for *Another Country* and *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone*. Baldwin was also active in the civil rights movement, touring the South for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and gracing the cover of *Time* magazine in May 1963 as the face of civil rights activism.⁸¹ Lorraine Hansberry was the first black woman to write a Broadway play. Her work, *A Raisin in the Sun* deals extensively with the lives of black Americans in Chicago during racial segregation. Hansberry grew up in a house on Chicago's south side from 1930 to 1938. In 1938, her parents bought and moved into a home in the all-white Woodlawn neighborhood of Chicago. They were sued by a member of the home owners' association for violating the restrictive covenant that prevented black people from buying property in that part of the city. The case, *Hansberry v. Lee*, made its way to the United States Supreme Court, which ruled in 1940 that the 54 percent of the association members who agreed to the restrictive covenant did not represent the 46 percent who had not – an important

⁸⁰ Pauli Murray, *Song in a Weary Throat: An American Pilgrimage* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987); see also Kenneth W. Mack, *Representing the Race: The Creating of the Civil Rights Lawyer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); Patricia Bell-Scott, *The Firebrand and the First Lady: Portrait of a Friendship: Pauli Murray, Eleanor Roosevelt, and the Struggle for Social Justice* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2016). The home that Murray grew up in, to open as the Pauli Murray Center for History and Social Justice, is located at 906 Carroll Street, Durham, North Carolina. In 1967 and 1968, Murray was vice president of Benedict College, Columbia, South Carolina; the Benedict College Historic District was added to the NRHP on April 20, 1987. She celebrated her first Eucharist as a priest at the Chapel of the Cross, 304 East Franklin Street, Chapel Hill, North Carolina on February 13, 1977; the church was added to the NRHP on February 1, 1972.

⁸¹ Carol Polsgrove, *Divided Minds: Intellectuals and the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Norton, 2001), 94-99, 155-156. Baldwin wrote *Another Country* while living in an apartment in New York City's West Village that he rented from 1957-1963. The building is located within the Greenwich Village Historic District, listed on the NRHP on June 19, 1970. In 1965, Baldwin purchased a row house on New York City's Upper West Side; while at this location, he wrote *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone*. He died in 1987.

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step in these restrictive covenants being declared unconstitutional.⁸² In 1951, Lorraine moved to Harlem and fought against evictions and for other civil rights issues, including being involved with CORE. Married in 1953, she and her husband Robert Nemiroff separated in 1957, eventually divorcing, but remaining amicable. Hansberry identified as a lesbian; she wrote about feminism and homophobia, and contributed two letters to *The Ladder*.⁸³

7. Militancy and Backlash, 1964-1981

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. It also ended the disenfranchisement of citizens through unequal voting registration requirements, and ended racial segregation in schools and in public accommodations. As gains were made during this period towards African American civil rights, an expanding array of new social movements and civil rights constituencies mobilized for similar protections.

These other social movements included homophile groups throughout the country, who continued to become more militant. They protested and worked against police entrapment, strove to educate professionals, including health professionals, about homosexuality, and fought against discrimination in government employment that had become entrenched during the McCarthy era (McCarthy linked Communism and homosexuality).⁸⁴ Militant protests and pushback against police

⁸² Alison Shay, "Remembering Hansberry v. Lee," Publishing the Long Civil Rights Movement (website), November 12, 2012, <https://lcrm.lib.unc.edu/blog/index.php/tag/hansberry-v-lee>.

⁸³ The residence that Lorraine grew up in from 1930 to 1938 was located at 5330 South Calumet Avenue, Chicago, Illinois (now demolished). From 1953 to 1960, Hansberry and her husband/ex-husband lived in a Bleecker Street apartment in New York City's West Village. She wrote *A Raisin in the Sun* at this location. In 1960, Hansberry and Nemiroff moved to a Greenwich Village apartment, where Hansberry met Dorothy Secules. The two women remained together until Hansberry's death in 1965. See "Lorraine Hansberry House," Chicago Landmarks, City of Chicago website, <http://webapps.cityofchicago.org/landmarksweb/web/landmarkdetails.htm?lanId=13024>; Lyonette Louis-Jacques, "Lorraine Hansberry: Her Chicago Law Story," *Law News from the D'Angelo Law Library*, University of Chicago Law website, March 6, 2013, <http://news.lib.uchicago.edu/blog/2013/03/06/lorraine-hansberry-her-chicago-law-story>.

⁸⁴ NPS, *Civil Rights Framework*.

harassment increasingly brought the struggle for LGBTQ rights into the streets and visible to wider America.

Militant protests by homophile groups began in the mid-1960s. These pickets included those at the Pentagon and the White House. In April 1965, Frank Kameny and Mattachine DC picketed the White House in one of the earliest public protests for LGBTQ rights.⁸⁵ Perhaps the most iconic, however, are the pickets in front of Independence Hall in Philadelphia that took place every Fourth of July from 1965 to 1969.⁸⁶ These Annual Reminders were organized by members of the New York City and Washington, DC, chapters of the Mattachine Society, Philadelphia's Janus Society, and the New York chapter of the Daughters of Bilitis, organized under the collective name, East Coast Homophile Organizations (ECHO).⁸⁷ With a "respectable" dress code in effect (suits and ties for men, dresses for women), members of ECHO marched in front of Independence Hall carrying signs that read, "Homosexuals Should Be Judged As Individuals" and "Homosexual Bill of Rights," reminding onlookers that the Declaration of Independence had not brought freedom to all Americans.⁸⁸

Taking cues from the successes of the African American civil rights movement, like the one on February 1, 1960 at the Greensboro, North Carolina Woolworth store, LGBTQ activists also staged sit-ins and sip-ins to protest their lack of rights of assembly and access to public accommodation. On April 25, 1965, three teenagers (two men and a woman) staged a sit-in at Dewey's Restaurant in Philadelphia, protesting the establishment's refusal to serve homosexuals and people wearing "non-conformist" clothing. When the police arrived, the protesters and

⁸⁵ NPS, *Civil Rights Framework*. The Pentagon Office Building Complex in Arlington, Virginia was listed on the NRHP on July 27, 1989 and designated an NHL on October 5, 1992. The White House is located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. It was designated an NHL on December 19, 1960.

⁸⁶ Independence Hall is part of Independence National Historical Park, created June 28, 1948. It was designated an NHL District on October 15, 1966.

⁸⁷ Gittings, *Revolution*, 188-189.

⁸⁸ Martin Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Dutton, 1993), 113; John Loughery, *The Other Side of Silence: Men's Lives and Gay Identities: A Twentieth-Century History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1998), 271.

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their legal representative were arrested for disorderly conduct. The Janus Society, Philadelphia's homophile organization, paraded in front of Dewey's for days and distributed thousands of leaflets in protest. A week later, another sit-in occurred, and the police were again called, but refused to arrest anyone, saying they had no authority to ask peaceful protesters to leave. The owner of Dewey's changed his policy on serving queers, and the protest was considered a success.⁸⁹

In New York City the following year, members of the New York City Mattachine Society staged a sip-in to try to force the New York State Liquor Authority to stop raiding and revoking licenses and otherwise harassing establishments that served homosexuals. Sitting at the bar of Julius' Bar on April 21, 1966, the activists ordered drinks. As they were being served, they handed the bartender a note reading, "We are homosexuals. We are orderly. We intend to remain orderly, and we are asking for service." In response, the barkeep stopped serving them, saying that the State Liquor Authority forbade him from serving homosexuals. The Mattachine Society sued, and the New York State Appellate Court ruled that the Constitution protected the rights of peaceful assembly, even for homosexuals, and that the State Liquor Authority could no longer prohibit people from congregating in gay bars. The Sip-In at Julius' cleared the legal path for openly gay bars in New York City, though police harassment and raids continued.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Dewey's coffee house was located at 219 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. See Marc Stein, "The First Gay Sit-In Happened 40 Years Ago," *History News Network*, May 9, 2005, accessed September 26, 2015, <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/11652>; Faderman, *Revolution*, 116-117. The Janus Society had offices in the Middle City Building, 34 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

⁹⁰ Julius' Bar is located at 159 West 10th Street at Waverly Place, New York City, New York, within the Greenwich Village Historic District. Scott Simon, "Remembering a 1966 'Sip-In' for Gay Rights," *Weekend Edition Saturday*, NPR, June 28, 2008, accessed October 15, 2015, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=91993823>; Faderman, *Revolution*, 118-119.

Impromptu riots against police harassment include those at Cooper's Donuts (Los Angeles), Compton's Cafeteria (San Francisco), the Zephyr Restaurant (Washington, DC), and the Stonewall Inn (New York City) were often started by queens and other gender-variant people, hustlers, and people of color. Tucked in between two gay bars in Los Angeles, Cooper's Donuts was a popular hangout for queers. In May 1959, police arrested two hustlers, two queens, and a young man who was cruising other patrons. Customers and others in the area, tired of police harassment, rioted in response. Several of them were beaten and others arrested.⁹¹ In August 1966, young queens and queers at Compton's

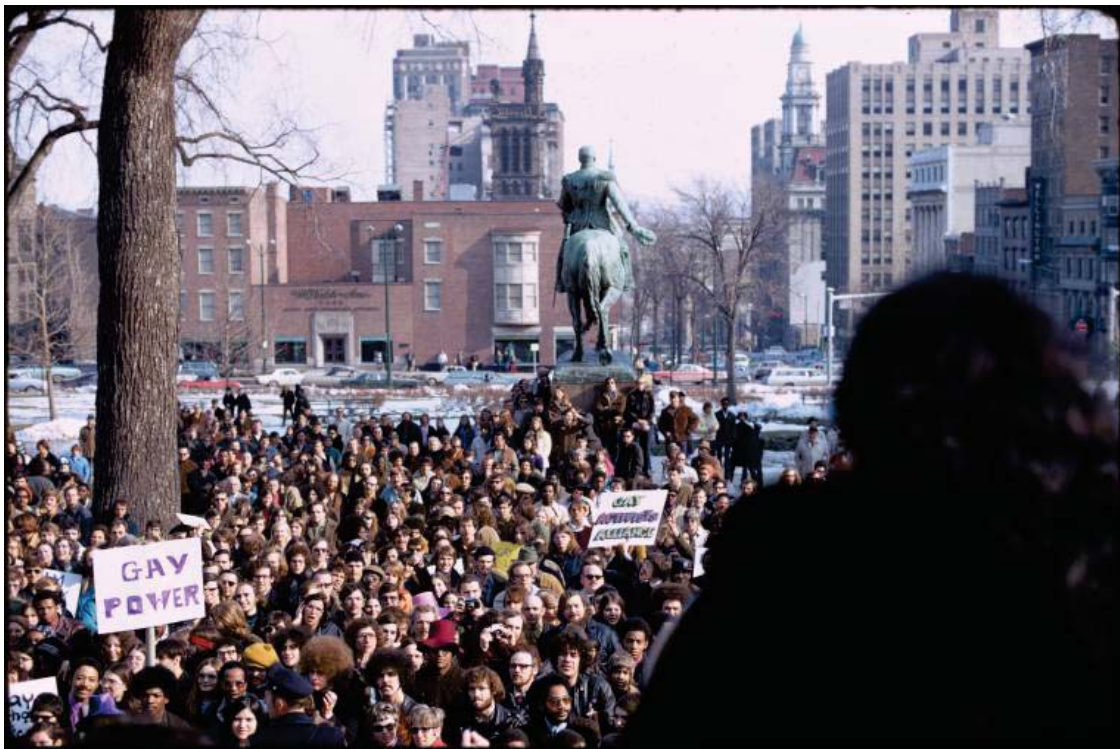


Figure 6: Speakers' view, 1971 Gay Rights Rally, New York State Capitol Building, Albany, New York. The New York State Capitol Building was added to the NRHP on February 18, 1971 and designated an NHL on January 29, 1979. It is part of the Lafayette Park Historic District, added to the NRHP on November 15, 1978. Photo by Diana Davies, courtesy of the New York Public Library (Diana Davies Photographs Collection, b14442517).

⁹¹ Novelist John Rechy was among those at Cooper's Donuts the night of the riot. Rechy, a Mexican American, is best known for his novel, *City of Night*, which broke literary inhibitions in portraying the life of young gay hustlers. His home is in El Paso, Texas. Evan Moffitt, "10 Years Before Stonewall, There Was the Cooper's Donuts Riot," *Out Magazine*, May 31, 2015, accessed October 19, 2015, <http://www.out.com/today-gay-history/2015/5/31/today-gay-history-10-years-stonewall-there-was-coopers-donuts-riot>. Cooper's Donuts was located at 554 or 557 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California.

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Cafeteria, a twenty-four hour hangout popular with the gay community, also rebelled following police harassment.⁹²

In June 1969, patrons of the then mafia-run Stonewall Inn in New York City's Greenwich Village, fought back against police harassment. Instead of acquiescing to police demands, the queens, hustlers, gay men, and lesbian patrons—many of whom, including queens Marsha P. “Pay it No Mind” Johnson and Sylvia Rivera, were working class and people of color—fought back, forcing the police to retreat.⁹³ This event is generally recognized as the birth of the Gay Liberation Movement, and continues to be remembered by LGBTQ Pride celebrations and protests across the country (and internationally) that take place in June (Figure 6). These pride celebrations, which began as street protests for LGBTQ rights simultaneously in New York City, Los Angeles, and Chicago were an abrupt break from the Annual Reminders that had taken place in Philadelphia from 1965 through 1969.⁹⁴

The Gay Liberation Front formed in New York City almost immediately following the Stonewall Riots, and groups with similar names quickly

⁹² Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. Many of the youth at Compton's were members of Vanguard, the first LGBTQ youth organization in the United States. From 1965 to 1967, they operated out of Glide Memorial Church, 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California. Both buildings are contributing elements to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009. Stryker, *Transgender History*; Christina Hanhardt, *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013); *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria*, directed by Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005).

⁹³ According to Stormé DeLarverie, the only female member of The Jewel Box Review, and who was at Stonewall the night of the revolt, “It was a rebellion, it was an uprising, it was a civil rights disobedience—it wasn't no damn riot.” Kristi K., “Something Like a Super Lesbian: Stormé DeLarverie (In Memoriam),” *The K Word*, May 28, 2014, accessed October 27, 2015, <http://thekword.com/2014/05/28/something-like-a-super-lesbian-storme-delarverie-in-memoriam>.

The body of Marsha P. Johnson was recovered from the waters off of Pier 45 (also known as the Christopher Street Pier) in New York City in 1992. Since the 1970s, the Pier has been a meeting place and refuge for gay men, drag queens, and other members of the African American ballroom community and culture. Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008), 82-86; Tim Retzliff, “Eliding Trans Latino/a Queer Experience in US LGBT History: José Sarria and Sylvia Rivera Reexamined,” *CENTRO: Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies* 19, no. 1 (2007): 140-161.

⁹⁴ Duberman, *Stonewall*; David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots that Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004). Stonewall (51-53 Christopher Street, Christopher Park and surrounding streets, New York City, New York) was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999 and designated an NHL on February 16, 2000.

formed across the country, including Los Angeles, Washington, DC, Iowa City, Buffalo, New York, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin.⁹⁵ They advocated for direct action and the sexual liberation of all people. In December 1969, just months after the founding of the GLF, some New York City members split off to form the Gay Activists' Alliance (GAA) (Figure 7). The split was in reaction to the perceived chaos and obstructionism of the GLF, and its commitment to multi-issue, multi-movement, coalition politics—the GAA instead wanted to focus on gay rights.⁹⁶ While some members of the GLF worked to distance themselves from drag queens and other gender-variant people, the GAA actively began to exclude transgender people, including making fun of them and not allowing them to speak at public rallies, including the 1973 Christopher Street Liberation Rally, during which Sylvia Rivera took over the stage.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ The Gay Liberation Front did not have “chapters;” each of the groups were independent from one another. In 1970 and 1971, the New York City group met at the Church of the Holy Apostles, 296 Ninth Avenue, New York City, New York. The building was added to the NRHP on April 26, 1972. In 1969 in Los Angeles, Morris Kight, Harry Hay, and others founded the GLF chapter at Morris Kight's House in the Westlake neighborhood of Los Angeles. They opened the first gay coffee house, held several “gay-ins” at Griffith Park (4730 Crystal Springs Drive, Los Angeles, California), and were involved in establishing LA's first gay pride parade, as well as the city's first gay community center at 1612-1614 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California (now demolished), which has become the Los Angeles LGBT Center, 1625 North Schrader Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. In Washington, DC, members of the GLF rented a house on S Street NW from 1971 to 1974, from where they offered meeting space, published a newsletter, and hosted support groups. They held newcomer and youth group meetings at the Quaker House, 2121 Decatur Place NW, Washington, DC—a location that also hosted lesbian organizations like Rising Women's Coffee House and in the 1980s, a coffeehouse where people living with HIV/AIDS could meet. The GLF of Rochester, New York operated out of 201 Todd Union at the University of Rochester, River Station, Rochester, New York from 1971 to 1973 and published the *Empty Closet* newsletter. They became the Gay Alliance of the Genesee Valley in June 1973. In April 1974, the University of Iowa's GLF and Gay People's Liberation Alliance from Iowa State University (which formed initially as the GLF in 1971) co-organized the first Midwest Gay Pride Conference, held at the Iowa Memorial Union, 125 North Madison Street, Iowa City, Iowa. The GLF also organized at SUNY Buffalo and at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee in 1970.

⁹⁶ Arthur Bell, *Dancing the Gay Lib Blues: A Year in the Homosexual Liberation Movement* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971); Faderman, *Revolution*, 258-259. The GAA had their New York City headquarters at the Firehouse, 99 Wooster Street, New York City, New York from 1971-1974, when arsonists set fire to the building. This served as a mailing address for the New York City chapter of the Radicalesbians in the early 1970s. The GAA Firehouse is located in the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District, listed on the NRHP and as a NHL on June 29, 1978.

⁹⁷ Jessi Gan, “‘Still at the Back of the Bus’: Sylvia Rivera's Struggle,” *CENTRO Journal* 19, no. 1 (2007): 124-139. The Gay Activist Alliance operated out of the Gay Activist Alliance Firehouse, 99 Wooster Street, New York City, New York. It is located within the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District, added to the NRHP and designated an NHL on June 29, 1978. See “Sylvia Rivera, ‘Y'all Better Quiet Down’ (1973),” YouTube video, posted by Luz Violeta, published October 22, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9QijgzZCEtQ>.

The Queens Liberation Front (QLF) was founded in 1969 by drag queen Lee Brewster and heterosexual transvestite Bunny Eisenhower. With a membership of drag queens, transvestites, and others that we would now describe as transgender, they formed in response to their erasure from the policies and agendas of the GLF, including attempted exclusion from the 1970 Christopher Street Liberation March, the first event to commemorate the Stonewall Riots.⁹⁸ Stonewall was not the end of riots against harassment. In August 1970, a gay liberation student group occupied New York University's Weinstein Hall in protest of the university's refusal to allow gay dances on campus. The students broke off their sit-in when the Tactical Police Force arrived. Frustrated by the refusal of the group to defend itself against the police, the more radical Street Transvestites for Gay Power was formed (later to become Street Transvestites Action Revolutionaries).⁹⁹ On November 28, 1970, members of the GLF, in town to attend the Black Panthers' Revolutionary People's Constitutional



Figure 7: Gay Activists' Alliance Firehouse, New York City. Photo by Diana Davies, 1971, courtesy of the New York Public Library (Diana Davies Photographs Collection, b14442517).

⁹⁸ Stryker, *Transgender History*, 87. See also Ehn Nothin, "Queens Against Society," in *Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries: Survival, Revolt, and Queer Antagonist Struggle* (Untorellipress, 2013), 6, online at <https://untorellipress.noblogs.org/post/2013/03/12/street-transvestite-action-revolutionaries-survival-revolt-and-queer-antagonist-struggle>, accessed October 27, 2015.

⁹⁹ "We are not quite sure what you people really want. IF you want Gay Liberation then you're going to have to fight for it. We don't mean tomorrow or the next day, we are talking about today... If you're ready to tell people that you want to be free, then your ready to fight. And if your not ready then shut up and crawl back into your closets. But let us ask you this, Can you really live in a closet? We can't," Street Transvestites for Gay Power, Statement on the 1971 NYU Occupation, in *Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries*, 18; Nothin, *Queens*, 9; Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson, two women of color, were instrumental in STAR. Weinstein Hall is located at 5 University Place, New York City, New York. See "An Army of Lovers Cannot Lose: The Occupation of NYU's Weinstein Hall," *Researching Greenwich Village History* website, December 14, 2011, <https://greenwichvillagehistory.wordpress.com/tag/weinstein-hall>.

Convention, were refused service at the Zephyr Restaurant in Washington, DC. In the ensuing riot, twelve GLF members, who became known as the DC Twelve, were arrested.¹⁰⁰

Lesbian feminism, likewise, grew out of this period. Angry at the exclusion of lesbians (described as a “lavender menace” by National Organization of Women President Betty Friedan in 1969) from both the First and Second Congresses to Unite Women in 1969 and 1970, a group of lesbians planned an action for the opening session of the Second



Figure 8: Three members of the Lavender Menace protesting at the 1970 Second Congress to United Women, held at Intermediate School 70, New York City. Photo by Diana Davies, 1970, courtesy of the New York Public Library (Diana Davies Photographs Collection, b14442517).

Congress.¹⁰¹ Dubbing themselves the Lavender Menace, the group turned off power to the auditorium just as the first speaker arrived at the microphone. When the power was turned back on, about seventeen

¹⁰⁰ The Zephyr Restaurant was located at 4912 Wisconsin Avenue NW, Washington, DC; All Souls Unitarian Church is at 1500 Harvard Street NW, Washington, DC.

¹⁰¹ The opening session of the Second Congress was held at Intermediate School 70, 333 West 18th Street, New York City, New York.

women wearing Lavender Menace t-shirts lined the auditorium (Figure 8). They passed out copies of their manifesto, “The Woman-Identified Woman,” and spoke about their anger at being excluded from the women’s movement.¹⁰² Many of the woman involved in the Lavender Menace “zap” at the Second Congress to Unite Women continued their lesbian feminist work, including the founding of Radicalesbians. With independent chapters across the country, they were among the first groups to challenge the heterosexism of the women’s movement.¹⁰³ The Lavender Menace action and the work of the Radicalesbians bore fruit in lesbians’ inclusion in the broader women’s rights movement. In 1971, the National Organization for Women passed a resolution stating “that a women’s right to her own person includes the right to define and express her own sexuality and to choose her own lifestyle.”¹⁰⁴ They also stated that forcing lesbian mothers to stay in marriages or live in the closet in order to keep their children was unjust, and committed to offer legal and moral support in a legal test case involving the child custody rights of lesbian mothers.¹⁰⁵

In 1971, the Furies Collective, a group of a dozen women, moved into a house in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Washington, DC.¹⁰⁶ Over the next two years, they published *The Furies* and an issue of *motive* (a youth

¹⁰² Karla Jay, *Tales of the Lavender Menace: A Memoir of Liberation* (New York: Basic Books, 1999).

¹⁰³ Radicalesbians, “The Woman Identified Woman,” in *The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory*, ed. Linda Nicholson (New York: Routledge, 1997), 153-157; Susan Brownmiller, *In Our Time: Memoir of a Revolution* (New York: Dial Press, 1999). In 1972, *motive* (a publication of the United Methodist Church) printed a list of lesbian organizations across the country. Many of the addresses were c/o other organizations; others were stand-alone addresses, often private residences. Some locations of Radicalesbians listed in *motive* include: c/o the Gay Activists Alliance, 31 West Woodruff, Chicago, Illinois; c/o the Women’s Center in the Lower Garden district of New Orleans, Louisiana; Bloomington Radicalesbians, 415 East Smith Avenue, Bloomington, Indiana (now demolished); c/o the Women’s Center, 595 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts; c/o the Gay Activists Alliance Firehouse, 99 Wooster Street, New York City, New York; Radicalesbians of Cornell University, 24 Willard Straight Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; a residence in the Weinland Park neighborhood of Columbus, Ohio; and c/o the Women’s Center in the Cedar Park neighborhood of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

¹⁰⁴ See “NOW: Leading the Fight, Timeline of NOW’s Work on Lesbian Rights,” National Organization for Women website, <http://now.org/resource/now-leading-the-fight>.

¹⁰⁵ National Organization for Women, “NOW: Leading the Fight.” For more on parental custody rights of LGBTQ parents, see Daniel Winunwe Rivers, *Radical Relations: Lesbian Mothers, Gay Fathers, and Their Children in the United States since World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); and Baim (this volume).

¹⁰⁶ The Furies Collective House was added to the NRHP on May 2, 2016.

magazine of the United Methodist Church). In these publications, the Furies “firmly placed lesbian feminism within the women’s movement and legitimized the needs and priorities of lesbians on a national scale... Their ideological and intellectual roles in leading lesbianism and feminism, as they defined themselves and confronted issues of sexism, male supremacy, economic difference and oppression, racism, and gender identity, were significant, far-reaching, and continue to the present.”¹⁰⁷ Feminist bookstores across the country were important places for lesbians and bisexual women to meet, explore and share ideas, and to organize.¹⁰⁸

It was also during this time that lesbians of color organized among themselves, as their needs and concerns were not being met by the white feminist movement. In 1974, the Combahee River Collective formed in Boston, Massachusetts after several women attended the first regional meeting of the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) in 1973 in New York City.¹⁰⁹ With a more radical vision for social change than the NBFO, the women organized as the CRC, with a commitment to address the needs of black lesbians as well as black feminists.¹¹⁰ Their work, as well as those of Latina/Chicana feminists and others were instrumental in

¹⁰⁷ Mark Meinke, “National Register of Historic Places Nomination: The Furies Collective House,” on file, National Park Service, Washington, DC.

¹⁰⁸ The number of women’s and LGBTQ bookstores are declining. In the mid-1990s, there were approximately 120 feminist bookstores in the United States; ten years later, there were less than 70, and in 2014, an article described only 13 self-described feminist bookstores remaining in existence. Lesbians could also find feminist community at LGBTQ bookstores. Lesbian feminism has a history of excluding bisexual women; see Hutchins (this volume). See Kristen Hogan, *The Feminist Bookstore Movement: Lesbian Antiracism and Feminist Accountability* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016); Anjali Enjeti, “The Last 13 Feminist Bookstores in the U.S. and Canada,” *Paste*, May 9, 2014, <https://www.pastemagazine.com/blogs/lists/2014/05/the-last-13-feminist-bookstores-in-the-us-and-canada.html>; Kathleen Liddle, “More than a Bookstore: The Continuing Relevance of Feminist Bookstores for the Lesbian Community,” *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 9, no. 1-2 (2005): 145-159; and Anne Enke, *Finding the Movement: Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007). See also Hanhardt, Giesecking, and Johnson (this volume).

¹⁰⁹ The first regional conference of the NFBO was held at the end of 1973 at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, Amsterdam Avenue between West 110th and West 113th Streets, New York City, New York. The Cathedral has other LGBTQ associations, including the site of funeral services for James Baldwin and Audre Lorde, as well as a memorial service for Eleanor Roosevelt.

¹¹⁰ Duchess Harris, “From the Kennedy Commission to the Combahee Collective: Black Feminist Organizing, 1960-80,” 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), 280-305; Barbara Smith, “Doing it from Scratch: The Challenge of Black Lesbian Organizing,” in *The Truth That Never Hurts: Writings on Race, Gender, and Freedom* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 167-177. The Combahee River Collective met at the Women’s Center, 595 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts in the mid-1970s.

framing and understanding intersectionality both in civil rights and more broadly: “we attempt to bridge the contradictions in our experience. We are the colored in a white feminist movement. We are the feminists among the people of our culture. We are often the lesbians among the straight. We do this by bridging by naming ourselves and by telling our stories in our own words.”¹¹¹ In 1977, a group of multiracial, multi-class women joined together and founded Astraea, a grant-making organization designed specifically to address the lack of funding for women and women’s projects, particularly for lesbians and women of color. The Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice, which grew from a lesbian feminist vision, continues its “commitment to feminism, progressive social change, and an end to all forms of exploitation and discrimination.”¹¹²

In 1971, a group of feminist women founded San Francisco’s Women’s Centers as a place where women’s projects in the Bay Area could start out. In 1979, the group purchased their current home in San Francisco’s Mission District.¹¹³ The founding director was lesbian Latina activist, Carmen Vazquez. The building has provided a home and meeting space to many lesbian feminist and LGBTQ organizations (as well as those whose mandates encompass LGBTQ people), including *Ellas en Acción* (an organization for lesbian and bisexual Latinas); *La Casa de Las Madres*, a women’s shelter founded in 1976; *Lava Mae*, providing mobile toilets and showers for the homeless (homeless youth are disproportionately LGBTQ); the *Lavender Youth Recreation & Information Center (LYRIC)*, the oldest queer youth organization in the United States, cofounded in 1988 by Donna Keiko Ozawa; “*Becoming Visible*,” a conference of African American lesbians; *ACT UP*, and *Queer Nation*.

¹¹¹ Cherrie Moraga, “Entering the Lives of Others: Theory in the Flesh,” in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, eds. Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (New York: Kitchen Table/Women of Color Press, 1983), 98-101. For a more in-depth discussion of intersectionality relative to LGBTQ history, see Springate – Intersectionality (this volume). See also González and Hernández, Harris, and Sueyoshi (this volume).

¹¹² Jamie, “Astraea, A Lesbian Foundation for Justice: The Autostraddle Interview,” *Autostraddle*, December 24, 2012, <http://www.autostraddle.com/astraea-a-lesbian-foundation-for-justice-the-autostraddle-interview-152395>; “About Astrea,” Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice website, <http://www.astraeafoundation.org/who-we-are/about>. The Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice is located at 116 East 16th Street, New York City, New York.

¹¹³ The Women’s Building is located at 3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California.

Several important LGBTQ civil rights groups were formed during this period. These include the Society for Individual Rights (discussed above), Lambda Legal, and the National Gay Task Force (now the National LGBTQ Task Force). The Society for Individual Rights (SIR) was formed in San Francisco in 1964, positioning itself as a more open, democratic, and community-based organization than the homophile groups that preceded it.¹¹⁴ Among its founders was José Sarria. In April 1966, SIR opened the SIR Center, the first LGBTQ community center in the United States. In 1969, the Committee for Homosexual Freedom was formed by activists who found SIR to be too conservative.¹¹⁵

Feeling alienated as Latinos from the white LGBTQ communities, politics, and organizations and alienated as gay men from their Latino communities, in 1975 Rodrigo Reyes, Manuel Hernandez Valadez, and Jesus Barragan cofounded the Gay Latino/a Alliance (GALA). The first meeting of about twenty men was held at Valadez' home in San Jose, California. The second meeting, considered by many to be the founding meeting of the organization, was held at the SIR Center and attended by up to sixty men and women.¹¹⁶ From the beginning, GALA combined social and political activities, engaging with race, sexuality, and culture: "Politics and dancing mutually supported one another; the funds GALA raised through the dances and other social events underwrote political

¹¹⁴ Gorman, *The Empress is a Man*, 197-198; Miller, *Out of the Past*, 347; D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 191; Stein, *Rethinking*, 66; Faderman, *Revolution*, 178-179; Bill Brent, "Society for Individual Rights (SIR)," *FoundSF*, 1998, [http://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=Society_for_Individual_Rights_\(SIR\)](http://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=Society_for_Individual_Rights_(SIR)). The Society for Individual Rights was founded in a residential building in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood of San Francisco and in 1966 opened the SIR Center, the first LGBTQ community center, at 83 Sixth Street, San Francisco, California. SIR became the largest homophile organization in the country before ceasing operations in the early 1970s. Graves and Watson (this volume). A section of Sixteenth Street in San Francisco, California was renamed José Sarria Court in 2006 in his honor. See also Cynthia Laird, "Breaking: Jose Sarria Dies," *Bay Area Reporter*, August 15, 2013, <http://ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=69020>.

¹¹⁵ Stein, *Rethinking*, 66; Faderman, *Revolution*, 178-179. The SIR Center was located at 83 Sixth Street, San Francisco, California. For more examples of organizing in San Francisco, including the formation of the Bay Area Gay Liberation group in response to police harassment in San Francisco, see Graves and Watson and Hanhardt (this volume).

¹¹⁶ 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. For more on Latino/a organizing, see González and Hernández (this volume).

activism.”¹¹⁷ Throughout their existence, GALA walked a tightrope between meeting their constituents’ needs as LGBTQ people, and their needs as Latino/as—a balancing act that often unavoidably led to decisions that alienated other groups. Within the group, Latina women felt unwelcome, and this schism within the group remained unresolved. GALA folded in 1983.¹¹⁸

The Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund (Lambda Legal) was formed by gay attorneys in 1973. They had tried to incorporate in 1971, but were denied as the organization was deemed contrary to public policy. The denial was overturned by the New York Court of Appeals in 1973.¹¹⁹ Since its inception, Lambda Legal continues to work towards full legal protection for LGBTQ Americans through drafting laws, meeting with lawmakers, and bringing cases to trial—including *People v. West 12 Tenants Corp.* in 1983 that helped establish that it was, under disability laws, illegal to discriminate against people with HIV and *Lawrence v. Texas*, the United States Supreme Court decision in 2003 that made same-sex sexual activity legal throughout the United States.¹²⁰

Declaring that “gay liberation has become a nine-to-five job,” a group of men and women interested in bringing gay liberation into the mainstream of American civil rights announced the formation of the National Gay Task Force in New York City in October 1973. This was in response to the noisy protests of direct action groups like the GAA. From the beginning, the NGTF was intended to be a professional group; “off the street and into the boardrooms.”¹²¹ The group focuses on national issues, seeking to bring gay liberation into the mainstream of American civil rights.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Ramirez, *That’s MY Place!*, 241.

¹¹⁸ Ramirez, *That’s MY Place!*

¹¹⁹ See “History,” Lambda Legal website, <http://www.lambdalegal.org/about-us/history>. See also Stein (this volume). The National Headquarters of Lambda Legal are at 120 Wall Street, New York City, New York.

¹²⁰ Lambda Legal, *History*.

¹²¹ Faderman, *Revolution*, 260.

¹²² The National LGBTQ Task Force headquarters are at 1325 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC.

In 1974, the first civil rights bill to prevent discrimination based on sexual orientation was introduced in Congress. It, and the others that followed, were rejected.¹²³ While the civil rights bill failed, advances in federal employment came slowly.¹²⁴ In 1973, the federal Civil Service Commission announced that homosexuality was no longer enough to determine someone as unsuitable for hire; in 1975, the Commission dropped “immoral conduct” as a reason for disqualification. In 1975, decorated Air Force Sergeant Leonard Matlovich came out publicly in protest of the military ban on homosexual service. The Air Force discharged him, and he appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine.¹²⁵ In 1981, the US military tightened restrictions on service with the policy that “Homosexuality is incompatible with military service.”¹²⁶

The first local protections against discrimination based on sexual orientation were passed in East Lansing and Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1972. In 1973, the District of Columbia banned discrimination in all employment based on sexual orientation. At the state level, in 1975, Pennsylvania became the first state to ban public sector employment discrimination based on sexual orientation,¹²⁷ and in 1982, Wisconsin was the first state to ban sexual orientation discrimination in both the public and private sectors. Since then, twenty-one states plus the District of Columbia have enacted bans on employment discrimination based on sexual orientation. These hard-won advances in LGBTQ civil rights met with increasing conservative backlash from 1976 through 1981.

¹²³ See Stein (this volume).

¹²⁴ For an overview of the role of LGBTQ individuals in the American labor movement, see Miriam Frank, *Out in the Union: A Labor History of Queer America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014). An in-depth investigation of LGBTQ experience in the blue-collar workforce is presented in Anne Balay, *Steel Closets: Voices of Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Steelworkers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014). See also Wendell Ricketts, ed., *Blue, Too: More Writing by (for or about) Working-Class Queers* (FourCats Press, 2014) and Allan Bérubé, *My Desire for History: Essays in Gay, Community, & Labor History* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 2011).

¹²⁵ “I am a Homosexual,” *Time*, September 8, 1975. Matlovich died in 1988, and is buried in Congressional Cemetery in Washington, DC. The epitaph on his headstone reads, “When I was in the military, they gave me a medal for killing two men and a discharge for loving one.” Congressional Cemetery was listed on the NRHP on June 23, 1969 and designated an NHL on June 14, 2011.

¹²⁶ See Estes (this volume).

¹²⁷ Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 130.

It was in this social climate that, in January 1974, Kathy Kozachenko was elected to the Ann Arbor City Council, becoming the first openly LGBTQ candidate to win a seat in the United States. In November of that same year, Elaine Noble was the second openly LGBTQ candidate to win a seat, and the first to win a seat in a state legislature.¹²⁸ In 1972, Harvey Milk arrived in San Francisco, and became active in city politics. In 1973 and 1975, he ran for a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, using his Castro Camera storefront as a campaign headquarters.¹²⁹ In 1976, City Mayor George Moscone appointed Milk to the Board of Permit Appeals, a position which lasted only five weeks before Milk announced he was running for California State Assembly—a race which he narrowly lost.¹³⁰ In 1977, sixteen years after José Sarria ran for the same position, Milk won a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. In response to an increasing number of death threats, Milk made a recording of his thoughts about politics, LGBTQ people and the power of being visible, and who he would want to succeed him if he were killed. In the recording, he says, “If a bullet should enter my brain, let that bullet destroy every closet door.”¹³¹ One of the first things Milk did in office was to sponsor a bill that outlawed discrimination in the city of San Francisco based on sexual orientation. It passed, with only a single no vote—that of Supervisor Dan White, who Milk had alienated by voting against him.¹³² On November 28, 1978, Dan White snuck a gun past city hall security and shot and killed both Mayor Moscone and Harvey Milk.¹³³ Tens of thousands of people

¹²⁸ Ron Schlittler, “Out and Elected in the USA: 1974-2004,” *OutHistory*, <http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/out-and-elected/intro/schlittler-intro>. Ann Arbor City Council meets at 301 East Huron Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The Massachusetts State House in Boston, Massachusetts was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 19, 1960. It is a contributing element to the Beacon Hill Historic District, also added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL District on December 19, 1960.

¹²⁹ Milk lived in an apartment above his shop, located at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.

¹³⁰ Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street*, 80, 138, 149; San Francisco Chronicle Staff, “S.F. Vote Tally: Supervisors,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 7, 1973, 3.

¹³¹ Warren Hinckle, *Gayslayer! The Story of How Dan White Killed Harvey Milk and George Moscone & Got Away with Murder* (New York: Silver Dollar Books, 1985), 13-14.

¹³² Hinckle, *Gayslayer!*, 48; Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street*, 199.

¹³³ *The Times of Harvey Milk*, directed by Rob Epstein (San Francisco: Telling Pictures, 1984); Stein, *Rethinking*, 141. San Francisco City Hall is located at 1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett Place, San Francisco, California. It is a contributing element to the San Francisco Civic Center Historic District added to the NRHP on October 10, 1978 and designated an NHL on February 27, 1987.

spontaneously gathered in the streets for a peaceful candlelight vigil that moved from the Castro to city hall.¹³⁴ In May 1979, when White was acquitted of first degree murder charges and found guilty of voluntary manslaughter, people again took to the streets—this time in angry protest. Police and protesters clashed in the Castro and outside city hall in what became known as the White Night riots.¹³⁵

Perhaps no one embodies the conservative backlash against LGBTQ civil rights of the late 1970s more than Anita Bryant. A runner-up in the Miss America Beauty Pageant, she was a household name in 1970s America as a million-seller singer (including Paper Roses) and as a spokesperson for Coca-Cola, Tupperware, Kraft Foods, and the Florida Citrus Commission.¹³⁶ In late 1976, Dade County, Florida, commissioners were working to include homosexuality in the county's nondiscrimination ordinance. The ordinance, adding "affectional or sexual preference" to the nondiscrimination ordinance passed by a vote of five to three.¹³⁷ Leveraging her national platform, Bryant founded the organization Save Our Children, and began collecting signatures calling for the repeal of the ordinance. Only 10,000 signatures were needed to add the repeal of the ordinance to the upcoming ballot; Bryant and her colleagues collected 64,304. At election, the nondiscrimination amendment was overturned by a margin of more than two to one.¹³⁸ Following her success in Florida, Bryant took her campaign on the road, opposing antidiscrimination measures across the country. In Florida, State Senator Peterson sponsored two bills: one prohibiting homosexuals from adopting children, the second making the prohibition on same-sex marriage explicit in the

¹³⁴ Les Ledbetter, "2 Deaths Mourned by San Franciscans," *New York Times*, November 28, 1978, 1.

¹³⁵ Epstein, *The Times of Harvey Milk*; Mike Weiss, *Double Play: The Hidden Passions Behind the Double Assassination of George Moscone and Harvey Milk*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Vince Emery Productions, 2010); Shilts, *The Mayor of Castro Street*; John D'Emilio, "Gay Politics and Community in San Francisco since World War II," in *Hidden From History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, eds. Martin Bauml Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey, Jr. (New York: New American Library, 1989).

¹³⁶ Faderman, *Revolution*, 329-330.

¹³⁷ Faderman, *Revolution*, 333.

¹³⁸ Faderman, *Revolution*, 335-339, 352-352.

law. Both bills passed with minimal opposition.¹³⁹ In California, spurred by Anita Bryant's successes, legislator John Briggs sponsored California Proposition 6 (more commonly known as the Briggs Initiative) which would have banned gays and lesbians from working in the state's public schools. It was the first attempt to restrict the rights of gays and lesbians using a statewide ballot measure.¹⁴⁰

LGBTQ people across the country mobilized in response to Bryant's campaign. Gay bars across the country stopped serving orange juice, and LGBTQ activists, as well as heterosexuals who disliked the anti-sex tone of Bryant's crusade, protested her appearances and performances bearing slogans like "Save Our Children: Defend Lesbian Mothers" and "A Day Without Rights is Like A Day Without Sunshine." In the entertainment world, the punk band Dead Kennedys mocked her in their song, "The Moral Majority" and actor Jane Curtin satirized her regularly on Saturday Night Live.¹⁴¹ Opposition to the Briggs Initiative came from those including Harvey Milk, California Governor (and future President) Ronald Reagan, and President Jimmy Carter.¹⁴² The Briggs Initiative, on the California State ballot of November 7, 1978, was soundly defeated.

Bryant's opposition to LGBTQ rights brought communities throughout the United States together. Richmond, Virginia's first gay rights rally took place on October 8, 1977 at Monroe Park following an Anita Bryant concert.¹⁴³ At the Indiana State Fairgrounds in Indianapolis, eight hundred

¹³⁹ Faderman, *Revolution*, 354-356. Florida was not the first state to pass a law defining marriage as the union of a man and a woman. That dubious distinction goes to Maryland, who passed such a law in 1973. See Stein, this volume for more details on the laws surrounding marriage and domestic partnerships.

¹⁴⁰ Craig Rimmerman, *From Identity to Politics: The Lesbian and Gay Movements in the United States* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

¹⁴¹ Faderman, *Revolution*, 361-364; Eric Marcus, *Making Gay History: The Half-Century Fight for Lesbian and Gay Equal Rights* (New York: Harper, 2002).

¹⁴² Simon LeVay and Elisabeth Nonas, *City of Friends: A Portrait of the Gay and Lesbian Community in America* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997); Ronald Reagan, "Editorial: Two Ill-advised California Trends," *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, November 1, 1978, A19; Harvey Milk, *An Archive of Hope: Harvey Milk's Speeches and Writings*, eds. Jason Edward Black and Charles E. Morris (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013). The Log Cabin Republicans, an LGBTQ group of Republicans, was formed in response to the Briggs Initiative.

¹⁴³ Monroe Park, located on West Main Street, Richmond Virginia, is a contributing resource to the Monroe Park Historic District, listed on the NRHP on July 5, 1984.

people came together in October 1977 to protest an Anita Bryant rally in support of a state bill that would criminalize sodomy. The protest galvanized the city's LGBTQ community to political action; "Anita Bryant was probably the best thing that happened to the gay community," recalled a protestor.¹⁴⁴ In St. Louis, Missouri, a mass rally took place at the local Metropolitan Community Church to protest Bryant's Save Our Children campaign.¹⁴⁵

The October 14, 1979 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights was organized in part as a response to Bryant's campaign, in part in response to the November 27, 1978 assassination of Harvey Milk in California, and in part as a commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Stonewall Riots.¹⁴⁶ The first community meeting was held at the Beit Simchat Torah Synagogue in New York City in spring of 1979; the first national planning meeting for the march took place at the Friends Meeting House, Philadelphia.¹⁴⁷ Organizers of the march demanded a national lesbian and gay rights bill, the repeal of all anti-lesbian and gay laws, the end to discrimination in gay-parent custody cases, and protections for gay and lesbian youth.¹⁴⁸ Over one hundred thousand people marched and gathered on the National Mall. Banners at the march remembered Harvey Milk as a hero, tweaked Anita Bryant ("Eat Your Heart Out, Anita!"), and came out of the closet as mothers ("My Son Is Gay, And That's Okay") and

¹⁴⁴ Will Higgins, "The Strange But True History of Indianapolis' Gay Bars," *IndyStar*, June 8, 2012, accessed October 15, 2015, <http://www.indystar.com/story/life/2013/12/12/indianapolis-gay-bars/3997591/>.

¹⁴⁵ Stephen L. Brawley, "CWE Tour," Saint Louis LGBT History Project website, accessed October 18, 2015, <http://www.stlouislgbthistory.com/about/services/tours/cwe-tour.html>. Now a private residence, the Metropolitan Community Church was located in the Central West End neighborhood of St. Louis, Missouri.

¹⁴⁶ Eaklor, *Queer America*, 173.

¹⁴⁷ Rick Landman, "The First March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights was held on October 14, 1979," Infotruue Educational Experiences website, accessed October 14, 2015, <http://www.infotruue.com/wash.html>; Faderman, *Revolution*, 411. Congregation Beit Simchat Torah was established in 1973. Beginning in 1975, they worshipped at their synagogue at 57 Bethune Street, New York City, New York. In early 2016, they relocated to 130 West 30th Street, New York City, New York. David W. Dunlap, "Gay Congregation Celebrates Its Identity With New Home in Manhattan," *New York Times*, February 3, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/02/04/nyregion/gay-congregation-celebrates-its-identity-with-new-home-in-manhattan.html>. The Friends Meeting House is located at 320 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It was listed on the NRHP on May 27, 1971 and designated an NHL on June 23, 2011.

¹⁴⁸ Eaklor, *Queer America*, 173; Amin Ghaziani, *The Dividends of Dissent: How Conflict and Culture Work in Lesbian and Gay Marches on Washington* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

as military veterans (“I Served My Country as a Gay American USN 1969-1973 / I Demand My Rights”). While the 1979 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights did not lead to any direct progress in Washington, it served an important role in the growing movement for LGBTQ rights, including bringing people together from across the country, including from small towns and cities.¹⁴⁹ Held the same weekend as the 1979 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights was the First National Conference of Third World Lesbians and Gays organized by the National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays and held at the Harambee House Hotel at Howard University. Among the speakers was Audre Lorde. The conference was a key event in organizing by LGBTQ people of color.¹⁵⁰

8. The Second Revolution: The Age of AIDS, 1981-1993

The disease that would be identified as AIDS was first reported in June 1981.¹⁵¹ Originally identified in the gay male community, it was referred to in the press as Gay Related Immune Deficiency (GRID) or gay cancer. In July 1982, it became formally known as Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS).¹⁵² Gay men became the targets of increased discrimination in health care, employment, housing, and other areas of everyday life, as people feared getting the disease even via casual contact. Those who became ill were evicted, denied medical treatment and

¹⁴⁹ Faderman, *Revolution*, 413-414.

¹⁵⁰ The Harambee House Hotel was located on the 2200 block of Georgia Avenue NW, Washington, DC. One of the key organizers was A. Billy S. Jones (now Jones-Hennin), a bisexual African American man. See Harris and Hutchins (this volume) for more information.

¹⁵¹ Centers for Disease Control, “Kaposi’s Sarcoma and *Pneumocystis* Pneumonia Among Homosexual Men – New York City and California,” *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 30, no. 25 (1981): 305-307. Research has shown that HIV had infected humans as early as 1959, as evidenced by the presence of the virus in a preserved tissue sample of a Congolese man. See T. Zhu et al., “An African HIV-1 Sequence from 1959 and Implications for the Origin of the Epidemic,” *Nature* 391, no. 6667 (1998): 594-597. In May 1969, sixteen-year-old African American teenager Robert Rayford died at what is now the Washington University Medical Center, S. Euclid and Forest Park Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri. Later testing of his preserved blood and tissue detected a virus very closely related or identical to HIV-1. See R.F. Garry et al., “Documentation of an AIDS Virus Infection in the United States in 1968,” *Journal of the American Medical Association* 260, no. 14 (1988): 2085-2087.

¹⁵² Unmesh Kher, “July 27, 1982: A Name for the Plague,” *Time*, March 31, 2003.

On March 10, 1987, activist Larry Kramer (who in 1982 had helped form the Gay Men's Health Crisis) gave an impassioned speech at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center (The Center) in New York City, addressing the lack of response by the government to the escalating AIDS crisis. Shortly thereafter, a group of people met at the Center and formed ACT UP, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power.¹⁵⁶ Like Mattachine and GLF earlier, dozens of groups across the country formed under the banner of ACT UP in a shift to militant AIDS activism (Figure 9). Protests included die-ins; protests against hospitals for denying care;¹⁵⁷ protests against those who profited from the disease;¹⁵⁸ education against AIDS-phobia;¹⁵⁹ and protests against government inaction.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ Stein, *Rethinking*, 158; Faderman, *Gay Revolution*, 427-428. The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center (known as The Center) is located at 208 W. 13th Street, New York City, New York. It is located in the Greenwich Village Historic District, listed on the NRHP on June 19, 1979. The Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC) was founded at 318 West 22nd Street, New York City, New York in 1982 in response to the nascent AIDS epidemic in New York City. See also the LGBTQ Health chapter by Katie Batza (this volume) for more details on HIV/AIDS.

¹⁵⁷ On October 11, 1988, ACT UP organized a day-long "Seize Control of the FDA" to demand quick and equal access to AIDS therapies and the elimination of double-blind drug testing that would mean someone with AIDS would be receiving a placebo. The protest took part at the FDA, 5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, Maryland and effectively shut down the agency. As a result, ACT UP began to be included in policy and decision-making in federal agencies including the National Institutes of Health and the Food and Drug Administration. United Press International, "Police Arrest AIDS Protesters Blocking Access to FDA Offices," *Los Angeles Times*, October 11, 1988, accessed October 15, 2015, http://articles.latimes.com/1988-10-11/news/mn-3909_1_police-arrest-aids-protesters; Douglas Crimp, "Before Occupy: How AIDS Activists Seized Control of the FDA in 1988," *Atlantic*, December 6, 2011, accessed October 15, 2015, <http://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2011/12/before-occupy-how-aids-activists-seized-control-of-the-fda-in-1988/249302>. From April 20-23, 1990 at the Cook County Hospital, 1835 West Harrison Street, Chicago, Illinois, ACT UP protested the hospital's failure to create an AIDS treatment ward for women.

¹⁵⁸ On March 24, 1987, ACT UP staged their first demonstration against Wall Street profiteering from the epidemic. This protest took place at Trinity Church, 74 Trinity Place, New York City, New York. A year later, activists met again here to protest profiteering; they marched from Trinity to the intersection of Broadway and Wall Street. Trinity Church was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976.

¹⁵⁹ In 1988, the Jackson Brewing Company at Folsom and Eleventh Streets in San Francisco, California (listed on the NRHP on April 8, 1993) was the location for filming of the NBC drama, *Midnight Caller*. A planned episode revolved around a bisexual man murdered by a woman after deliberately spreading HIV. Protesters from ACT UP-San Francisco and other groups protested the filming, citing the encouragement of AIDS-phobia. ACT UP-San Francisco held their weekly meetings at the Women's Building of San Francisco in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The Women's Building is located at 3542 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California.

¹⁶⁰ On October 11, 1992, ACT UP incorporated the actual physical remains of the deceased in a protest. The flyer for the ASHES protest read, "Bring your Grief and Rage About AIDS to a Political Funeral in Washington D.C. ... On October 11th, we will carry the actual ashes of people we love in funeral procession to the White House. In an act of grief and rage and love, we will deposit their ashes on the White House lawn. Join us to protest twelve years of genocidal AIDS policy." Quoted in Deborah B. Gould, *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight against AIDS*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 230. The White House is located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. It

While they were perhaps the premier AIDS direct action group formed during this period, they were not the only one. Other groups included Stop AIDS Now or Else (SANOE) in San Francisco.¹⁶¹

In June 1987, overwhelmed by the number of dead to AIDS, activist Cleve Jones and others met in a San Francisco storefront and formed the NAMES Project Foundation, home of the AIDS Memorial Quilt.¹⁶³ The Quilt,



Figure 10: People walking among the panels of the AIDS Quilt on the National Mall, July 4, 2012 as part of the 46th Annual Smithsonian Folklife Festival, Washington, DC. Photo by Elvert Barnes.¹⁶²

was designated an NHL on December 19, 1960. On April 6, 2012, ACT UP San Francisco threw ashes of a deceased member of the group onto the steps of Mission Dolores Basilica in a demonstration marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of ACT UP. David Duran, "ACT UP tosses ashes at SF Church," *Bay Area Reporter*, April 12, 2012, accessed October 16, 2015, <http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=67605>. Mission Dolores (also known as the Mission San Francisco De Asís), located at 320 Dolores Street, San Francisco, California, was listed on the NRHP on March 16, 1972.

¹⁶¹ On January 31, 1989, SANOE held a sit-in on the Golden Gate Bridge, blocking morning rush hour traffic as they handed out flyers insisting that AIDS was a concern to everyone. This was the only sit-in to take place on the bridge. In 1990, Congress passed a law making it a felony to block traffic on the bridge.

¹⁶² License: CC BY-SA 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/perspective/7531448426>

¹⁶³ See "The AIDS Memorial Quilt," NAMES Project Foundation website, accessed October 12, 2015, <http://www.aidsquilt.org/about/the-aids-memorial-quilt>. The organizers of the NAMES Project Foundation met at the Jose Theater, 2362 Market Street, San Francisco, California. This building became the home of the NAMES Project from its founding in 1987 until 2001, when the Quilt was moved to a warehouse in Atlanta, Georgia.

then comprised of 1,920 panels that took up space larger than a football field, was displayed for the first time on the National Mall in Washington, DC, during the 1987 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. The Quilt has continued to grow, and is currently made up of more than forty-eight thousand panels commemorating the life of someone who has died of AIDS (Figure 10). The Quilt is so large that the last time it was displayed in its entirety was in October 1996, when it covered the entire two-mile long National Mall.¹⁶⁴

The second National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights took place on October 11, 1987, bringing unprecedented press coverage for the movement. It was fueled in part by government apathy to the spread of AIDS as well as the US Supreme Court ruling in *Bowers v. Hardwick* in 1986 that upheld the constitutionality of state sodomy laws that criminalized sex between two consenting men.¹⁶⁵ The event included several days of planned events, including acts of civil disobedience at the Supreme Court building protesting *Bowers v. Hardwick* and a mass wedding and protest at the Internal Revenue Service.¹⁶⁶ The march of approximately 750,000 who convened from around the country was led by Cesar Chavez, Jessie Jackson, Whoopi Goldberg, and others (many of whom gave speeches when protesters convened on the National Mall), followed by people with AIDS and their supporters. Demands of the organizers included legal recognition of lesbian and gay relationships; the repeal of all laws making sodomy between consenting adults a crime; the

¹⁶⁴ Names Project Foundation, AIDS Memorial Quilt.

¹⁶⁵ These same issues fueled the founding of several LGBTQ philanthropic and grant-making organizations during this period. Unlike later groups, many of these focused on regional, rather than national-scale, funding. These organizations include the Horizons Foundation founded in 1985 in the San Francisco Bay area; and the Pride Foundation founded in Seattle in 1985; and the Stonewall Community Foundation founded in 1990 in New York City. See "Our History," Horizons Foundation website, <http://www.horizonsfoundation.org/about/our-history>; "Our History," Pride Foundation website, <http://www.pridefoundation.org/history>; "Strategic Impact Over Time," Stonewall Community Foundation website, <https://stonewallfoundation.org/about/history>.

¹⁶⁶ Marc Stein, "Memories of the 1987 March on Washington – August 2013," *OutHistory*, August 2013, accessed October 15, 2015, <http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/march-on-washington/exhibit/by-marc-stein>. The United States Supreme Court Building is located at 1 First Street NE, Washington, DC. It was designated an NHL on May 4, 1987. The Internal Revenue Service Building is located at Twelfth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. It is part of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site, designated on September 30, 1965 and added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966.

passage of a lesbian and gay civil rights bill; an end to discrimination against those with (or perceived to have) HIV/AIDS; and an increase in funding for AIDS education, research, and care. In protest of the exclusion of transgender community from the platform of the march, transgender attorney Phyllis Frye called on the transgender contingent she was marching with to stop, halting the parade. At the next march, in 1993, the transgender community was explicitly included.¹⁶⁷ As a result of the 1987 march, many participants returned home and started local ACT UP chapters. National Coming Out Day was established a year later in commemoration of the march.¹⁶⁸

In the atmosphere of the AIDS epidemic, the pushback against LGBTQ civil rights continued. In 1986, the United States Supreme Court upheld Georgia's sodomy law in their decision in *Bowers v. Hardwick*. Their language "ridiculed and renounced the notion that same-sex love, intimacy, and sex were protected by the US Constitution."¹⁶⁹ Acting out of fear of the spread of AIDS, bathhouses across the country were closed in the 1980s, limiting the number of places that gay men could socialize.¹⁷⁰ Gay bashing and other attacks on LGBTQ people increased. In 1991, California Governor Pete Wilson vetoed Assembly Bill 101 (AB101), a bill that would have guaranteed statewide protection from discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation by private employers. Angered by the betrayal of a governor who had generally been seen as supportive of the LGBTQ communities, fifty thousand people protested in the streets of San

¹⁶⁷ Kim Hogstrom, "Swinging for the Fences: Houston's Phyllis Frye Paved the Way for the Modern Transgender Movement," *OutSmart*, June 1, 2016, <http://www.outsmartmagazine.com/2016/06/swinging-for-the-fences-houstons-phyllis-frye-paved-the-way-for-the-modern-transgender-movement>. Phyllis Frye and her partner lived in the Westbury neighborhood of Houston, Texas.

¹⁶⁸ Ghaziani, *Dividends of Dissent*. Marc Stein, *Memories of the 1987 March on Washington*.

¹⁶⁹ Stein (this volume).

¹⁷⁰ A very few bathhouses escaped closure. Among these were the predominantly African American Mount Morris Turkish Baths, 1944 Madison Avenue, Harlem, New York City, New York and Man's Country, 5017 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois, owned by politically-connected Chuck Renslow.

Francisco in what became known as the AB101 Veto Riots.¹⁷¹ The future of LGBTQ civil rights seemed bleak.

Frustrated by the increase in gay bashing, homophobia, and an anti-sex ethos that followed on the heels of the AIDS pandemic, and angered by what they perceived as the commercialization of the LGBTQ rights movement, the direct action group Queer Nation was founded on March 20, 1990 at a meeting

at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Services Center (The Center) in New York City.¹⁷³ One month after their founding in New York City, Queer Nation San Francisco formed, meeting weekly at the

Women's Building.¹⁷⁴

Other Queer Nation

chapters quickly sprang up across the country, including in Michigan, Georgia, Massachusetts, Virginia, Illinois, Ohio, South Carolina, Texas, Florida, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Tennessee, and the state of Washington (Figure 11). Queer Nation used similar direct action methods to ACT UP, and there was an overlap in membership. The group rejected assimilationism and a politics of respectability, chanting "We're Here,

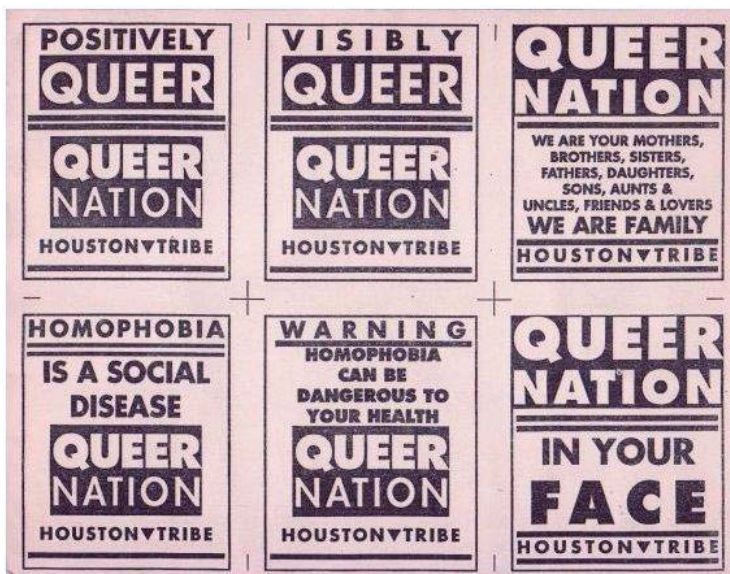


Figure 11: Promotional material used by Queer Nation Houston.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Rachel, "20 Years Ago Today in Gay History: The AB101 Veto Riots Would've Blown Your Mind," *Autostraddle*, September 30, 2011, <http://www.autostraddle.com/twenty-years-ago-today-in-gay-history-the-ab101-veto-riots-112443>; Terry Friedman, "Courts Offer Wilson A Healing Opportunity: Equality," *Los Angeles Times*, February 9, 1992, http://articles.latimes.com/1992-02-09/opinion/op-3349_1_job-discrimination.

¹⁷² License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Queer_Nation_Houston_x6.jpg

¹⁷³ Eaklor, *Queer America*, 177, 205.

¹⁷⁴ Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society, Guide to the Queer Nation Records, 1990-1996, accessed October 16, 2015, http://www.oac.cdlib.org/view?docId=tf029000gc;query=queer%20nation;style=oac4:view=admin#d_escgrp-1.7.2. The Women's Building of San Francisco is located at 3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California.

We're Queer, Get Used to It!" and "Out of the Closets and Into the Streets" during their protest actions.¹⁷⁵ While they did not spearhead the use of outing as a political strategy, Queer Nation did approve of (and use) outing of those who were in the closet, and yet actively working against the rights of LGBTQ people.¹⁷⁶

Just as Queer Nation was faltering in 1992, Transgender Nation in San Francisco and the Lesbian Avengers in New York City were forming.¹⁷⁷ Transgender Nation formed following the publication of Sandy Stone's 1991 "The Empire Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto" and Leslie Feinberg's *Transgender Liberation* pamphlet in 1992. This new transgender liberation rejected transgender assimilation, just as Queer Nation had rejected assimilation and respectability politics.¹⁷⁸ In 1993, Transgender Nation staged a protest at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association that resulted in the arrest of three protesters. They also provided courtroom support for transgender women arrested on charges of prostitution, and insisted that lesbian, gay, and bisexual groups in San Francisco make their positions known regarding transgender inclusion, "thereby demonstrating whether those groups were part of the new queer movement or the old gay and lesbian movement."¹⁷⁹ Although short-lived, Transgender Nation was among those at the leading edge of transgender visibility and inclusion in LGBTQ groups and politics. In 1994, transgender people played a large role in the twenty-fifth anniversary commemorations of Stonewall (albeit relegated to the "alternative" march and rally), and by 1995, many formerly gay and

¹⁷⁵ Stein, *Rethinking*, 186.

¹⁷⁶ Outing is the revealing of the LGBTQ identity of a closeted person. Warren Johansson and William A. Percy, *Outing: Shattering the Conspiracy of Silence* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1994), 256-266.

¹⁷⁷ Stein, *Rethinking*, 184.

¹⁷⁸ Stein, *Rethinking*, 186. Leslie Feinberg was the author of the 1993 novel, *Stone Butch Blues*. Leslie and hir partner, Minnie Bruce Pratt, who has written extensively about race, class, gender, and sexual theory, lived in Syracuse, New York at the time of Leslie's death. Minnie Bruce Pratt, "Leslie Feinberg – A Communist Who Revolutionized Transgender Rights," *Workers World*, November 18, 2014, accessed October 12, 2015, <http://www.workers.org/articles/2014/11/18/leslie-feinberg>.

¹⁷⁹ Stryker, *Transgender History*, 136.

lesbian and gay, lesbian, and bisexual organizations were beginning to add the “T” (for transgender) to their names.¹⁸⁰

These were also the years that saw the birth of the Dyke March. In May 1992, several women met at the home of Latina Ana Maria Simo for the first organizing meeting of the Lesbian Avengers.¹⁸¹ Shortly thereafter, the group recruited members at the June 1992 New York City Pride Parade by handing out flyers. Like so many New York City groups before them, they held their first meeting at The Center. A direct action group in the tradition of Queer Nation, the Lesbian Avengers focused on issues vital to lesbian survival and visibility, rather than on issues like AIDS and abortion which were perceived as less relevant. Frustrated with lesbian invisibility and misogyny in the LGBT community, the Lesbian Avengers took to the streets.¹⁸² At the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation, Lesbian Avengers and members of the ACT UP Women’s Network brought together twenty thousand women, marching without a permit. The Dyke March, as it came to be known, has become a tradition across the country, traditionally taking place a day or two before Pride celebrations in cities across the country and around the world.¹⁸³

Citing racism and a lack of attention to the intersectional politics of ethnicity and LGBTQ civil rights and HIV/AIDS programs, this period was also one of people of color organizing among themselves.¹⁸⁴

Disproportionately affected by HIV/AIDS, and yet often excluded from

¹⁸⁰ Stryker, *Transgender History*, 137.

¹⁸¹ Simo’s home was located in the Bowery neighborhood of New York City.

¹⁸² “Action Outline,” Lesbian Avengers website (also known as the Lesbian Avenger Organizing Handbook), <http://www.actupny.org/documents/Avengers.html>, accessed October 2, 2015; Newsweek Staff, “The Power And The Pride,” *Newsweek*, June 20, 1993, accessed October 15, 2015, <http://www.newsweek.com/id/121057>.

¹⁸³ Sarah Schulman, “What Became of Freedom Summer?” *The Gay and Lesbian Review* 11, no. 1 (2004); Eaklor, *Queer America*, 203. See also Kelly J. Cogswell, *Eating Fire: My Life as a Lesbian Avenger* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

¹⁸⁴ Stein, *Rethinking*, 187. See also Jennifer Brier, *Infectious Ideas: U.S. Political Responses to the AIDS Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Kevin 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); David Román, *Acts of Intervention: Performance, Gay Culture, and AIDS* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Martin Duberman, *Hold Tight Gently: Michael Callen, Essex Hemphill, and the Battlefield of AIDS* (New York: The New Press, 2014); and Batza (this volume).

prevention and health care programs, organizing among people of color became a matter of life and death, and organizing focused predominantly on prevention and education rather than direct action/street activism. For example, formed from meetings held during the 1987 March on Washington, the Latina/o Lesbian and Gay Organization (LLEGÓ) worked to organize and network Latina/o LGBTQ people, including mobilizing community efforts in HIV prevention both within the United States and abroad until they folded in 2004.¹⁸⁵ In the 1990s, there was an increase in queer Asian American activism that included an upsurge in the number of South Asian queer groups around the country. This included groups in California, New York, Washington, DC, Atlanta, Philadelphia, Boston, Austin, and Seattle as well as online.¹⁸⁶ By the 1990s, Native American two-spirit organizations had also formed as places of community and HIV/AIDS-related services.¹⁸⁷ Likewise, African Americans, feeling excluded from the broader movement, founded their own African American Gay Pride festival in Washington, DC. Organized in 1991 to raise funds for HIV/AIDS support in the African American community, the first African American Pride festival in the nation was held on May 25, 1991 at Banneker Field. A crowd of 750 to 800 people attended the first event, raising nearly \$3,000 for local AIDS organizations. The Black Lesbian and Gay Pride event continues to be held annually in DC over Memorial Day weekend.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Uriel Quesada, Letitia Gomez, and Salvador Vidal-Ortiz, eds., *Queer Brown Voices: Personal Narratives of Latina/o LGBT Activism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015); "Latino/a Lesbiana & Gay Organization (LLEGÓ) Fact Sheet," circa 1993, Queer Resources Directory website, <http://www.qrd.org/qrd/orgs/LLEGO/llego.fact.sheet>; The Latino/a Lesbian & Gay Organization (LLEGÓ) Records, Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, University of Texas at Austin website, <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utlac/00273/lac-00273.html>. See also González and Hernández (this volume).

¹⁸⁶ See Amy Sueyoshi (this volume).

¹⁸⁷ See Roscoe (this volume).

¹⁸⁸ DC Black Pride website, accessed October 19, 2015, <http://dcblackpride.org>. Banneker Field is located at 2500 Georgia Avenue. The associated Banneker Recreation Center was listed on the NRHP in 1986. In Los Angeles, the owner of Jewel's Catch One, 4067 West Pico Boulevard (the nation's first black gay and lesbian disco, opened in 1972) opened the Village Health Foundation (4075 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California), a nonprofit medical clinic, and Rue's House (4067 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California) the first residential home for homeless women and children with HIV/AIDS in the United States. Karen Ocamb, "Historic Catch One Disco Celebrates 40th Anniversary," *The Bilerico Project*, May 15, 2013, http://bilerico.lgbtqnation.com/2013/05/historic_catch_one_disco_celebrates_40th_anniversa.php; Lina Lecaro, "After 42 Years, Jewel's Catch One Says Goodbye," *LA Weekly*, July 20, 2015,

Bisexuals also worked during this period to increase their visibility and representation in the quest for gender and sexual minority civil rights. In 1985, the East Coast Bisexual Network (later the Bisexual Resource Center) was formed in Boston, Massachusetts. They worked to provide resources and support for those attracted to more than one gender.¹⁸⁹ In 1990, more than four hundred people attended the First National Bisexual Conference in San Francisco, which led to the founding of the North American Bisexual Network (now BiNet USA). This, along with the publication in 1991 of *Bi Any Other Name: Bisexual People Speak Out* (edited by Loraine Hutchins and Lani Ka'ahumanu) spurred an upsurge in bisexual activism.¹⁹⁰

The 1993 March on Washington included both transgender people and bisexuals in their call for civil rights (though transgender was voted out of the name of the march).¹⁹¹ Officially called the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation, participation estimates ranged from eight hundred thousand to over one million for the march and the gathering afterwards on the National Mall on April 25, 1993.¹⁹² The demands of the organizers included: the passage of a lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender civil rights bill and an end to discrimination by state and federal governments including the military and repeal of all anti-sodomy laws; a massive increase in funding for AIDS education, research, and care and universal access to health care; legislation to prevent discrimination in areas of family diversity, custody, adoption, and foster care; full and equal inclusion of lesbians, gays,

<http://www.laweekly.com/music/after-42-years-jewels-catch-one-says-goodbye-5821546>. See also Harris (this volume).

¹⁸⁹ The Bisexual Resource Center is located at 29 Stanhope Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

¹⁹⁰ Stein, *Rethinking*, 186. Loraine Hutchins did much of her research for *Bi Any Other Name* at Lammas Crafts and Books, 1426 Twenty-First Street NW, Washington, DC (located within the Dupont Circle Historic District). The First National Bisexual Conference was held at Mission High School, 3750 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California. See also Hutchins (this volume).

¹⁹¹ Stryker, *Transgender History*, 136-137. See also Stryker (this volume).

¹⁹² Nadine Smith, "The 20th Anniversary of the LGBT March on Washington: How Far Have We Come?" *Huffington Post*, April 25, 2013, accessed October 19, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/nadine-smith/the-20th-anniversary-of-the-lgbt-march-on-washington_b_3149185.html. Two additional Marches on Washington took place: The Millenium March on Washington in 2000, and the National Equality March in 2009.

bisexuals, and transgender people in the educational system; and an end to discrimination and violent oppression based on actual or perceived sexual orientation, identification, race, religion, identity, sex and gender expression, disability, age, class, or AIDS/HIV infection.¹⁹³ Speakers and performers at the 1993 March included Melissa Etheridge, RuPaul, Eartha Kitt, Urvashi Vaid, and Jesse Jackson. A week of events in and around DC took place around the march, including demonstrations in support of same-sex marriage.¹⁹⁴

9. Battle for Federal Rights, 1993-2016

Much of the last generation of the LGBTQ civil rights movement has focused primarily on winning federal rights, including protection from discrimination in military service and marriage equality. Though these are federal rights, many of these battles have been fought at the local level, with activists and groups—including LGBTQ philanthropic organizations—mobilized in communities and states across the country.¹⁹⁵ The battle for same-sex marriage, in particular, has been more of a state-fought battle

¹⁹³ See “Platform of the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation,” Queer Resources Directory website, accessed October 16, 2015, <http://www.qrd.org/qrd/events/mow/mow-full.platform>.

¹⁹⁴ Updated List of Events Scheduled During the Week of the March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay and Bi Equal Rights and Liberation, Queer Resources Directory website, accessed October 16, 2015, <http://www.qrd.org/qrd/events/mow/mow-events.FINAL>.

¹⁹⁵ Several key LGBTQ philanthropic organizations with a national scope were founded during this era, funding LGBTQ civil rights and social justice causes. These include the Gill Foundation, founded by Tim Gill in Colorado in 1994, and the Arcus Foundation founded by Jon Stryker in Kalamazoo, Michigan in 2000. See “Tim Gill,” Gill Foundation website, <http://gillfoundation.org/board-member/tim-gill>; Global Giving Matters Staff, “Interview with Jon Stryker – A Journey to Inclusive Philanthropy,” *Global Giving Matters*, Summer 2008, Synergos website, <http://www.synergos.org/globalgivingmatters/features/0807stryker.htm>. See also Dirk Johnson, “Grants for Gay Services Grow and Go Mainstream,” *New York Times*, November 12, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/12/giving/12GILL.html>; Anastasia Ustinova, “Philanthropists Ensure Gay Community’s Future,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 31, 2008, <http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/Philanthropists-ensure-gay-community-s-future-3289534.php>; Lyle Matthew Kan and Ben Francisco Maulbeck, *2014 Tracking Report: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Grantmaking by U.S. Foundations* (New York: Funders for LGBTQ Issues, 2016), http://www.lgbtfunders.org/files/2014_Tracking_Report.pdf.

than a federal one, though the ultimate resolution of the issue came from the United States Supreme Court.¹⁹⁶

From 1970 through the 1990s, many veterans pushed to have the ban on gays, lesbians, and bisexuals serving in the military overturned.¹⁹⁷ In 1993, with the passage of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” it became illegal to ask about a troop’s sexual orientation; but it remained legal to dishonorably discharge them if they disclosed or were found out. Don’t Ask Don’t Tell was repealed in 2010 with the passage of the Military Readiness Enhancement Act. Since 2011, gay, lesbian, bisexual, and queer military personnel have been able to serve openly.¹⁹⁸ As of June 30, 2016, transgender Americans have been able to serve openly in the US military.¹⁹⁹

Despite the pall cast over LGBTQ civil rights by the US Supreme Court in their 1986 *Bowers v. Hardwick* decision upholding the illegality of sodomy, it did not last; individual states, either through court cases or legislative action, continued to eliminate their sodomy statutes. *Bowers v. Hardwick* was overturned in 2003 by the US Supreme Court in *Lawrence v. Texas*, which, by making same-sex sexual activity legal throughout the United States, provided the legal foundation for the subsequent rulings *United States v. Windsor* (2013) and *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015). The movement towards civil marriage rights for same-sex couples in the United States has its roots in the 1970s.²⁰⁰ It reached the national political stage in 1993, when the Hawai’i Supreme Court ruled in *Baehr v. Miike*

¹⁹⁶ The battles for open LGBTQ service and same-sex marriage have relied heavily on assimilation and respectability politics; that lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgender people are no different from heterosexuals, and therefore deserve to have the same civil rights.

¹⁹⁷ For more details, see Estes (this volume).

¹⁹⁸ Estes, *Ask & Tell*, 210-254; Nathaniel Frank, *Unfriendly Fire: How the Gay Ban Undermines the Military and Weakens America* (New York: Macmillan, 2010). See Estes (this volume).

¹⁹⁹ Sunnive Brydum, “Pentagon on Trans Troops: ‘These Are the Kind of People We Want,’” *Advocate*, June 30, 2016, <http://www.advocate.com/transgender/2016/6/30/breaking-pentagon-ends-ban-transgender-service-members>.

²⁰⁰ In 1971, the Minnesota Supreme Court ruled in *Baker v. Nelson* that denying marriage licenses to same-sex couples did not violate the United States Constitution. Andrew Gumbel, “The Great Undoing?” *Advocate*, June 20, 2009, accessed October 15, 2015, <http://www.advocate.com/news/2009/06/20/great-undoing>. For more details on the fight for same-sex marriage, see Stein and Baim (this volume).

(originally *Baehr v. Lewin*) that the state's prohibition of same-sex marriage might be unconstitutional.²⁰¹ This led to actions at the federal level (including the passage of the Defense of Marriage Act, denying federal recognition of same-sex marriages, signed into law on September 21, 1996) and at state levels where legislative action and ballot initiatives made explicit the restriction of marriage to male-female couples. On November 18, 2003, the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled in *Goodridge v. Department of Public Health* that denying same-sex marriage violated the state constitution. On May 17, 2004, Massachusetts became the first state to issue same-sex marriage licenses.²⁰² Like the Hawai'i decision, the change in Massachusetts brought reaction from opponents, and additional states banned same-sex marriage. A key opponent was President Bush, who called for a constitutional amendment limiting marriage to one man and one woman.²⁰³ These prohibitions were fought in the courts and in legislatures in states across the country. Cases eventually found their way to the United States Supreme Court. In June 2013, in *United States v. Windsor*, the US Supreme Court struck down the law barring federal recognition of same-sex marriage.²⁰⁴ On June 26, 2015 in *Obergefell v. Hodges*, the US Supreme Court made same-sex marriage legal in all fifty states, ruling that the right to marry was

²⁰¹ *Baehr v. Lewin*, 74 Haw. 530, 852 P.2d44 (1993), reconsideration and clarification granted in part, 74 Haw. 645, 852 P.2d 74 (1993).

²⁰² Kathleen Burge, "SJC: Gay Marriage Legal in Mass.: Court Gives the State Six Months to Comply with Ruling," *Boston Globe*, November 18, 2003, accessed October 16, 2015, http://www.boston.com/news/local/massachusetts/articles/2003/11/18/sjc_gay_marriage_legal_in_mass; Pam Belluck, "Massachusetts Arrives at Moment for Same-Sex Marriage," *New York Times*, May 17, 2004, accessed October 16, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/05/17/national/17CND-GAYS.html>. The first marriage license issued to a same-sex couple in the United States was at 12:01 a.m., May 17, 2004 at Cambridge City Hall, 795 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts (listed on the NRHP on April 3, 1982, amended March 12, 1990).

²⁰³ Belluck, "Massachusetts Arrives."

²⁰⁴ Adam Liptak, "Supreme Court Bolsters Gay Marriage with Two Major Rulings," *New York Times*, June 26, 2013, accessed October 15, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/27/us/politics/supreme-court-gay-marriage.html>. Edith Windsor met Thea Spyer in 1963 at Portofino, 206 Thompson Street, New York City, New York. Portofino was an Italian restaurant that, on Friday nights, was a discreet meeting place for lesbians. Edith and Clara married in Canada in 2007. When Thea died in 2009, Edith received a large bill for inheritance tax, prompting the lawsuit.

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guaranteed to same-sex couples by the Due Process and Equal Protection Clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment.²⁰⁵



Figure 12: The first Gay-Straight Alliance was founded in 1988 at the Concord Academy, Concord, Massachusetts. Photo by John Phelan, 2010.²⁰⁶

Other organizing on the local level, unprecedented in years previous, has been the formation of thousands of Gay-Straight Alliances (GSAs) in schools across the country. These organizations, found mostly in high schools and post-secondary institutions, are founded to help provide a safe, supportive environment for LGBTQ youth and their straight allies.²⁰⁷ The first GSA was founded in 1988 at Concord Academy by history teacher Kevin Jennings and a female student; the number of them increased

²⁰⁵ Lyle Denniston, "Opinion Analysis: Marriage Now Open to Same-Sex Couples," *SCOTUS blog*, June 26, 2015, accessed October 15, 2015, <http://www.scotusblog.com/2015/06/opinion-analysis-marriage-now-open-to-same-sex-couples>.

²⁰⁶ License: CC BY 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Concord_Academy_MA.jpg

²⁰⁷ Some GSAs have changed their name from Gay Straight Alliance to Gender and Sexuality Alliance to be inclusive of bisexual and transgender people. The specific inclusion of straight allies distinguishes GSAs from earlier student-led groups.

dramatically in the following years (Figure 12).²⁰⁸ Although established locally, the existence of GSAs is a matter of federal civil rights. In 1998, the Salt Lake City Board of Education struck dozens of “non-curricular” student clubs from their list of clubs approved to meet on school property. Three civil rights groups, the American Civil Liberties Union, Lambda Legal, and the National Center for Lesbian Rights, sued the board of education alleging that the sole purpose of the cuts was to prevent a single group, the GSA, from meeting on school property. In 1999, the US District Court for the District of Utah ruled that denying access to a school-based GSA was a violation of the Federal Equal Access Act.²⁰⁹ Despite the court’s ruling, some schools continue to try to block the formation of GSAs.²¹⁰

While transgender people continued to be erased and excluded from movements relying on respectability politics during this period, especially surrounding marriage equality, the years after 1993 have been a time of increased national organizing, visibility, and legal victories.²¹¹

The International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy (ICTLEP) held their first meeting in Houston, Texas in 1992.²¹² In

²⁰⁸ Jennings went on to found the Gay, Lesbian Straight Education Network (GLSEN), an organization to end discrimination and bullying based on sexual orientation and gender identity in K-12 schools, online at <http://www.glsen.org>. GLSEN’s national headquarters are at 110 William Street, New York City, New York. See “GLSEN Founder Stepping Down,” *Advocate*, January 18, 2008. Concord Academy, an independent college preparatory school, is located at 166 Main Street, Concord, Massachusetts.

²⁰⁹ Jennifer Toomer-Cook and Marjorie Cortez, “3 Groups Sue S.L. Board Over Club,” *Deseret News*, March 19, 1998, <http://www.deseretnews.com/article/619419/3-groups-sue-SL-board-over-clubs.html>; *Utah-East High Gay/Straight Alliance v. Board of Education of Salt Lake City School District*, 81 F. Supp.2d 1166, 1197 (D. Utah 1999), Justia website, <http://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/FSupp2/81/1166/2420894>. East High School is located at 840 1300 E, Salt Lake City, Utah.

²¹⁰ Kate Royals, “Proposed LGBT Club Prompts New Rankin School Policy,” *Clarion-Ledger*, January 15, 2015, <http://www.clarionledger.com/story/news/local/2015/01/14/rankin-schools-gay-club-policy/21745481>.

²¹¹ Amy McCarthy, “As Marriage Equality Marches Forward, Don’t Forget the Trans People Left Behind,” *Policy.Mic*, May 9, 2013, accessed October 18, 2015, <http://mic.com/articles/40629/as-marriage-equality-marches-forward-don-t-forget-the-trans-people-left-behind>.

²¹² The International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy was founded by transgender attorney, Phyllis Frye and others. The first through third conferences were held at what is now the Hilton Houston Southwest, 6780 Southwest Freeway, Houston, Texas. Phyllis Frye was in law school and living with her wife in the Westbury neighborhood of Houston, Texas when she began transitioning to female in 1976. As early as 1973, she had been reaching out to attorneys, schools, and organizations to advocate for transgender rights and visibility. Despite harassment and discrimination, Frye went on to be a successful attorney. In November 2010, she was sworn in as an

1993 at the Second ICTLEP, also in Houston, the organization published an “International Bill of Gender Rights,” “Health Law Standards of Care for Transsexualism,” and “Policy for the Imprisoned, Transgendered.” Among other goals, the ICTLEP worked with other organizations including the National Lesbian and Gay Law Association to have transgender protections included in the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA)—a fight that they ultimately lost during the mid-1990s battles for ENDA, as other lesbian and gay rights organizations, including the Human Rights Campaign fought against them.²¹³ Other transgender organizations founded after 1993 have been instrumental in changing the legal landscape for transgender people, both at the state and federal levels. These organizations include the National Transgender Advocacy Coalition;²¹⁴ the Sylvia Rivera Law Project;²¹⁵ the Transgender Law Center;²¹⁶ and the National Center for Transgender Equality in Washington, DC.²¹⁷

associate judge for the City of Houston Municipal Courts—Texas’ first transgender judge. Her swearing in was just days after Victoria Kolakowski became the first openly transgender trial judge in the United States when she was elected to a seat on the Alameda County, California Superior Court. John Wright, “Phyllis Frye Becomes Texas’ 1st Trans Judge,” *Dallas Voice*, November 17, 2010, <http://www.dallasvoice.com/phyllis-frye-texas-1st-transgender-judge-1052664.html>; Cristan Williams, “Phyllis Frye: Lifetime Achievement Award,” *TransAdvocate*, 2013, http://transadvocate.com/phyllis-frye-lifetime-achievement-award_n_9114.htm. The Central Municipal Courts Building (Herbert W. Gee Municipal Courthouse) is located at 1400 Lubbock Street, Houston, Texas. The headquarters of the Alameda County California Superior Court is 1221 Oak Street, Oakland, California.

²¹³ Feeling that transgender lawyers and law had become significantly integrated into the larger lesbian and gay organizations, including the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and the National LGBT Bar Association (and their Lavender Law Conferences), the sixth and last ICTLEP conference was held in 1997. Phyllis Randolph Frye, “History of the International Conference on Transgender Law and Employment Policy, Inc.,” Transgender Legal website, last updated January 28, 2001, <http://www.transgenderlegal.com/ictlephis1.htm>. ENDA was finally introduced with language providing protections that included transgender individuals in 2009. Despite repeated attempts since its first introduction to Congress in 1994, the Employment Non-Discrimination Act has yet to become law. In 2014, several high-profile LGBTQ civil rights groups withdrew their support from a version of ENDA that provided extensive religious exemptions to the proposed non-discrimination statute. See Lisa Keen, Keen News Service, “Frank Introduces Trans-Inclusive ENDA,” *Windy City Times*, June 24, 2009, <http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=21636>; Jennifer Bendery and Amanda Terkel, “Gay Rights Groups Pull Support For ENDA Over Sweeping Religious Exemption,” *Huffington Post*, last updated August 5, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/07/08/enda-religious-exemption_n_5568736.html.

²¹⁴ The National Transgender Advocacy Coalition was in existence from 1999 to circa 2008. Working for transgender rights, they also sought inclusion of gender identity and expression protections in ENDA. Early on, they operated out of a PO Box in Free Union, Virginia before changing to a PO Box in Washington, DC.

²¹⁵ The Sylvia Rivera Law Project (SRLP) was founded in New York City in 2002 by Dean Spade. The mission of the SLRP is to guarantee that everyone is free to self-determine, without facing harassment, discrimination, or violence, their gender identity and expression, regardless of race or

Despite increased visibility of transgender people and changing laws, transgender people are often targets of violence. Over twenty transgender people, mostly women of color, were murdered in the United States in 2015.²¹⁸ By July 2016, there had been at least an additional fifteen transgender murders. The National Transgender Discrimination Survey (conducted in 2008) found that transgender and gender nonconforming people also face pervasive discrimination in almost all aspects of their lives: in childhood homes, education, employment, doctor's offices, in the legal system, housing, and public accommodations including shopping, dining, etc. For people of color, anti-transgender bias combined with structural and interpersonal racism, is "especially devastating."²¹⁹

Transgender activists and allies have made some advances in securing transgender rights, though there remains a long way to go. In 2012, the US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission ruled that discriminating against someone because they are transgender is discrimination based on sex, and violates the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In 2014, the US Attorney General announced that the US Department of Justice will follow suit. Also in recent years, the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) announced that discrimination against transgender tenants and

income. They work from an understanding that this goal is inextricably intertwined with racial, social, and economic justice. The SRLP is named in honor of transgender activist Sylvia Rivera. See "About SRLP," Sylvia Rivera Law Project website, <http://srlp.org/about>. The SRLP is located in the Miss Major-Jay Toole Building for Social Justice, 147 West 24th Street, New York City, New York.

²¹⁶ The Transgender Law Center was founded by Dylan Vade and Chris Daley in San Francisco, California in 2002. They began by hosting biweekly free legal clinics. They had their first office in the San Francisco LGBT Community Center, 1800 Market Street, San Francisco, California. Their national headquarters are currently at 1629 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California. Joel P. Engardio, "Legal Precedent," *SF Weekly*, June 12, 2002, <http://www.sfweekly.com/sanfrancisco/legal-precedent/Content?oid=2145186>; "10th Anniversary Timeline," Transgender Law Center website, <http://transgenderlawcenter.org/about/history/timeline>.

²¹⁷ Founded by Mara Kiesling in 2003, the National Center for Transgender Equality advocates for transgender equality in Washington, DC. See "History," The National Center for Transgender Equality website, <http://www.transequality.org/history>. The NCTE is located at 1400 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC.

²¹⁸ Dawn Ennis, "Victim Number 21: Trans Woman Murdered in Maryland," *Advocate*, October 16, 2015, accessed October 17, 2015, <http://www.advocate.com/transgender/2015/10/16/victim-number-21-trans-woman-murdered-maryland>; Amanda Gernentz Hanson, "The Transgender Murder Crisis: Why Were There So Many Killings in 2015?" *Law Street Media*, January 22, 2016, <http://lawstreetmedia.com/issues/law-and-politics/transgender-murder-crisis-many-murders-2015>.

²¹⁹ Jaime M. Grant et al., *Injustice at Every Turn: A Report of the National Transgender Discrimination Survey* (Washington, DC: National Center for Transgender Equality and National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, 2011), 2.

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home buyers based on their gender identity may be illegal sex discrimination per the Fair Housing Act. They have also told homeless shelters that they cannot discriminate based on gender identity or nonconformity. In early 2015, the Obama Administration issued guidance on transgender students' access to school bathrooms. These areas of law continue to evolve. While many states are pushing back against these changes, the American Civil Liberties Union hopes to see courts rule that gender expression is protected both by the First Amendment and the Due Process Clause of the US Constitution, which establishes rights to liberty, privacy, and autonomy.²²⁰

Going Forward

The road of LGBTQ civil rights has been long and twisting, and despite the groundbreaking civil rights advances at the highest levels of government and the law, there is still no federal law protecting LGBTQ people from discrimination. As well, there continue to be attempts to abrogate the rights of LGBTQ people in the United States.²²¹ Civil rights issues that continue to affect LGBTQ people, particularly those of color and transgender individuals, include: increased incidence of violence; employment discrimination including on-the-job harassment, not being hired, or being fired; poverty—LGBTQ people are more likely to live below

²²⁰ See "Know Your Rights: Transgender People and the Law," American Civil Liberties Union website, accessed October 16, 2015, <https://www.aclu.org/know-your-rights/transgender-people-and-law>.

²²¹ For example, regarding the legalization of same-sex marriage by the United States Supreme Court, see Nicole Hensley, "Louisiana, Texas Governors Vow to Fight Supreme Court Ruling on Gay Marriage While Others Pledge to Comply," *New York Daily News*, June 26, 2015, accessed October 19, 2015, <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/governors-vow-disobey-scotus-ruling-gay-marriage-article-1.2272503>; Jonathan Topaz and Nick Gass, "Republican Presidential Candidates Condemn Gay-Marriage Ruling," *Politico*, June 26, 2015, accessed October 19, 2015, <http://www.politico.com/story/2015/06/2016-candidates-react-supreme-court-gay-marriage-ruling-119466>; Mark H. Creech, "Supreme Court Gay Marriage Decision Will Be Overturned, By Us or By God," *Christian Post*, July 2, 2015, accessed October 19, 2015, <http://www.christianpost.com/news/supreme-court-gay-marriage-decision-will-be-overturned-by-us-or-by-god-141113>.

the poverty line; and in the provision of appropriate health care.²²² Much work remains to be done.

²²² Editorial Board, “The Challenges that Remain After Marriage Equality,” *New York Times*, July 29, 2015, accessed October 20, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/29/opinion/the-challenges-that-remain-after-marriage-equality.html>; Annamarya Scaccia, “4 LGBT Issues to Focus on Now That We Have Marriage Equality,” *Rolling Stone*, June 29, 2015, accessed October 20, 2015, <http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/4-lgbt-issues-to-focus-on-now-that-we-have-marriage-equality-20150629>.

19 HISTORICAL LANDMARKS AND LANDSCAPES OF LGBTQ LAW

Marc Stein

The American historical landscape is filled with sites where people who engaged in same-sex sex and transgressed gender binaries struggled to survive and thrive. In these locations, “sinners,” “deviants,” and “perverts” often viewed law as oppressive. Immigrants, poor people, and people of color who violated sex and gender norms had multiple reasons for seeing law as implicated in the construction and reconstruction of social hierarchies. Over time, however, people who identified or were classified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer (LGBTQ) increasingly came to see law as a potential resource for protecting, defending, and improving their lives. In these contexts, law was a complicated and multifaceted resource, simultaneously freeing, limiting, and producing human sexes, genders, and sexualities. This chapter offers an introduction to historical

landscapes and landmarks of US LGBTQ law, beginning with the European colonization of the Americas and concluding with developments in the 1970s and 1980s.¹

Colonial and Early US Laws

When Europeans first invaded the Americas in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they did not generally recognize or respect Native American understandings of sex, gender, sexuality, or law. Unlike Native American societies, the colonies established by Europeans typically criminalized same-sex sex and gender-crossing acts. They did so in the context of broader restrictions on non-marital and non-procreative sex and general bans on deception and disguise. In most cases, Dutch, English, French, and Spanish laws initially applied in their territories overseas, but colonial statutes soon supplemented and superseded European laws. For example, sodomy was made a capital crime by Virginia (1610), Plymouth (1636), and Massachusetts (1641), followed by most of England's other colonies. These laws generally applied to anal intercourse, sometimes punished other forms of non-procreative sex, and tended to be used to police same-sex sex, sexual violence, and sex with minors. Of the early English colonial statutes, New Haven's (1656) was unique in referring to acts committed by women, though women in other colonies were occasionally arrested for having same-sex sex. Prosecutions for same-sex sex were relatively rare, but several people were executed for committing same-sex sexual acts.²

¹ In this chapter I use gender and sexual terms that are generally favored today (including lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) as well as historical terms (such as "deviant" and "pervert") that are generally rejected today. I use analytic terms such as "same-sex sex" and "gender-crossing acts" to address behaviors rather than identities or communities. I use "queer" to reference same-sex and gender-crossing desires, behaviors, and identities. I refer to "LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities" when discussing the larger chronology of US history, though I do not mean to imply that LGBTQ identities existed in North America before the late nineteenth century or are relevant in all of the twentieth or twenty-first century contexts that are discussed.

² Other early sodomy and buggery laws were passed by Connecticut (1642), Rhode Island (1647), New York (1665), New Jersey (1668), Pennsylvania (1676), New Hampshire (1679), South Carolina (1712), Delaware (1719), Maryland (1776), and North Carolina (1778). Early prosecutions for same-sex sex have been documented in Virginia (1624), Massachusetts (1629, 1642, and 1712), New Hampshire (1635 and 1663), Plymouth (1637, 1642, and 1649), New Netherland (1646, 1658, and 1660), New

In colonial America the criminalization of sexual transgression intersected with the criminalization of gender transgression. In 1629, for example, Thomas/Thomasine Hall, a resident of Warrosquyoake, Virginia, was accused of inappropriately wearing women's clothing, but one of the things that prompted these accusations was a rumor that Hall was having nonmarital sex with a woman, which was a more serious offense if Hall was a man. After intrusive investigations of Hall's body, Virginia's General Court at Jamestown decided that Hall was a man and woman and required Hall to dress in partially male and partially female clothing, which was a form of public humiliation.³

Beginning with a brief experiment in the late seventeenth century, capital punishment for sodomy, buggery, and other "crimes against nature" was replaced by less extreme penalties, including castration, whipping, life imprisonment, and lengthy prison terms. Pennsylvania removed its death penalty for sodomy in 1682, but restored it for "negroes" in 1700 and everyone else in 1718. The Continental Army began court-martialing soldiers for sodomy in 1778. In 1786, Pennsylvania more permanently eliminated its death penalty for sodomy; it was followed by New York and New Jersey in 1796, Rhode Island in 1798, and other states in the early nineteenth century. Maryland in 1793 and Virginia in 1800 eliminated the death penalty for sodomy for free people but not slaves. North and South Carolina did not remove their

Haven (1646 and 1653), North Carolina (1718), and Georgia (1734). The best documented English colonial case concerns Nicholas Sension of Windsor, Connecticut (1677). See Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac* (New York: Harper, 1983), 66-133; William Eskridge, *Gaylaw: Challenging the Apartheid of the Closet* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 17-56, 328-272; William Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions: Sodomy Laws in America* (New York: Viking, 2008), 16-20, 388-407; Richard Godbeer, *Sexual Revolution in Early America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 44-51; and Stephen Robertson, "Shifting the Scene of the Crime: Sodomy and the American History of Sexual Violence," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 19, no. 2 (2010): 223-242. For New Spain, see Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991); and Tracy Brown, "'Abominable Sin in Colonial New Mexico: Spanish and Pueblo Perceptions of Same-Sex Sexuality,'" in *Long Before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in Early America*, ed. Thomas Foster (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 51-77.

³ 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 on December 18, 1940, and added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966.

death penalties for buggery until 1868-69. By this time most states criminalized sodomy, buggery, and crimes against nature and punished these offenses with lengthy prison terms. Three Ohio cities—Cincinnati (1819), Dayton (1842), and Columbus (1848)—were among the first to pass laws against indecent behavior. Cincinnati and Dayton, Ohio (1849) and Chicago, Illinois (1851) were among the first to prohibit obscene publications and immoral plays. Early state laws against obscenity, which previously had been a common law offense, were passed by Illinois (1845), California (1858), and Pennsylvania (1860). Laws against buggery, crimes against nature, immorality, indecency, obscenity, and sodomy targeted multiple gender and sexual transgressions, but tended to be used to police same-sex sex, public sex, sex work, sexual violence, and sex with minors.⁴

Before the mid-nineteenth century, state and local governments banned cross-dressing as part of the broader criminalization of deception and disguise. Beginning in the 1840s, however, various cities began to more specifically prohibit men from wearing women's clothing and women from wearing men's clothing. Some of the earliest to do so were Columbus, Ohio (1848), Chicago, Illinois (1851), and Wilmington, Delaware (1856).⁵ These laws joined the broad array of prohibitions on non-normative sex, gender, and sexuality that existed in the pre-Civil War era.

⁴ Other laws against indecency were passed by Chicago, IL (1851), Louisville, KY (1853), Cleveland, OH (1854), New Orleans, LA (1856), Springfield, IL (1856), Memphis, TN (1857), Newark, NJ (1858), Toledo, OH (1858), Charleston, SC (1858), Kansas City, MO (1860), Houston, TX (1861), St. Louis, MO (1864), and Wilmington, DE (1865). Laws against obscene publications and/or immoral plays were also passed by New Orleans, LA (1856), New York, NY (1856), Springfield, IL (1856), Memphis, TN (1857), Charleston, SC (1858), Newark, NJ (1858), Toledo, OH (1858), Kansas City, MO (1860), and St. Louis, MO (1864). Before these laws were passed, indecency and obscenity were treated as common law offenses (crimes designated as such by judges rather than legislators). See Katz, *Gay American History*, 38; Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac*, 66-133; and Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 338-341.

⁵ Other early examples were Springfield, IL (1856), Newark, NJ (1858), Charleston, SC (1858), Kansas City, MO (1860), Houston, TX (1861), Toledo, OH (1862), Memphis, TN (1863), San Francisco, CA (1863), and St. Louis, MO (1864). See Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 338-341; Clare Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 3-6, 23-77; and Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal, 2008), 32-33.

Post-Civil War Federal, State, and Local Laws



Figure 1: The Nassau-Beekman Building (formerly the Morse Building), office location of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, led by Anthony Comstock. Photo by Jim Henderson, 2010.⁶

After the Civil War, federal, state, and local governments responded to the increased presence and visibility of gender and sexual transgression with new laws that criminalized LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities. One of the most powerful was the 1873 Comstock Act, enacted by the US Congress, which prohibited the mailing of obscenity. Over the next century the Comstock Act and the laws it inspired were used to censor LGBTQ speech and expression in publications, plays, photographs, and films (Figure 1). In 1882, 1891, and 1917, Congress passed restrictive immigration statutes

that targeted (among other groups) individuals convicted of crimes of “moral turpitude” and those who were “constitutional psychopathic inferiors.” In 1916, Congress prohibited assault with intent to commit sodomy in the US military; four years later Congress made sodomy itself a crime in the military and broadened its definition to include anal or oral copulation between men or between a man and a woman. In 1921, new army regulations provided for the rejection of recruits based on “sexual

⁶ License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Morse_Bldg_jeh.JPG

perversion,” “sexual psychopathy,” and bodies that exhibited signs of the “opposite sex.”⁷

State and local governments also passed new laws that targeted LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities. The best estimates are that by the early twentieth century, thousands and perhaps tens of thousands of individuals were arrested each year for violating these laws. The last three states to pass laws against sodomy, buggery, and crimes against nature were Wyoming (1890), Iowa (1892), and Washington (1893). Beginning with Pennsylvania (1879), New York (1886), and Massachusetts (1887), most states updated their sex laws to make it clear that they applied to oral sex and sex between women. These were supplemented by new laws against disorderly conduct, immorality, indecency, lewdness, loitering, solicitation, and vagrancy. These ambiguously-defined statutes, used more frequently than laws against sodomy, buggery, and crimes against nature, provided local authorities with broad discretion to arrest individuals for various reasons. People of color, poor people, immigrants, and people who violated gender norms were distinctly vulnerable. Public indecency statutes, for example, were passed by San Francisco, California (1866), Little Rock, Arkansas (1868), Portland, Oregon (1868), and Indianapolis, Indiana (1869). The earliest states to ban public indecency were Massachusetts (1860), California (1872), Washington (1875), Illinois (1877), and New York (1890). Some of the earliest laws against lewd solicitation were adopted by San Jose (1882) and Los Angeles, California (1883), Columbia, Missouri (1883), and Portland, Oregon (1883).

⁷ Andrea Friedman, “Censorship, Obscenity, and Pornography Law and Policy,” in *Encyclopedia of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History in America (ELGBT)*, ed. Marc Stein, 3 vols, (New York: Scribners, 2003), 1: 202-205; Elizabeth Hillman, “Military Law and Policy,” *ELGBT*, 2: 262-65; Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 13-56; and Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 19-90. The Comstock Act was named for Anthony Comstock, leader of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, which had offices in the Nassau-Beekman Building (formerly the Morse Building), 140-142 Nassau Street, New York, NY. On the New York Society, see George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic, 1994), 138-139, 146-148, 210, 215-216, 230-231, 280. In 1919-20 there was a major investigation of homosexuality at the Newport Naval Training Station and the nearby Army-Navy Young Men’s Christian Association, 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island; see George Chauncey, “Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion?: Homosexual Identities and the Construction of Sexual Boundaries in the World War I Era,” *Journal of Social History* 19 (1985): 189-212. The Army-Navy Young Men’s Christian Association was listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988.

Meanwhile more cities passed laws against obscene publications and immoral plays. Some introduced bans on indecent films—among the earliest were San Diego, California (1899), Chicago, Illinois (1907), Detroit, Michigan (1907), Seattle, Washington (1907), and Sioux Falls, South Dakota (1908). Additional cities prohibited cross-dressing. Some states, beginning with California (1909), Iowa (1911), and Oregon (1917), authorized the sterilization of convicted “perverts” and “degenerates.” Building on a 1911 Massachusetts law that permitted indefinite sentencing for “mental defectives,” Michigan (1935), Illinois (1938), California (1939), and Minnesota (1939) authorized indefinite confinement in mental institutions for sex offenders. In 1898, New Jersey provided immunity for the murder of individuals attempting to commit sodomy.⁸

State and local liquor laws also targeted LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities. Before national alcohol prohibition was enacted in 1919, many municipalities required liquor licensees to demonstrate “good character” and not serve “disreputable persons,” both of which were used to discriminate against LGBTQ people. After prohibition was repealed in 1933, states began to regulate the sale of liquor and many, led by New York and New Jersey, required licensees to exhibit “good moral character,” maintain “orderly” premises, and avoid serving “degenerates” and

⁸ Other early examples of states that updated their sodomy, buggery, and related statutes are Ohio (1889), Wyoming (1890), North Dakota (1895), Louisiana (1896), and Wisconsin (1897). Other early examples of cities that passed ordinances against public indecency are Detroit, MI (1870), Lincoln, NE (1870), Salt Lake City, UT (1872), Atlanta, GA (1873), and Grand Rapids, MI (1873). Early post-Civil War laws against cross-dressing were passed by Atlanta, GA (1873), Minneapolis, MN (1877), Oakland, CA (1879), Dallas, TX (1880), and Salt Lake City, UT (1880). Other states that passed sex offender sterilization laws are Washington (1921), Utah (1925), Idaho (1925), North Dakota (1927), Nebraska (1929), and Oklahoma (1935). See Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 17-56, 338-341, 354-355; Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 49-59, 388-407; and Robertson, “Shifting the Scene of the Crime.” Some of the more significant local and regional studies of anti-LGBTQ policing in this era focus on Long Beach, CA [Sharon Ullman, “The Twentieth Century Way’: Female Impersonation and Sexual Practice in Turn-of-the-Century America,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5, no. 4 (1995): 573-600]; Los Angeles, CA [Daniel Hurewitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles and the Making of Modern Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007)]; New York, NY [Chauncey, *Gay New York*]; San Francisco, CA [Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) and Sears, *Arresting Dress*]; the Pacific Northwest [Peter Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); the West [Peter Boag, *Re-Dressing America’s Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011) and Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011)].

“female impersonators.” Over the next several decades, these laws were used to target hundreds of commercial establishments frequented by LGBTQ people.⁹

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, federal, state, and local officials policed LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities through legal, quasi-legal, and extra-legal means. In many locations, for example, local police and state liquor control officials demanded payoffs from LGBTQ bar owners to avoid raids and closures. Law enforcement officers routinely committed acts of physical and sexual violence against LGBTQ people (and especially people of color, poor people, and people who transgressed gender norms). Many judges, lawyers, bail bondsmen, and police participated in blackmail and extortion schemes that targeted LGBTQ people. Undercover police also entrapped LGBTQ people, persuading them to engage in illegal sexual acts that they might otherwise have not committed.¹⁰

Resistance to anti-LGBTQ laws took many forms in the pre-World War II era. Millions disobeyed these laws without penalty and many who were arrested or detained denied that they had broken the law. Some began to challenge the criminalization of LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities more directly. In 1866, feminist dress reformer Eliza DeWolf successfully appealed her conviction for violating San Francisco’s law against cross-dressing by arguing that California had not given the city the power to regulate dress. In 1890, after Dick/Mamie Ruble was arrested for violating the same law, Ruble told the judge: “I’m neither a man nor a woman and I’ve got no sex at all.” Ruble was declared insane and committed to the Stockton Asylum. In 1903, Milton Matson unsuccessfully challenged his arrest for cross-dressing in San Francisco by arguing that he was a man; he was sentenced to sixty days in the city’s jail for women. Anarchist Emma Goldman regularly denounced the criminalization of

⁹ Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 45-49. See also the local studies listed in note 7.

¹⁰ See the local studies listed in note 7.

homosexuality during her national lecture tours in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹¹

There were other notable challenges in Illinois and New York. In 1924, Henry Gerber established the Society for Human Rights in Chicago to “ameliorate the plight of homosexuals” (Figure 2). In 1925, however, after Gerber and the group’s other leaders were arrested, charged with sex crimes, and threatened with obscenity prosecutions, they abandoned their efforts.¹² In 1927, Mae West denounced the criminalization of homosexuality while unsuccessfully defending productions of her play *Sex* in New York City; her play *Drag* in nearby Bridgeport and Stamford, Connecticut, and Paterson and Bayonne, New Jersey; and Edouard Bournet’s play *The Captive* in New York City. West was sentenced to ten days in prison on obscenity charges.¹³ In 1929, American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) cofounder Morris Ernst successfully defended Pascal Covici and Donald Friede when they were charged with violating New York’s obscenity law for publishing Radclyffe Hall’s novel *The Well of Loneliness*.¹⁴ In 1940, Gloria Bar and Grill, a New York City gay bar, unsuccessfully challenged its license revocation by asserting, “There is no rule or regulation...which provides that a sex variant may not be served.”¹⁵ These and other actions challenged the criminalization of LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities.

¹¹ Sears, *Arresting Dress*, 74-75, 142-146. The Stockton State Hospital, at 612 East Magnolia Street, Stockton, CA, closed in 1996 and is now occupied by the Stockton Center at California State University, Stanislaus. San Francisco’s Women’s Jail, also called the Ingleside Jail, was damaged in the 1906 earthquake; the property is now occupied by the City College of San Francisco across from Balboa Park. On Goldman, see Terence Kissack, *Free Comrades: Anarchism and Homosexuality in the United States, 1895-1917* (Oakland, CA: AK, 2008). Goldman lived from 1903 to 1913 in New York City’s East Village.

¹² Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 37-40. Gerber’s home in the Lincoln Park neighborhood of Chicago, Illinois was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015.

¹³ Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 311-13. *Sex* was performed at Daly’s 63rd Street Theatre (22 West Sixty-third Street, New York City, NY); the building was demolished in 1957.

¹⁴ Leslie Taylor, “‘I Made Up My Mind to Get It’: The American Trial of *The Well of Loneliness*, New York City, 1928-29,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10, no. 2 (2001): 250-286. Covici-Friede was based at 79 West 45th Street, New York City, New York (now demolished).

¹⁵ Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 339. Gloria’s was located near the intersection of Third Avenue and 40th Street, New York City, New York.



Figure 2: The Henry Gerber House, Chicago, Illinois. Photo by Thshriver, 2013.¹⁶

Federal, State, and Local Laws in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s

LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities were subjected to increased legal repression in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, but there was also increased LGBTQ legal resistance. In 1941, just before the United States entered World War II, the US military adopted new policies that rejected the enlistment of homosexuals. One year later, new rules stipulated that those who “habitually or occasionally” engaged in homosexual acts were unfit for service, as were men with “feminine” characteristics. In 1943-44, some of these policies were relaxed or revised in the context of wartime military needs, but in 1945 US officials reaffirmed the ban on homosexuals in the military and the Veterans Administration announced that individuals discharged because of homosexuality were ineligible

¹⁶ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gerber._Henry_House_2.JPG

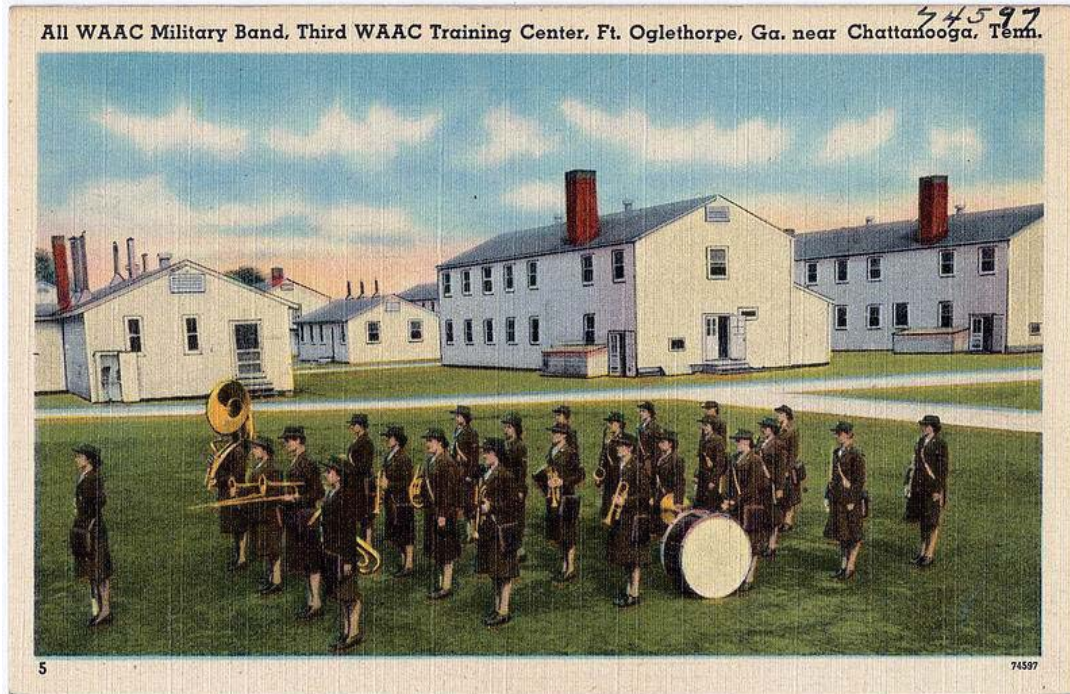


Figure 3: One of the more in-depth investigations of homosexuality during World War II was at the Women's Army Corps Training Center at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia. Postcard, ca. 1942-1943, from the collections of the Boston Public Library.¹⁷

for veterans' benefits. The best estimate is that these policies resulted in five thousand recruitment rejections and nine thousand discharges during World War II. In 1950, Congress provided a five-year prison term and dishonorable discharge for service members convicted of sodomy. Ten years later, the US Army formally deemed transsexuals ineligible for enlistment. In the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, the US military discharged more than fifty thousand individuals based on allegations of homosexuality (Figure 3).¹⁸

¹⁷ License: CC BY 2.0.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:All_WAAC_Military_Band,_Third_WAAC_Training_Cente,_Ft._Oglethorpe,_Ga.,_near_Chattanooga,_Tenn._%286843436993%29.jpg

¹⁸ Hillman, "Military Law and Policy"; Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Free Press, 1990); Leisa Meyer, *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps During World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 148-178; Canaday, *The Straight State*, 137-173; Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 243; and Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 381. One of the more in-depth investigations of homosexuality during World War II focused on the Women's Army Corps Training Center at Fort Oglethorpe in Catoosa County, Georgia. The Fort Oglethorpe Historic District was listed on the NRHP on April 20, 1979.

In the early years of the Cold War, the federal government introduced new anti-LGBTQ laws. In 1947, President Harry Truman established a loyalty security program for federal civil servants; among those targeted for exclusion and termination were homosexuals. In 1951, Federal Bureau of Investigation Director J. Edgar Hoover initiated a project that targeted “sex deviates.” In 1953, President Dwight Eisenhower issued an executive order that explicitly named “sexual perversion” as grounds for exclusion and dismissal from federal government jobs. More than five thousand federal government workers lost their jobs because of these policies in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 provided for the exclusion and deportation of noncitizens who were “afflicted with psychopathic personality” or had committed “crimes of moral turpitude,” both of which were interpreted to apply to LGBTQ people. In 1965, Congress more explicitly barred the admission of “sexual deviates.”¹⁹

State and local governments also introduced new anti-LGBTQ laws. In 1948, Congress criminalized sodomy in the District of Columbia; five years later Congress banned indecent sexual proposals (in private or public) in the district. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, California increased its maximum penalties for sodomy, oral copulation, lewd vagrancy, and loitering around a public toilet. By 1961, twenty-one states had revised their laws against lewdness and indecency to cover private as well as public acts. Meanwhile, new laws were passed against lewd solicitation in Houston, Texas (1942), Sioux City, Iowa (1943), Norfolk, Virginia (1944), Orlando, Florida (1952), Miami, Florida (1955), and New Orleans, Louisiana (1956). New laws against cross-dressing were adopted by Detroit, Michigan (1944), Indianapolis, Indiana (1951), Miami, Florida (1952 and 1965), Denver, Colorado (1954), and San Diego, California (1966). By 1961, twenty-nine states and the District of Columbia had

¹⁹ Ruthann Robson, “Employment Law and Policy,” in *ELGBT*, 1: 346-349; Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 100-102; Canaday, *The Straight State*, 214-254; David Johnson, *The Lavender Scare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Stein, *Rethinking*, 49, 65; Douglas M. Charles, *The FBI’s Obscene File: J. Edgar Hoover and the Bureau’s Crusade against Smut* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012); and Douglas M. Charles, *Hoover’s War on Gays: Exposing the FBI’s ‘Sex Deviates’ Program* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2015).

passed sexual psychopath laws that provided for indefinite detention. In 1941, California authorized the castration of convicted sex perverts and in 1947 the state began requiring convicted sex offenders to register with local police after their release from prison. Other states that adopted sex offender registration laws were Arizona (1951), Nevada (1961), Ohio (1963), and Alabama (1967). The passage of these laws was accompanied by more aggressive legal, quasi-legal, and extra-legal policing, which disproportionately affected LGBTQ communities and especially immigrants, people of color, and poor people within these communities. The best estimate is that more than 300,000 individuals were arrested in the 1940s, 1950s, or 1960s for violating the country's anti-LGBTQ laws. Countless others suffered because the legal system did not recognize their relationships, their families, and their parental rights.²⁰

Other new state and local laws affected employment rights and rights of assembly. In 1951-52, for example, California supplemented its ban on immoral conduct for teachers with a law requiring school districts to be notified when teachers were arrested for sex crimes. New laws also authorized the state board of education to decertify teachers convicted of sex crimes and prohibited school districts from employing convicted sex offenders. In 1958, Florida's Legislative Investigation Committee began a

²⁰ Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 73-108, 388-407; Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 62, 338-341; Robertson, "Shifting the Scene"; Daniel Winunwe Rivers, *Radical Relations: Lesbian Mothers, Gay Fathers, and Their Children in the United States since World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 11-52. The 300,000 figure is a rough and conservative estimate based primarily on Eskridge's analysis of individuals arrested for consensual and adult same-sex sexual crimes (*Dishonorable Passions*, 98). There was a notable police crackdown on same-sex sex in Boise, Idaho in 1955-1956; see John Gerassi, *The Boys of Boise: Furor, Vice, and Folly in an American City*, with a new foreword by Peter Boag (1966; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001). The scandal began with allegations that focused on a Boise YMCA located at Eleventh and Idaho Streets. Some of the more significant local and regional studies of anti-LGBTQ policing in this era focus on Buffalo, NY [Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993)]; Cherry Grove, NY [Esther Newton, *Cherry Grove, Fire Island: Sixty Years in America's First Gay and Lesbian Town* (Boston: Beacon, 1993)]; Los Angeles, CA [Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006)]; Mississippi [John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999)]; Philadelphia, PA [Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000)]; Provincetown, MA [Karen Krahluk, *Provincetown: From Pilgrim Landing to Gay Resort* (New York: New York University Press, 2005)]; San Francisco, CA [Boyd, *Wide Open Town*; Christopher Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco: Policing and the Creation of a Cosmopolitan Liberal Politics, 1950-1972* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014)]; and Washington, DC [Genny Beemyn, *A Queer Capital: A History of Gay Life in Washington, D.C.* (New York: Routledge, 2015)].

six-year campaign of repression against teachers and students at primary, secondary, and postsecondary schools. In 1959, Florida authorized the revocation of teaching certificates based on moral misconduct. California and Florida were among many states that authorized the denial and revocation of licenses for doctors, lawyers, and other professionals based on immoral conduct. As for rights of assembly, in 1954 Miami, Florida, made it illegal to sell alcohol to, employ, or allow the gathering of two or more homosexuals in licensed bars. In 1955, California authorized liquor license revocations for bars that served “perverts.” In 1961, Illinois passed a new law that increased the ability of Chicago’s mayor to close LGBTQ bars. In many cities, including New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, the owners of LGBTQ bars and other commercial establishments were distinctly vulnerable to raids and closures if they did not make payoffs to local police, politicians, and other officials. The best estimate is that tens of thousands of individuals lost their jobs and hundreds of businesses were harassed, raided, and closed by the police because of anti-LGBTQ laws in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s.²¹

Notwithstanding these developments, there were signs of increased support for sex and gender law reform in these decades. These efforts were championed by the LGBTQ movement, which consisted of groups such as the Mattachine Society, ONE, the Daughters of Bilitis, the Janus Society, the Erickson Educational Foundation, and the Society for Individual Rights.²² LGBTQ activists supported reform with educational, lobbying, and litigation campaigns, but also engaged in direct action. They challenged police practices, for example, with protests at Cooper’s Donuts

²¹ Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 103-107, 389, 391; Karen Graves, *And They Were Wonderful Teachers: Florida’s Purge of Gay and Lesbian Teachers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009); and Timothy Stewart-Winter, *Queer Clout: Chicago and the Rise of Gay Politics* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). See also the local studies listed in note 17.

²² Stein, *Rethinking*, 41-78. Mattachine was initially based at Harry Hay’s residences in the Silver Lake and Hollywood Hills neighborhoods of Los Angeles, California. ONE was based at 232 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, California (now demolished). The Daughters of Bilitis was based for many years at 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California. Janus was based for many years at the Middle City Building, 34 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Erickson Educational Foundation was based for many years at Reed Erickson’s home near the Hundred Oaks area of Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The Society for Individual Rights was based for many years at 83 Sixth Street, San Francisco, California.

in Los Angeles in 1959, California Hall in San Francisco in 1964, Compton's Cafeteria in San Francisco in 1966, the Black Cat in Los Angeles in 1967, and the Patch in Los Angeles in 1968. They demonstrated against military policies at the Whitehall Street Induction Center in New York City in 1964 and at locations in Los Angeles, New York City, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Washington, DC, on Armed Forces Day in 1966. In 1965, they staged a sit-in at Dewey's Restaurant in Philadelphia and organized demonstrations at the White House, Civil Service Commission, State Department, and Pentagon in Washington, DC; Independence Hall in Philadelphia, and the United Nations Building in New York City. The protest at Independence Hall, held on the Fourth of July Independence Day holiday, became the "Annual Reminder" when it was repeated in 1966, 1967, 1968, and 1969.²³

Influenced by these and other developments, in 1955 the American Law Institute (ALI) called for the decriminalization of private sex acts by consenting adults. The ACLU, which had long defended individuals accused of gender and sexual crimes, adopted policy statements on the rights of homosexuals in 1957 and 1967. In the 1960s, the Playboy Foundation began to support homosexual law reform. Two early LGBTQ

²³ Stein, *Rethinking*, 63-78. Cooper's Donuts was positioned between two gay bars, the Waldorf and Harold's, which were located at 527 and 555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California (both now demolished); see Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A.*, 1-2. California Hall was located at 625 Polk Street, San Francisco, California; see Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 233-235. Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California, a contributing building to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009; see Stryker, *Transgender History*, 63-75. The Black Cat was located at 3909 W Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California; see Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A.*, 154-157. The Patch was located in the Wilmington neighborhood of Los Angeles, California; see Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A.*, 157-158. The Whitehall Street Induction Center was located at 39 Whitehall Street, New York City, New York; see Martin Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Dutton, 1993), 80-82. Dewey's was located at 219 S Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; see Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 245-246. Independence Hall is located at 520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; it is part of Independence National Historical Park, created June 28, 1948, and designated an NHL District on October 15, 1966; see Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 231-232, 248-249, 253-254, 273-274, 291-295, 292, 299, 317. The White House is located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, DC; it was designated an NHL on December 19, 1960. The US Civil Service Commission was based in Washington, DC. The State Department is located in the Harry S. Truman Building at 2201 C Street NW, Washington, DC. The Pentagon is located on Jefferson Davis Highway in Arlington, VA; it was listed on the NRHP on July 27, 1989 and designated an NHL on October 5, 1992. The United Nations Building is located at 405 East 42nd Street, New York City, New York.

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legal advocacy groups were the Homosexual Law Reform Society (HLRS), founded in Philadelphia in 1966, and the National Legal Defense Fund (NLDF), founded in San Francisco in 1967.²⁴

Some liberal reforms were achieved through legislative and executive action. In 1950, California created a misdemeanor option for oral copulation. New York in 1950, Minnesota in 1967, and Utah in 1969 reduced consensual sodomy to a misdemeanor. In 1969, when Kansas decriminalized heterosexual deviate sexual intercourse, it reduced its homosexual counterpart to a misdemeanor. More significantly, in 1961 Illinois became the first state to decriminalize sodomy; Connecticut was second in 1969. In 1961, California replaced its vagrancy law, which had often been used against LGBTQ people, with a law against disorderly conduct. In 1967, New York repealed its prohibition on the depiction of “sex degeneracy or sex perversion” in plays. In the 1960s, Illinois, Arizona, and Louisiana were among the first states to permit changes of sex on birth certificates and drivers’ licenses; by 1965 eleven states permitted changes of sex on birth certificates. At the federal level, in 1966 the US Civil Service Commission announced in a letter to Mattachine activists that individuals who engaged in homosexual conduct were not automatically barred from all federal government jobs; only those who publicly revealed their homosexuality and those whose homosexual conduct became publicly known were excluded.²⁵

²⁴ On the American Law Institute (ALI), see John D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 112, 144; Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 121-124; Marie-Amelie George, “The Harmless Psychopath: Legal Debates Promoting the Decriminalization of Sodomy in the United States,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 24, no. 2 (2015): 225-261. On the ACLU, Playboy, HLRS, and NLDF, see Marc Stein, *Sexual Injustice: Supreme Court Decisions from Griswold to Roe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 139-170, 246-248. The ALI was located at and continues to have offices at 4025 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The ACLU was based at the Presbyterian Building, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, New York. The Playboy Foundation was based in the Palmolive Building at 919 N Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, listed on the NRHP on August 21, 2003. HLRS was based at the Middle City Building, 34 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The National Legal Defense Fund was based at Glide Memorial Church at 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California, a contributing building to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009.

²⁵ Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 124-127, 144, 161-165, 388-407; Stryker, *Transgender History*, 121; Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 126-127; Johnson, *The Lavender Scare*, 202-207; and Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 243.

Reformers and activists also pursued law reform through court-based litigation. In 1952, when Dale Jennings, a founder of the Mattachine Society, was arrested and charged with lewd behavior in Los Angeles, he acknowledged his homosexuality but denied that he had propositioned an undercover police officer. After the jury deadlocked, Mattachine celebrated its first legal victory.²⁷ There were also victories in police entrapment cases in Washington, DC, in 1952, 1956, and 1960; warrantless bathroom surveillance cases in California in 1962; a



Figure 4: Julius', New York City. Photo by Americasroof, 2008.²⁶

transsexual name change case in New York City in 1968; and a teacher decertification case in California in 1969.²⁸ The Supreme Court declined to consider appeals of convictions for sodomy in Mansfield, Ohio in 1964 and 1966, lewd solicitation in New York City in 1966, and lewd conduct in Los Angeles in 1968, but homophile lobbying and negative publicity about these cases helped

²⁶ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Julius-bar.jpg>

²⁷ D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 70-71. Mattachine's early meetings took place at Harry Hay's homes in the Silver Lake and Hollywood Hills neighborhoods of Los Angeles, CA.

²⁸ Stein, *Rethinking*, 48, 54, 75, 104; Johnson, *The Lavender Scare*, 174-178; and Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 208-209, 241-247. The DC cases were *Kelly v. United States* (1952), *Guarro v. United States* (1956), and *Rittenour v. District of Columbia* (1960). The California cases were *Bielicki v. Superior Court of Los Angeles County* (1962), *Byars v. Superior Court of Los Angeles County* (1962), *Britt v. Superior Court of Santa Clara County* (1962), and *Morrison v. State Board of Education* (1969). The New York case was *In Re Anonymous* (1968). Kelly was arrested in Franklin Park (now Franklin Square), Washington, DC. Guarro was arrested at Cinema Follies, formerly located at 37 L Street SE, Washington, DC.

convince New York City's police commissioner to curtail entrapment practices.²⁹

Reformers and activists also challenged police practices that targeted sites associated with LGBTQ cultures. In 1959, Mel Heifetz unsuccessfully pursued a federal civil rights complaint after police raided his Philadelphia coffeehouse.³⁰ In 1968, the Supreme Court refused to consider Richard Inman's challenge to Miami's ordinance against serving or employing homosexuals in bars.³¹ In California, however, the Black Cat in San Francisco (1951) and Mary's First and Last Chance Bar in Oakland (1959) won state supreme court rulings that rejected liquor license revocations for bars that served homosexuals who were not engaging in immoral or indecent acts.³² In 1966, Mattachine activists staged a successful "sip-in" at Julius, a New York City gay bar (Figure 4). They announced they were homosexuals, were denied service on that basis, and then filed suit, winning a 1967 state court ruling that constrained the ability of the State Liquor Authority to revoke the licenses of gay bars unless there was evidence of indecent behavior.³³ Also in 1967, HLRS supported litigation that yielded a New Jersey Supreme Court ruling upholding the rights of "well-behaved" homosexuals to assemble in bars.³⁴

²⁹ The Mansfield cases were *Poor v. Mayer* (1964) and *Chamberlain v. Ohio* (1966). The New York case was *Robillard v. New York* (1966). The Los Angeles case was *Talley v. California* (1968). The Florida case was *Franklin v. State* (1971). In the Los Angeles case, Charles Talley and Benny Baker were arrested for kissing on New Year's Eve at the Black Cat Tavern, 3909 West Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. See Joyce Murdoch and Deb Price, *Courting Justice: Gay Men and Lesbians v. the Supreme Court* (New York: Basic, 2001), 135-147.

³⁰ *Haifetz v. Rizzo* (1959); Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 155-176. Heifetz's coffeehouse, the Humoresque, was located at 2036 Sansom Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Note that the alternative spellings are intentional.

³¹ *Inman v. City of Miami* (1968).

³² *Stoumen v. Reilly* (1951); *Vallerga v. Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control* (1959); Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 121-123; 206-207. The Black Cat was located at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California. The building is a contributing element to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP November 18, 1971. Mary's First and Last Chance was located at 2278 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California.

³³ Duberman, *Stonewall*, 114-117. Julius is located within the Greenwich Village Historic District (listed on the NRHP on June 19, 1979) at 159 West Tenth Street, New York City, New York. Not currently individually listed on the NRHP, the New York State Historic Preservation Office has determined Julius eligible.

³⁴ *One Eleven Wines & Liquors v. Division of Alcoholic Beverage Control* (1967); Stein, *Sexual Injustice*, 150-151; and Bryant Simon, "New York Avenue: The Life and Death of Gay Spaces in Atlantic City, New Jersey, 1920-90," *Journal of Urban History* 28, no. 3 (2002): 300-327. The New Jersey case

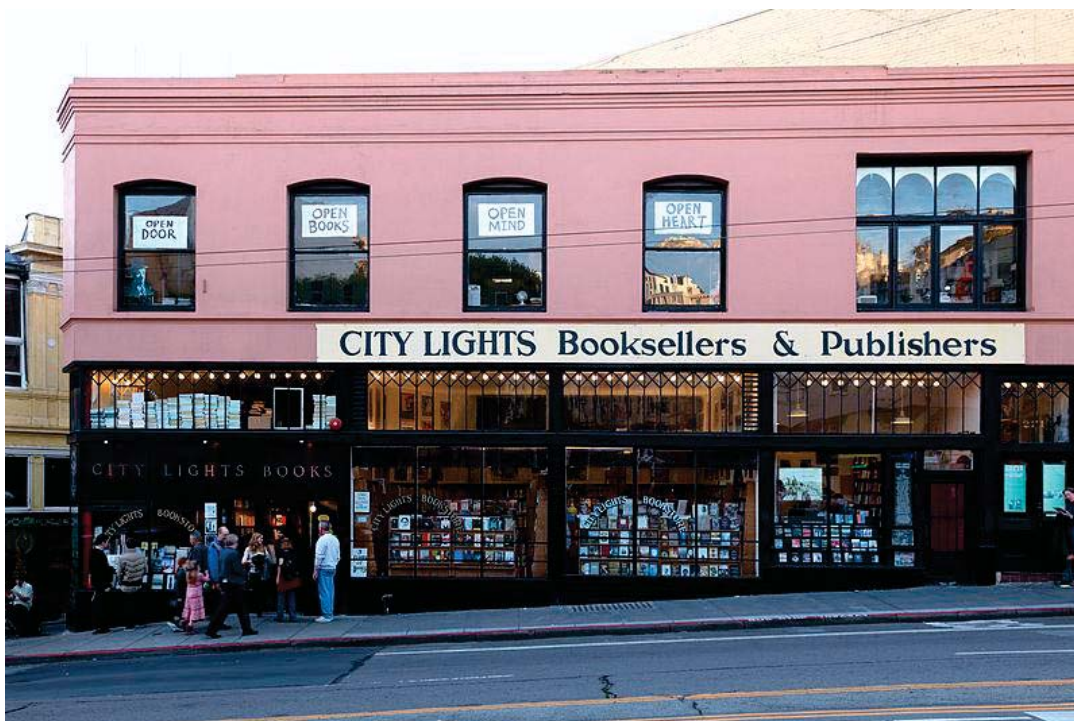


Figure 5: City Lights Bookstore, San Francisco. Photo by Caroline Culler.³⁵

Reformers and activists also had some success in challenging anti-LGBTQ censorship. In 1955, Bob Mizer, the Los Angeles-based founder of the Athletic Model Guild and publisher of *Physique Pictorial* magazine, successfully appealed his conviction for selling indecent literature.³⁶ Two years later, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, the owner of City Lights Bookstore in San Francisco, was found not guilty of obscenity for selling Allen Ginsberg's homoerotic *Howl and Other Poems* (Figure 5).³⁷ In 1962, Dorian Book Service in San Francisco successfully challenged restrictions on the importation of homoerotic books by US Customs.³⁸ Five years later, Directory Services in Minneapolis, a gay-oriented mail-order business, was

addressed Val's, which was located on New York Avenue in Atlantic City, New Jersey; Murphy's Tavern, which was located at 135 Mulberry Street in Newark, New Jersey (now demolished); and One Eleven Wines and Liquors, location unknown.

³⁵ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:City_Lights_Bookstore.jpg

³⁶ Whitney Strub, *Perversion for Profit: The Politics of Pornography and the Rise of the New Right* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 35-36. Bob Mizer operated his office and studio out of his home in Brooklyn, New York.

³⁷ D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics*, 177-182. City Lights Bookstore is located at 261 Columbus Avenue, San Francisco, California.

³⁸ Stein, *Rethinking*, 75. Dorian Book Service was based out of the Williams Building, 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California.

acquitted on charges of mailing indecent literature.³⁹ Two particularly significant victories occurred when the Supreme Court overturned the US Postal Service's censorship of *ONE* magazine in 1958 and invalidated the Postal Service's censorship of physique magazines in 1962.⁴⁰ In this period federal, state, and local authorities continued to use obscenity laws to censor LGBTQ speech and expression and in so doing they effectively destroyed Guild Press in Washington, DC, and the Janus Society, HLRS, and Trojan Book Service in Philadelphia.⁴¹ Nevertheless there were also notable successes in challenges to anti-LGBTQ censorship.

Activists and reformers also had a mixed record of success when using litigation to invalidate or circumvent other federal laws and policies. Military service members were rarely successful when they challenged anti-LGBTQ policies. In 1960, however, Fannie Mae Clackum and Grace Garner, who had been involuntarily discharged from the US Air Force, won a US Court of Claims decision that awarded them back pay. While the court did not challenge the military's anti-homosexual policies, it ruled that the women should have been given the court martial they requested.⁴²

Noncitizens generally failed in their challenges to anti-LGBTQ immigration laws, which tended to be enforced when the Immigration and Naturalization Service learned that a legal or nonlegal resident had been charged with or convicted of a sex crime. Sara Quiroz, a Mexican woman living in El Paso, Texas, was deported for "looking like a lesbian" in 1961. Clive Boutilier, a Canadian man living in New York, was ordered deported after he revealed an earlier sodomy arrest on his application for US

³⁹ David Johnson, "Physique Pioneers: The Politics of 1960s Gay Consumer Culture," *Journal of Social History* 43, no. 4 (2010): 867-892.

⁴⁰ *ONE v. Olesen* (1958); *Manual Enterprises v. Day* (1962); Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 27-50, 65-83. *ONE's* offices were located at 232 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, California (now demolished). The offices of Manual Enterprises and Guild Press were located at 807-813 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC.

⁴¹ Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 82; Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 299-302; Stein, *Rethinking*, 78.

⁴² Hillman, "Military Law and Policy," 264; Canaday, *The Straight State*, 198-200; and Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 91. Clackum and Garner served at Barksdale Air Force Base, located just southeast of Bossier, Louisiana.

citizenship; he lost his Supreme Court appeal in 1967. However, George Fleuti, a Swiss national who lived in Ojai, California, won his 1963 Supreme Court appeal on a legal technicality, even though he had been arrested and convicted multiple times for homosexual offenses.⁴⁴ As for federal employment discrimination, future homophile movement leader Frank Kameny, who had been fired by the Army Map Service in 1957, lost his final round of appeals in 1961 (Figure 6). In 1965, however, the DC Circuit Court ruled in an appeal by Bruce Scott that the Civil Service Commission could not fire an employee based solely on vague allegations about homosexual conduct. In 1969 the same court ruled in an appeal by



Figure 6: The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny House, Washington, DC. Photo by Farragutful, 2011.⁴³

⁴³ License: CC BY-SA 3.0.

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dr. Franklin E. Kameny House, DC.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dr._Franklin_E._Kameny_House,_DC.jpg)

⁴⁴ Murdoch, *Courting Justice*, 87-134; Stein, *Sexual Injustice*, 57-93; Canaday, *The Straight State*, 214-254; and Eithne Luibhéid, *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 77-101. Boutilier lived in Brooklyn, New York. Fleuti worked at the Ojai Valley Inn and Country Club, located at 905 Country Club Road, Ojai, California.

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Clifford Norton that homosexual conduct alone was not sufficient reason to fire a federal government employee.⁴⁵ With this victory, which was announced just a few days after the 1969 Stonewall riots in New York City, LGBTQ reformers won one of their most important courtroom victories.

Federal, State, and Local Laws in the 1970s and 1980s

A massive upsurge in LGBTQ activism after the Stonewall riots contributed to more substantial legal reforms in the 1970s and 1980s. The riots, which began when patrons of the Stonewall Inn resisted arrest and fought back during a police raid, were influenced by the radicalization of LGBTQ activism in the second half of the 1960s and by several years of African American urban rebellions. In the aftermath of the riots, LGBTQ activists joined other disenfranchised communities to challenge police repression and fight for law reform.⁴⁶

Much of this was driven by grassroots local organizing. In the early 1970s, for example, New York City activists formed the Gay Liberation Front, Gay Activists Alliance, Queens Liberation Front, Radicalesbians, Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries, and Third World Gay Revolution. Similar groups formed in other US cities and many organized political demonstrations and lobbying campaigns to promote legal and police reform. Some of the most significant national organizations were the National Gay Task Force (founded in New York City in 1973, renamed the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force in 1985 and the National LGBTQ Task Force in 2014), Gay Rights National Lobby (founded in Washington,

⁴⁵ Stein, *Rethinking*, 72-74; Johnson, *The Lavender Scare*, 179-192, 202-208; and Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 51-64. Kameny's home in Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011. Scott was denied employment based on a 1947 arrest in Lafayette Park (now Lafayette Square), DC. Norton lost his job with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration because of a 1963 sexual encounter in Lafayette Park (now Lafayette Square), DC. The Lafayette Square Historic District was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on August 29, 1970.

⁴⁶ Duberman, *Stonewall*; David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's, 2004); Stein, *Rethinking*, 79-142. The Stonewall Inn is located at 53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. Stonewall was added to the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared a National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.

DC in 1976), National Coalition of Black Gays (founded in Baltimore and Washington, DC, in 1978 and renamed the National Coalition of Black Gays and Lesbians in 1984), and Human Rights Campaign Fund (founded in Washington, DC in 1980). While these groups pursued law reform as part of larger agendas, others focused primarily on legal matters. The ACLU, based in New York, established the Sexual Privacy Project in 1973 and the National Lesbian and Gay Rights Project in 1986. Other major groups included Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund (founded in New York City in 1972-73), Gay Rights Advocates (founded in San Francisco in 1977, later renamed National Gay Rights Advocates), Lesbian Rights Project (founded in San Francisco in 1977 and renamed National Center for Lesbian Rights in 1989), and Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders (founded in Boston in 1978). Two early legal advocacy groups that focused on LGBTQ parenting were the Lesbian Mothers National Defense Fund (based in Seattle) and Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers (based in Philadelphia).⁴⁷

At the local and state levels, LGBTQ law reformers achieved many significant goals in the 1970s and 1980s. Twenty states joined Illinois and Connecticut in repealing their sodomy laws in the 1970s. Wisconsin joined them in 1983 and courts in New York and Pennsylvania invalidated their sodomy laws in 1980.⁴⁸ Litigation succeeded in limiting police surveillance

⁴⁷ See Stein, *Rethinking*, 81-142, 151. The National LGBTQ Task Force is located at 1325 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC. The Gay Rights National Lobby was based in Washington, DC. The National Coalition of Black Gays was based in Baltimore, Maryland and Washington, DC. The Human Rights Campaign is based at 1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW, Washington, DC. The ACLU was based at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, New York. The Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund was based at the Daily News Building, 220 East Forty-Second Street, New York City, New York (listed on the NRHP on November 14, 1982, and designated an NHL on July 29, 1989). Gay Rights Advocates was based in San Francisco, California. The National Center for Lesbian Rights is based at the Flood Building, 870 Market Street, San Francisco, California. Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders is based at 30 Winters Street, Boston, Massachusetts. The Lesbian Mothers National Defense Fund was based at a private residence in Seattle, Washington. Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers (CALM) was based at 1425 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

⁴⁸ Sodomy laws were repealed by Colorado (1971), Oregon (1971), Delaware (1972), Hawaii (1972), Ohio (1972), North Dakota (1973), California (1975), New Hampshire (1975), Maine (1975), New Mexico (1975), Washington (1975), Indiana (1976), Iowa (1976), South Dakota (1976), West Virginia (1976), Nebraska (1977), Vermont (1977), Wyoming (1977), Alaska (1978), and New Jersey (1978). Idaho decriminalized sodomy in 1971 and recriminalized it in 1972. Arkansas decriminalized sodomy in 1975, but recriminalized same-sex sodomy in 1977. Washington, DC, tried to decriminalize sodomy in 1981, but the US House of Representatives vetoed the change. The New York case was *People v.*

of public bathrooms in California (1973) and invalidating bans on crimes against nature in Florida (1971), loitering to solicit deviate sexual intercourse in Colorado (1974), lewd and indecent acts in Washington, DC (1974), lewd vagrancy in California (1979), and lewd solicitation in Pennsylvania (1980) and New York (1983).⁴⁹ Activists also used litigation to overturn a Miami, Florida, law against serving or employing homosexuals in bars (1972); more generally there was a major decline in police harassment of LGBTQ bars in this period.⁵⁰ Several of the earliest parental custody cases won by openly gay, lesbian, and bisexual parents took place in the early 1970s in California, Michigan, North Carolina, Oregon, and Washington.⁵¹ There were also successful court-based challenges to cross-dressing laws in Chicago, Illinois; Cincinnati, Toledo, and Columbus, Ohio; Denver, Colorado; Detroit, Michigan; Fort Worth and Houston, Texas; Miami, Florida; New York City, New York; and St. Louis, Missouri.⁵² By 1990, twenty states and the District of Columbia permitted legal changes of sex on birth certificates and drivers' licenses.⁵³

Meanwhile, more than eighty cities and ten states revised their civil rights laws or used executive orders to prohibit specific types of sexual orientation discrimination. Among the first cities to ban public employment discrimination based on sexual orientation were Ann Arbor and East Lansing, Michigan in 1972. Among the larger cities that followed were New York and San Francisco, in 1972; Washington, DC, and Seattle, Washington, in 1973; Minneapolis, Minnesota, in 1975; Los Angeles, California, in 1977; Detroit, Michigan, in 1979; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1980. In 1978, California voters defeated the Briggs

Onofre (1980). The Pennsylvania case was *Commonwealth v. Bonadio* (1980). See Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 177-228, 388-407; and Ellen Ann Andersen, *Out of the Closets and into the Courts* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 58-142.

⁴⁹ Stein, *Rethinking*, 102-103, 127, 164; Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 104-111. The California surveillance case was *People v. Trigg* (1973). The Florida case was *Franklin v. State* (1971). The Colorado case was *People v. Gibson* (1974). The DC case was *District of Columbia v. Walters* (1974). The California lewd vagrancy case was *Pryor v. Municipal Court* (1979). The Pennsylvania case was *Commonwealth v. Waters* (1980). The New York case was *Uplinger v. State* (1983).

⁵⁰ Stein, *Rethinking*, 87, 102, 129.

⁵¹ Stein, *Rethinking*, 106, 130-131; and Rivers, *Radical Relations*, 53-79.

⁵² Stein, *Rethinking*, 87, 103, 127; and Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 111.

⁵³ Stryker, *Transgender History*, 121.

Initiative, which would have disqualified for public school employment anyone who advocated, encouraged, or promoted homosexuality, inside or outside the classroom. Conservative campaigns to repeal antidiscrimination laws failed in Seattle, Washington (1978); Austin, Texas (1982); Davis, California (1986); and St. Paul, Minnesota (1988). In 1975, Pennsylvania became the first state to prohibit sexual orientation discrimination in state employment; it was followed by California (1979), Wisconsin (1982), New York (1983), Ohio (1983), and five other states in the 1980s. Many of these laws also barred sexual orientation discrimination in housing and public accommodations and some city laws, including those passed by Minneapolis, Minnesota (1975); Champaign (1977) and Urbana, Illinois (1979); Los Angeles, California (1979); Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (1983); and Seattle, Washington (1986), covered gender identity and expression. Twelve states and several cities passed hate crimes laws that addressed crimes motivated by anti-homosexual prejudice. In 1984 and 1985, Berkeley and West Hollywood, California, approved limited domestic partner benefits for city employees; similar policies were adopted by Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New York, San Francisco, Seattle, and other municipalities. The passage of antidiscrimination, hate crime, and domestic partner benefits laws signaled more powerfully than had been the case before that law could be a tool of LGBTQ empowerment.⁵⁴

There were also significant legal reforms at the federal level. In 1979, Surgeon General Julius Richmond announced that the US Public Health Service no longer viewed homosexuality as a mental illness and therefore would not provide the medical certificates required to exclude or deport noncitizens based on homosexuality. One year later, the Immigration and Naturalization Service adopted a new policy under which noncitizens

⁵⁴ The other states that passed antidiscrimination laws were Rhode Island (1985), Washington (1985), Minnesota (1986), Oregon (1987), and Massachusetts (1989). See Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 130-131, 356-61; Stein, *Rethinking*, 104, 128-129, 139, 170-171; Andersen, *Out of the Closets*, 143-174; Kevin Mumford, "The Trouble with Gay Rights: Race and the Politics of Sexual Orientation in Philadelphia, 1969-1982," *Journal of American History* 98, no. 1 (2011): 49-72; and Transgender Law and Policy Institute, <http://www.transgenderlaw.org/ndlaws>. For examples of successful employment discrimination litigation in California, Delaware, Florida, Kentucky, New York, Texas, and Wisconsin, see Stein, *Rethinking*, 129, 168.

would not be questioned about their homosexuality but would be subject to exclusion or deportation if they unambiguously acknowledged their homosexuality. This policy remained in force until 1990, when Congress repealed the ban on immigrants with “psychopathic personalities” and “sexual deviations.”⁵⁵ In 1980, the Federal Bureau of Prisons agreed to stop restricting prisoner access to gay and lesbian publications.⁵⁶ The federal government also adopted new civil service rules and regulations. In 1973, the Civil Service Commission announced that federal agencies could not find individuals unsuitable for employment based solely on homosexuality; only those whose homosexuality affected their job performance could be excluded or terminated. Two years later the commission dropped “immoral conduct” as a basis for disqualification. In 1978, Congress prohibited civil service discrimination based on conduct that did not adversely affect job performance.⁵⁷

Another significant achievement in the 1970s and 1980s was the election of openly-LGBTQ candidates as local, state, and national lawmakers. In earlier periods of US history there had been many elected and appointed officials who were rumored to be LGBTQ; these included US presidents, cabinet and sub-cabinet officials, presidential advisors, Supreme Court justices, senators and representatives, state governors, and city mayors. Early unsuccessful efforts by openly-LGBTQ candidates to win election to public office included José Sarria’s bid for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1961, Frank Kameny’s campaign for the US House in 1971, and Alan Rockway’s campaign for Florida’s Dade County Board of Commissioners in 1971. In 1973, Nancy Wechsler and Jerry DeGriek came out while serving on the Ann Arbor City Council in Michigan. In 1974, Kathy Kozachenko was elected to Ann Arbor City Council as an openly-lesbian candidate. Elaine Noble, publicly identified as a lesbian, won a seat in the Massachusetts House of Representatives in

⁵⁵ Stein, *Rethinking*, 132-133, 172-173; Stein, *Sexual Injustice*, 285; Canaday, *The Straight State*, 249-254; and Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 132-134.

⁵⁶ Stein, *Rethinking*, 128.

⁵⁷ Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 126-128; Johnson, *The Lavender Scare*, 202-211; Stein, *Rethinking*, 105, 131; and Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 189-193.

1974. In the same year Minnesota State Senator Allan Spear came out as gay. In 1977, Harvey Milk was elected as an openly gay candidate to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. After Milk was murdered in 1978, Harry Britt, who was openly gay, was appointed to replace him and Britt won election to the board in 1979. In Wisconsin, Jim Yeadon was elected to the Madison Common Council in 1978. Gerald Ulrich was elected the mayor of Bunceton, Missouri, in 1980 and continued to serve as the city's mayor until 2006. US Representative Gerry Studds of Massachusetts came out as gay in 1983, as did US Representative Barney Frank of Massachusetts in 1987.⁵⁸

Notwithstanding these achievements, there were also setbacks and limitations during the 1970s and 1980s. Christian Right and New Right activists campaigned against LGBTQ law reform and much of the US public blamed gay men for the AIDS epidemic. Most of the legal reforms discussed above only applied in particular cities or states. In most jurisdictions and most aspects of private and public life, discrimination based on sexual orientation was legal; in even more it was legal to discriminate based on gender identity or expression. Most states did not permit changes of legal sex on birth certificates and drivers' licenses. Conservatives defeated proposals for new civil rights laws in many cities and states and campaigned successfully for the repeal of antidiscrimination laws in Boulder, Colorado (1974); Dade County, Florida

⁵⁸ See David Rayside, "Electoral Politics," in *ELGBT*, 1: 336-339; and Stein, *Rethinking*, 73, 107, 133, 174, 198-199. Ann Arbor City Hall is located at 301 E Huron Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The Massachusetts State House is located at 24 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts; it was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 19, 1960. The Minnesota State Capitol is located at 75 Martin Luther King Junior Boulevard, St. Paul, Minnesota; it was listed on the NRHP on February 23, 1972. Milk lived and worked at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California. San Francisco City Hall was and is located at 1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett Place; it is a contributing element to the San Francisco Civic Center Historic District (listed on the NRHP on October 10, 1978, and designated an NHL District on February 27, 1987). The Madison Common Council meets at the Madison Municipal Building, 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, Madison, Wisconsin. City Hall in Bunceton, Missouri, is located at 103 E Main Street. Studds is recognized as a leader in the creation of the Boston Harbor Islands National Recreation Area, established in 1996. The Congressman Barney Frank Archives Collection is housed at the Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections at the University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, located at 285 Old Westport Road, North Dartmouth, Massachusetts. Two Supreme Court justices who were rumored to be gay were Frank Murphy, who served in the 1940s, and Abe Fortas, who served in the 1960s. On Murphy, see Craig Loftin, "Frank Murphy," in *ELGBT*, 2: 280-281; Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 18-21. On Fortas, see Stein, *Sexual Injustice*, 11-12.

(1977); Eugene, Oregon (1978); St. Paul, Minnesota (1978); Wichita, Kansas (1978); and other cities.⁵⁹ In 1978, Oklahoma passed a law that permitted local school districts to fire teachers who publicly advocated, encouraged, or promoted homosexuality (this was overturned by the US Supreme Court in 1985). Litigation challenging anti-LGBTQ employment discrimination failed in Arizona, California, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Texas, Washington, and Wisconsin.⁶⁰

Meanwhile, the pace of sodomy law reform slowed in the 1980s and by the end of the decade sodomy thus remained a crime in half of the states, various US territories, the US military, and US prisons. Some states, including Montana and Texas in 1973, Kentucky in 1974, Arkansas, Missouri, and Nevada in 1977, and Tennessee in 1989, joined Kansas in creating new distinctions between same-sex sodomy, which was criminalized, and cross-sex sodomy, which was not. In 1975, Virginia increased its penalty for sodomy from three to five years in prison. In 1974, Cincinnati passed a new law against cross-dressing. Most states that repealed their sodomy laws in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s passed new laws against loitering to solicit sodomy. Police in some locations, including Denver, Colorado, used these and other laws to increase their arrests of LGBTQ people after sodomy law repeal. People of color, sex workers, and others who pursued sex in public places were distinctly vulnerable to discriminatory policing. LGBTQ bars and bathhouses continued to be harassed by the police.⁶¹ In thirteen sodomy and sodomy-related convictions that were appealed to the US Supreme Court from

⁵⁹ Stein, *Rethinking*, 138-142, 170; Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 356-361; and Andersen, *Out of the Closets*, 143-174. Antidiscrimination laws were also repealed in Santa Clara County and San Jose, California (1980); Duluth, Minnesota (1984); Houston, Texas (1985); Irvine, California (1989); Athens, Georgia (1989); and Tacoma, Washington (1989).

⁶⁰ Stein, *Rethinking*, 104, 129-130, 139, 168; Stein, *Sexual Injustice*, 92, 283; Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 225-228; Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 176-180, 196-198, 237-60; and Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 241-253.

⁶¹ Pennsylvania distinguished between same-sex and cross-sex sodomy from 1972 to 1980. See Stein, *Rethinking*, 126-128; and Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 106-110; *Dishonorable Passions*, 178-180, 198-200, 388-407.

1972 to 1986, the justices refused to consider or rejected challenges to the constitutionality of the statutes.⁶²

There were other legal setbacks and limitations at the state and local levels. In 1970 and 1971, same-sex couples in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Seattle, Washington, attempted to obtain marriage licenses; when they were rebuffed by local officials, they unsuccessfully appealed to the courts. The Supreme Court rejected the Minneapolis appeal in 1972 and declined to review a challenge to a deportation order that was based on a Boulder, Colorado, same-sex marriage in 1982.⁶³ Partly in response to these cases, in 1973 Maryland became the first of many states to pass a law defining marriage as the union of a man and a woman.⁶⁴ The absence of legal protections for same-sex partners became painfully evident in 1984 when a Minnesota judge selected Sharon Kowalski's father, rather than her partner Karen Thompson, to serve as her guardian after a disabling 1983 car accident. Kowalski's father subsequently blocked Thompson's access to her partner. After years of litigation, including a failed 1986 appeal to the Supreme Court, Thompson won visiting rights in 1989 and guardianship rights in 1992.⁶⁵ As for parenting, while it became possible for openly LGBTQ parents to win custody cases in the 1970s and 1980s, judges continued to discriminate against them on grounds unrelated to the welfare of the children. Even when judges granted rights to LGBTQ parents, they often imposed conditions that required the

⁶² Stein, *Rethinking*, 127-128, 164; Stein, *Sexual Injustice*, 92, 283-292; and Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 158-161, 173-176, 180-187, 205-208, 225-231, 271-354. The cases were *Buchanan v. Texas* (1972), *Crawford v. Missouri* (1972), *Connor v. Arkansas* (1973), *Canfield v. Oklahoma* (1973), *Wainwright v. Stone* (1973), *Doe v. Commonwealth* (1976), *Enslin v. North Carolina* (1976), *New York v. Onofre and New York v. Peoples* (1981), *New York v. Uplinger* (1984), *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986), *Baker v. Wade* (1986), and *Texas v. Hill* (1986).

⁶³ Stein, *Rethinking*, 87, 105, 130, 168-169, 171; Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 163-173, 220-225. The Minneapolis case was *Baker v. Nelson* (1972); the Boulder case was *Adams v. Howerton* (1982). There were attempts by same-sex couples to marry legally in Los Angeles, CA; Louisville, KY; Milwaukee, WI; New York, NY; Phoenix, AZ; and other locations.

⁶⁴ Other states that defined marriage as the union of a man and woman in the 1970s and 1980s were Texas (1973), Colorado (1973), Louisiana (1975), Montana (1975), Oklahoma (1975), Nevada (1975), North Dakota (1975), Virginia (1975), Illinois (1977), Minnesota (1977), Utah (1977), Florida (1977), California (1977), Wyoming (1977), Arizona (1980), Kansas (1980), and Indiana (1986). See Peggy Pascoe, "Sex, Gender, and Same-Sex Marriage," in *Is Academic Feminism Dead?*, ed. Social Justice Group (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 86-129.

⁶⁵ Stein, *Rethinking*, 169; Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 260-270.

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parents to distance themselves from their partners, friends, and communities.⁶⁶ In 1977 Florida became the first state to ban adoptions by gays and lesbians. In 1985, Massachusetts took the lead in all but banning gays and lesbians from serving as foster parents. In 1987, New Hampshire prohibited gays and lesbians from adopting or fostering children.⁶⁷

Federal law reform was also limited. Beginning in 1974 the US Congress considered but rejected proposals to pass a federal law against sexual orientation discrimination. After the Civil Service Commission barred sexual orientation discrimination in general, it permitted exceptions for the Central Intelligence Agency, Department of Defense, Federal Bureau of Investigation, National Security Agency, and jobs requiring security clearance. When the Federal Bureau of Prisons agreed to stop censoring gay and lesbian publications in 1980, it made an exception for sexually explicit materials; when the Supreme Court ruled in 1989 that federal prison officials could not deny inmates access to sexually explicit materials, it made an exception for homoerotic materials. In 1982, the Department of Defense issued new regulations that reaffirmed the ban on LGBTQ people in the military and abandoned the more flexible rules that had emerged as a result of several court rulings in the 1970s. In 1986 the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) announced that it would not fund “offensive” AIDS education materials. One year later, Congress prohibited the use of federal funds for AIDS education materials that promoted homosexuality. In 1989, Congress banned National Endowment for the Arts funding for homoerotic projects. While Congress repealed the ban on gay and lesbian immigration in 1990, it permitted the CDC to exclude immigrants and visitors based on HIV/AIDS.⁶⁸

The most significant legal setback for LGBTQ law reform occurred in 1986, when the US Supreme Court upheld Georgia’s sodomy law in

⁶⁶ Stein, *Rethinking*, 106, 130-131; Rivers, *Radical Relations*, 53-138.

⁶⁷ Stein, *Rethinking*, 139, 170.

⁶⁸ Stein, *Rethinking*, 105, 128, 131-133, 165-167, 171-173; Stein, *Sexual Injustice*, 92, 283-286, 292, 294; Eskridge, *Gaylaw*, 125-129, 132-134; and Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 150-158, 189-193, 208-225, 231-236, 380-398.

Bowers v. Hardwick and did so with language that ridiculed and renounced the notion that same-sex love, intimacy, and sex were protected by the US Constitution. By the end of the 1980s, LGBTQ law reformers had achieved some of their goals, but gender and sexual discrimination continued to be entrenched in the US legal system and the future prospects of LGBTQ law reform remained highly uncertain.⁶⁹

Crime and Punishment

As the previous discussion has indicated, LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities have been linked with crime in multiple ways. Until recently, the US legal system defined LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities as criminal. In addition, popular beliefs long regarded LGBTQ people as predisposed to engage in other types of criminal activity, including murder and rape. In some cases, these beliefs have contributed to social panics in which LGBTQ people and cultures have been blamed for crime and violence they did not commit. At the same time, social attitudes about sex, gender, and sexuality have rendered LGBTQ people distinctly vulnerable to criminal offenses, including arson, assault, and homicide, and the criminal justice system has often failed to respond fairly and fully to anti-LGBTQ crimes. In many times and places, this has been especially true for immigrants, people of color, poor people, transgender people, and women.

Violence against those who transgress gender and sexual norms has been ubiquitous in US history and it has often been difficult for its victims to secure justice. In 1866, for example, an African American woman named Frances Thompson testified before a US congressional committee at the Gayoso House Hotel in Memphis, Tennessee, that she had been raped by four white men during a recent race riot. Ten years later, after Thompson was arrested and convicted for cross-dressing as a woman (a charge based on the authorities' classification of her as a man), her earlier

⁶⁹ Bowers was later overturned by *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003), which in turn provided the foundation for the Supreme Court's favorable decisions on same-sex marriage in *United States v. Windsor* (2013) and *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015). On Bowers, see Stein, *Rethinking*, 164; Stein, *Sexual Injustice*, 286-289; and Murdoch and Price, *Courting Justice*, 271-354.

testimony was discredited and her prior claims were denounced. In 1869-70, two female rivals for the affection of Annie Hindle, a professional male impersonator who had performed at Broome's Variety Theater in Memphis, attacked each other with knives at the Overton Hotel. Memphis was also the site of Alice Mitchell's 1892 murder of her lover Freda Ward. After Mitchell was judged insane, she was committed to the Western State Mental Hospital in Bolivar, Tennessee.⁷⁰ Other well-documented LGBTQ and anti-LGBTQ crimes in this period include the 1876 murder of Jeanne Bonnet in San Miguel, California; the late nineteenth-century rape and murder of Native American Amatkwisai Masahai at Fort Mohave, Arizona; and the 1924 kidnap and murder of Robert Franks by Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb in Chicago, Illinois. In general, lesbian "butches," gay "fairies," and other gender "inverts" were distinctly vulnerable to violence, as were individuals who made unwanted sexual advances or advances that were simultaneously wanted and unwanted.⁷¹

In the next several decades, public discourse continued to associate LGBTQ people and others who engaged in LGBTQ acts with crime and violence. For example, LGBTQ people (and people perceived to be LGBTQ)

⁷⁰ On Thompson, see Hannah Rosen, "'Not That Sort of Women': Race, Gender, and Sexual Violence during the Memphis Riot of 1866," in *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History*, ed. Martha Hodes (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 267-292. The Gayoso House Hotel was located at 130 South Front Street, Memphis, Tennessee. It burned down in 1899. The site is now occupied by the Gayoso House Apartments. On Hindle, see Lisa Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers: Sex, Violence, and American Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 142-148. Broome's Variety Theater was located at 37 Jefferson Street, Memphis, Tennessee. The Overton Hotel was located at 255 N Main Street, Memphis, Tennessee. The site is now occupied by the Memphis Cook Convention Center. On Ward and Mitchell, see Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers*. Mitchell lived at 215 Union Street (now demolished) and was tried at the Shelby County Criminal Court (201 Poplar Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee). The Western State Mental Hospital at 11100 Old Highway 64, Bolivar, Tennessee is currently operating as the Western Mental Health Institute. Duggan discusses similar narratives of late nineteenth and early twentieth century "sapphic slashers" in Pocomoke City, MD (128-135); Los Angeles, CA (136-139); Mobile, AL (139-140); Indianapolis, IN (166-167); Chicago, IL (174-175); and Philadelphia, PA (175).

⁷¹ On Bonnet, see Sears, *Arresting Dress*, 64, 74, 142-144. Bonnet was murdered at the San Miguel Saloon in San Miguel, CA (the saloon no longer exists). On Masahai, see Robin Jarvis Brownlie, "Amatkwisai Masahai," in *ELGBT*, 2: 232-233. On Leopold and Loeb, see Saralyn Chestnut, "Violence," in *ELGBT*, 3: 226-230. They murdered Robert Franks in a car in Chicago and dumped his body near Wolf Lake in Hammond, Indiana. They were tried in Chicago's Courthouse Place (also known as the Cook County Criminal Court Building, listed on the NRHP on November 13, 1984) and imprisoned in Joliet Prison, which was originally known as the Illinois State Penitentiary and later as the Joliet Correctional Center; it closed in 2002 and is now open as a museum at 1127-1299 Collins Street, Joliet, Illinois. They were later incarcerated at Stateville Penitentiary (now Stateville Correctional Center) in Crest Hill, Illinois, where Loeb was murdered in 1936.

were disproportionately classified as sexual psychopaths, disproportionately blamed for serial murders, and disproportionately attacked as pedophiles.⁷² Mainstream newspapers in Philadelphia, for example, linked homosexuality with violence in their coverage of at least thirteen local murders that took place from 1949 to 1969.⁷³ In Jackson, Mississippi, two Air Force cadets on trial for killing John Murrett in 1955 claimed they attacked him after he made sexual advances in the bed they shared.⁷⁴ Three years later, Airman John Mahon, charged in the murder of Jack Dobbins in Charleston, South Carolina, defended himself by claiming that Dobbins, whom he had met in a gay bar, had made sexual advances.⁷⁵ In 1968, Mexican American film star Ramon Novarro was murdered by two male hustlers whom he had invited to his Los Angeles home. One year later, Howard Efland was beaten and kicked to death by Los Angeles police officers during an antigay raid on the Dover Hotel.⁷⁶

While public discourse commonly associated LGBTQ individuals and acts with crime and violence, it also frequently erased the LGBTQ identities and histories of crime victims. Perhaps the best example of this

⁷² Estelle Freedman, “‘Uncontrolled Desires’: The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920-1960,” in *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, eds. Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 199-225.

⁷³ Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 118-120, 218, 268-269. Ellis Simons (1949) was killed at the home of his murderer in Overbrook, Philadelphia; Robert Prado (1950) in his apartment in Center City, Philadelphia; John Simpson (1950) in the Woodlyn Hotel at 430 South Fortieth Street, Philadelphia (now demolished); Richard Rosen (1950) in the Congress Hotel at 1334 Walnut Street, Philadelphia; Edgar Clymer (1953) in his apartment in Northern Liberties-Fishtown, Philadelphia; Elmer Schroeder (1953) in his apartment at the Garden Court Apartments (now Garden Court Plaza) at Forty-seventh and Pine Streets in Philadelphia; John Dopirak (1954) at the home of his killer at Hazel and Keystone Avenues in Upper Darby, PA (Dopirak lived at the Seamen’s Church Institute, 211 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, now demolished); Charles Ferro (1958) in an apartment in Center City, Philadelphia; John Green (1967) at Ye Olde Tobacconist on Pier 37 at Poplar Street, Philadelphia; William Thompson (1967) in his apartment in Lower Merion, Pennsylvania; George Casey (1968) in his apartment at Broad and Stiles Streets in Philadelphia; and Joseph Costello (1969) at the Family Theater, 1311 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (demolished in the 1990s).

⁷⁴ Howard, *Men Like That*, 129-142. Murrett was murdered at the Hotel Heidelberg, which was demolished in 1977.

⁷⁵ Paul Bowers, “A Map of Charleston’s Gay History,” *Charleston City Paper*, July 30, 2014, <http://www.charlestoncitypaper.com/charleston/a-map-of-charlestons-gay-history/Content?oid=4964566>. Dobbins met Mahon at a local gay club—the 49 Club at 368 King Street and was killed in his home near Waterfront Park in Charleston, South Carolina.

⁷⁶ On Novarro and Efland, see Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A.*, 161. Novarro was killed in his home in the Studio City neighborhood of Los Angeles, California. The Dover Hotel was located at 555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California (now demolished).



Figure 7: San Francisco City Hall, California. Photo by King of Hearts, 2013.⁷⁷

is Kitty Genovese, who was stabbed to death outside of her home in Queens, New York, in 1964. Genovese's death received extensive media attention because of widely-reported claims that more than thirty of her neighbors witnessed the attack and did nothing in response. For decades, however, the mainstream media ignored the fact that Genovese was a lesbian and was murdered outside the home she shared with her partner.⁷⁸

Criminal violence against LGBTQ people continued in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Although it is difficult to select a small set of examples to represent the large number of hate crimes, one of the best known criminal attacks on LGBTQ people was the 1978 murder of San Francisco Supervisor Harvey Milk (along with Mayor George Moscone) by ex-Supervisor Dan White at San Francisco City Hall (Figure 7). Charlie Howard

⁷⁷ License: CC BY-SA 3.0.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:San_Francisco_City_Hall_September_2013_panorama_3.jpg

⁷⁸ On Genovese, see Marcia Gallo, *"No One Helped": Kitty Genovese, New York City, and the Myth of Urban Apathy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015). Genovese lived in an apartment at 82-70 Austin Street in the Kew Gardens neighborhood of New York City; the building's first floor is now occupied by Austin's Ale House.

died in 1984 after he was thrown over the State Street Bridge into the Kenduskeag Stream in Bangor, Maine. Rebecca Wright was killed and her partner Claudia Brenner was shot while they were camping in the Michaux State Forest in Pennsylvania in 1988. In 1993, Brandon Teena was raped and killed by two men in Humboldt, Nebraska, after they decided that he was a cross-dressing woman; his story was the basis of the 1999 Academy Award-winning film *Boys Don't Cry*. Matthew Shepard was tortured, tied to a fence, and left to die near Laramie, Wyoming, in 1998. After his death inspired a wave of art and activism that targeted anti-LGBTQ violence, the US Congress passed and President Barack Obama signed the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act in 2009.⁷⁹

Individuals have not been the only targets of anti-LGBTQ crime and violence; sites that are associated with LGBTQ communities and cultures have also been attacked. For example, after the LGBTQ movement gained greater visibility in the 1970s, arsonists responded by setting fires at various LGBTQ sites.⁸⁰ Although not all of these were necessarily the result of arson, fires destroyed bars in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (1972); San Francisco, California (1973); Springfield, Massachusetts (1973); Phoenix, Arizona (1974); Boston, Massachusetts (1975); Las Vegas, Nevada (1978); and St. Louis, Missouri (1979).⁸¹ There were destructive fires at LGBTQ community centers and organizational offices in Phoenix, Arizona (1970); Buffalo, New York (1973); New York City, New York (1974);

⁷⁹ Chestnut, "Violence"; and Karen Foss, "Harvey Milk," in *ELGBT*, 2: 265-266. For San Francisco City Hall, see note 52. Wright and Brenner were attacked in Cove Shelter outside Duncannon, Pennsylvania, during a hiking trip on the Appalachian Trail. Teena was killed at the home where he was living on Route 105 in Humboldt, Nebraska; he is buried as Teena Brandon in Lincoln Memorial Park Cemetery (6800 South Fourteenth Street, Lincoln, Nebraska). Matthew Shepard was left to die near the intersection of Pilot Peak and Snowy View Roads, Laramie, Wyoming.

⁸⁰ Stein, *Rethinking*, 114; Mark Thompson, ed., *Long Road to Freedom: The Advocate History of the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: St. Martin's, 1994).

⁸¹ The examples include the Mystique in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Toad Hall at 482 Castro Street and the Exit in San Francisco, California; the Arch Café in Springfield, Massachusetts; the Hiding Place in Phoenix, Arizona; Twelve Carver and Herbie's Ramrod Room at 12 Carver Street in Boston, Massachusetts; Le Café at 4817 Paradise Road, Las Vegas, Nevada; and More or Les at 4135 S Grand Avenue in St. Louis, Missouri.

Seattle, Washington (1976); and Boston, Massachusetts (1982).⁸² There was also a series of fires that damaged or destroyed Metropolitan Community Churches (MCCs) in San Francisco, California (1972 and 1973); Los Angeles, California (1973); and Nashville, Tennessee (1973).⁸³ One of the most devastating fires occurred in 1973, when more than thirty people died as a result of a firebomb that destroyed the UpStairs Lounge in New Orleans, Louisiana. Two other destructive fires occurred in 1977, when nine people died at the Everard Baths, a gay bathhouse in New York City, and nine died at the Cinema Follies, a gay porn theater in Washington, DC.⁸⁴

Beginning in the 1950s, LGBTQ activists responded to crime and violence in multiple ways: they publicized crimes and violence against LGBTQ people; supported LGBTQ survivors and victims; criticized the police and criminal justice system; and challenged popular prejudices and stereotypes about LGBTQ crime and violence. While some joined “law and order” campaigns that targeted poor people and people of color, others formed coalitions with other marginalized communities that were negatively affected by crime and violence. Many LGBTQ groups addressed these issues, but two early ones that focused on crime and violence were Citizens Alert and Vanguard, both founded in San Francisco in 1965. In the 1970s, the Lavender Panthers, the Richard Heakin Memorial Butterfly Brigade, and Lesbians Against Police Violence were active in San Francisco, while the Society to Make America Safe for Homosexuals (SMASH) was established in New York City. The strategies used by these and other antiviolence groups varied greatly, ranging from vigilante activism, street patrols, and self-defense workshops to hotlines, litigation,

⁸² The examples include ONE’s gay clubhouse in Phoenix, Arizona; the Gay Services Center in Buffalo, New York; the Gay Activists Alliance’s headquarters (the Firehouse) at 99 Wooster Street, New York City (located within the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District, listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL District on June 29, 1978); Seattle’s Gay Community Center at 1726 Sixteenth Avenue East, Seattle, Washington; and *Gay Community News* at 22 Bromfield Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

⁸³ The MCC in San Francisco was located at 1074 Guerrero Street. The MCC in Los Angeles was located at 2201 South Union Avenue.

⁸⁴ Dudley Clendinen and Adam Nagourney, *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999), 174-187. The UpStairs Lounge was located at 141 Chartres Street, New Orleans, Louisiana. Everard Baths was located at 28 West Twenty-Eighth Street, New York City. Cinema Follies was located at 37 L Street SE, Washington, DC.

and lobbying, but they shared a strong sense that the criminal justice system did not respond fully and fairly to the problems of anti-LGBTQ crime and violence.⁸⁵

Prisons and Jails

Throughout US history many people have been incarcerated in prisons, jails, and other institutions because of their real or perceived participation in LGBTQ acts, their real or perceived LGBTQ identities, or their real or perceived involvement in LGBTQ communities. At the same time, many LGBTQ people have been imprisoned for other reasons; many have participated in LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities while incarcerated; and many have experienced abuse, discrimination, and violence in the

criminal justice system.⁸⁷



Figure 8: Charles Street Jail, Boston, Massachusetts. Photo by Daderot, 2009.⁸⁶

Prison officials, prison reformers, prison doctors, and prisoners themselves have long expressed concern about same-sex sexual acts and gender-crossing behaviors in

⁸⁵ Christina Hanhardt, *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013). Citizens Alert and Vanguard were based at Glide Memorial Church, 322-330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, California (a contributing building to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009). The Richard Heakin Memorial Butterfly Brigade was based at 330 Grove Street, San Francisco, California (now demolished).

⁸⁶ License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:CategoryCharles_Street_Jail_-_IMG_3873.jpg

⁸⁷ Elise Chenier, "Prisons, Jails, and Reformatories: Men's," in *ELGBT*, 2 :423-426; and L. Mara Dodge, "Prisons, Jails, and Reformatories: Women's," in *ELGBT*, 2: 426-429.

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penal institutions. In the 1820s, for example, Reverend Louis Dwight, who founded the Boston Prison Discipline Society and influenced the design of the Charles Street Jail, denounced the “sin of Sodom” in US prisons and jails (Figure 8). In an 1883 medical journal article on a “case of sexual perversion,” Dr. P. M. Wise of the Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in New York State reported on inmate Lucy Ann Lobdell, who was also known as Rev. Joseph Lobdell (Figure 9). Anarchist Alexander Berkman’s 1912 prison memoir sensitively discussed the intimate friendships, erotic relationships, and sexual coercion that he witnessed and experienced in Pennsylvania’s Western Penitentiary in the late nineteenth century. In 1913, psychologist Margaret Otis exposed and critiqued interracial sexual “perversion” and racialized female masculinity at the New Jersey State Reformatory for Women. One year later, an investigation at the New York



Figure 9: Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane, Seneca County, New York. Photo by Jerrye and Roy Klotz, MD, 2008.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ License: CC BY-SA 4.0.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:WILLARD_ASYLUM_FOR_THE_CHRONIC_INSANE,_SENECA_COUNTY.jpg

State Reformatory for Women in Bedford, New York, discovered and criticized similar dynamics.⁸⁹

Prison officials responded to same-sex sex and gender-crossing behaviors in diverse and complex ways. Some responded compassionately and sympathetically. Some did not concern themselves with what came to be termed “situational homosexuality.” Some had consensual or nonconsensual sex with prisoners. Some used the promise of sex and the threat of sexual violence to promote order and discipline. And some adopted other repressive strategies, including punishment for sex and gender offenses, withholding of privileges, segregation of inmates, solitary confinement, and medical “treatment” (including castration and electroshock “therapy”). In turns, prisoners used sex and gender in diverse and complex ways, with some deploying sex and gender as forms of self-expression, some developing intimate and loving relationships, some using sex and gender for material gain and physical protection, and some using sex and gender as tools of exploitation and oppression.

In the 1930s, public interest in prison sex and gender grew with the publication of Joseph Fishman’s *Sex in Prison: Revealing Sex Conditions in American Prisons*, Louis Berg’s *Revelations of a Prison Doctor*, and Samuel Kahn’s *Mentality and Homosexuality*. These books and a public scandal in 1934 brought distinct attention to “sex perversion” in the male and female penitentiaries on Welfare Island in New York City. More attention followed in the 1940s with the release of Donald Clemmer’s

⁸⁹ Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 80-119; Regina Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy: Prison and the Uneven History of Modern American Sexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 27-57. On Lobdell, see Bambi Lobdell, *“A Strange Sort of Being”: The Transgender Life of Lucy Ann/Joseph Israel Lobdell, 1829-1912* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011). On Berkman, see Kissack, *Free Comrades*, 101-125. The Charles Street Jail (also known as the Suffolk County Jail) was located at 215 Charles Street, Boston, Massachusetts. The building is now the Liberty Hotel; it was listed on the NRHP on April 23, 1980. The Ovid Asylum for the Chronic Insane was located at 7116 County Road 132 in Willard, New York; it was listed on the NRHP on June 7, 1975. Western Penitentiary now operates as the State Correctional Institution – Pittsburgh and is located at 3001 Beaver Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The New Jersey State Reformatory for Women (also known as the Clinton Correctional Facility for Women and Clinton Farms) now operates as the Edna Mahan Correctional Facility for Women and is located at 30 Route 513, Clinton, New Jersey. The New York State Reformatory for Women (also known as the Westfield State Farm) now operates as the Bedford Hills Correctional Facility for Women and is located at 247 Harris Road, Bedford Hills, New York.

book *The Prison Community*, which was based on research at Southern Illinois Penitentiary, and in the 1950s with the publication of Gresham Sykes's book *The Society of Captives: A Study of a Maximum Security Prison*, which was based on research at the New Jersey State Prison. Meanwhile, influential prison reformer Miriam Van Waters, whose longtime partner was Geraldine Thompson, served as the superintendent of the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women from 1932 to 1957.⁹⁰

In the 1960s and 1970s, new studies brought unprecedented attention to prison sex and gender in women's prisons. These included David Ward and Gene Kassebaum's *Women's Prison: Sex and Social Structure*, which examined California's Frontera; Rose Giallombardo's *Society of Women: A Study of a Women's Prison*, which explored the Federal Reformatory for Women in Alderson, West Virginia; Sara Harris's *Hellhole: The Shocking Story of the Inmates and Life in the New York City House of Detention for Women*, which discussed the New York Women's House of Detention; and Esther Heffernan's *Making It in Prison: The Square, The Cool and The Life*, which addressed the District of Columbia's Women's Reformatory.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*, 57-109; Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 91-95, 123-125. On Van Waters, see Estelle Freedman, "Miriam Van Waters," in *ELGBT*, 3 :224-225; Estelle Freedman, *Maternal Justice: Miriam Van Waters and the Female Reform Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Welfare Island was renamed Roosevelt Island and includes several prison-related buildings listed on the NRHP, including the Blackwell Island Lighthouse (also known as the Welfare Island Lighthouse and the Roosevelt Island Lighthouse, listed March 16, 1972) and the Octagon at 888 Main Street, Roosevelt Island, Manhattan, New York (listed March 16, 1972). The Southern Illinois Penitentiary now operates as the Menard Correctional Center and is located at 711 East Kaskaskia Street in Menard, Illinois. The New Jersey State Prison (formerly the Trenton State Prison) is located at 300 Second Cass Street in Trenton, New Jersey. The Massachusetts Reformatory for Women (previously the Framingham State Prison) now operates as the Massachusetts Correctional Institution – Framingham and is located at 99 Loring Drive, Framingham, Massachusetts.

⁹¹ Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*, 111-148. Frontera (previously the California Institution for Women at Corona) now operates as the California Institution for Women and is located at 16756 Chino Corona Road in Corona, California. The Federal Reformatory for Women (now Federal Prison Camp, Alderson), the first federal penitentiary for women, is located on Route 3, South of Greenbrier River, in Alderson, West Virginia; see Historic American Buildings Survey WV-113. The Women's House of Detention, located at 10 Greenwich Avenue, New York City, was demolished in 1973-1974; the site is now the Jefferson Market Garden; see the nearby Third Judicial District Courthouse, formerly the Jefferson Market Courthouse and now the Jefferson Market Branch of the New York Public Library, which was added to the NRHP on November 9, 1972, and declared an NHL on December 22, 1977. The District of Columbia's Women's Reformatory was part of the Lorton Reformatory (formerly known as the Occoquan Workhouse) in Laurel Hill, Virginia. Closed in 2001, it is part of the DC Workhouse and

The US military has a long history of incarcerating service members who violate rules against LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities and there is a long history of LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities among those who have been incarcerated by the military. Beginning in the 1920s, many soldiers and sailors who were convicted on sodomy charges were confined in the US Disciplinary Barracks in Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and the Portsmouth Naval Prison on Seavey Island in Kittery, Maine.⁹² In the 1930s, several members of the armed forces who had served in Hawaii or Panama were imprisoned on Alcatraz Island after they were convicted on sodomy charges.⁹³ During World War II, when the US military incarcerated thousands of Japanese Americans, future gay liberationist Kiyoshi Kuromiya was born at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center in Wyoming and Jiro Onuma, a “dandy gay bachelor,” was interned at the Central Utah Relocation Center (Topaz) in Utah. Kuromiya and Onuma remind us that the US military has incarcerated LGBTQ people for reasons that extend beyond gender and sexuality.⁹⁴

A new era in public discussions about prison sex and gender began in 1968 when a young man told a local judge that he had been sexually assaulted in a Philadelphia sheriff’s van. After the judge ordered an

Reformatory Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 16, 2006. The Workhouse Arts Center is located at 9601 Ox Road, Lorton, Virginia.

⁹² Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*, 128-137. The US Disciplinary Barracks (formerly the United States Military Prison) is located at 1301 N Warehouse Road, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. While some of its buildings were torn down in 2004, ten of the original structures still stand. The Portsmouth Naval Prison, commonly referred to as “Alcatraz of the East,” is located on Seavey Island in Kittery, Maine, and was in use until 1974.

⁹³ On Alcatraz, see “Alcatraz Prisoners,” *The LGBT Institute* (blog), August 8, 2009, <http://thesheldoninstitute.blogspot.com/2009/08/alcatraz-prisoners.html>. In the 1940s and 1950s, Robert Stroud, “the Birdman of Alcatraz,” was imprisoned there; Stroud discussed prison homosexuality in his autobiography *Looking Outward*. The Alcatraz Federal Penitentiary is now a public museum operated by the NPS Golden Gate National Recreation Area (established October 27, 1972). Alcatraz was listed on the NRHP on June 23, 1976, and designated an NHL District on January 17, 1986.

⁹⁴ On Kuromiya, see Marc Stein interview with Kiyoshi Kuromiya, Jun. 17, 1997, “Philadelphia LGBT History Project,” *Outhistory*, <http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/philadelphia-lgbt-interviews/interviews/kiyoshi-kuromiya>. The Heart Mountain Relocation Center (also known as the Heart Mountain War Relocation Center), at 1539 Road 19, Powell, Wyoming, was listed on the NRHP on December 19, 1985, and designated an NHL on September 20, 2006. On Onuma, see Tina Takemoto, “Looking for Jiro Onuma: A Queer Meditation on the Incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II,” *GLQ* 20, no. 3 (2014): 241-275. The Central Utah Relocation Center (also known as the Topaz War Relocation Center), located at 10000 West 4500 North, Delta, Utah was listed on the NRHP on January 2, 1974, and designated an NHL on March 29, 2007.

investigation, Philadelphia Assistant District Attorney Alan Davis produced one of the country's first in-depth studies of prison sexual violence. Influenced by Davis's report, in 1971 the Pennsylvania Prison Society, supported by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, sponsored a national conference on prison homosexuality in Philadelphia. One year later, Peter Buffum of the Pennsylvania Prison Society published *Homosexuality in Prisons*.⁹⁵

In the late 1960s and 1970s, while reformers focused more attention on prison sex and gender, LGBTQ inmates and their allies organized multiple protests against prison conditions, challenged the treatment of those who were incarcerated, and advocated on behalf of LGBTQ prisoners. In 1967, the ten-person editorial board of *Eastern Echo*, a periodical produced by prisoners at Eastern State Penitentiary in Philadelphia, resigned when their institution's superintendent censored an issue that addressed homosexuality in prison. LGBTQ activists demonstrated at the Women's House of Detention in New York in 1970, the Manhattan House of Detention in New York in 1971, the Charles Street Jail in Boston and the Sybil Brand Institute in Los Angeles in 1972, and the Cook County Jail in Chicago in 1973. Gay and bisexual activist Stephen Donaldson helped draw attention to prison sexual violence by speaking about the rapes he experienced in a Washington, DC, jail after his 1971 arrest at an antiwar demonstration; he later became a leader of Stop Prison Rape, an organization founded by Russell Dan Smith in 1980. In 1972, Join Hands, a San Francisco collective, began doing advocacy work on behalf of LGBTQ prisoners and the MCC began ministering to LGBTQ and other prisoners in California. Also in 1972 the *Advocate* published an article that denounced the medical "treatment" of LGBTQ prisoners at California's Atascadero State Hospital. Condemning the use of lobotomies, electroshock therapy, and castration, the article referred to Atascadero as "Dachau for Queers." In 1974-75, lesbian feminists rallied

⁹⁵ Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 268; and Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*, 149-156. One of the main sites of Davis's research was the Philadelphia Detention Center, 8201 State Road, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania Prison Society (founded in 1787 as the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons) was and is located at 245 North Broad Street, Philadelphia.

around the case of Joan Little, an African American inmate in Beaufort County, North Carolina, who was acquitted on murder charges after she killed a white male guard who had committed multiple sexual assaults. In 1975 *Gay Community News*, published by the Bromfield Street Educational Foundation in Boston, founded the Prisoner Project (Figure 10). Led by Mike Riegle until he died in 1992, the project facilitated penpal relationships, circulated reading materials, provided other forms of assistance, and educated nonprisoners about prison issues. Another early and influential advocacy group was Men Against Sexism, which was founded in 1977 by gay and allied prisoners at the Washington State Penitentiary in Walla Walla. These and other groups established an important foundation for more recent manifestations of LGBTQ prison activism, which continues to address sex and intimacy, gender and sexual segregation, physical and sexual violence, political and sexual censorship, medical care and legal assistance, reproductive and sexual health, and transgender rights and freedoms.⁹⁷



Figure 10: Former location of the Bromfield Street Educational Foundation, 20-30 Bromfield Street, Boston, Massachusetts. Photo by M2545, 2012.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ License: CC0 1.0, Public Domain.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2012_BromfieldSt_Boston_Massachusetts_4761.jpg

⁹⁷ Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*, 191-224. On *Eastern Echo*, see Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves*, 284. On Atascadero, see Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 96. Eastern State Penitentiary is located at 2027 Fairmount Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; it was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966, and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965. It closed in 1971 and is now operated as a museum. For the Women's House of Detention, see note 81. The Manhattan House of Detention for Men (one of a collection of New York City jails referred to as The Tombs), built in 1941, was located at 125 White

Conclusion

After the Stonewall riots of 1969, LGBTQ activists adopted the countercultural expression “we are everywhere” to convey their sense of expansive and expanding LGBTQ geographies. This chapter has attempted to convey a similarly expansive and expanding sense of LGBTQ landmarks and landscapes of US law. Because of the powerful influences of law on the history of gender and sexuality in the United States and the powerful influences of gender and sexuality on the history of US law, these landmarks and landscapes are potentially everywhere. In that context, the chapter necessarily has been selective in focusing on particular historical moments and sites. Some are distinctly important, but others are better understood as representing and symbolizing countless other moments and sites where US law has interacted with LGBTQ acts, identities, and communities. Recognizing and respecting these landmarks and landscapes can play a positive role in promoting diversity and democracy in the United States.

Street, New York City; it now operates as part of the Manhattan Detention Complex. For the Charles Street Jail, see note 79. The Sybil Brand Institute, built in 1963, was located at 4500 City Terrace Drive, Los Angeles, California; it closed in 1997 but the building still exists. The Cook County Jail is located at 2700 South California Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. There is an LGBTQ lounge named in honor of Donaldson, who founded Columbia University’s Student Homophile League in 1967, in Furnald Hall at Columbia University, New York City. The Atascadero State Hospital, which opened in 1954, is located at 10333 El Camino Real, Atascadero, California. The Beaufort County Detention Center is located at 210 North Market Street, Washington, North Carolina. The GCN Prisoner Project was based from 1975 to 1982 at 22 Bromfield Street, Boston, Massachusetts. The Washington State Penitentiary is located at 1313 North Thirteenth Avenue, Walla Walla, Washington.

LGBTQ MILITARY SERVICE

20

Steve Estes

Eric Alva was raised in a military family in San Antonio, Texas. His grandfather had served in the army in World War II and Korea. His father served in Vietnam. When Alva graduated from high school in 1989, he joined the Marine Corps. He was deployed in Somalia in the 1990s and rose gradually through the enlisted ranks to become a staff sergeant. During Operation Iraqi Freedom in 2003, Alva was leading about a dozen men in a supply convoy near Basra when he stepped on a landmine. “The explosion was so powerful,” he remembered, “it blew me to the ground about ten feet away and took off part of my right leg.”¹ Alva was the first American serviceman seriously wounded in Iraq. He would receive a Purple Heart and a prosthetic leg. The President and First Lady visited him in the hospital, and he was interviewed by dozens of magazines and television news programs. Alva was a military hero. He was also gay. Many of his fellow marines knew, but this wasn’t part of his public story in 2003. By 2006, Alva was no longer willing to hide his sexuality.

¹ Eric Alva, “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell: From the Inside Out,” *Huffington Post*, February 28, 2007, accessed August 1, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/eric-alva/dont-ask-dont-tell-from-t_b_42310.html.



Figure 1: Lesbian veterans lead a 1993 march in Washington, DC. Photo courtesy of Cathy Cade, photographer.

Alva's courage under fire and willingness to sacrifice for his buddies and his country placed him in a long line of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) US military personnel. Until "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" was lifted in 2011 most LGBTQ troops served in secrecy and silence. In fact,

thousands of them did serve and had served since the founding of this nation. By the 2000s, increasing numbers of queer troops were opening up about their sexuality to comrades and even superiors, despite the potential risk to their military careers. This essay chronicles the long history of queer military service with an emphasis on the twentieth century when modern queer identities emerged.² With this overview of queer American military history, the National Park Service and local historians can better preserve and promote historical sites related to LGBTQ military service and sacrifice (Figure 1).

Before there was a United States, before there was even a gay identity, there were men who loved men, and some of them served with the Continental Army under General George Washington. We know that men had sex with men in General Washington's army because such sex was illegal, as it would be for two more centuries in the United States. As with other aspects of queer history, we need to find indirect evidence of these soldiers, sailors, and officers who were intimate with other men. Sadly,

² Throughout this essay, I use the term "queer" to refer historically to individuals who had or acted on same-sex desires and those who did not fit into historically defined gender norms. Before the second half of the twentieth century, the military focused much of its regulation on homosexual activity and not "identity" per se. This is, in part, why it is harder for the earlier period to distinguish between the various queer categories that we identify today. This is particularly true—even in the current era—for bisexual individuals. In writing this essay, I have had difficulty doing justice to bisexual military personnel. Although a few of my oral history interviews with veterans for the Library of Congress Veterans History Project address this issue, there is not enough information in them to draw broad conclusions or link to specific historical places.

much of this evidence comes from records of legal proceedings and military courts martial.

At the end of a brutal winter at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania in 1778, an ensign in the Continental Army claimed that he saw Lieutenant Gotthold Fredrich Enslin having sex with Private John Monhart in the officer's cabin.³ Enslin had only been in America since 1774. Much of his time in the country had been spent in the American military during the Revolutionary War. Though Lieutenant Enslin denied the charges against him, Lieutenant Colonel Aaron Burr found the junior officer guilty of sodomy in a court-martial trial. General George Washington ordered that Enslin be "dismissed with Infamy" and "drummed out of the Camp." That was the end of Enslin's military career, but he was apparently not the only officer serving with Washington at Valley Forge that winter who had intimate relations with other men.⁴

Two weeks before Enslin's court martial, a German officer had arrived at Valley Forge to help drill the soldiers under Washington's command. Benjamin Franklin had invited Baron Frederich Wilhelm von Steuben, a Prussian nobleman with experience in his country's esteemed military, to help the struggling American rebellion. Von Steuben might not have come to the Americans' aid if not for rumors of homosexual behavior that dogged him in his homeland. One 1777 letter suggested that the Prussian officer's affection for younger men was of the sort "which the law forbids and punishes severely."⁵ Whether or not General Washington knew of these rumors, he was impressed with von Steuben's military skill and the professionalism he brought to the Continental Army. Unlike American officers, von Steuben drilled the enlisted men himself at Valley Forge, and his drills ultimately formed the foundation of military training for the entire

³ The battlefield at Valley Forge was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL District on January 20, 1961. It was designated Valley Forge National Historical Park, becoming a unit of the NPS, on July 4, 1976.

⁴ Randy Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming: Gays & Lesbians in the U.S. Military* (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1994), 11-12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 7-11.

Continental Army.⁶ Von Steuben rose to the rank of major general, serving for the duration of the war and commanding an American division at the battle of Yorktown. His sexuality did not apparently affect his service. In fact, von Steuben would spend the rest of his life in his adopted country, which named the frontier Fort Steuben after him. A replica of Fort Steuben draws visitors to Steubenville, Ohio to this day.⁷

The experiences of Enslin and von Steuben suggest the two different ways that the American military dealt with queer troops from 1776 to 2010. When servicemen (and later women) could plausibly deny their same-sex desires or when their skills proved vital for combat success, the military would often look the other way and retain their service. But when there was “proof” of homosexual activities, the military could and often did punish and discharge LGBTQ individuals. The difficulty for historians then is that the best records of gay military service highlight individuals who ran afoul of military justice, not those who escaped scrutiny as they contributed to American military victories.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that men with same-sex desires fought for both the Union and the Confederacy during the Civil War, and the first women with queer sensibilities also served during this period until their gender and sexuality were discovered. As women were prohibited from military service (particularly combat service) in this period, the only way for them to serve was to pretend to be men. General Philip Sheridan found two such women serving under his command in the Fifteenth Missouri Regiment during the Civil War. The women had gotten drunk and nearly drowned. When rescued by fellow soldiers, the women’s true identities were revealed. Sheridan immediately sent the women back from the Civil War battlefield, noting that “an intimacy had sprung up between them.”

⁶ General Von Steuben’s Headquarters at Valley Forge National Historical Park was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on November 28, 1972.

⁷ One of General von Steuben’s closest comrades in the Continental Army was Washington’s aide Alexander Hamilton. Randy Shilts and others have suggested that Hamilton himself was gay. The letters between Hamilton and another Washington staffer named John Laurens suggest a passionate and intimate friendship, but reading such letters through a twenty-first century lens potentially distorts the historical record of a time when men’s correspondence exhibits effusive emotional outpouring rarely seen in the modern era.

According to Sheridan's report, one of the women was so masculine as to easily pass as a man, while the other seemed more feminine.⁸

The Civil War also saw the first service by a gender transgressive female doctor. Dr. Mary Walker challenged gender norms by earning an MD and practicing surgery in the mid-nineteenth century, but she was also a social activist, arguing against women's corseting and often outfitting herself in men's clothing (though never disguising herself as a man). Rejected when she first attempted to enlist in the medical corps of the Union Army, Dr. Walker volunteered her services as an assistant surgeon in Northern Virginia and Washington, DC.⁹ Finally, in March 1864, Walker was hired as a contract surgeon attached to the Fifty-Second Ohio Volunteers. She was the only female surgeon working for pay with the Union Army during the Civil War. As was her custom, she wore men's clothing during the war—a modified version of the male doctor's uniform that she argued allowed better flexibility to treat patients than traditional female dress. Walker saw patients at Bull Run, Chickamauga, the Battle of Atlanta, and several smaller skirmishes, as well as tending to wounded soldiers alongside Walt Whitman at a hospital set up at the US Patent Office in Washington, DC.¹⁰ She was held captive for four months at Castle Thunder Prison in Richmond, Virginia, after being accused of spying on Confederate military positions.¹¹ After the war, Walker became the only

⁸ Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming*, 14-15.

⁹ During her time in Washington in the early 1860s, she lived various places, but two that we know of are a rooming house at 52 Morton Street and a residence at 374 Ninth Street, both now demolished.

¹⁰ The Old Patent Office was located at Ninth and F Streets NW, in the District of Columbia. The building currently houses the National Portrait Gallery. It was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on January 12, 1965.

¹¹ Castle Thunder was located in Richmond's Tobacco Row, along the James River. It burned to the ground in 1879. Details of Dr. Walker's capture were printed in the *Richmond Sentinel* on April 22, 1864: "The female Yankee surgeon captured by our pickets a short time since, in the neighborhood of the army of Tennessee, was received in this city yesterday evening, and sent to the Castle in charge of a detective. Her appearance on the street in full male costume, with the exception of a gipsy hat, created quite an excitement amongst the idle negroes and boys who followed and surrounded her. She gave her name as Dr. Mary E. Walker, and declared that she had been captured on neutral ground. She was dressed in black pants and black or dark talma or paletot. She was consigned to the female ward of Castle Thunder, there being no accommodations at the Libby for prisoners of her sex. We must not omit to add that she is ugly and skinny, and apparently above thirty years of age." See Angela M. Zombek, "Castle Thunder Prison," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Foundation for the Humanities website, last modified June 7, 2011, http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Castle_Thunder_Prison

woman in US history to receive a Congressional Medal of Honor for Meritorious Service, and she continued to speak out for feminist causes until her death in 1919. With her dress, professional ambitions, and medical publications, she challenged gender norms for the rest of her life.¹² Walker is buried in the Union Village Rural Cemetery in Oswego, New York.

Although it is likely that gay male troops served in most American conflicts before the twentieth century, the historical record is strongest for the modern era, when the military, state, and emerging profession of psychiatry began to codify arguments against same-sex relationships and military service. World War I was the first major American military conflict that saw an explicit crack down on gay male military service, and World War II saw the emergence of queer veterans who “came out under fire” and then returned to the home front to build communities and fight for their rights.

As the Assistant Secretary of the Navy during the Great War, a young Franklin Delano Roosevelt authorized an investigation of homosexual activities in March 1919 at the Newport, Rhode Island YMCA, which was frequented by both gay civilians and sailors from the nearby Naval Training Station.¹³ Roosevelt was certainly not alone in his concerns about homosexual conduct and the military. As we are “recruiting the elements which make up our invincible army, we cannot ignore what is obvious,” a San Francisco psychiatrist wrote in 1918. “The homosexualist is not only dangerous, but an ineffective fighter.”¹⁴ The following year, the US Articles of War categorized sodomy as a felony for the first time, and it was in this context that Roosevelt authorized naval investigators to go undercover soliciting sex from sailors in Newport, specifically at the YMCA. The investigation led to the court-martial of seventeen sailors, many of whom

¹² Sharon M. Harris, *Dr. Mary Walker: An American Radical, 1832-1919* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 31-74.

¹³ The YMCA, now known as the Old Army and Navy YMCA, is located at 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island. It was listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988.

¹⁴ Shilts, *Conduct Unbecoming*, 15-16; and Mark Arsenault, “Gay Evolution: 1919 Newport Sting,” *Providence Journal*, January 20, 2008.

were sentenced to several years in the brig. According to journalist Randy Shilts, the Newport investigation was the first recorded “attempt to purge an installation of homosexuals.”¹⁵

In contrast to World War I, the Second World War has come to be seen as a largely positive turning point in modern queer history. Official military policy continued to demonize queer individuals and further articulated why they were “unfit” for service, but the uneven application of these policies as a result of personnel needs allowed for the recruitment and retention of many queer troops. Historian Allan Bérubé wrote that during World War II, thousands of queer service personnel were “coming out under fire,” as they left their small towns, saw the wider world, met new comrades, and sometimes fell in love. Gay-friendly (or tolerant) establishments like San Francisco’s Top of the Mark, Black Cat Café, and Mona’s, became meeting spots for queer service personnel, as did New York City’s Astor Bar, Howdy Club, and Sloane House YMCA.¹⁶ As Bérubé argues, the US military often treated homosexuality as a medical problem instead of a criminal one during World War II, a shift that allowed the military to retain thousands, if not tens of thousands, of queer troops whose skills were needed during wartime. This was particularly true of lesbians in the Women’s Army Corps (WACs), a military auxiliary service that restricted married women’s participation, and thus became something of a haven for lesbian and bisexual women looking to serve their country. After the war, queer service personnel returned to big cities (particularly debarkation points like New

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Addresses: Top of the Mark, 999 California Street, San Francisco, California; the Black Cat Club, 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California; the Black Cat Club is a contributing property (though not for its LGBTQ history) to the Jackson Square NRHP District, listed November 18, 1971; Mona’s Club 440, 440 Broadway, San Francisco, California; Astor Bar, Broadway between Forty-Fourth and Forty-Fifth Streets, New York City, now demolished; Howdy Club, known as a predominantly lesbian bar, 17 West Third Street, New York City, now demolished; and the Sloane House YMCA, 356 West Thirty-Fourth Street, now demolished. See also Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 56-62, 68-83 and Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: The Free Press, 1990).

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York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles) where they created or built upon urban queer communities.¹⁷

After World War II, the military and the US government once again cracked down on queer service personnel not only with legal and medical arguments, but also based on national security concerns during the Cold War. Ironically, what historian David K. Johnson has called the “lavender scare” was primarily a domestic phenomenon during the Cold War. When the United States engaged in military actions abroad during this period, as in Korea, gay male soldiers were often allowed to serve. “It was a nightmare here in the States,” Korean War veteran Ric



Figure 2: Harvey Milk, the second openly LGBTQ elected official in the United States, served in the Navy during the Korean War. Photo courtesy of the San Francisco Public Library.

Mendoza-Gleeson recalled. “I mean if you were gay here, it was over, Grover... but once you got overseas, the commanders looked the other way.” One gay sailor who served honorably during the Korean War era was New York native Harvey Milk, who would go on to be one of the first openly-gay elected officials in the United States when he joined the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in the late 1970s (Figure 2).¹⁸

During the Korean War, the number of gay service personnel discharged because of their sexuality was relatively small, but by the mid-

¹⁷ Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*; and Leisa D. Meyer, *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps During World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

¹⁸ David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); and Steve Estes, *Ask & Tell: Gay & Lesbian Veterans Speak Out* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 36. Harvey Milk lived, worked, and organized out of his apartment and camera shop at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.



Figure 3: Washington, DC recognized pioneering gay rights activist and military veteran, Dr. Franklin Kameny, decades after Kameny was fired from the federal government during the "Lavender Scare" of the 1950s. Photo by Kyle Flood, June 2010.¹⁹

to-late 1950s, the government was firing thousands of gay troops and civilian defense workers every year under the assumption that their sexuality placed them at risk of being blackmailed by communist agents during the Cold War. Annual discharges of queer troops doubled over the course of the 1950s, and David K. Johnson estimated that approximately five thousand gay and lesbian civilian employees of the federal government lost their jobs during

what he dubs the "lavender scare."²⁰ Frank Kameny was one of those gay civilian employees that lost his job because of his sexuality. A veteran of the US Army in World War II, Kameny earned a PhD from Harvard and then worked for the US Army Map Service in Washington, DC, as a civilian. In 1957 the government fired Kameny because he was gay, inspiring his lifelong fight against discrimination. He co-founded the Washington branch of the gay rights organization known as the Mattachine Society in 1961 and picketed various government buildings, demanding "First Class

¹⁹ Photo in the public domain. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Frank_kameny.jpg

²⁰ John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 293-294; and Johnson, *The Lavender Scare*, 166.

Citizenship for Homosexuals” from the 1960s until the 2000s.²¹ Before Kameny died in 2011, he had become a gay rights hero in Washington, with a street named in his honor and his protest signs accessioned as part of the permanent collections at the Smithsonian’s National Museum of American History (Figure 3).²²

By the time Frank Kameny was demanding equal rights for gay citizens, the United States was getting involved in another Cold War military conflict in Vietnam. The Vietnam War divided gay communities just as it divided America. While many queer Americans volunteered for service or answered the call of the draft, others vehemently opposed the war. For instance, Sylvia Rivera (born “Ray” and of Puerto Rican and Venezuelan descent) was a transgender New Yorker active in the antiwar movement. When Rivera was drafted in 1969, she showed up dressed as a woman and proclaimed that although she had been born a man, she identified as a woman and loved men. After the military rejected her, Rivera continued her antiwar activism and was also a participant in the Stonewall Riots and the gay liberation movement.²³ Even though gay liberation and antiwar activism were often intertwined, military service and gay rights activism during the Vietnam era also came together in LGBTQ veterans who followed in Frank Kameny’s footsteps to demand the freedoms and rights that they had fought to defend in the military.

²¹ The Washington, DC, branch of the Mattachine Society was run largely out of Kameny’s home in the northwest of the District. It was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011.

²² Kameny was actually fired for refusing to answer questions about his sexuality after the government learned he had been arrested on sex-related charges in San Francisco years earlier. For more on the Kameny’s life and political struggles, see Johnson, *Lavender Scare*, 179-208. See also Martin Weil and Emily Langer’s obituary: “Kameny Dies” *Washington Post*, October 11, 2011.

²³ Rivera was later an active member in the Gay Liberation Front and Gay Activists Alliance, as well as the Street Transvestite (later Transgender) Action Revolutionaries (STAR), which she co-founded in 1970 with Marsha P. Johnson. STAR worked to help homeless young drag queens and transgender women of color. In November 2005, New York City named a Greenwich Village street in honor of Sylvia Rivera. Stonewall was the first NHL designated for its association with LGBTQ history (February 16, 2000) and the first National Monument dedicated to recognizing LGBTQ history (June 24, 2016). For more on Rivera, see Susan M. Glisson, *The Human Tradition in the Civil Rights Movement* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), 323-325 and Tim Retzliff, “Eliding Trans Latino/a Queer Experience in U.S. LGBT History: José Sarria and Sylvia Rivera Reexamined,” *CENTRO Journal* 19 (1): 141-161.

Perhaps no single veteran represents this struggle better than Air Force Sergeant Leonard Matlovich. The son of a veteran, Matlovich was born in Savannah, Georgia. He volunteered for three tours of duty in Vietnam and won two Air Force Commendations for Bravery, the Bronze Star, and a Purple Heart among other awards and citations. In 1975 the Air Force discharged Matlovich when he came out publicly as a gay man to challenge the military's ban on homosexual service. After several years of court challenges, Matlovich agreed to an out-of-court settlement, but he never stopped fighting for gay rights. He spent his final years living mostly in the San Francisco Bay Area, where he fought to raise awareness of HIV/AIDS and ultimately succumbed to the disease himself.²⁴ Matlovich's fight to lift the ban on gay service personnel in the 1970s landed him on the cover of *Time* magazine and made him an icon of the gay rights movement. Both San Francisco and Chicago have small memorial plaques



Figure 4: Leonard Matlovich wanted his grave in the Congressional Cemetery (Washington, DC) to become a monument to gay and lesbian military service. Gay veterans and activists gather at the grave on Veteran's Day to commemorate Matlovich's service and the service of all LGBTQ veterans. Photo courtesy of Patsy Lynch, photographer.

²⁴ Matlovich lived on Eighteenth Street in San Francisco, California.

dedicated to Matlovich. The most significant memorial by far, however, is his grave in Washington, DC's Congressional Cemetery, which has become a site of demonstrations and Veteran's Day celebrations by gay rights groups. "When I was in the military," Matlovich's epitaph reads, "they gave me a medal for killing two men and a discharge for loving one" (Figure 4).²⁵

Partly in response to Matlovich's challenge, the US military tightened restrictions on gay service in 1981 with a new policy that bluntly stated: "Homosexuality is incompatible with military service." One of the first challenges to this policy came from another Vietnam veteran named Perry Watkins, who was discharged from the army in 1984. As Perry Watkins argued in court, he had never lied to the army about who he was. When Watkins had been drafted in 1968, he answered the question about whether he was homosexual in the affirmative. The army inducted him anyway and sent him to serve in Vietnam. Watkins made the military a career and would later perform drag shows for his army buddies under the name Simone. After the military strengthened the gay ban in the early 1980s and with a growing conservative backlash as a result of the AIDS crisis, the army decided Watkins was no longer fit for duty. Although the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco ordered the army to reinstate Watkins, his case, like Matlovich's, did not overturn the wider ban on gay service. From 1984 until his death in 1996, Watkins lived and worked in Tacoma, Washington. He continued to speak out against the military ban. As an African American, he was also a vocal critic of racism within the gay rights movement, arguing that white veterans were often asked to testify and speak instead of minority veterans.²⁶

²⁵ "I am a Homosexual," *Time*, September 8, 1975; Leonard Matlovich Papers, GLBT Historical Society (housed in the San Francisco Public Library Special Collections); and <http://leonardmatlovich.com>, accessed May 26, 2015. Congressional Cemetery was listed on the NRHP on June 23, 1969 and designated an NHL on June 14, 2011. Several LGBTQ pioneers are buried there, particularly in the "gay corner" anchored by Matlovich's grave.

²⁶ Wilbur J. Scott and Sandra Carson Stanley, *Gays and Lesbians in the Military: Issues, Concerns, and Contrasts* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1994), 19, 123, 221; Department of Defense Directive 1332.14, 46 Fed. Reg. 9571-9578 (July 29, 1981); and David Dunlap, "Perry Watkins, 48, Gay Sergeant Won Court Battle With Army," *New York Times*, March 21, 1996.

From the 1970s through the 1990s, a dedicated cohort of gay and lesbian veterans sought to end the ban through legal challenges and public demonstrations at the same time that the politics of gay rights were gaining steam. Vernon Berg, Miriam Ben-Shalom, Dusty Pruitt, Joe Steffan, Keith Meinhold, Zoe Dunning, and Grethe Cammermeyer all chipped away at the ban without overturning it outright. Like Perry Watkins, many of these activists won individual courtroom victories, gaining reinstatement in the military. However, the courts limited the scope of these decisions to remedies for the

individual plaintiffs, continuing to defer to the military on the broader personnel policies restricting LGBTQ service.²⁷ The election of Bill Clinton as president in 1992 seemed a harbinger of real change as the Democratic candidate had promised to lift the ban. Once in office, however, Clinton faced stiff opposition from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Congress, and the religious right. The

compromise that emerged in 1993 was “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” a policy that was supposed to end inquiries into troops’ sexual orientation, while



Figure 5: Grethe Cammermeyer’s career in the military included a fourteen-month deployment as an army nurse in Vietnam, during which she was awarded the Bronze Star in 1968 (Pictured: LTC Robert Lever MC gives then CPT Margarethe Hawken, now and nee Cammermeyer, the award). In 1988, Cammermeyer told the Washington National Guard that she was a lesbian. They immediately discharged her, and she sued to get her job back. In 1994 the court ordered her reinstated. When she retired in 1997, she had served for thirty-one years. Department of Defense photo, courtesy of Grethe Cammermeyer.

²⁷ Vernon E. Berg III v. Secretary of the Navy 591 F.2d 849 (U.S.App.D.C. 1978); Miriam Ben-Shalom v. Secretary of the Army 826 F.2d 722 (7th Cir. 1987); Dusty Pruitt v. Secretary of Defense 963 F.2d 1160 (9th Cir., 1991); Joseph C. Steffan v. Secretary of Defense 8 F.3d 57 (DC Cir. 1994); Volker Keith Meinhold v. Secretary of Defense 34 F.3d 1469 (9th Cir. 1994); Margaret Cammermeyer v. Secretary of Defense 850 F. Supp 910 (W.D. Wash 1994); and Cynthia Laird, “Out Navy Commander Retires,” *Bay Area Reporter*, June 7, 2007.

continuing the discharge process for service members whose same-sex attractions or activities became known (Figure 5).²⁸

The “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy (1993-2011) ironically amplified the debate on LGBTQ military service. The compromise, which was intended to silence critics of the ban, ended up generating more publicity about gays and lesbians (although not bisexuals and transgender people) in the military than ever before. On the one hand, media scrutiny and political controversy heightened tensions over sexuality within the military that accompanied increased anti-gay violence in the forces.²⁹ On the other hand, the mainstream media finally began to acknowledge LGBTQ heroism as part of the story of American military history, and the hypocrisy of the policy brought new focus to its inconsistencies and unfairness.³⁰

While the tension within the military about sexuality boiled over into violence in the 1990s, violence involving homosexuality and military personnel was nothing new. On Halloween night in 1958, a young airman named John Mahon, who was stationed in Charleston, South Carolina, went home with Jack Dobbins after meeting at a local gay bar called Club 49.³¹ The next morning, Dobbins was found brutally murdered. Mahon had used a candlestick to bludgeon the Charleston man to death. The airman did not deny killing Dobbins. Instead, he claimed self-defense and was acquitted of all charges. As the local paper explained, Mahon was a “normal,” patriotic young serviceman, simply fending off the aggressive

²⁸ For a critical analysis and history of “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” see Nathaniel Frank, *Unfriendly Fire: How the Gay Ban Undermines the Military and Weakens America* (New York: Macmillan, 2010), xiii-xxi, *passim*.

²⁹ In testimony before Congress, Marine Colonel Fred Peck spoke emotionally about not wanting his gay son to join the military where his life “would be hell” and where the colonel would have been “very fearful” for his son’s safety because of homophobia in the ranks. See Melissa Healy, “Schwarzkopf: ‘A 2nd-Class Force’ If Gay Ban Ends,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 12, 1993; and “Abuse of Gays in Military Increases,” *CBS News*, March 9, 2000, accessed August 3, 2015, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/abuse-of-gays-in-military-increases>.

³⁰ For examples of increasingly positive media coverage of queer veterans and growing criticism of the ban, see Philip Shenon, “New Study Faults Pentagon’s Gay Policy,” *New York Times*, February 26, 1997; Jack Tapper, “Gay War Veteran Confronts ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ Policy,” *ABC News*, August 9, 2005; and Associated Press, “Ban on Openly Gay Soldiers Under Fire,” *NBC News*, June 15, 2005, accessed August 3, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/8218961/ns/us_news/t/efforts-grow-end-ban-openly-gay-soldiers/#.Vb-987ekc14.

³¹ Before it was demolished, Club 49 was located at 368 King Street, Charleston, South Carolina. Dobbins’ home still stands.

advances of Dobbins, who was euphemistically described as “artistic” by the local paper.³²

By the 1990s, the so-called “gay panic” defense was rarely successful in court, but violence against LGBTQ individuals spiked as gay visibility in politics and popular culture increased. This was, in part, the context for the murder of Barry Winchell. A nineteen-year-old private stationed at Fort Campbell, which straddles the border between Kentucky and Tennessee, Winchell was beginning to explore gay life in nearby Nashville in 1999. Rumors circulated that he had a transsexual girlfriend and went to gay bars on the weekends. “Pretty much everybody called him derogatory names,” Sergeant Michael Kleifgen later told a reporter. “They called him a faggot, I would say, on a daily basis.” As a friend, Kleifgen even filed a formal complaint about the harassment, and Winchell told his superior officer about the rumors and slurs. “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” actually suppressed such reports of harassment, because such claims could lead the military to investigate the sexuality of the people being harassed or doing the reporting. In Winchell’s case, even the formal complaints of the harassment by a heterosexual buddy had no effect. The captain just told the young men harassing Winchell to “knock that shit off.” At a keg party outside the barracks on the Fourth of July, Winchell and another private named Calvin Glover got into a fistfight, which Winchell won. Other guys teased Glover mercilessly for losing to “a fucking faggot.” Later that night, Glover beat Winchell with a baseball bat as the gay private slept in the Fort Campbell barracks. Winchell died at Vanderbilt Hospital in Nashville the following day.³³

Yet gay bashing was not the only problem with “Don't Ask, Don't Tell.” As Melissa Herbert argued in her book, *Camouflage Isn't Only for Combat*, lesbians and bisexual military women had to camouflage their sexuality

³² Paul Bowers, “A Map of Charleston’s Gay History,” *Charleston City Paper*, July 30, 2014.

³³ Thomas Hackett, “The Execution of Private Barry Winchell: The Real Story Behind the ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ Murder,” *Rolling Stone*, March 2, 2002; and Frank, *Unfriendly Fire*, 194-196, 276. For more on the negative effects of DADT on harassment complaints, see Stacey L. Sobel et al., “Conduct Unbecoming: The Sixth Annual Report on “Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Don't Harass, Don't Pursue,” Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, March 9, 2000, accessed August 3, 2015, http://sldn.3cdn.net/bc84613306fbdcf69d_gkm6iyfnf.pdf

just as men did.³⁴ Even before “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell,” the ban on homosexual service placed *all* military women in a Catch-22, leaving them open to (hetero)sexual harassment in order to “prove” that they were not gay to peers and superior officers. Like anti-gay violence, sexual blackmail was particularly problematic in the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” era as lesbianism became more visible in popular culture. Lifting the ban would not end sexual harassment, of course, but it would eliminate a regulation that exacerbated the problem.

A resurgence of gay-related discharges in the late 1990s also suggested that there were serious problems underlying the military’s “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policy. Liberals pushed to add anti-harassment regulations and diversity workshops to official military training in order to deal with homophobia in the ranks. Meanwhile, LGBTQ activists in Washington, DC—particularly the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network (SLDN), but also American Veterans for Equal Rights (AVER), Transgender American Veterans Association (TAVA), and ultimately, the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) —fought to lift the ban entirely in the 2000s. As this activist campaign began to pick up steam, the political environment surrounding military policy changed once again in the wake of the 9/11 attacks and subsequent military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. As the armed forces struggled to meet recruitment targets during these military conflicts and as more queer veterans began to come out, politicians and military leaders began to reconsider the ban on queer service.³⁵

After Eric Alva became the first American serviceman seriously wounded in Iraq, the thing that scared him most about the deluge of media coverage was the potential public revelation that he was gay. “To be honest,” Alva wrote, “each time I was commended on my courage, I couldn’t help but remember how scared I was that I would be found out as

³⁴ Melissa S. Herbert, *Camouflage Isn’t Only for Combat: Gender, Sexuality, and Women in the Military* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

³⁵ Dave Moniz, “Opportunities, Opposition to Iraq War Cut into Recruiting,” *USA Today*, November 4, 2005; John M. Shalikashvili, “Second Thoughts on Gays in the Military,” *New York Times*, January 2, 2007; and Karen DeYoung, “Colin Powell Now Says Gays Should Be Able to Serve Openly in Military,” *Washington Post*, February 4, 2010.

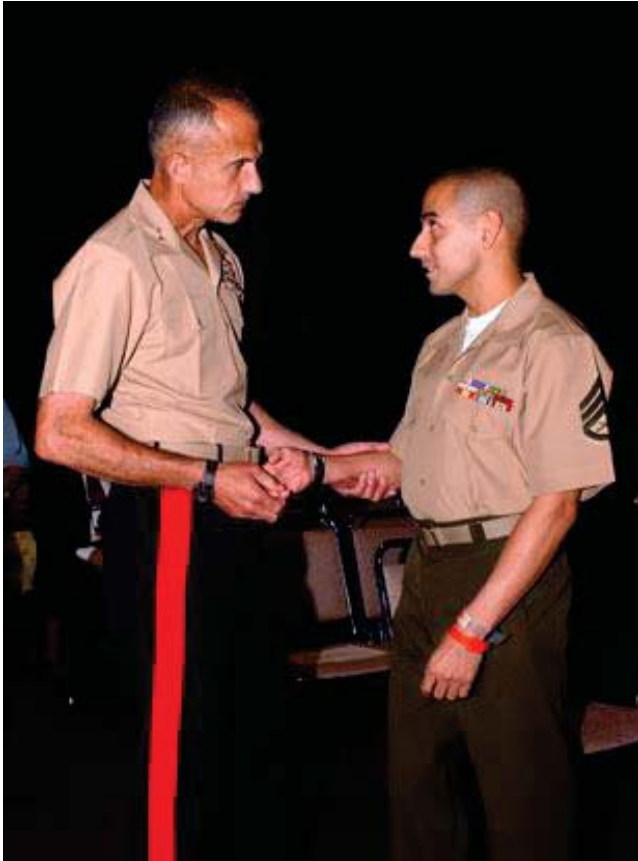


Figure 6: Major General Christopher Cortez (left), Commanding General, Marine Corps Recruiting Command, honors Staff Sergeant Eric Alva, the recipient of the Heroes and Heritage Award at the 2003 National Council of La Raza meeting in Austin, Texas. Alva would later join the staff of the Human Rights Campaign, fighting to lift the ban on openly gay military servicemen and women. Photo by US Marine Corps Sgt. Matt Griffin.³⁷

gay and kicked out of the military.” In 2006, Alva joined the staff of the HRC and became their spokesperson in the campaign to lift the ban on openly gay service personnel. Alva testified before Congress in 2008, telling the Congressional Committee members that although he was not publicly out to the Marine Corps, several of his straight comrades knew that he was gay, and did not care. Their response to finding out was, “So what?” Contrary to the arguments of military policy makers that open acknowledgement of sexuality would undermine unit cohesion, knowing that Alva was gay did not break

the connection he made to the band of brothers in his unit. In fact, Alva became the godfather to three of his buddies’ kids. “My experiences in the military demonstrate that ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ is a solution looking for a problem,” Alva concluded (Figure 6).³⁶

Alva was not alone in coming home from Iraq to challenge the ban. In the 2000s, a flood of veterans from flag officers to enlisted personnel, came out publicly as gays and lesbians, arguing that “Don’t Ask, Don’t

³⁶ Eric Alva, “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell: From the Inside Out,” *Huffington Post*, February 28, 2007, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/eric-alva/dont-ask-dont-tell-from-t_b_42310.html.

³⁷ Photo in the public domain.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Staff_Sergeant_Eric_Alva_2003-06-13.jpg

Tell” was hurting military effectiveness. Decorated combat veterans spoke out. Brian Hughes, a Yale-educated army ranger from California, who served in both Iraq and Afghanistan, came out after he left the military in 2004. Robert Stout, an army sergeant from rural Ohio who had been wounded in Iraq, did so in 2005. Along with Alva’s testimony, the stories of gay servicemen and women suggested what the military had long known, but been unwilling to acknowledge—namely, that queer Americans had served honorably for more than two centuries of US military history.³⁸

Finally, the political opportunity to repeal “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” caught up with polls suggesting that the majority of Americans no longer supported banning gays and lesbians from the military. As one of Congress’ last acts in 2010, it voted to repeal “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell.” President Barack Obama, who had promised during his campaign to lift the ban, quickly signed the Military Readiness Enhancement Act into law. Since 2011 gay, lesbian, and bisexual military personnel have been able to serve openly alongside their straight comrades. The ban on transgender Americans serving in the military was lifted on June 30, 2016. Military personnel were no longer discharged for being transgender, and by the end of 2017, all branches of the US military accepted transgender recruits.³⁹ As this essay illustrates, queer servicemen and women have long defended liberty, justice, and equality for all Americans.

³⁸ Estes, *Ask & Tell*, 210-254.

³⁹ Sunnive Brydum, “Pentagon on Trans Troops: ‘These are the Kind of People We Want,’” *Advocate*, June 30, 2016.

21 STRUGGLES IN BODY AND SPIRIT: RELIGION AND LGBTQ PEOPLE IN US HISTORY

Drew Bourn

Introduction

The Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. once observed that eleven o'clock on Sunday morning is the most segregated hour in the United States.¹ But segregation goes beyond a separation between black churches and white churches. There is a tremendous variety of religious communities in the US - Hindus, Muslims, Jews, Christians, Buddhists, Pagans, and others. The history that led to this variety within the US, however, is not innocent.

¹ Joseph Barndt, *Becoming an Anti-Racist Church: Journeying Toward Wholeness* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2011), 1. Dr. King had close connections with Black LGBTQ people, including Bayard Rustin and James Baldwin. See also *Brother Outsider: The Life of Bayard Rustin*, dir. Nancy D. Kates and Bennett Singer (New York City: The American Documentary, 2003); and *James Baldwin: The Price of the Ticket*, dir. Karen Thorsen (New York: WNET/American Masters, 1989). The Bayard Rustin Residence in the Chelsea neighborhood of New York City, New York was added to the NRHP on March 8, 2016.

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Religious practices of contemporary Native American people are indelibly marked by the devastation of colonialism; the Black church grew out of a nightmarish legacy of mass kidnapping and enslavement; and myriad other forms of religious practice were brought to these shores by immigrants - some of whom left their homelands under duress and some of whom met with discrimination, humiliation, and violence upon arrival. The variety of religious communities that exists in the United States is inextricably bound up with the history of power and its abuses through such guises as colonialism, imperialism, slavery, and globalized capital.

LGBTQ people know something about power and its abuses. On the one hand, they have been systematically singled out and threatened or attacked when they have violated norms of gender and sexuality. But as the Combahee River Collective, Kimberlé Crenshaw, and other theorists of intersectionality remind us, many LGBTQ people have also simultaneously been on the other side of power for a range of reasons: having white skin, not being Native, being documented US citizens, being temporarily able-bodied, or moving through the world as male. Thus, the place of LGBTQ people in the United States is complicated—and religion provides an illustration of how those complications can play out.²

Certainly religion has been used in homophobic ways. One need only think of Anita Bryant's 1977 "Save Our Children" campaign, or of conservative preachers like Steven Anderson of the Faithful Word Baptist Church who rally for the mass executions of gay people, or the work of "ex-gay" campaigns both Christian (like Exodus International) and Jewish (like

² Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement," in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women of Color*, eds. Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (New York: Kitchen Table, Women of Color Press, 1983), 210-218; Tisa M. Anders, "Combahee River Collective (1974-1980)," *BlackPast.org*, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.blackpast.org/aah/combahee-river-collective-1974-1980>; and Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *Chicago Legal Forum* (1989): 139-167.

JONAH). Given these destructive realities, it is little wonder that many LGBTQ people have fled the religious communities in which they were raised.³

Yet homophobia does not tell the whole story of LGBTQ people and religion in the United States. There are many LGBTQ people who are drawn to religious communities and practices. Some remain resolutely within the traditions in which they were raised, and others enter into traditions different from the ones they knew—if they knew any—in childhood. However they arrive, the place of LGBTQ people in religious communities can be ambivalent. For a variety of reasons, some LGBTQ people seek nothing more than to survive and maintain low profiles within religious communities that can be virulently homophobic. But at other times, LGBTQ people demonstrate an amazing resourcefulness and creativity in transforming and creating forms of religious life that loudly proclaim their dignity and humanity.

This points to an important consideration when approaching the subject of LGBTQ people and religion—the question of authority and accountability. In the religious communities that are examined in this chapter, there is tremendous variation in terms of who determines the appropriate forms of religious life. Some LGBTQ people are committed to remain within religious communities in which they directly confront their co-religionists over questions about the authority to interpret LGBTQ experiences, while other LGBTQ people work within communities where

³ Ian Lekus, “Up They Come Again: The Rise of Family Values Politics,” *The Ultimate History Project*, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.ultimatehistoryproject.com/marriage-lgbt.html>; Tina Fetner, *How the Religious Right Shaped Lesbian and Gay Activism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); Stevie St. John, “Pastor Calls for LGBT Holocaust to Eradicate AIDS By Christmas,” *Advocate*, December 3, 2014, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.advocate.com/politics/religion/2014/12/03/watch-pastor-calls-lgbt-holocaust-eradicate-aids-christmas>; Jeff Chu, “‘Let’s Do Something Different’: The End of the World’s Leading ‘Ex-Gay’ Ministry,” *Atlantic*, June 20, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.theatlantic.com/sexes/archive/2013/06/lets-do-something-different-the-end-of-the-worlds-leading-ex-gay-ministry/277039>; Alexandra Levine, “Jury Decides Against JONAH in Landmark ‘Gay Conversion’ Therapy Case,” *Forward* June 25, 2015, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://forward.com/news/310914/jury-rules-against-jonah-in-landmark-gay-conversion-therapy-case>.

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their authority is less contested. This chapter will focus on the work done in religious communities to affirm LGBTQ people and their lives.⁴

Early Organizing

Public advocacy for LGBTQ people in the United States has largely arisen in the period following World War II. Nearly every example discussed in this chapter deals with work done in the late 1960s or afterwards. However, a few earlier exceptions are worth noting.⁵

Former Roman Catholic seminarian George Augustine Hyde, along with John Augustine Kazantks, a former bishop in the Greek Orthodox Church who had been forced to leave Greece when he was “outed” as a gay man, established an independent church with a special outreach to gay people in 1946 in Atlanta, Georgia. The church initially convened at the Winecoff Hotel (Figure 1) and eventually took the



Figure 1: The Winecoff Hotel (now the Ellis Hotel), Atlanta, Georgia was the original home of the Orthodox Catholic Church of America. Photo by Eoghanacht, 2007.⁶

⁴ For broad overview treatments of religion and LGBTQ people, see Jeffrey S. Siker, *Homosexuality and Religion: An Encyclopedia* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007); Randy P. Conner et al., *Cassell's Encyclopedia of Queer Myth, Symbol, and Spirit: Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Lore* (London: Cassell, 1997); Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies in Religion and Ministry, “The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network”, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.lgbtran.org>; and “Transfaith,” TransFaith Institute website, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.transfaithonline.org>.

⁵ Heather Rachelle White, “Proclaiming Liberation: The Historical Roots of LGBT Religious Organizing, 1946–1976,” *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* 11, no. 4 (May 2008): 102-119.

⁶ License: Public domain. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Winecoff-Hotel-Atlanta-01.jpg>

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name “Orthodox Catholic Church of America.”⁷ The church counted over two hundred members by the end of the following year.⁸ Later, Hyde supported Rev. Robert Clement in New York City in establishing another church with a special outreach to gay people. Founded in 1969, the Eucharistic Catholic Church, with a local congregation known as the Church of the Beloved Disciple, later had as many as five hundred members.⁹

In 1964 in Mill Valley, California, Methodist minister Ted McIlvenna convened a conference of Methodist, Episcopal, Lutheran, and United Church of Christ clergy and local gay and lesbian leaders. The conference led to the founding of the Council on Religion and the Homosexual, the purpose of which included advocacy for gay and lesbian people within religious communities.¹⁰ The council held a fundraising event on January 1, 1965 at California Hall in San Francisco which was raided by the police.¹¹ Seven ministers held a press conference the following day to express their outrage at the abuse of police power—an unprecedented public show of support by religious leaders for LGBTQ people.¹²

⁷ The Winecoff Hotel (now the Ellis Hotel) is located at 176 Peachtree Street NW, Atlanta, Georgia. It was listed on the NRHP on March 31, 2009.

⁸ “Profile: Rev. George Augustine Hyde,” The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=96>.

⁹ “Oral History: Robert Clement,” The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.lgbtran.org/Interview.aspx?ID=12>; “Robert Clement Papers,” The New York Public Library Archives and Manuscripts, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://archives.nypl.org/mss/567>. The Church of the Beloved Disciple initially met at the Episcopal Church of the Holy Apostles at 296 Ninth Avenue in New York City. This church building was listed on the NRHP on April 26, 1972. The Church of the Beloved Disciple then began to meet at the Moravian Church at 154 Lexington Avenue in New York City before moving to its own building at 348 West 14th Street in New York City.

¹⁰ The conference was held at the Ralston L. White Retreat Center, located at 2 El Capitan Ave, Mill Valley, California.

¹¹ California Hall is located at 625 Polk Street, San Francisco, California.

¹² “Exhibits: The Council on Religion and the Homosexual,” The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.lgbtran.org/Exhibits/CRH/Exhibit.aspx>.

From the Late 1960s to the Present

Native American Religion

Native American history is addressed at length elsewhere in this study.¹³ Here it suffices to note the recent emergence of a pan-Indian identity based on same-sex desire or gender variation, which was galvanized with the founding of Gay American Indians (GAI) in San Francisco in 1975.¹⁴ Organizing around the country was further catalyzed when the term “two-spirit” (based on an Anishinaabemowin term) was coined at a Native conference in Winnipeg, Canada in 1990. Since then, Native organizing, informed by religious practices, has mobilized around two-spirit identity, resulting in a proliferation of local groups across the country. These include: the East Coast Two Spirit Society in New York City, the Tulsa Two Spirit Society, the City of Angels Two Spirit Society in Greater Los Angeles, the Two-Spirit Society of Denver, the Texas Two Spirit Society, and the Bay Area American Indian Two Spirits (BAAITS) in Northern California.¹⁵

Christianity

Broadly speaking, world Christianity can be divided into three major streams—the Roman Catholic Church, Protestantism, and the Eastern Church.

¹³ See Roscoe (this volume).

¹⁴ Will Roscoe, *Living the Spirit: A Gay American Indian Anthology* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 217. GAI was based at 1347 Divisadero Street, San Francisco, California.

¹⁵ “East Coast Two Spirit Society,” East Coast Two Spirit Society website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.ec2ss.net>; “Texas Two Spirit Society: Advocating Native American GLBTQ Tradition,” Texas Two Spirit Society website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://texastwospirits.com>; “BAAITS: Bay Area American Indian Two Spirits,” Bay Area American Indian Two-Spirits website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.baaits.org>.

Roman Catholicism

DignityUSA is an international nonprofit organization of LGBTQ Catholics and allies. It began in 1969 when a priest, Father Patrick Nidorf, began organizing meetings of LGBTQ Catholics for pastoral care in San Diego and Los Angeles. Nidorf called the project Dignity, and similar groups soon sprung up across the country. Members of local chapters provide each other support and advocate for change of church doctrine, which currently maintains that same-sex desire is “objectively disordered.”¹⁶ Offshoots include Defenders of Dignity, which formed in New York City in 1981 and now has additional chapters in San Francisco, Chicago, Washington, DC, and Dayton, Ohio, catering to members of the leather community; and the Conference for Catholic Lesbians, which formed in 1982. In 1986, the church’s doctrinal leadership issued “On the Pastoral Care of Homosexual Persons,” which resulted in Dignity being barred from meeting on church property in many cities - a situation that continues to the present.¹⁷ Dignity has engaged in outreach specifically to LGBTQ Latino/as, including its Grupo Latino in Washington, DC.¹⁸

In 1976, with consent from the Vatican, Jesuit John McNeill published *The Church and the Homosexual*. In 1988, however, he was ordered by the Vatican to end his pastoral outreach to gay Catholics. He disobeyed the order, in spite of it resulting in his expulsion from the Jesuits.¹⁹

¹⁶ “Catechism of the Catholic Church: Part Three, Section Two, Chapter Two, Article Six,” The Holy See, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p3s2c2a6.htm#2357. Dignity Center is located at 721 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC.

¹⁷ “Highlights of DignityUSA’s History,” DignityUSA website, accessed December 3, 2015, <https://www.dignityusa.org/history>; D.R. Loseke and J.C. Cavendish, “Producing Institutional Selves: Rhetorically Constructing the Dignity of Sexually Marginalized Catholics,” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 64 (2001): 347-362.

¹⁸ “Grupo Latino,” Dignity/Washington website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.dignitywashington.org/ministries/grupo-latino>. The Washington, DC chapter of Dignity has its headquarters at 721 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC.

¹⁹ Thomas C. Fox, “‘Patron Saint’ of LGBT Catholics, John J. McNeill, 90, Dies,” *National Catholic Reporter*, September 24, 2015, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://ncronline.org/news/people/patron-saint-lgbt-catholics-john-j-mcneill-90-dies>; *Taking a Chance on God*, dir. Brendan Fray (Silence to Speech Films, 2011); “John McNeill, Memorial Remarks by Mary E. Hunt,” DignityUSA, accessed December 3, 2015, <https://www.dignityusa.org/article/john-mcneill-memorial-remarks-mary-e-hunt>; and Margalit Fox, “John McNeill, Priest Who Pushed Catholic Church

In 1977 in Washington, DC, a Catholic priest and nun, Father Robert Nugent and Sister Jeannine Gramick, established New Ways Ministry, a national advocacy and pastoral outreach program for LGBTQ Catholics based on workshops they had been conducting at the Quixote Center, a Catholic social justice organization in Maryland.²⁰ In 1999, Father Nugent, who had recently been ordered by the Vatican to discontinue pastoral outreach to LGBTQ Catholics, spoke out against religious homophobia at a public forum at Northeastern University in Boston, Massachusetts alongside Surina Khan of Al-Fatiha and Rabbi Steve Greenberg.²¹

Mary Hunt, a Catholic theologian who supports Dignity and who, in 1983, co-founded the Women's Alliance for Theology, Ethics, and Ritual (WATER)—an ecumenical project to explore the possible confluences of feminism, religion, and social justice work—has focused her scholarship, in part, on bisexuals and religion.²²

In 2014, LGBTQ members of the Church of Saint Paul the Apostle in New York City launched a project to document their experiences and advocate for their fuller participation in the church. They have released a

to Welcome Gays, Dies at 90," *New York Times*, September 25, 2015, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/26/nyregion/john-mcneill-priest-who-pushed-catholic-church-to-welcome-gays-dies-at-90.html>.

²⁰ Francis DeBernardo, "Ministering in New Ways to Gay and Lesbian Catholics and the Church: A Brief History of New Ways Ministry," New Ways Ministry website, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.newwaysministry.org/history.html>. The Quixote Center is located at 7307 Baltimore Avenue, College Park, Maryland. New Ways Ministry is located at 4012 Twenty-Ninth Street, Mount Rainier, Maryland.

²¹ Gustav Niebuhr, "Priest Rebuked by Vatican Resumes Public Speaking," *New York Times*, September 5, 1999, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/1999/09/05/us/priest-rebuked-by-vatican-resumes-public-speaking.html>. The event was held on August 31, 1999 in the Curry Student Center, Northeastern University, 360 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts.

²² "The Story of WATER," WATER - Women's Alliance for Theology, Ethics, and Ritual website, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.waterwomensalliance.org/history-and-mission>; "Collection Info: Dignity/USA," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network website, accessed May 1, 2015, <http://www.LGBTQran.org/Collection.aspx?ID=2>; "1992," DignityUSA website, accessed June 6, 2015, <https://www.dignityusa.org/history/1163>; and Tom Yates, "Defenders LLC/Washington Celebrate 22nd Anniversary," accessed June 6, 2015, <https://www.dignityusa.org/article/defenders-llc-washington-celebrate-22nd-anniversary>.

documentary, *Owning Our Faith*, which includes the testimony of transgender Catholics Hilary Howes and Mateo Williamson.²³

Protestantism

This includes a wide range of denominations, including Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Unitarians, and others. Their forms of organization and internal authority vary widely, as do their policies and doctrines regarding LGBTQ people.²⁴

i) Episcopalians

Integrity USA is a national nonprofit organization of LGBTQ Episcopalians and allies. In 1974, Episcopal layperson Louie Crew founded Integrity while on the faculty of Fort Valley State University, a historically black university in Georgia. Crew began publishing a newsletter that later led to a national convention in Chicago in 1975 and the establishing of a national headquarters in Georgia.²⁵ Also in 1975, Rev. Carter Heyward joined the faculty of the Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge, Massachusetts; she would eventually spend many years teaching and publishing lesbian feminist theology, such as her 1989 book, *Speaking of Christ: A Lesbian Feminist Voice*.²⁶ In 1977, Ellen Barrett was the first openly lesbian minister ordained in the Episcopal Church.²⁷ That same year, Rev. Malcolm Boyd came out publicly as a gay man—a journey

²³ *LGBT Catholics: Owning Our Faith*, dir. Michael Tomae (2015). The Church of St. Paul the Apostle is located at 405 West 59th Street in New York City.

²⁴ Melissa M Wilcox, *Coming Out In Christianity: Religion, Identity, and Community* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003); Heather Rachel White, *Reforming Sodom: Protestants and the Rise of Gay Rights* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

²⁵ "A Brief History," *Integrity*, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.integrityusa.org/doc_download/10-integrity-a-brief-history-2013. The national headquarters of Integrity USA was at 701 Orange Street, Fort Valley, Georgia.

²⁶ Carter Heyward, *Speaking of Christ: A Lesbian Feminist Voice* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1989); "Profile: Rev. Dr. Carter Heyward," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, last modified October 26, 2012, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=100>.

²⁷ Louie Crew, "Changing the Church: Lessons Learned in the Struggle to Reduce Institutional Heterosexism in the Episcopal Church," in James T. Sears and Walter L. Williams, eds., *Overcoming Heterosexism and Homophobia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 341-353. The Episcopal Divinity School is located at 99 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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he recounted with the publication the following year of his autobiographical work, *Take Off The Masks* and which he would revisit in his 1986 book, *Gay Priest: An Inner Journey*.²⁸ In 1989, Robert Williams was the first man to be ordained as an Episcopal priest who had been openly gay prior to ordination. That same year at All Saints Episcopal Parish in Hoboken, New Jersey, Episcopal Bishop John Shelby Spong began Oasis, an official ministry within the Episcopal Church for LGBTQ members; Rev. Robert Williams served as its first leader.²⁹ In 2003, Rev. Gene Robinson, an openly gay priest, was elected to serve as bishop of the Diocese of New Hampshire; he wore a bulletproof vest to the ceremony of his consecration (Figure 2). Six years later, he delivered the invocation at the inauguration of President Barack Obama.³⁰

In 2004, Integrity USA provided support for the creation of TransEpiscopal, an informal group of transgender Episcopalians. Together, Integrity USA and TransEpiscopal collaborated in the creation of the documentary “Voices of Witness: Out of the Box,” which was released in 2012.³¹

At the 2012 General Convention of the Episcopal Church, almost all of the resolutions proposed by Integrity were adopted as official church policy.³²

²⁸ Malcom Boyd, *Take Off The Masks* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978); Malcom Boyd, *Gay Priest: An Inner Journey* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986); and “Profile: Rev. Canon Malcolm Boyd,” The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=42>.

²⁹ All Saints Episcopal Parish is located at 707 Washington Street, Hoboken, New Jersey.

³⁰ Jerrald L. Townsend, “Profile: Rt. Rev. Gene Robinson,” The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, last modified September 4, 2007, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=189>; and *For the Bible Tells Me So*, dir. Daniel G Karlslake (New York City: First Run Features, 2007). The Episcopal Diocese House is located at 63 Green Street, Concord, New Hampshire. Gene Robinson was consecrated Bishop, amid high security, at the University of New Hampshire's Whittemore Center Arena in Durham.

³¹ Cameron Partridge, “Voices of Witness: Out of the Box,” *TransEpiscopal* (blog), June 4, 2012, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://blog.transepiscopal.com/2012/06/voices-of-witness-out-of-box.html>.

³² Jeffrey S. Stiker, *Homosexuality and Religion*, 108-112; “Our History,” Reconciling Ministries Network website, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.rmnetwork.org/newrmn/who-we-are/history>; “Who We Are: Our History,” Transforming Congregations website, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.transcong.org/1history.htm>; Louie Crew, *A Book of Revelations: Lesbian and Gay Episcopalians Tell Their Own Stories* (Washington, DC: Integrity, 1991).



Figure 2: The Whittemore Center Arena, University of New Hampshire, Durham where Gene Robinson was consecrated Bishop. Photo by John Phelan, 2013.³³

ii) Methodists

In Dallas, Texas in 1971, Rev. Gene Leggett came out as a gay man, and was subsequently defrocked. The following year at the United Methodist General Conference, Leggett met another openly gay minister, Rick Huskey, and the two began outreach to other gay Methodists. Together in Evanston, Illinois in 1975 they convened the United Methodist Gay Caucus, which was soon re-named the Gay United Methodists (GUM).³⁴ Following the 1976 United Methodist General Conference, GUM was re-named again as Affirmation; Peggy Harmon and Michael Collins were instrumental in establishing its national organizational structure.

³³ License: CC BY-SA 3.0

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Whittemore_Center,_UNH,_Durham_NH.jpg

³⁴ "Profile: Gene Leggett," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, last modified June 2, 2014, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=236>.

In 1983, Affirmation launched Reconciling Congregations to encourage local congregations to support LGBTQ members. After the 1984 United Methodist General Conference prohibited the ordination of openly gay clergy, individual congregations began joining the Reconciling Congregations network in defiance. Affirmation and Reconciling Congregations split in 1989; the former continued to operate independently of the church while the latter was re-named Reconciling Ministries in 2000 and continued to act, in part, as a network of Methodist congregations, campus ministries, and others that affirmed LGBTQ people.

In 1992 at the University of California Los Angeles, the Wesley Foundation became the first Reconciling congregation on a college campus, drawing national attention to the ongoing work of Reconciling Congregations.³⁵ In 1996, *Open Hands*, the newsletter of Reconciling Congregations, released a special issue entitled “Transgender Realities.” United Methodists of color gathered in 2000 to address homophobia, which resulted in the founding of United Methodists of Color for a Fully Inclusive Church (UMOC).³⁶ The following year, Union United Methodist Church in Boston, Massachusetts became the first predominantly African American UMC to become part of the network of Reconciling churches.³⁷ In 2007, the year after he disclosed that he was transgender, Rev. Drew Phoenix was confirmed to remain as pastor at Saint John’s UMC in Baltimore, Maryland.³⁸ United Methodist clergy who have been among the vocal advocates for LGBTQ Methodists include Rev. Frank Schaefer, Rev.

³⁵ The Wesley Foundation at the University of California, Los Angeles is located at 580 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

³⁶ “United Methodists of Color for a Fully Inclusive Church,” Reconciling Ministries Network website, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.rmnetwork.org/newrmn/connect/extension-ministries/united-methodists-of-color-for-a-fully-inclusive-church-umoc>.

³⁷ “Our History,” Union United Methodist Church website, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://unionboston.org/about/history>. Union United Methodist Church is located at 485 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts.

³⁸ “Rev. Drew Phoenix,” TransFaith website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.transfaithonline.org/explore/christian/traditions/protestant/drew_umc. Saint John’s United Methodist Church is located at 2640 Saint Paul Street, Baltimore, Maryland.

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Jack Tuell, Rev. Jimmy Creech, Rev. Gregory Dell, and Rev. Jeanne Audrey Powers.³⁹

iii) Lutherans

ReconcilingWorks is a national nonprofit organization of LGBTQ members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) and their allies. Rev. Jim Siefkes received a grant from the American Lutheran Church (which later joined other Lutheran bodies to form the ELCA) to convene a national gathering of gay and lesbian Lutherans. Siefkes gathered five people together in 1974 at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, leading to the founding of Lutherans Concerned for Gay People (LCGP).⁴⁰ Other chapters were subsequently established throughout the country. The first national meeting was held in 1978, where LCGP's name was changed to Lutherans Concerned.

The organization continued to grow, formally expanding its advocacy to bisexuals and transgender people in 2003 and changing its name again in 2012 to ReconcilingWorks. That same year an offshoot group from

³⁹ *An Act of Love*, dir. Scott Sheppard (Los Angeles: Chhibber Mann Productions, 2015); Steve Chawkins, "Jack Tuell Dies at 90; Bishop had Late-Life Change of Mind on Gay Ordination, Marriage" *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 2014, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://articles.latimes.com/2014/jan/13/local/la-me-jack-tuell-20140114>; "Jimmy Creech," Faith in America website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.faithinamerica.org/about-fia/board-members/jimmy-creech>; "Gregory R. Dell," Affirmation: United Methodists for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Concerns website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.umaffirm.org/corner/gregdell.html>; and Katrina Martin, "'The Journey' of Reverend Jeanne Audrey Powers' Papers at Duke," *The Devil's Tale: Dispatches from the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library* (blog) April 8, 2015, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://blogs.library.duke.edu/rubenstein/2015/04/08/the-journey-of-reverend-jeanne-audrey-powers-papers-at-duke>. See also: Dorothy Lowe Williams, *The Church Studies Homosexuality: A Study for United Methodist Groups Using the Report of the Committee to Study Homosexuality* (Nashville: Cokesbury, 1994); Mary Jo Osterman, *Claiming the Promise: An Ecumenical Welcoming Bible Study Resource on Homosexuality* (Chicago: Reconciling Congregation Program, 1997); "A Brief History of Affirmation," Affirmation: United Methodists for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Concerns website, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.umaffirm.org/um/about-us/2-a-brief-history-of-affirmation>; "Our History," Reconciling Ministries Network website, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.rmnetwork.org/newrmn/who-we-are/history>; and Betsy L. Halsey, "What Does the Lord Require of Us? Ministries to and with Gays and Lesbians," *Quarterly Review* 14, no. 2 (Summer 1994): 181-195.

⁴⁰ The University of Minnesota is located at 100 Church Street SE, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

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Lutherans Concerned, TransLutherans, was founded.⁴¹ Also in 2012, Bishop Mark Hanson addressed a national gathering of Lutherans Concerned at Luther Place Memorial Church in Washington, DC; this marked the first time that a presiding bishop addressed the organization.⁴² The following year, Guy Erwin, a Native American of the Osage Nation, became the first openly gay bishop to serve the ELCA when he was elected to serve the Southwest California Synod.⁴³ ReconcilingWorks continues to advocate for LGBTQ people at the national institutional level while cultivating support at the level of local congregations through its Reconciling in Christ program.⁴⁴

iv) Presbyterians

More Light is a national nonprofit organization of LGBTQ members of the Presbyterian Church (USA) and their allies. At the 1974 Presbyterian General Assembly in Louisville, Kentucky, David Bailey Sindt gathered other gay people and founded the Presbyterian Gay Caucus, which was later re-named Presbyterians for Gay Concerns, and then re-named again as Presbyterians for Lesbian and Gay Concerns (PLGC). The following year, Bill Silver, an openly gay man, became a candidate for ministry in New York City. Local Presbyterian ministers, uncertain of whether Silver's status as an openly gay man affected his eligibility for the ministry, appealed to the national General Assembly for guidance. The General

⁴¹ "TransLutherans Affinity Group Formed at ReconcilingWorks 2012," ReconcilingWorks: Lutherans for Full Participation, accessed December 3, 2015, <https://www.reconcilingworks.org/translutherans-affinity-group-formed-at-reconciling-works-2012>; and JamieAnn Meyers, "Lutherans for Full LGBT Participation," *Huffington Post*, July 16, 2012, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jamieann-meyers/translutherans-for-full-lgbt-participation_b_1667018.html.

⁴² Chuck Colbert, "Lutheran Bishop Makes Pro-Gay History," *Windy City Times*, July 7, 2012, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/Lutheran-bishop-makes-pro-gay-history/38602.html>. Luther Place Memorial Church is located at 1226 Vermont Avenue NW, Washington, DC.

⁴³ Antonia Blumberg, "Bishop Comes Out as Gay After 'A Lifetime of Denying' The Truth," *Huffington Post*, July 30, 2015, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/lutheran-bishop-comes-out-as-gay-after_55b6637ce4b0074ba5a54ac5. The Southwest California Synod (ECLA) has its offices at 1300 East Colorado Street, Glendale, California.

⁴⁴ Leslie F. Weber et al., *Talking Together As Christians About Homosexuality: A Guide for Congregations* (Chicago: Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, 1999); and "A Brief History of Our Names and Amazing People," ReconcilingWorks: Lutherans for Full Participation, accessed December 3, 2015, <https://www.reconcilingworks.org/a-brief-history-of-our-names-and-amazing-people>.

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Assembly formed a task force that subsequently declared that being openly gay should not disqualify a candidate for ministry. This decision resulted in a backlash. The 1978 General Assembly propounded a homophobic theology and denied ordination of openly gay clergy, which in turn resulted in some congregations taking action by publically welcoming gay members in defiance, starting in 1978 with the West Park Presbyterian Church in New York City.⁴⁵ This network of defiant congregations formed the More Light Churches Network (MLCN) in 1992. In 1998 this network combined with Presbyterians for Gay and Lesbian Concerns, forming More Light Presbyterians.



Figure 3: The Downtown United Presbyterian Church, Rochester, New York. Photo by Jerrye & Roy Klotz, MD, 2008.⁴⁶

Presbyterians who advocate for LGBTQ people have also engaged in direct action to protest their denomination's policies. At the 1991 General Assembly in Baltimore, Maryland, at which homophobic policies were again reaffirmed, a major demonstration was held by a group calling itself Presbyterian ACT UP—an organization started by the openly gay Rev. Howard Warren that modeled its tactics on the direct action advocacy group, AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power (ACT UP). In

⁴⁵ West Park Presbyterian Church is located at 165 West 86th Street, New York City, New York.

⁴⁶ License: CC BY-SA 4.0

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:BRICK_PRESBYTERIAN_CHURCH_COMPLEX,ROCHESTER,MONROE_COUNTY.jpg

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1993, the Downtown United Presbyterian Church in Rochester, New York enlisted openly lesbian Rev. Janie Spahr to advocate for LGBTQ people within the Presbyterian Church; she traveled nationally in her outreach work (Figure 3).⁴⁷ Susan Halcomb Craig, retired pastor at United University Church on the University of Southern California campus, has been an outspoken advocate and writer whose work has included a focus on bisexuals.⁴⁸

v) Baptists

Perhaps the most visible organizing of LGBTQ Baptists has occurred within the denomination of the American Baptist Churches USA (ABCUSA). In that denomination, American Baptists Concerned for Sexual Minorities was founded during the 1972 national American Baptist convention in Denver, Colorado. At the 1986 ABCUSA Biennial in Pittsburgh, ministers Howard Moody, David Bartlett, and Edwina Hunter were among those who formed “Professional Church Leaders Concerned” to work with American Baptists Concerned in advocating for LGBTQ members of the denomination.⁴⁹ At the 1991 ABCUSA Biennial in Charlestown, West Virginia, Rev. Michael Easterling facilitated a meeting of over fifty people to develop a network of pro-LGBTQ ABCUSA congregations. The following year, Nadean Bishop was called to serve as minister at the University Baptist Church in Minneapolis, Minnesota—possibly the first openly

⁴⁷ Janie Spahr, “Profile: Rev. Dr. Jane Adams Spahr,” The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, last modified November 6, 2015, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=1>. Downtown United Presbyterian Church is located at 121 North Fitzhugh Street, Rochester, New York. It was added to the NRHP as the Brick Presbyterian Church Complex on March 12, 1992.

⁴⁸ R.W. Holmen, *Queer Clergy: A History of Gay and Lesbian Ministry in American Protestantism* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 2013); James D. Anderson, “The Lesbian and Gay Liberation Movement in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), 1974-1996,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 34, no. 2 (1997): 37-65; and Jane Adams Spahr, *Called Out: The Voices and Gifts of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered Presbyterians* (Gaithersburg, MD: Chi Rho Press, 1995). United University Church is located at 817 West Thirty-Fourth Street, Los Angeles, California.

⁴⁹ “Howard R. Moody, Influential Minister-Activist, 91,” Judson Memorial Church website, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.judson.org/Howard-Moody-Obituary>; David L. Bartlett, “A Biblical Perspective on Homosexuality,” in *Homosexuality and the Christian Faith: A Symposium*, ed. Harold L. Twiss (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1978); and Edwina Hunter, “The Preacher as a Social Being in the Community of Faith,” *Religion Online*, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.religion-online.org/showchapter.asp?title=1084&C=1108>.

lesbian minister to serve a Baptist congregation.⁵⁰ In 1993, the Association of Welcoming and Affirming Baptists was formed during the ABCUSA Biennial in San Jose, California. The two organizations merged in 2003.⁵¹

Beginning in 2002, local congregations that affirmed LGBTQ people but that were based in conservative regions of the American Baptist Convention were allowed to disavow membership within their region and instead apply for membership in other geographic regions of the church that were less conservative. This decision sometimes made the administration of local congregations in the context of the larger denomination complicated, but which appeared to offer compromise instead of schism. By 2015, one hundred Baptist congregations had affiliated with the Association of Welcoming and Affirming Baptists, including Old Cambridge Baptist in Cambridge, Massachusetts—which had declared itself welcoming to LGBTQ people as early as 1983.⁵²

vi) United Church of Christ

In 1972, members of the United Church of Christ (UCC) formed the Gay Caucus, later re-named the Open and Affirming Coalition. That same year, Rev. William R. Johnson was ordained to serve as minister at the Community UCC in San Carlos, California, becoming the first openly gay

⁵⁰ "Pastors," University Baptist Church website, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.ubcmn.org/about-us/our-history/pastors>. University Baptist Church is located at 1219 University Avenue SE, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

⁵¹ Alliance of Baptists, Task Force on Human Sexuality, *A Clear Voice* (Washington, DC: The Alliance, 1999).

⁵² "About Us," Old Cambridge Baptist Church website, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.oldcambridgebaptist.org/welcome/about-us>. Old Cambridge Baptist Church is located at 1151 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts. It was listed on the NRHP on April 13, 1982. See also: Bill Leonard, *Baptists in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); Judy Yates Siker, "American Baptist Churches USA," in *Homosexuality and Religion*, 56-58; American Baptists Concerned for Sexual Minorities, "Witch Hunts Begin in Earnest," *Voice of the Turtle: The Newsletter of American Baptists Concerned for Sexual Minorities* (Fall 1994); and "Welcoming and Affirming Baptist Timeline," Association of Welcoming and Affirming Baptists website, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.awab.org/history.html>.

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UCC minister.⁵⁴ In 1977, Rev. Anne Holmes was ordained as the first openly lesbian UCC minister. The UCC's 1985 General Synod urged member congregations to welcome lesbian, gay, and bisexual members; a similar statement was later made regarding transgender members. The General Synod had no authority to require this of congregations, and the UCC's national office did not provide funding for support. In 1987, Rev. Ann Day and Donna Enberg spearheaded a program called Open and Affirming (ONA) to provide that support to congregations by raising money from individuals, congregations, and foundations. The first UCC church to be designated Open and Affirming was Riverside Church in New York City (Figure 4).⁵⁵ In 2004, openly transgender Rev. Malcolm Himschoot was ordained at Washington Park UCC in Denver, Colorado. The following year, the UCC produced a documentary about his life and career, "Call Me Malcolm."⁵⁶ Also in 2005, openly lesbian UCC minister Rev. Rebecca Voelkel became

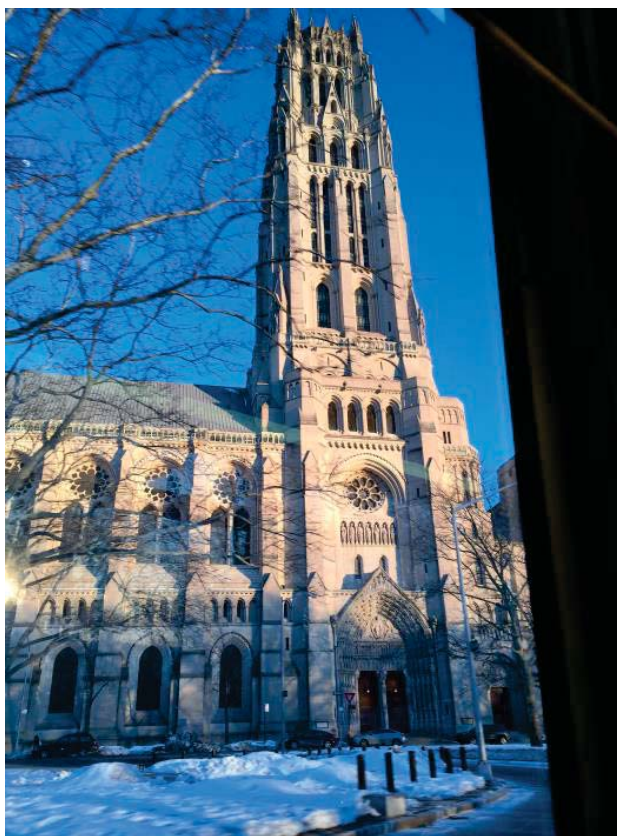


Figure 4: Riverside Church, New York City. Photo by travellingcari, 2015.⁵³

⁵³ License: CC BY-NC 2.0 <https://www.flickr.com/photos/travellingcari/16677977385>

⁵⁴ "Exhibits: The Historic Ordination of William R. Johnson," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.lgbtran.org/Exhibits/Johnson/index.htm>; and Elliot Owen, "First Out UCC Minister Honored," *Bay Area Reporter*, June 21, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=67817>. Community United Church of Christ is located at 1336 Arroyo Avenue, San Carlos, California.

⁵⁵ Riverside Church is located at 490 Riverside Drive, New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on December 12, 2012.

⁵⁶ Electa Draper, "Church's Transgender Pastor Grateful for Life 'Beyond My Wildest Dreams,'" *Denver Post*, March 14 2011, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.denverpost.com/ci_17608273; *Call Me Malcolm*, dir. Joseph Parlagreco (Warren, NJ: Passion River, 2005). Washington Park UCC is located at 400 South Williams Street, Denver, Colorado.

executive director of the Institute for Welcoming Resources (IWR), an ecumenical organization of LGBTQ-affirming congregations across many denominations that had been founded three years earlier. During Rev. Voelkel's tenure, IWR expanded its operations by affiliating with the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the oldest national LGBTQ advocacy organization in the country.⁵⁷

vii) Protestant New Religious Movements

"New Religious Movements" within US Protestantism are relatively recent in their origin and frequently embrace forms of doctrine or practice that might appear unorthodox to more established denominations.

These movements have also given rise to LGBTQ-affirming organizing. One example is Affirmation, a group for gay and lesbian members and former members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, also known as Mormons. Affirmation was founded in Salt Lake City in 1977 under the leadership of Stephan Zakharias. Although this founding group lasted only until 1978, Affirmation was resurrected in Los Angeles in 1980 under the leadership of Paul Mortensen. Other Affirmation groups were subsequently founded throughout the United States. Members of Affirmation continue to advocate for LGBTQ Mormons in opposition to the church's continuing condemnation of same-sex sexuality and relationships.⁵⁸ Emergence International formed after national

⁵⁷ "History of the Institute for Welcoming Resources," Institute for Welcoming Resources website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.welcomingresources.org/history.htm>; "Faith Transitions at National Gay and Lesbian Task Force," National LGBTQ Task Force website, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.thetaskforce.org/faith-transitions-at-national-gay-and-lesbian-task-force>; and Rebecca Voelkel, "Profile: Rev. Rebecca Voelkel," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=242>. See also: UCC Coalition for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Concerns, Open and Affirming Program, *Open and Affirming, Yes, It Matters! : How this Spirited Movement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Inclusion and Affirmation is Blessing and Transforming Individuals and Faith communities in the United Church of Christ* (Holden, MA: United Church of Christ, 2005); Christopher P. Scheitle, Stephen M. Marino, and Andrew Moore, "On the Varying Meaning of 'Open and Affirming,'" *Journal of Homosexuality* 57, no. 10 (2010): 1223-1236; and Gary David Comstock, "Aliens in the Promised Land," *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 41, no. 3-4 (1987): 93-104.

⁵⁸ R. Phillips, *Conservative Christian Identity & Same-sex Orientation: The Case of Gay Mormons* (New York City, NY: Peter Lang, 2005); Ronald L. Schow and Wayne Schow, *Peculiar People : Mormons and*

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conferences of Christian Scientists in Chicago in 1983 and 1985. In 1978, Craig Rodwell, who was also the founder and owner of the Oscar Wilde Bookshop, was a co-founder of Gay People in Christian Science (GPICS). Perhaps the largest group of LGBTQ Christian Scientists is the New York City Christian Science Group, which meets at New York's Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center.⁵⁹ Gay men in the Seventh-day Adventist Church met in 1976 in Palm Desert, California after posting an announcement in the gay news magazine, *The Advocate*. Adopting the name "Kinship," additional members soon enrolled from San Francisco.⁶⁰

viii) Anabaptists

In 1976, the Brethren/Mennonite Council for Lesbian and Gay Concerns (BMC) was founded, and two years later, in 1978, the Rainbow Boulevard Mennonite Church of Kansas City, Kansas announced that it would welcome gay and lesbian couples as members. The BMC was initially invited to participate in a 1983 conference that brought together the two largest Mennonite bodies in North America (the General Conference Mennonite Church, or GC, and the Mennonites in North America, or the MC). The participation of the BMC was controversial, and in the years following, the GC and MC increasingly hardened their stance against lesbian and gay membership and leadership. The opposition to LGBTQ members and leaders has continued since the 2002 merger of the

Same-Sex Orientation (Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1991); Richley H. Crapo, "Latter-Day Saint Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Spirituality," in *Gay Religion*, eds. Scott Thumma and Edward R Gray (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2005): 99-114.

⁵⁹ Laura K. O'Keefe, Craig Rodwell Papers, 1940-1993, New York Public Library Manuscripts and Archives Division, <http://www.nypl.org/sites/default/files/archivalcollections/pdf/rodwell.pdf>; Bruce Stores, *Christian Science: Its Encounter with Lesbian/Gay America* (New York: iUniversity, 2004); "About the Group," The New York City Christian Science Group website, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.nycsgroup.com/about.php>. The New York City Christian Science Group meets at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center, located at 208 West 13th Street, New York City, New York.

⁶⁰ David Ferguson, Fritz Guy, and David R Larson, *Christianity and Homosexuality: Some Seventh-day Adventist Perspectives* (Roseville, CA: Adventist Forum, 2008); René Drumm, "No Longer an Oxymoron: Integrating Gay and Lesbian Seventh-day Adventist Identities," in *Gay Religion*, 47-66. See also: Melissa Wilcox, "Same-Sex Eroticism and Gender Fluidity in New and Alternative Religions," in *Introduction to New and Alternative Religions in America*, Volume I, eds. Eugene V. Gallagher and W. Michael Ashcraft (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006): 243-265.

two bodies into the Mennonite Church USA. Nevertheless, at the local level, some Mennonite congregations openly welcome LGBTQ members.⁶¹

iv) Quakers

LGBTQ members of the Religious Society of Friends, also known as Quakers, began organizing in the 1970s as the “Friends Committee for Concern.” In August 1972, attendees at the Friends General Conference meeting, held at Ithaca College, drafted a formal statement on bisexuality. Published in the *Advocate*, this may be the first declaration by a religious group in the United States in support of bisexuals.⁶² The Friends Committee for Concern group was re-named Friends for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Concerns (FLGBTQC) during a 2003



Figure 5: Ghost Ranch, Abiquiú, New Mexico. Photo by Ron Cogswell, 2013.⁶³

⁶¹ Michael A. King, *Fractured Dance: Gadamer and a Mennonite Conflict Over Homosexuality* (Telford, PA: Pandora Press, 2001); Ted Grimsrud and Mark Nation, *Reasoning Together : A Conversation on Homosexuality* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 2008); and Jan Braun “Whose Law?: Queer Mennonites and Same-Sex Marriage,” *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 32 (2014): 97-113.

⁶² Robert A. Martin, Jr., “Quakers ‘Come Out’ at Conference,” *Advocate* August 2, 1972: 8. Ithaca College is located at 953 Danby Road, Ithaca, New York.

⁶³ License: CC BY 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/22711505@N05/9542784668>

meeting at the Ghost Ranch in Abiquiú, New Mexico, and has become national in scope (Figure 5).⁶⁴ Diane Pasta is a member of the Salmon Bay Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends in Seattle, Washington whose writing has included a focus on bisexuality and religion.⁶⁵

v) Unitarians

The Unitarian Universalist Association (UUA) has been one of the earliest and most vocal denominations to champion LGBTQ people. Rev. James Stoll, a Unitarian minister, may have become the first openly gay ordained minister when he came out during a conference in 1969 at the La Foret Conference Center and Retreat Center in Colorado.⁶⁶ Stoll was instrumental in the UUA's adoption of a gay rights resolution the following year. The UUA headquarters, located in Boston, established an "Office of Gay Affairs" in 1973—the first such agency within a national religious organization in the United States.⁶⁷ In 1984, the UUA adopted a resolution to perform commitment ceremonies for same-sex couples. The first openly transgender minister was ordained in 1988, and in 2002, the first transgender UU minister called to serve a congregation, Rev. Sean Dennison, began his ministry at the South Valley Unitarian Universalist Society, in Utah.⁶⁸ Rev. Ann Schranz, of the Monte Vista Unitarian

⁶⁴ The Ghost Ranch Education and Retreat Center is located at 280 Private Drive 1708, Abiquiú, New Mexico. Ghost Ranch was designated a National Natural Landscape in 1976 (a program similar to NHL, but for outstanding natural features. The NNL program is also administered by the NPS).

⁶⁵ David Blamires, *Pushing at the Frontiers of Change: A Memoir of Quaker Involvement with Homosexuality* (London: Quaker Books, 2012); Quaker Lesbian & Gay Fellowship, *Part of the Rainbow: A Plain Quaker Look at Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Lives* (Harrogate, York, UK: Quaker Lesbian and Gay Fellowship, 2004); Debra Kolodny, *Blessed Bi Spirit: Bisexual People of Faith* (New York: Continuum, 2000); and "June 1972: The Ithaca Statement," *BiMedia.org: Bisexual News and Opinion*, accessed June 6, 2015, <http://bimedia.org/1984/june-1972-the-ithaca-statement>. Salmon Bay Friends Meeting meets at 6532 Phinney Avenue North, Seattle, Washington.

⁶⁶ The La Foret Conference and Retreat Center is located at 6145 Shoup Road, Colorado Springs, Colorado. Two structures on the La Foret property are listed on the NRHP: Ponderosa Lodge was listed on August 29, 2008 and the Taylor Memorial Chapel was listed on April 15, 1999.

⁶⁷ UUA headquarters was then located at 25 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

⁶⁸ The South Valley Unitarian Universalist Society is located at 6876 South Highland Drive, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Universalist Congregation in Monte Vista, California, has focused on bisexuals and religion in her writing.⁶⁹

vi) Metropolitan Community Church

The Metropolitan Community Church (MCC), also sometimes called the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches, was established as a gay denomination. It began when Troy Perry, who had served as a pastor for Pentecostal congregations before coming out as a gay man, placed an announcement in *The Advocate* for a religious gathering of gays that led to a small meeting in his Huntington Park, CA home in 1968. Membership quickly grew, with Perry overseeing same-sex commitment ceremonies as early as 1970. The congregation met in a variety of locations before acquiring their first building in Los Angeles, California in 1971.⁷⁰ The second MCC church convened in San Francisco in 1970 in California Hall, where the Council on Religion and the Homosexual had held the New Year's Ball five years before; over eight hundred people participated at an inaugural service at which Troy Perry preached.⁷¹

In 1973, thirty-two people died in an arson attack at the UpStairs Lounge, a gay bar in New Orleans, Louisiana; the New Orleans MCC had previously conducted services in the building and many who were killed in the fire were members of the congregation, including MCC pastor Rev. Bill Larson and assistant pastor George Mitchell.⁷²

⁶⁹ Ann Schranz, "Coming Out in Faith," Monte Vista Unitarian Universalist Congregation website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.montevistauu.org/minister/NewspaperColumns/2011_October_Daily_Bulletin_column.pdf. Monte Vista Unitarian Universalist Congregation is located at 9185 Monte Vista Avenue, Monte Vista, California. See also: Scott Alexander and Meg Riley, *The Welcoming Congregation Handbook: Resources for Affirming Bisexual, Gay, Lesbian, and/or Transgender People* (Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association, 1999).

⁷⁰ The original MCC was located at 2201 South Union Avenue, Los Angeles, California. The building burned in 1973—possibly the result of arson.

⁷¹ "MCC San Francisco Timeline," Metropolitan Community Church San Francisco website, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://mccsf.org/timeline>. California Hall is located at 625 Polk Street, San Francisco, California.

⁷² Helen Freund, "UpStairs Lounge Fire Provokes Powerful Memories 40 Years Later," *Times-Picayune*, June 22, 2013, accessed December 3, 2015,

In spite of hostility, national interest in the church grew quickly, and the first national conference was held in 1970, drawing delegates from eight cities. The MCC has since continued to grow into an international denomination with over two hundred congregations. A Dallas MCC congregation commissioned openly gay architect Philip Johnson to design their building, and affiliated with the United Church of Christ in 2006. As the Cathedral of Hope, with roughly four thousand members, it is perhaps the largest liberal Christian congregation with a primary outreach to LGBTQ people (Figure 6).⁷⁴



Figure 6: Cathedral of Hope, Dallas, Texas. Photo by PTMurphus, 2015.⁷³

http://www.nola.com/traffic/index.ssf/2013/06/upstairs_lounge_fire_40_years.html; Erik Ose, "Gay Weddings and 32 Funerals: Remembering the UpStairs Lounge Fire," *Huffington Post*, July 11, 2008, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/erik-ose/gay-weddings-and-32-funer_b_110084.html; "Exhibits: The UpStairs Lounge Fire," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://exhibits.lgbtran.org/exhibits/show/upstairs-lounge-fire>; and *UpStairs Inferno*, dir. Robert L. Camina (Dallas, TX: Camina Entertainment, 2015). The UpStairs Lounge was located at 141 Chartres Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

⁷³ License: CC BY-NC 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/murphus/17513221388>

⁷⁴ Troy Perry and Thomas Swicegood, *Don't Be Afraid Anymore: The Story of Troy Perry and the Metropolitan Community Churches* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990); Chris Glaser, *Troy Perry: Pastor and Prophet* (West Hollywood, CA: Metropolitan Community Churches, 2005); Krista McQueeney, "'We Are God's Children, Y'all': Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Lesbian- and Gay-Affirming Congregations," *Social Problems* 56, no. 1 (2009): 151-173; 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 and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 8 (2001): 149-168; and Melissa Wilcox, "Of Markets and Missions: the Early History of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches," *Religion and American Culture* 11, no.1 (Winter 2001): 83-108. The Cathedral of Hope is located at 5910 Cedar Springs Road, Dallas, Texas. Architect Philip Johnson's Glass House in New Canaan, Connecticut was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on February 18, 1997.

vii) The Black Church

Within Protestantism, “the Black Church” can refer to (a) historically African American denominations such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, (b) predominantly African American congregations within otherwise largely white denominations such as the United Church of Christ, and (c) independent African American congregations that are not affiliated with any denomination. The affirmation of LGBTQ African Americans can be found in each of these parts of the Black Church, as well as in the work of independent Black theologians and scholars.⁷⁵

Union United Methodist Church is one of Boston’s oldest African American congregations.⁷⁶ Beginning in 2000 under the leadership of Rev. Theodore Lockhart, the church made an unprecedented move among

⁷⁵ Gary David Comstock, *A Whosoever Church: Welcoming Lesbians and Gay Men into African American Congregations* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001); Todd C. Shaw and Eric L. McDaniel, “Whosoever Will’: Black Theology, Homosexuality, and the Black Political Church,” in *The Expanding Boundaries of Black Politics*, ed. Georgia Anne Persons (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2007), 137-155; R. G. Blaxton, “‘Jesus Wept’: Reflections on HIV Disease and the Churches of Black Folk” in *Dangerous Liaisons: Blacks, Gays, and the Struggle for Equality*, ed. E. Brandt (New York City: The New Press, 1998), 102-141; Keith Boykin, “Bearing Witness: Faith in the Lives of Black Lesbians and Gays,” in *One More River to Cross: Black and Gay in America*, ed. Keith Boykin (New York: Anchor Books, 1996); Kelly Brown Douglass, “Black Church Homophobia: What to Do About It?”, *Reflections: A Magazine of Theological and Ethical Inquiry from Yale Divinity School*, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://reflections.yale.edu/article/sex-and-church/black-church-homophobia-what-do-about-it>; D. Constantine-Simms, ed., *The Greatest Taboo: Homosexuality in Black Communities* (Los Angeles: Alyson Books, 2000), 110-111; Aryana Bates, “Liberation in Truth: African American Lesbians Reflect on Religion, Spirituality, and Their Church” in *Gay Religion*, 221-238; Elijah G. Ward, “Homophobia, Hypermasculinity and the US Black Church,” *Culture, Health and Society* 7 (2005): 493-504; Horace Griffin, *Their Own Receive Them Not: African American Lesbians and Gays in Black Churches* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 2006); Anthony Stanford, *Homophobia in the Black Church: How Faith, Politics, and Fear Divide the Black Community* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2013); Yvette Flunder, *Where the Edge Gathers: Building a Community of Radical Inclusion* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 2005); Ashton T. Crawley, “Circum-Religious Performance: Queer(ed) Black Bodies and the Black Church,” *Theology & Sexuality* 14, no. 2 (January 2008): 201-222; and Delano Squires, “Black Church Leaders Ask for Forgiveness From the LGBT Community,” *The Root*, March 3, 2011, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.theroot.com/articles/culture/2011/03/black_church_leaders Seeking_forgiveness_from_the_lgbt_community.html.

⁷⁶ Union United Methodist Church is located at 485 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts.



Figure 7: City of Refuge, 1025 Howard Street, San Francisco, California. Photo by Cary Bass-Dechenes, 2010.⁷⁷

black Methodist congregations to unequivocally support LGBTQ members and offer support for those affected by HIV.⁷⁸

Bishop Yvette Flunder was raised within the Church of God In Christ (an historically African American Pentecostal denomination) and established the predominantly LGBTQ African American congregation City of Refuge in San Francisco in 1991. Services were held for a period at 1025 Howard Street in San Francisco (Figure 7) until the congregation re-located to Oakland in 2013. In 1995, City of Refuge formally became part of the United Church of Christ. City of Refuge gave rise to Transcendence, possibly the first transgender gospel choir.⁷⁹ Flunder, who is openly lesbian, also founded the Fellowship of Affirming Ministries in 2000, a

⁷⁷ License: CC BY-SA 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/bastique/5102053237>

⁷⁸ Irene Monroe, "Guest Post: One LGBT-Inclusive Black Church in Boston Paves the Way," GLAAD website, February 27, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.glaad.org/blog/guest-post-one-lgbt-inclusive-black-church-boston-paves-way>.

⁷⁹ Rona Marech, "Singing the Gospel of Transcendence," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 18, 2004, accessed December 3, 2015, <http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/SAN-FRANCISCO-Singing-the-gospel-of-2791956.php>; "Transcendence Gospel Choir," TransFaith website, accessed December 3, 2015, http://www.transfaithonline.org/explore/christian/traditions/black/transcendence_gospel_choir.

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coalition of approximately forty congregations of different denominations, many of which are predominantly African American and/or led by LGBTQ ministers.⁸⁰

Carl Bean, an entertainer who attended the Metropolitan Community Church's Samaritan College, established the Unity Fellowship Church in 1982 in Los Angeles as a church for LGBTQ African Americans. Meetings were held in members' homes before holding public services at the Cockatoo Inn in Hawthorne, California, then at the Ebony Showcase Theater, and later at the Carl Bean Center, both in Los Angeles, California.⁸¹ The congregation has since expanded into the Unity Fellowship Church Movement with congregations throughout the country. Charlene Jacqueline Arcila-Ecks was a transgender activist who served as minister at Unity Fellowship of Christ Church in Philadelphia until her death in 2015.⁸²

In 2012, Pastor Romell Weekly co-founded The Sanctuary, a non-denominational church with connections to both the North American Baptist Conference and the Evangelical Free Church of America. Currently located in Kirkwood, Missouri, the mission of the church is to be a multi-racial, LGBTQ-affirming congregation.⁸³

⁸⁰ City of Refuge UCC is located at 8400 Enterprise Way, Oakland, California. "Oral History: Yvette Flunder," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.lgbtran.org/Interview.aspx?ID=25>; and "Our History," City of Refuge United Church of Christ website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://cityofrefugeucc.org/about/our-history>.

⁸¹ Cockatoo Inn was located at 11500 Acacia Avenue, Hawthorne, California. The Ebony Showcase Theater was at 4718 West Washington Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. The Carl Bean Center is located at 5149 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

⁸² Pamela Leong, "Religion, Flesh, and Blood: Re-creating Religious Culture in the Context of HIV/AIDS," *Sociology of Religion* 67, no. 3 (2006): 295-311; "History of UFCM," Unity Fellowship Church Movement website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.unityfellowshipchurch.org/mainsite/?page_id=20; and Linda Rapp, "Bean, Carl (b. 1944)," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.glbtaarchive.com/ssh/bean_c_S.pdf. The Unity Fellowship of Christ Church meets at the Arch Street Methodist Church, 55 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

⁸³ "About Our Church," The Sanctuary website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.thesanctuarystl.org/about-our-church>. The Sanctuary is located at 601 McKinley Avenue, Kirkwood, Missouri. "Profile: Charlene Jacqueline Arcila-Ecks," TransFaith, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.transfaithonline.org/display/article/profile-minister-charlene-jacqueline-arcila/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=1206.

Other LGBTQ-affirming African American congregations are not affiliated with a major denomination. One example is Faith Temple, founded by Pentecostal minister James Tinney in Washington, DC, in 1982.⁸⁴ Another example is Inner Light Ministries—also in Washington, DC. Founded by Rev. Kwabena Rainier Cheeks in 1993, it initially was part of the Unity Fellowship Church Movement before becoming independent in 2002.⁸⁵ Another example comes from the work of Alex D. Byrd, who conducted Bible study sessions with LGBTQ people before holding services as the Living Faith Church of the Full Covenant at the Wyndham Garden Hotel in Dallas, Texas in 2000. The church’s name was later changed to Living Faith Covenant Church.⁸⁶

Other openly LGBTQ African American religious leaders have not always been the pastors of regular congregations. Rev. Peter Gomes served as minister at an American Baptist congregation in Plymouth, Massachusetts before being appointed in 1970 as senior pastor at Harvard University’s non-denominational Memorial Church and a member of Harvard’s faculty

⁸⁴ “Profile: Dr. James S. Tinney,” The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=66>; and Joseph D. Whitaker, “James Tinney, Howard U. Professor, Dies,” *Washington Post*, June 15, 1988, accessed December 5, 2015, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1988/06/15/james-tinney-howard-u-professor-dies/46b04f36-870f-4dd9-883c-3c2c5e2b1111>. Faith Temple is located at 1313 New York Avenue NW, Washington, DC.

⁸⁵ Inner Light Ministries initially met at the First Congregational Church at Tenth and G Streets NW, Washington, DC. “About Us,” Inner Light Ministries website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.innerlightministries.com/about-us>.

⁸⁶ Wyndham Garden Hotel is located at 2645 Lyndon B. Johnson Freeway, Dallas, Texas. “Church History,” Living Faith Covenant Church website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.livingfaithdfw.org/AboutUs/ChurchHistory.aspx>.

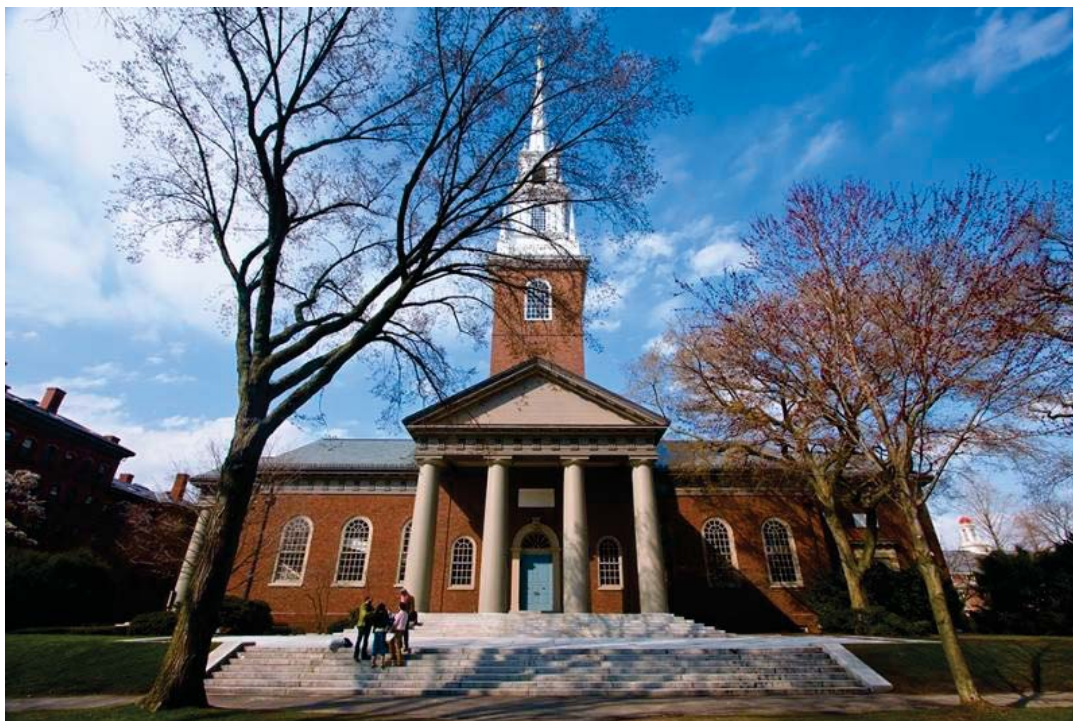


Figure 8: Harvard Memorial Church, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Photo by Rian Castillo, 2009.⁸⁷

(Figure 8).⁸⁸ When he came out as a gay man in 1991, his position at Harvard gave him a national platform to advocate for LGBTQ people, which he did until his death in 2011. Rev. Irene Monroe, a PhD candidate at Harvard, served as pastor of a predominantly black Presbyterian church before becoming a syndicated religion columnist and contributing writer in the national media. Her writings regularly include a focus on the role of religion in the lives of LGBTQ African Americans.⁸⁹ Rev. Roland Stringfellow, an American Baptist minister, is director of ministerial outreach at the Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies in Religion and Ministry and

⁸⁷ License: CC BY 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/digitizedchaos/3523667077>

⁸⁸ Robert D. McFadden, "Rev. Peter Gomes is Dead at 68; A Leading Voice Against Intolerance," *New York Times*, March 1, 2011, accessed December 5, 2015,

<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/02/us/02gomes.html>; Justin C. Worland, "Remembering Reverend Peter Gomes, Beloved Harvard Spiritual Leader," *The Harvard Crimson*, March 2, 2011, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2011/3/2/gomes-harvard-university-cox/?page=single>. Harvard University's Memorial Church is located at 1 Harvard Yard, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

⁸⁹ "Irene Monroe," *Huffington Post*, accessed December 5, 2015,

<http://www.huffingtonpost.com/irene-monroe>; "Rev. Irene Monroe," Faith in America website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.faithinamerica.org/about-fia/board-members/irene-monroe>; Reverend Irene Monroe! website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.irenemonroe.com/home>.

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coordinator of the African American Roundtable at the Pacific School of Religion—an ecumenical seminary in Berkeley, California.⁹⁰ In addition to his writings in national media, Rev. Stringfellow has served as director of the Umoja Project, a project assisting African American pastors and church leaders in supporting LGBTQ congregants.⁹¹ Renee L. Hill has taught and been a consultant at a number of institutions, including Drew University in Madison, New Jersey and Seabury-Western Theological Seminary in Chicago.⁹²

Other African American LGBTQ clergy and lay leaders have created online networks among Black Church members across denominational lines. These include Senior Minister Camarion D. Anderson, Pastor Raymond Walker II, Yeshua Aaron Holiday, Minister Felicia Harris, Minister Louis Mitchell, and Rev. Yunus Coldman, of the TransSaints network; and Rev. Cedric A. Harmon, Rev. Candy Holmes, Rev. Dr. Pamela Lightsey, and others involved in the Many Voices network.⁹³

Some pastors of black congregations do not necessarily identify as LGBTQ but have been strongly vocal in their support of LGBTQ people—sometimes losing significant numbers of members from their congregations as a result. These include Rev. Dennis Meredith of Tabernacle Baptist Church and Rev. Kenneth Samuel of Victory Church, both in the Atlanta, Georgia area.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Roland Stringfellow, “Soul Work: Developing a Black GLBT Liberation Theology,” in *Queer Religion* Vol. I, eds. Donald L Boisvert and Jay Emerson Johnson (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2012): 113-126; “Rev. Roland Stringfellow,” Pacific School of Religion website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.psr.edu/portfolio/rev-roland-stringfellow>. The Pacific School of Religion is located at 1798 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley, California.

⁹¹ Roland Stringfellow, “Umoja Project Unites Black Faith Leaders around LGBT Equality,” *Huffington Post*, February 15, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/rev-roland-stringfellow/umoja-project-brings-together-black-leaders-around-lgbt-equality>.

⁹² Renee L. Hill, “Who Are We for Each Other?” in *Black Theology: A Documentary History*, Volume II: 1980-1992, eds. James H. Cone and Gayraud S. Wilmore (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1993), 345-351.

⁹³ “About Us – TransSaints,” TransSaints website, accessed February 24, 2016, <http://www.trans saints.org/about-us.html>; “Organizational Background - Many Voices,” Many Voices website, accessed February 24, 2016, <http://www.manyvoices.org/about/background>.

⁹⁴ Neela Banerjee, “For Some Black Pastors, Accepting Gay Members Means Losing Others,” *New York Times*, March 27, 2007, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/27/us/27churches.html?ex=1.&r=0>.

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Other major black public intellectuals have also been vocal in calling upon the Black Church to affirm its LGBTQ members, including scholars of religion Cornel West and Anthony Pinn, as well as sociologist Michael Eric Dyson, who is also an ordained Baptist minister.⁹⁵

viii) Latino/a Protestants

Many Latino/as in the United States are Catholic; as mentioned above, Dignity has been involved in outreach to LGBTQ Latino/as. But many Latino/as also come from Protestant—especially evangelical—backgrounds.⁹⁶

The Metropolitan Community Church has long engaged in outreach to LGBTQ Latino/as, including the creation of La Fundadora Iglesia de la Comunidad Metropolitana in 1992 as part of Founders MCC in Los Angeles, California.⁹⁷ The MCC in San Antonio, Texas, began offering Spanish-language services in 2009.⁹⁸ The MCC of Washington, DC, has partnered with the local chapter of Dignity in doing outreach to LGBTQ Latino/as.⁹⁹ Pursuing a broader pro-active outreach among MCC

⁹⁵ Michel Martin, "Gay Marriage Divides Black Religions Leaders," *National Public Radio*, June 17, 2011, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=104179946>; "Black Church Resource Provides Dialogue on Homosexuality," *Insights Into Religion*, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.religioninsights.org/articles/black-church-resource-provides-dialogue-homosexuality>; and Cornel West, *Race Matters* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 119-131. Other examples of LGBTQ-affirming Black churches can be found at "Affirming Churches," Operation Rebirth website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://operationrebirth.com/affirmingchurches.html>.

⁹⁶ Gastón Espinosa, Virgilio Elizondo, and Jesse Miranda, "Hispanic Churches in American Public Life: Summary of Findings," Institute for Latino Studies, *University of Notre Dame Interim Reports 2* (January 2003), accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.hispanicchurchesusa.net/hcapl-rpt-1.pdf>; "Changing Faiths: Latinos and the Transformation of American Religion," Pew Research Center, April 25, 2007, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2007/04/25/changing-faiths-latinos-and-the-transformation-of-american-religion>.

⁹⁷ "Comunidad Latina (Iglesia de la Comunidad Metropolitana)," Founders MCC website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.mcccla.org/community/comunidad-latina-iglesia-de-la-comunidad-metropolitana>. The Founders MCC is located at 4607 Prospect Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

⁹⁸ "MCC to Initiate Sunday Services in Spanish," *Q San Antonio*, February 6, 2009, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.qsanantonio.com/mccsa.html>.

⁹⁹ Naima Pettigrew, "Metropolitan Community Church of Washington Offers Services in Spanish," *4 NBC Washington*, December 7, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.nbcwashington.com/on-air/community/Metropolitan-Community-Church-of-Washington-offers-services-in-Spanish--182589841.html>; and Latino GLBT History Project, "7th DC Latino Pride: La Misa," June 2, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015,

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congregations was the focus of a 2014 conference at Resurrection MCC in Houston, Texas—a meeting that involved approximately thirty MCC leaders, including Rev. Dr. Nancy Wilson and Rev. Hector Gutierrez.¹⁰⁰

As with African Americans, there have been Latino/a religious leaders who advocated for LGBTQ Latino/as, including leaders who do not serve as pastors of regular congregations. Rev. Dr. Miguel A. De La Torre, a Southern Baptist minister who teaches at Iliff School of Theology in Denver, Colorado, spoke out in favor of marriage equality.¹⁰¹ Rev. J. Manny Santiago, an American Baptist minister and former pastor of University Baptist Church in Seattle, has written in national media as an advocate of LGBTQ rights.¹⁰²

ix) Soulforce

Soulforce, a Texas-based interdenominational social action organization, was established in 1998 by Mel White, a former evangelical pastor who ghostwrote for conservative televangelists, including Jerry Falwell, before White came out as a gay man in 1994. White switched his affiliation to the MCC and devoted himself full-time to advocating for LGBTQ people—particularly in response to religious homophobia.

<https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.523256797734107.1073741832.159454620780995&type=1&l=0d74986b65>.

¹⁰⁰ Nancy Wilson, “Leaders of LGBT Inclusive Church to Expand Ministries in Hispanic Communities,” Pikes Peak Metropolitan Community Church website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://ppmcc.org/devotional/leaders-of-lgbt-inclusive-church-to-expand-ministries-in-hispanic-communities>.

¹⁰¹ Dawn Wolfe Gutterman, “Miguel De La Torre: The New Face of Gay-Allied Activism,” *Pride Source*, June 23, 2005, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.pridesource.com/article.html?article=14766>. The Iliff School of Theology is located at 2323 East Iliff Avenue, Denver, Colorado.

¹⁰² Jahnabi Barooah, “African American And Latino Clergy On Obama's Gay Marriage Support,” *Huffington Post*, May 14, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/05/14/african-american-latino-clergy-obama-gay-marriage_n_1509852.html; and Dalia I. García, Jennifer Gray-Stanley, and Jesus Ramirez-Valles, “‘The Priest Obviously Doesn’t Know That I’m Gay’: The Religious and Spiritual Journeys of Latino Gay Men,” *Journal of Homosexuality*, 55 (2008): 411-436.

Soulforce's work has included campaigns to support LGBTQ members of Christian colleges and servicemembers in the US military.¹⁰³

The Eastern Church

The Eastern Church includes Eastern Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox churches, such as the Greek Orthodox, Russian Orthodox, and Coptic Orthodox churches. Closely associated with these are Eastern Catholic churches in full communion with Rome, such as the Byzantine and Armenian Rites. Axios is an organization for LGBTQ persons affiliated with any of these Eastern Churches. It was founded in Los Angeles in 1980, and subsequently established chapters throughout the United States, including Boston, Washington, DC, and Chicago. Chapter members are laypersons who meet for support, research, and engagement with Eastern clergy.¹⁰⁴

Judaism

Among the major Jewish religious movements—Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Reconstructionist, and Renewal—recognition of and advocacy for LGBTQ members has varied widely.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Karma R. Chávez, "Beyond Complicity: Coherence, Queer Theory, and the Rhetoric of the 'Gay Christian Movement,'" *Text and Performance Quarterly* 24, no. 3-4 (2004): 255-275; Robin Reames, "Hermeneutical Rhetoric and the 2006 Soulforce Equality Ride at Wheaton College," *Journal of Communication and Religion* 37, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 126-144; and Mel White, *Stranger at the Gate: To be Gay and Christian in America* (New York: Plume, 1995).

¹⁰⁴ George Battelle, "Founding and Experience of Axios at Los Angeles, California," AXIOS – Eastern and Orthodox Gay and Lesbian Christians, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.axios.org/doku.php?id=st_seraphim_axios; and *Homosexuality and Religion*, 106-107.

¹⁰⁵ Steven Greenberg, *Wrestling with God and Men: Homosexuality in the Jewish Tradition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004); Yaakov Ariel, "Gay, Orthodox, and Trembling: The Rise of Jewish Orthodox Gay Consciousness, 1970s-2000s," *Journal of Homosexuality* 52 (2007): 91-109; Christie Balka and Andy Rose, *Twice Blessed: On Being Lesbian, Gay, and Jewish* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989); and Randal F. Schnoor, "Being Gay and Jewish: Negotiating Intersecting Identities," *Sociology of Religion* 67 (2006): 43-60.

Orthodox Judaism

Orthodox Rabbi Steven Greenberg came out as a gay man in 1999.¹⁰⁶ Two years later, Sandi Simcha DuBowski released his documentary *Trembling Before G-d*, which portrayed the lives of gay and lesbian Orthodox Jews.¹⁰⁷ These events elicited strong reactions from Orthodox Jews in the United States and Israel. In 2010, "Torah View on Homosexuality," a statement by a group of rabbis who serve as *roshei yeshiva* or deans of Yeshiva University in New York City, the most influential Orthodox seminary in the United States, broadly condemned gay sexual activity while cautiously extending limited accommodations to gays in Orthodox Jewish life.¹⁰⁸

Both in the United States and in Israel, some organizations have been created to provide support to LGBTQ Orthodox Jews, including two New York-based organizations: JQYouth, which began meeting in 2001, and Eshel, a broad-based advocacy and support organization for LGBTQ Orthodox Jews, which was established in 2012.¹⁰⁹ In 2010, Orthodox rabbis Nathaniel Helfgot, Aryeh Klapper, Yitzchak Blau and others drafted the "Statement of Principles on the Place of Jews with a Homosexual Orientation in Our Community," which was subsequently signed by many other Orthodox rabbis and educators in the United States and elsewhere. While not affirming same-sex desire nor relationships, it does call for the fullest possible inclusion of openly gay people in Orthodox life and discourages pressuring gay Orthodox Jews to enter into ostensibly

¹⁰⁶ "CLAL Faculty: Rabbi Steve Greenberg," The National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.clal.org/clal_faculty_sg.html; and Steven Greenberg, "My Truth Isn't an Ugly One," *Guardian*, May 30, 2003, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/g2/story/0,3604,966771,00.html>.

¹⁰⁷ *Trembling Before G-d*, dir. Sandi Simcha DuBowski (Films That Change The World, 2001); and Debra Nussbaum Cohen, "The 'Trembling' Phenomenon: Film on Religious Gays Making Big Impact" *Jewish Week*, November 9, 2001, archive accessed December 5, 2015, <http://web.archive.org/web/20070207100052/http://www.thejewishweek.com/news/newscontent.php3?artid=5349>.

¹⁰⁸ "Torah View on Homosexuality," TorahWeb Foundation website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.torahweb.org/torah/special/2010/homosexuality.html>.

¹⁰⁹ "History," JQY website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.jqyouth.org/history.shtml>; and "Our History," Eshel website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.esheonline.org/about-new/our-history>.

heterosexual marriages.¹¹⁰ In the late 1990s, Israeli Beth Orens came to New York City to transition from male to female; she subsequently returned to Israel before moving back again to the United States, where she began the Dina email list for other transgender Orthodox Jews.¹¹¹ In 2008, Joy Ladin became the first openly transgender person to serve on the faculty of an Orthodox institution of higher learning, Stern College for Women of Yeshiva University in New York City.¹¹²

Conservative Judaism

In 2006, the Committee on Jewish Law and Standards of the Rabbinical Assembly (CJLS), which serves as the professional organization of Conservative rabbis, lifted most prohibitions on gay sexual activity. It also declared that openly lesbian, gay, and bisexual rabbis and cantors could be ordained and affirmed that same-sex unions could be recognized.¹¹³ Accordingly, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, a Conservative seminary, began admitting openly lesbian, gay, and bisexual rabbinical candidates the following year; and the celebration of same-sex

¹¹⁰ Janelle Eagle, "Incredible Orthodox Response to Homosexuality in Judaism," *Jewish Journal*, July 23, 2010, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.jewishjournal.com/oy_gay/item/incredible_orthodox_response_to_homosexuality_in_judaism_39100723; and Geoffrey Alderman, "This Line of Gay Jews is Quite Orthodox," *Guardian*, August 10, 2010, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2010/aug/10/gay-orthodox-judaism-rabbis>.

¹¹¹ Beth Orens, "Judaism and Gender Issues" in *Balancing on the Mehitza: Transgender in Jewish Community*, ed. Noach Dzmura (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2010): 224-228; Charlie Anders, "Welcoming Transgendered [sic] Jews," *Tikkun*, August 10, 2005, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.starways.net/beth/tikkun20050810.html>; and "When Abba Becomes Ima: Transsexuals in the Orthodox World," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, December 26, 2006, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.jta.org/2006/12/26/archive/when-abba-becomes-ima-transsexuals-in-the-orthodox-world>.

¹¹² Naomi Alderman, "A Transsexual at Yeshiva University," *Forward*, March 19, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://forward.com/culture/153010/a-transsexual-at-yeshiva-university>; "Faculty Directory: Joy Ladin," Yeshiva University website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.yu.edu/faculty/pages/Ladin-Joy>. Stern College for Women at Yeshiva University is located at 245 Lexington Avenue, New York City, New York.

¹¹³ Daniel S. Nevins, "Conservative Halakha and Homosexuality: An Insider's View of the 2006 CJLS Vote," My Jewish Learning website, December 20, 2006, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.myjewishlearning.com/article/conservative-halakhah-and-homosexuality>; and Laurie Goodstein, "Conservative Jews Allow Gay Rabbis and Unions," *New York Times*, December 7, 2006, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/07/us/07jews.html?pagewanted=all>.

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unions was established in 2012.¹¹⁴ In 2003, CJLS determined that sex reassignment surgery could officially change a person's gender under Jewish law.¹¹⁵

Reform Judaism

Beth Chayim Chadashim, a Reform synagogue, was founded in West Los Angeles in 1972 as the first synagogue specifically for lesbians and gay men.¹¹⁷ Three years later, in 1975, Congregation Or Chadash was



Figure 9: Congregation Sha'ar Zahav, San Francisco, California. Photo by Ed Blerman, 2010.¹¹⁶

founded in Chicago, a Reform synagogue for lesbians and gay men that began as a support group. The group began holding religious services in 1976, moving to share space with the Second Unitarian Universalist Church in 1977.¹¹⁸ Also in

¹¹⁴ Rachel Zoll, "As Seminary Chancellor, American Jewish Scholar Seeks to Renew Conservative Judaism," *Advocate*, September 13, 2007, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.advocate.com/news/2007/09/13/seminary-chancellor-american-jewish-scholar-seeks-renew-conservative-judaism>; and Ben Sales, "Conservative Rabbinic Group Issues Guidelines for Same-Sex Wedding Rituals," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, June 4, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.jta.org/2012/06/04/life-religion/conservative-rabbinic-group-issues-guidelines-for-same-sex-wedding-rituals>. The Jewish Theological Seminary of America is located at 3080 Broadway, New York City, New York.

¹¹⁵ Mayer E. Rabinowitz, "Status of Transsexuals," Committee on Jewish Law and Standards of the Rabbinical Assembly, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://keshet.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/Status-of-Transsexuals.pdf>.

¹¹⁶ License: CC BY 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/edbierman/4487893209>

¹¹⁷ "History," Beth Chayim Chadashim website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.bcc-la.org/about/history>. The congregation of Beth Chayim Chadashim bought its own building in 1977, located at 6000 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. This may have been the first synagogue owned by an LGBTQ congregation.

¹¹⁸ "History," Congregation Or Chadash website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.orchadash.org/about-us/our-history>. The Second Unitarian Universalist Church is located

1977, the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR), which is the national organization of Reform rabbis, determined that Reform organizations should actively oppose discrimination against gay and lesbian members.¹¹⁹ That same year, Congregation Sha'ar Zahav was founded in San Francisco as a Reform synagogue with a particular outreach to lesbians and gay men (Figure 9).¹²⁰

In 1990, the Union for Reform Judaism (URJ), the national body that supports Reform synagogues, determined that gay and lesbian Jews were fully members of the Reform community, and CCAR took the position that all rabbis should be treated equally regardless of sexual orientation. CCAR also declared in 1998 that rabbis could officiate at same-sex commitment ceremonies.¹²¹ The URJ extended these positions in 2003 to include bisexuals and transgender people, and made a stronger resolution to support transgender members of the congregation in 2015.¹²² In 2009, Congregation Sha'ar Zahav published a complete *siddur*, or prayer book—

at 656 West Barry Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. In 2003, Congregation Or Chadash moved to 5959 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois, which it shares with another synagogue.

¹¹⁹ "Resolution on Same Gender Officiation - Resolution adopted at the 111th Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, March, 2000," Central Conference of American Rabbis website, accessed December 5, 2015, <https://www.ccarnet.org/rabbis-speak/resolutions/2000/same-gender-officiation>.

¹²⁰ Aaron Cooper, "No Longer Invisible: Gay and Lesbian Jews Build a Movement" in *Homosexuality and Religion*, ed. Richard Hasbany (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1989): 83-97; and Dan Pine, "Sha'ar Zahav Celebrates 30 Years of Open Arms," *J Weekly*, May 11, 2007, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.jweekly.com/includes/print/32365/article/sha-ar-zahav-celebrates-30-years-of-open-arms>.

¹²¹ "Resolution on Same Gender Officiation - Resolution adopted at the 111th Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, March, 2000," Central Conference of American Rabbis, accessed December 5, 2015, <https://www.ccarnet.org/rabbis-speak/resolutions/2000/same-gender-officiation>.

¹²² Union for Reform Judaism, "Support for the Inclusion and Acceptance of the Transgender and Bisexual Communities," Berman Jewish Policy Archive at New York University's Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public Service website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=7791>; Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, "Resolution on the Rights of Transgender and Gender Non-Conforming People," Union for Reform Judaism website, accessed December 5, 2015, <https://www.urj.org/what-we-believe/resolutions/resolution-rights-transgender-and-gender-non-conforming-people>; Emma Green, "Reform Jews: Transgender People Are Welcome Here," *Atlantic*, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/11/reform-jews-transgender-people-are-welcome-here/414415>; and Bethany Rodgers, "Reform Jewish leaders pass sweeping transgender-rights resolution in Orlando," *Orlando Sentinel*, November 5, 2015, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.orlandosentinel.com/news/breaking-news/os-reform-judaism-transgender-resolution-20151105-story.html>.

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the first to address the lives and experiences of LGBTQ Jews.¹²³ In 2010 in Los Angeles, Reuben Zellman became the first openly transgender ordained Reform rabbi.¹²⁴ Denise Eger became the first openly lesbian rabbi to serve as president of CCAR in 2015.¹²⁵

Reconstructionist Judaism

The Reconstructionist Rabbinical College in Wyncote, Pennsylvania (Figure 10) is the only Reconstructionist rabbinical school.¹²⁷ Its

administration determined in 1984 that the seminary would accept openly lesbian, gay, and bisexual students. This led the Jewish Reconstructionist Federation (the national body of congregations) to declare full support of gay and lesbian rights.¹²⁸ In 1985,



Figure 10: Ziegelman Hall, the main building of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, Wyncote, Pennsylvania. Photo by Ike9898, 2008.¹²⁶

¹²³ Stacey Palevsky, "The All-Inclusive Siddur: Sha'ar Zahav's New Prayerbook a Communal Effort," *J Weekly*, June 25, 2009, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/38465/the-all-inclusive-siddur-shaar-zahavs-new-prayerbook-a-communal-effort>. Congregation Sha'ar Zahav is located at 290 Dolores Street, San Francisco, California.

¹²⁴ Naomi Zeveloff, "Reuben Zellman's Rabbinical Classmates Were 'Unfailingly Supportive,'" *Forward*, July 15, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://forward.com/news/180228/reuben-zellmans-rabbinical-classmates-were-unfaili>.

¹²⁵ Associated Press, "Lesbian Rabbi Is to Become President of Reform Group," *New York Times*, March 15, 2015, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/16/us/lesbian-rabbi-is-to-become-president-of-reform-group.html>. See also: Jon R. Norman, "Congregational Culture and Identity Politics in a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Synagogue: Making Inclusiveness and Religious Practice One and the Same," *Journal of Religion & Society* 13 (2011): 1-19.

¹²⁶ License: CC BY-SA 3.0 <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:RRC.JPG>

¹²⁷ Reconstructionist Rabbinical College is located at 1299 Church Road, Wyncote, Pennsylvania.

Deborah Brin may have become the first openly lesbian rabbi when she was ordained by the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College.¹²⁹ That same year, Congregation Bet Haverim was established as a gay and lesbian Reconstructionist synagogue in Atlanta, Georgia.¹³⁰ Work by lay leaders, rabbis, and others resulted in the 1993 report “Homosexuality and Judaism: The Reconstructionist Position,” which was the basis for designating certain congregations as *kehilah mekabelet*, or officially welcoming of gay and lesbian people.¹³¹

The Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association elected Rabbi Toba Spitzer, an open lesbian, as president in 2007 and subsequently elected Rabbi Jason Klein, an openly gay man, as president in 2013.¹³² That same year, Rabbi Deborah Waxman, an open lesbian, was elected president of the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College.¹³³ In 2015, openly transgender Jacob Lieberman graduated from the college; while a student, he collaborated with faculty member Rabbi Jacob Staub to create a transgender/genderqueer committee at the college, which has performed outreach and advocacy work with the Reconstructionist Rabbinical Association.¹³⁴ The scholarship of Rabbi Rebecca T. Alpert, former dean of

¹²⁸ Joshua Lesser, “History of Gay Marriage in the Reconstructionist Movement,” Keshet website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://keshet.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/HistoryofGayMarriageinReconstMvt_Lesser.pdf.

¹²⁹ Diane Schmidt, “Women of the Wall founding Rabbi Deborah Brin,” *New Mexico Jewish Link*, May 9, 2014, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.examiner.com/article/women-of-the-wall-founding-rabbi-deborah-brin>.

¹³⁰ Steve Goss, “Congregation Bet Haverim Celebrates Its ‘Silver Jewbilee,’” *National Public Radio WABE 90.1 FM*, 2010, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://news.wabe.org/post/congregation-bet-haverim-celebrates-its-silver-jewbilee>. Congregation Bet Haverim is located at 2074 Lavista Road, Atlanta, Georgia.

¹³¹ Joshua Lesser, “History of Gay Marriage in the Reconstructionist Movement,” Keshet website, accessed December 5, 2015, http://keshet.wpengine.netdna-cdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/HistoryofGayMarriageinReconstMvt_Lesser.pdf.

¹³² “Rabbi Toba Spitzer,” Congregation Dorshei Tzedek website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://dorsheitzedek.org/rabbi-toba-spitzer>; and Josh Nathan-Kazis, “Jason Klein Tapped To Lead Group of Reconstructionist Rabbis,” *Forward*, March 11, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://forward.com/news/breaking-news/172693/jason-klein-tapped-to-lead-group-of-reconstruction>.

¹³³ Anne Cohen, “Trailblazing Reconstructionist Deborah Waxman Relishes Challenges of Judaism,” *Forward*, October 9, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://forward.com/news/185252/trailblazing-reconstructionist-deborah-waxman-reli>.

¹³⁴ Naomi Zeveloff, “Jacob Lieberman Wants to Change the Jewish World,” *Forward*, July 16, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://forward.com/news/180234/jacob-lieberman-wants-to-change-the-jewish-world>; and “Fighting For A Good Name,” Jewish Reconstructionist Communities website, accessed December 5, 2015, <https://jewishrecon.org/resource/fighting-good-name>.

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students at the Reconstructionist Rabbinical College, has included a focus on the role of lesbians in Judaism.¹³⁵ In 2008 in Cotati, California, Congregation Ner Shalom invited Irwin Keller to serve as their rabbi.¹³⁶ Keller is a former attorney, AIDS activist, and founding member of the political comedy drag troupe, “The Kinsey Sicks.”¹³⁷

Renewal Judaism

Within the Jewish Renewal Movement, Fabrangen Havurah was founded in Washington, DC, in 1971 and would go on to become an LGBTQ-welcoming religious community.¹³⁸ Eli Cohen, who may have been the first openly gay Jewish Renewal rabbi, was ordained in 2005.¹³⁹ In 2011, openly bisexual Debra Kolodny was ordained. Bisexuality has been a focus of Kolodny’s writings and activism.¹⁴⁰

Other Jewish Congregations

Some LGBTQ-focused synagogues have been established without formal affiliation with any of the major movements in Judaism. Congregation Beit Simchat Torah was founded in New York City in 1973 and first met in the Church of the Holy Apostles, an Episcopal church. Since 1975, they have gathered at rented space in the Westbeth Artists Community in New York City. In 2011, the congregation purchased a

¹³⁵ Rebecca T. Alpert, *Like Bread on the Seder Plate: Jewish Lesbians and the Transformation of Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Rebecca T. Alpert, Ellen Sue Levi Elwell, and Shirley Idelson, *Lesbian Rabbis: The First Generation* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001).

¹³⁶ Congregation Ner Shalom is located at 85 La Plaza, Cotati, California.

¹³⁷ Irwin Keller, “Reflections of a Retiring Drag Queen,” *Itzik’s Well* (blog), October 9, 2014, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://itzikswell.blogspot.com/2014/10/reflections-of-retiring-drag-queen.html>; and “About Us,” Congregation Ner Shalom website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.nershalom.org/about/rabbi.html>.

¹³⁸ “Key Dates in Fabrangen’s History,” Fabrangen website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.fabrangen.org/about-us/fabrangen-history>. The first meeting was held at 2158 Florida Avenue NW, Washington, DC.

¹³⁹ “Rabbi’s Corner,” Chadeish Yameinu website, accessed December 5, 2015, <https://sites.google.com/site/cysantacruzorg/rabbi>.

¹⁴⁰ Debra Kolodny, “Profile: Debra Kolodny,” The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, modified October 15, 2012, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=48>.

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permanent home near Madison Square Gardens and have begun renovations in order to relocate there. Beit Simchat Torah claims to be the largest LGBTQ synagogue in the world.¹⁴¹ Bet Mishpachah was founded in Washington, DC, in 1975 as the Metropolitan Community Temple Mishpocheh. The following year, they hosted the First International Conference of Gay and Lesbian Jews. They spent their first years meeting in rented spaces around Washington, DC. In 1980, they adopted the name Beit Mishpachah and, at the Third International Conference of Gay and Lesbian Jews, they co-founded the World Congress of Gay and Lesbian Jews. In 1997, the congregation moved to the newly-restored Washington, DC Jewish Community Center.¹⁴²

Broad-based organizations have been created to advocate for LGBTQ Jews. In addition to the World Congress of Gay & Lesbian Jews (also sometimes called Keshet Ga'avah), these include Nehirim and Keshet (not to be confused with Keshet Ga'avah).¹⁴³

Islam

The Al-Fatiha Foundation was established in 1997 by Faisal Alam, a Pakistani-American. Also playing a leadership role was Daaylee Abdullah,

¹⁴¹ Henry Rabinowitz, "Talmud Class in a Gay Synagogue," *Judaism* 28, no. 2 (Spring 1979): 237-247; "Exhibits: Congregation Beit Simchat Torah," The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.lgbtran.org/Exhibits/CBST/index.aspx>; Doug Chandler, "In a Move Freighted With Symbolism, CBST Purchases First Home," *Jewish Week*, July 26, 2011, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.thejewishweek.com/news/new_york/move_freighted_symbolism_cbst_purchases_first_home; Ayelet S. Cohen, *Changing Lives, Making History: Congregation Beit Simchat Torah: The First Forty Years* (New York: Congregation Beth Simchat Torah, 2014). The Episcopal Church of the Holy Apostles is located at 296 Ninth Avenue, New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on April 26, 1972. Beit Simchat Torah's address in Westbeth is 57 Bethune Street, New York City, New York. Westbeth was listed on the NRHP on December 8, 2009. The new location of Beit Simchat Torah will be 130 West 30th Street, New York City, New York.

¹⁴² "About Us: Our History," Bet Mishpachah website, accessed November 7, 2015, <http://www.betmish.org/index.php/about-us/who-we-are/our-history>. The DC Jewish Community Center is located at 1529 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC.

¹⁴³ "World Congress of GLBT Jews Celebrates 40 Years of Progress," Beth Chayim Chadashim, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.bcc-la.org/world-congress-of-glbt-jews-celebrates-40-years-of-progress>; "About Nehirim," Nehirim, archived website accessed December 5, 2015, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150401062736/http://www.nehirim.org/gayjewishcommunity>; and "Our Story," Keshet, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.keshetonline.org/about/our-story>.

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an openly gay African American imam in Washington, DC. Multiple local chapters were founded and annual conferences were held until Alam stepped down in 2005 and the organization folded.¹⁴⁴

In 2007, Ani Zonneveld and Pamela Taylor founded Muslims for Progressive Values (MPV), based in Los Angeles.¹⁴⁶ Among its ten



Figure 11: The Flora Lamson Hewlett Library at the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California. Photo by Betsian, 2009.¹⁴⁵

principles: “We endorse the human and civil rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersex (LGBTQI) individuals.”¹⁴⁷ With support from the Human Rights Campaign (a national LGBTQ civil rights organization),

¹⁴⁴ Omar Minwalla et al., “Identity Experience Among Progressive Gay Muslims in North America: A Qualitative Study Within Al-Fatiha,” *Culture, Health & Sexuality: An International Journal for Research, Intervention and Care* 7, no. 2 (2005): 113-128; Joseph Andoni Massad, “Re-Orienting Desire: The Gay International and the Arab World,” *Public Culture* 14, no. 2 (2002): 361-385; and Emily Wax, “Imam Daayiee Abdullah Welcomes Gay Muslims to Worship, Marry,” *Washington Post*, April 17, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/imam-daayiee-abdullah-welcomes-gay-muslims-to-worship-marry/2013/04/17/3ebcab3a-a5db-11e2-b029-8fb7e977ef71_story.html; Neil MacFarquhar, “Gay Muslims Find Freedom, of a Sort, in US,” *New York Times*, November 7, 2007, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/07/us/07gaymuslim.html?pagewanted=1>; Hannah Kreider, “Openly Gay Imams Serve as an Affirming Gleam of Hope in Muslim LGBT community,” GLAAD website, June 21, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.glaad.org/blog/openly-gay-imams-serve-affirming-gleam-hope-muslim-lgbt-community>; “Faisal Alam: Biography,” Hidden Voices website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.hiddenvoices.info/biography>; and Sadiq Ali Sheraze, “The Progressive Muslim Movement,” *Outsmart*, October 1, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.outsmartmagazine.com/2013/10/the-progressive-muslim-movement>.

¹⁴⁵ License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0 <https://www.flickr.com/photos/betsian/3701121867>

¹⁴⁶ Kari Huus, “Battling for Gay Rights, In Allah’s Name,” *MSNBC*, October 24, 2011, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/44993807/ns/us_news-life/t/battling-gay-rights-allahs-name/#.VmeW-7iDGkp.

¹⁴⁷ “About MPV: MPV Principles,” Muslims for Progressive Values website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.mpvusa.org/mpv-principles>.

MPV commissioned openly transgender Muslim Tynan Power to adapt material by Scott Siraj al-Haqq Kugle (a scholar of Islam who teaches at Emory University). The result was the 2010 document “Sexual Diversity in Islam: Is There Room for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Muslims?”¹⁴⁸ MPV has also partnered with Daayiee Abdullah to produce an online LGBTQ lecture series.¹⁴⁹

With support from the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the Muslim Alliance for Sexual and Gender Diversity (MASGD) was established at the 2013 Creating Change conference in Atlanta, Georgia.¹⁵⁰

Ibrahim Farajajé, who described himself as “a gay-identified bisexual Black theologian,” explored Islamic mysticism and taught about Islam at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, California (Figure 11).¹⁵¹

Some LGBTQ Muslims have sought to portray their own lives through a variety of projects. *A Jihad for Love* is a 2007 documentary featuring LGBTQ Muslims in the United States and elsewhere. *Coming Out Muslim: Radical Acts of Love* is a play that premiered at the 2014 Fresh Fruit Festival in New York City.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Scott Siraj al-Haqq Kugle, “Sexual Diversity in Islam: Is There Room in Islam for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Muslims?” Muslims for Progressive Values, created 2010, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.mpvusa.org/sexuality-diversity>; “Scott Kugle,” Emory College website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.mesas.emory.edu/home/people/faculty/kugle.html>.

¹⁴⁹ Muslims for Progressive Values, “Intro to LGBTQI Lecture Series,” YouTube video, published May 21, 2014, accessed December 5, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?list=PLE3saqAXcc3ahCLB4FWqyd7XAJ_Lh72IZ&v=xZagLCVhaDw.

¹⁵⁰ “About MASGD,” Muslim Alliance for Sexual and Gender Diversity website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.muslimalliance.org/aboutmasgd>.

¹⁵¹ Elias Farajajé Jones, “Breaking Silence: Toward an In-The-Life Theology,” in *Black Theology: A Documentary History*, 139-159. Ibrahim Farajajé passed away in February 2016. The Graduate Theological Union is located at 2400 Ridge Road, Berkeley, California.

¹⁵² *A Jihad for Love*, dir. Parvez Sharma (New York, First Run Features, 2007); J Mase III, “Radically Queer Islam: An Interview with the Cast of Coming Out Muslim,” *Huffington Post*, July 2, 2014, accessed December 5, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/j-mase-iii/queering-islam-an-intervi_b_5549913.html. See also: Habib Samar, *Islam and Homosexuality* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010); Scott Alan Kugle, *Homosexuality in Islam: Critical Reflection on Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Muslims* (Oxford, UK: Oneworld, 2010); and Scott Alan Kugle, *Living Out Islam: Voices of Gay, Lesbian, and Transgender Muslims* (New York: New York University Press, 2014).

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Hinduism

There is little organized presence of LGBTQ Hindus in the United States. The Gay and Lesbian Vaishnava Association has existed in online formats since 2001, and includes members primarily from the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) and other Vaishnava traditions from the United States and abroad.¹⁵³

Trikone is a social organization for LGBTQ people of South Asian descent—including Hindus and Muslims—founded by Arvind Kumar and Suvir Das in Northern California in 1986. Other chapters have developed elsewhere in the country. A newsletter of the same name has published articles on religion in the lives of LGBTQ South Asians.¹⁵⁴

Buddhism

Buddhists in the United States are usually immigrants and their descendants who have brought Buddhist traditions from home countries, or converts. The latter are almost exclusively white people who refer to themselves as “Western Buddhists” and who, unlike Buddhist lay persons in Asia, tend to focus on meditation and doctrine.

Some LGBTQ Buddhists have emerged as teachers and leaders. Enkyō Pat O'Hara is an openly lesbian Soto (Japanese) Zen teacher in New York City.¹⁵⁵ Soeng Hyang is also openly lesbian, and is a Jogye (Korean) Zen teacher at the Kwan Um School of Zen in Cumberland, Rhode Island.¹⁵⁶ Caitriona Reed is a transgender woman and a Thiền (Vietnamese) Zen teacher based in Southern California. Sarika Dharma was an openly

¹⁵³ “GALVA-108,” Gay and Lesbian Vaishnava Association website, accessed May 1, 2015, <http://www.galva108.org>.

¹⁵⁴ “What is TriKone?” TriKone website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.trikone.org/index.php/about-us/trikone>; and *Homosexuality and Religion*, 9-10.

¹⁵⁵ “Roshi Enkyo O'Hara,” The Village Zendo website, accessed December 5, 2015, <https://villagezendo.org/teachers/roshi-enkyo-ohara>.

¹⁵⁶ The Kwan Um School is located at 99 Pound Road, Cumberland, Rhode Island.

lesbian monk of Vietnamese Zen and head of the International Buddhist Meditation Center in Los Angeles, California; she also oversaw a lesbian Buddhist group in Los Angeles.¹⁵⁸ Issan Dorsey was an openly gay man, Soto Zen teacher, and former abbot at the Hartford Street Zen Center in the Castro district of San Francisco (Figure 12). Dorsey also established in San Francisco the Maitri Hospice for people with AIDS.¹⁵⁹ Zenju Earthlyn Manuel is an openly bisexual African American Soto Zen teacher in East Oakland, California.¹⁶⁰



Figure 12: Hartford Street Zen Center, San Francisco, California. Photo by TalgenEtsudo, 2006.¹⁵⁷

Some forms of LGBTQ Buddhist organization have emerged, especially in the form of meditation practice groups. Examples include the Queer Dharma Meditation group at the Shambhala Meditation Center of New

¹⁵⁷ License: CC BY 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hartford_Street_Zen_Center.jpg

¹⁵⁸ Miriam Levering and Grace Jill Schireson, "Women and Zen Buddhism: Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese," in *Encyclopedia of Women and Religion in North America*, eds. Rosemary Skinner Keller, Rosemary Radford Ruether, and Marie Cantlon (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006): 639-646; "Rev. Sarika Dharma, Head Monk at Buddhist Center in LA," *Los Angeles Times*, August 29, 1996, accessed December 5, 2015, http://articles.latimes.com/1996-08-29/news/mn-38698_1_sarika-dharma. The International Buddhist Meditation Center is located at 928 South New Hampshire Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

¹⁵⁹ David Schneider, *Street Zen: the Life and Work of Issan Dorsey* (Boston: Shambhala, 1993); Ronald Y. Nakasone, "Illness and Compassion: AIDS in an American Zen Community," *Cambridge Quarterly of Healthcare Ethics* 4, no. 4 (Fall 1995): 488-493; and "Our History," Maitri website, accessed December 5, 2015, archived at <https://web.archive.org/web/20141101192540/http://maitrisf.org/care/index.php/history>. The Hartford Street Zen Center is located at 57 Hartford Street, San Francisco, California. The Maitri Hospice is located at 401 Duboce Avenue, San Francisco, California.

¹⁶⁰ Kimberly Winston, "Black, Bisexual, and Buddhist: Zenju Earthlyn Manuel Is Not Afraid to Embrace Who She Is," *Tricycle* website, August 15, 2015, accessed February 12, 2016, <http://www.tricycle.com/blog/black-bisexual-and-buddhist>.

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York and the Gay Buddhist Fellowship in San Francisco.¹⁶¹ The East Bay Meditation Center in Oakland, California states that its mission involves intentionally creating a “welcoming environment for people of color, members of the LGBTQI community, people with disabilities, and other underrepresented communities.”¹⁶²

Some Western Buddhists practice “socially engaged Buddhism,” i.e., Buddhist teachings applied to community organizing and activism. *Turning Wheel*, a magazine dedicated to socially engaged Buddhism, ran a special issue in fall 1992 on LGBTQ activism.¹⁶³

Pagans and Wiccans

Leo Martello was a gay man and Wiccan in New York City who engaged in LGBTQ activism following the Stonewall riots in 1969. He wrote widely about witchcraft and Wicca in the LGBTQ press and about LGBTQ issues in the Pagan press. Like Leo Martello, Arthur Evans was a gay activist in New York. After moving to San Francisco, Evans published *Witchcraft and the Gay Counterculture* in 1978, claiming that gay men were among the victims of the witch hysteria in early modern Europe.¹⁶⁴

Two associates of Martello’s, Eddie Buczynski and Herman Slater, were a gay couple who founded The Warlock Shop, a New York City occult

¹⁶¹ “Queer Dharma,” Shambhala Meditation Center of New York website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://ny.shambhala.org/queer-dharma>; “About,” Gay Buddhist Fellowship website, accessed December 5, 2105, <http://gaybuddhist.org/v3-wp>. The Queer Dharma Group meets at the Shambhala Center at 118 West 22nd Street in New York City. The Gay Buddhist Fellowship meets at the San Francisco Buddhist Center at 37 Bartlett Street, San Francisco, California.

¹⁶² “Mission and History,” East Bay Meditation Center website, accessed February 12, 2016, <http://www.eastbaymeditation.org/index.php?s=12>. In 2007, The East Bay Meditation Center opened its first permanent location at 2147 Broadway, Oakland, California. In 2012, the Center re-located to 285 Seventeenth Street, Oakland, California.

¹⁶³ “Turning Wheel Media,” Buddhist Peace Fellowship website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.buddhistpeacefellowship.org/our-work/turning-wheel-media>. See also: Winston Leyland, *Queer Dharma: Voices of Gay Buddhists* (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1998); and Winston Leyland, *Queer Dharma: Voices of Gay Buddhists*, Vol. II (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 2000); Christopher S. Queen, *Engaged Buddhism in the West* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000), 271; Jonathan Alexander and Karen Yescavage, “Bi, Buddhist, Activist: Refusing Intolerance, But not Refusing Each Other,” *Journal of Bisexuality* 10, no. 1-2 (2010): 154-165.

¹⁶⁴ Arthur Evans, *Witchcraft and the Gay Counterculture: A Radical View of Western Civilization and Some of the People it has Tried to Destroy* (Boston: Fag Rag Books, 1978).

bookstore.¹⁶⁵ Buczynski also founded the Minoan Brotherhood in 1975, a group for gay and bisexual men interested in Wicca who may have felt excluded from the heterosexual assumptions of other established Wiccan traditions. Multiple groves, or groups, of the Brotherhood now exist in cities throughout the United States and internationally.¹⁶⁶

As gay men were developing new forms of community drawn from Pagan and Wiccan sources, so too were lesbians. Beginning in the 1970s, writers such as Margot Adler, Luisah Teish, Mary Daly, Judith Plaskow, and Carol P. Christ offered visions of feminist and/or Goddess-centered religion for women.¹⁶⁷ In this context, openly lesbian Z. Budapest developed female-only Dianic Wicca, starting with Susan B. Anthony Coven #1, founded in Venice, California in 1971.¹⁶⁸

Bisexuals and those attracted to multiple genders have also had a high profile in Pagan and Wiccan communities. Starhawk published the best-selling book *The Spiral Dance: a Rebirth of the Ancient Religion of the Great Goddess* in 1979; she was later involved in the founding Reclaiming (a Wiccan organization) and collaborated with the Covenant of Unitarian Universalist Pagans (CUUPS).¹⁶⁹ Shamanic practitioner Raven Kaldera is an intersex female-to-male activist, author, priest, and Pagan organizer in central Massachusetts. Sherry Marts is a feminist Wiccan who has been affiliated with the Open Hearth Foundation, a Pagan community center in

¹⁶⁵ The Warlock Shop was located at 300 Henry Street, Brooklyn Heights, New York City, New York.

¹⁶⁶ Michael G. Lloyd, *Bull of Heaven: The Mythic Life of Eddie Buczynski and the Rise of the New York Pagan* (Hubbardston, MA: Asphodel Press, 2012).

¹⁶⁷ Margot Adler, *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America Today* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986); Luisah Tesh, *Jambalaya: The Natural Woman's Book of Personal Charms and Practical Rituals* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1985); Mary Daly and Jane Caputi, *Websters' First New Intergalactic Wickedary of the English Language* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987); and Judith Plaskow and Carol P. Christ, *Weaving the Visions: New Patterns in Feminist Spirituality* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989).

¹⁶⁸ Ruth Rhiannon Barrett, "Lesbian Rituals and Dianic Tradition," *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 7, no. 2 (2003): 15-28; and Zsuzsanna Emese Budapest et al., *The Feminist Book of Lights and Shadows* (Venice, CA: Feminist Wicca, 1976).

¹⁶⁹ Starhawk, *The Spiral Dance: A Rebirth of the Ancient Religion of the Great Goddess* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1979); Starhawk's presentation at the National Conference Celebrating Bisexuality in Washington, DC, in 1993 was published as "The Sacredness of Pleasure" in *Bisexual Politics: Theories, Queries, and Visions*, eds. John Dececco and Naomi S. Tucker (New York: Haworth Press, 1995): 325-329.

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Washington, DC.¹⁷⁰ Also based in Washington, DC, Wiccan Loraine Hutchins has focused her writing and teaching on sexuality and spirituality.¹⁷¹

Radical Faeries and the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence

In 1979, three gay activists—Don Kilhefner, Mitch Walker, and Harry Hay—organized a “Spiritual Conference for Radical Fairies.” Held at the Sri Ram Ashram near Benson, Arizona over Labor Day weekend, the gathering drew approximately two hundred men. Similar to some earlier forms of gay Paganism and Wicca, participants envisioned a distinctively gay male spirituality that celebrated drag, sexuality, and nature. A second conference was held in 1980 at the town of Estes Park near Boulder, Colorado followed by the establishment of Radical Faerie rural communes throughout the United States. Although the focus has remained on cis-gender gay men, some Radical Faerie communes, events, and networks have come to include other genders and sexual orientations.¹⁷² Black

¹⁷⁰ The Open Hearth Foundation is located at 1502 Massachusetts Avenue SE, Washington, DC.

¹⁷¹ Helen Boyd, “Five Questions With... Raven Kaldera,” *En/Gender: Helen Boyd’s Journal of Gender & Trans Issues* (blog), October 12, 2005, accessed December 5, 2015,

<http://www.myhusbandbetty.com/2005/10/12/five-questions-with-raven-kaldera>; Raven Kaldera, “Profile: Raven Kaldera,” The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, last modified December 13, 2013, accessed December 5, 2015,

<http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=141>; Sherry Marts, “Harlot for the Queen of Heaven,” in *Blessed Bi Spirit*, eds. Debra R. Kolodny and Mary E. Hunt (New York: Continuum, 2000): 124-133; Loraine Hutchins, “Erotic Spiritualities,” in *Blessed Bi Spirit*, 203-217; and Loraine Hutchins, “Profile: Loraine Hutchins,” The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Religious Archives Network, last modified January 28, 2004, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.lgbtran.org/Profile.aspx?ID=51>. See also: Susan Harper, “‘All Cool Women Should Be Bisexual’: Female Bisexual Identity in an American NeoPagan Community,” *Journal of Bisexuality* 10 no. 1-2 (2010): 79-107.

¹⁷² Jay Hasbrouck, “Utopian Imaginaries and Faerie Practice: Mapping Routes of Relational Agency” in *Gay Religion*, 239-258; Blackberri, “Searching for My Gay Spiritual Roots,” *BLK* (June 1990): 11; Gryphon Blackswan, “It’s a Shame We Don’t Have More People of Color Participating,” *Lavender Reader* 7, no. 1 (1992): 26-28; Henry Holmes, “Into The Woods: Radical Faerie Movement Combines Earthy Spirituality With Insurgent Politics,” *BLK* (June 1990): 7, 8, 10, 12, 13; Rosette Royale, “As a Matter of Fact... Musings on the First ‘Faeries of All Colors Together’ Gathering,” *RFD* 28, no. 2 (2001): 29, 47; Scott Lauria Morgensen, *Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); John A. Stover III, “When Pan Met Wendy: Gendered Membership Debates Among the Radical Faeries” *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* 2008 (11) 31-55; and Peter Hennen, “Fae Spirits and Gender Trouble: Resistance and Compliance Among the Radical Faeries” in Peter Hennen, ed., *Faeries, Bears, and Leathermen: Men in Community Queering the Masculine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008): 59-94. See also: Randy Conner, *Blossom of Bone: Reclaiming the Connections Between Homoeroticism and the Sacred* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993); Mark Thompson, *Gay Spirit: Myth and Meaning* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1987); and Mark Thompson, Richard Neely,

Leather Wings was borne out of the Radical Faeries; those involved draw on the inspiration of Radical Faerie gatherings and rituals to explore leather sexuality.¹⁷³ The Billy Club is a gay men's group that is similar to the Radical Faeries but with less emphasis on drag and camp; the Billys held their first gathering in Northern California in 1988 and have remained concentrated in Northern California.¹⁷⁴



Figure 13: Sister Sistah, Sister Dana Van Iquity and Sister Kitty Catalyst O.C.P. at the NAMES Project office, 2362 Market Street, San Francisco, California working on the Nuns of The Above AIDS memorial quilt squares, honoring those Sisters who have died from AIDS. Photo by Rink Photo, ca. 1990s.¹⁷⁵

On Easter weekend in 1979, in an act of spontaneous public theater, gay activists Ken Bunch, Fred Brungard, and Baruch Golden donned nun's garb and, leaving the small home that they shared together, went on a

and Bo Young, *The Fire in Moonlight: Stories From the Radical Faeries, 1975-2010* (Maple Shade, NJ: White Crane Books, 2011).

¹⁷³ Mark Thompson, "Black Leather Wings: the Radical Faeries Host a Leather Gathering," *Drummer* 136 (January 1990): 6-8; and Andrea Sharon Dworkin, "Bisexual Histories in San Francisco in the 1970s and Early 1980s," *Journal of Bisexuality* 1, no.1 (2000): 87-119. See also: Mark Thompson, ed., *Leatherfolk: Radical Sex, People, Politics, and Practice* (Los Angeles: Alyson Books, 2001).

¹⁷⁴ Ron Vanscoyk, "Beginnings: A Billy Story," The Billys website, accessed December 5, 2010, <http://thebillys.org/name.pdf>.

¹⁷⁵ License: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sister_Sew_and_Sew_and_Sew.jpg

spree through San Francisco.¹⁷⁶ They later made further public appearances dressed as nuns. Two other activists who became involved early on, Agnes de Garron and Bill Graham, had attended the 1979 Spiritual Conference for Radical Fairies, where they found more men drawn to the notion of an order of gay male nuns. Four of these early participants (Ken Bunch, Bill Graham, Fred Brungard, and Agnes de Garron) were among those involved in establishing the order as the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence with a mission to “promulgate universal joy and expiate stigmatic guilt.” The Sisters developed into an international organization for fundraising and community service with new “houses” established throughout the United States and abroad. Although the Sisters remain primarily comprised of cis-gender gay men, their ranks now include all genders and sexualities (Figure 13). The Sisters vary widely in terms of their religious convictions; some are Catholic, but others are Jewish, Sikh, Pagan, Wiccan, and atheist. As such, some Sisters have sometimes described their order as being non-religious.¹⁷⁷

Coda

This chapter has offered a brief overview of religious communities in which LGBTQ people have sought to affirm the value of their lives.

The differences in structure and organization among these communities is illustrated by the ways in which LGBTQ people sometimes clash with their co-religionists over the authority to interpret the meaning of LGBTQ lives. Chapters of Dignity, for example, are sometimes prohibited from meeting within the same Catholic churches where their members

¹⁷⁶ The home they shared was in the Mission District of San Francisco, California. Fred Brungard became Sister Missionary Position, now known as Sister Soami or simply as “Mish.” Ken Bunch originally took the name Sister Adhanarishvara, then Sister Vicious Power Hungry Bitch, and is now known as Sister Vish-Knew or “Vish.” Barouk (Bruce) Golden did not remain heavily involved in the order. A fourth founding member who joined them at their second manifestation is Agnes de Garron, known as Sister Hysterectoria. Later in 1979, these four moved to an apartment in San Francisco known as The Convent, located near the Panhandle of Golden Gate Park (Melissa Wilcox, personal communication).

¹⁷⁷ “A Sistory, Blow By Blow,” The Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence website, accessed December 5, 2015, <http://www.thesisters.org/sistory>.

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celebrate mass. Furthermore, Catholic priests and members of Catholic religious orders who advocate for LGBTQ people can face disciplinary action. In contrast, LGBTQ members of Unitarian congregations can expect that their relationships will be recognized and valued, and that the church will mobilize to confront forces that seek to demonize or diminish LGBTQ people.

In spite of the differences in the workings of authority from one community to another, and despite the variety of ritual, language, and religious meanings, there is a commonality to the work discussed in this chapter. In every instance, LGBTQ people have sought to re-work, re-imagine, and re-interpret the stories, symbols, rituals, and meanings that they have inherited, adopted, or invented. Although expressions vary from one religious community to another, they all seek to assert the dignity and humanity of LGBTQ people.

LGBTQ AND HEALTH

22

Katie Batza

Introduction

Debates over what constitutes health and sickness have shaped LGBTQ history, identities, community building, and political activism in the United States since at least the nineteenth century. Deployed by mainstream medicine and utilized by sexual and gender minorities, “health” has fueled, reinforced, and challenged ideals of sexuality and gender, particularly as they have intersected with perceptions of race, class, ability, morality, and citizenship. In LGBTQ history, health has always meant more than simply charting rates of various illnesses and treatments, as the concept has been so crucial in defining and redefining LGBTQ people and communities. Consequently, a catalogue of LGBTQ health-related historic places extends far beyond the typical confines of health sites so that prisons and asylums, bars and bathhouses, city streets and parks, hotels and conference centers, government buildings and corporate headquarters prove equally important to the map of LGBTQ health history as do clinics, hospitals, and laboratories.

To provide some structure to this menagerie of sites as well as a corresponding timeline, I have devised three sections for this chapter:

Sites of Discrimination, Sites of Protest, and Sites of Service. Sites of Discrimination will examine the various ways and places in which “health,” sickness, and medicine have worked counterproductively against gender and sexual minorities to create pathologies and treatments that legitimized stigmatization and discrimination. Over time, members of LGBTQ communities resisted their medical classifications and the resulting mistreatment, sites of which I will explore in the Sites of Protest section. Sites of Service will document places where members of the LGBTQ community and allies within the medical field offered health care and services to LGBTQ individuals and where LGBTQ individuals have made significant contributions to medicine and health. While these categories allow for a roughly chronological historical narrative that showcases the full range of possible historic sites and illustrates the complexity of the relationship between health and LGBTQ histories, the categories are somewhat arbitrary and also fluid. For example, while I may list and explore a LGBTQ clinic in the Sites of Service section, it could also easily fit into the Sites of Protest section. Similarly, I list some places as Sites of Discrimination even as they were clearly Sites of Service because they illustrate the type and degree of discrimination common for LGBTQ individuals and communities in different periods. These sections will provide a brief historical overview of when, how, and why discrimination, protest, and service molded LGBTQ history, as well as an examination of related historic sites. While far from exhaustive, this approach should provide a strong orientation for future research on LGBTQ historic health sites.

In each of the following sections, as in LGBTQ history more generally, the concept of health works in two distinct, but overlapping ways: as it relates to LGBTQ communities as a group/groups and as it relates to individuals. From almost the first instances of medical research on sexual and gender minorities, which occurred in the late 1800s, doctors and scientists labeled them “deviant,” “pathological,” and “unnatural.” These medical designations then bolstered social stigma, legal persecution, and discrimination against the newly defined minorities. Consequently, early

definitions of normal sexual “health” excluded and ostracized gender and sexual minorities as a group/groups so much so that many avoided possible diagnoses of sexual or gender “deviance” for fear of the consequences that included incarceration, job loss, and social ostracism. This group experience of “health,” or perhaps more accurately “sickness,” had serious implications for health on the individual level as well. Individuals fearful of a possible sexual or gender “deviant” diagnosis avoided doctors to such an extent that, when they finally did go to the doctor about an unrelated health concern, gender and sexual minorities would often have illnesses more advanced and difficult to treat than their “normal” counterparts. This scenario continues to play out even today as members of the LGBTQ community still report higher mortality rates than heterosexuals for many illnesses, including various cancers.¹ Those individuals already classified as sexual or gender minorities found their personal experiences in doctor’s offices frustrating and counterproductive as many doctors focused on treating their perceived deviance rather than their actual illnesses. Understandings and definitions of health, both group and individual experiences of it, changed within and among the LGBTQ communities over time, but it has remained a consistently important factor in LGBTQ identity formation, community building, and politics.

Sites of Discrimination

While legal and social discrimination certainly predated medical research of gender and sexual minorities, the terminology and pathology that resulted from the work of early sexologists, a new subfield of scientific research that emerged in the late 1800s to study sex and sexual practices, legitimized, perpetuated, and compounded this mistreatment. Inspired in part by Social Darwinism, eugenics, and the new interest in taxonomies, scientists and doctors of the 1880s began to study and categorize sexual

¹ Jessica P. Brown and J. Kathleen Tracy, "Lesbians and Cancer: An Overlooked Health Disparity," *Cancer Causes & Control* 19, no. 10 (2008); Kenneth H. Mayer et al., "Sexual and Gender Minority Health: What We Know and What Needs to Be Done," *American Journal of Public Health* 98, no. 6 (2008): 909-995.

behaviors and gender nonconformity. In creating new medical categories and identities, these scientists changed the social understanding of homosexuality and gender nonconformity by interpreting sex acts and gender presentations as indicative of identity. Previously, for example, homosexuality did not exist as an identity; instead, people participated in homosexual activities and society viewed those acts, not necessarily the people who committed them, as perverse. With these new medical identities and the pathologies, diagnoses, and treatments that soon followed, doctors of the late 1800s and early twentieth century emerged as incredibly powerful regulators of gender and sexual expression as well as arbiters of sickness and health.

Diagnoses of “deviance,” “sexual inversion,” and “transvestism,” all common medical terminology by the early twentieth century, had the potential to ruin lives, or at least drastically alter them, causing many, like Murray Hall, to attempt living undetected.² Born “Mary Anderson” in Scotland in 1840, Hall immigrated to the United States where he began living as a man, married two women over the course of his life, and eventually became a well-known politician at Tammany Hall in New York City. Only after his death from breast cancer in 1901 did Hall’s female biology become widely known, sparking a national scandal and much intrigue.³ Though publicized as unique and shocking, Murray Hall was far from the first woman to assume a male identity during a time when men had much greater privileges economically, socially, and politically. He was certainly not the only to die, in part, from his fear of a doctor discovering his gender nonconformity or sexuality. Yet fear and avoidance of medical treatment were hardly the only operative factors in this period.

Medicine worked much more as a criminalizing and penalizing force for many gender and sexual minorities during the first half of the twentieth

² Havelock Ellis, *Sexual Inversion, Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (Philadelphia: F.A. Davis Co., 1901); R. von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis: Mit Besonderer Berücksichtigung Der ContraRen Sexualempfindung: Eine Klinisch-Forensische Studie*, 2. verm. und verb. Aufl. ed. (Stuttgart, Germany: Ferdinand Enke, 1887). The Murray Hall Residence is located in Greenwich Village, New York City, New York.

³ “Amazed at Hall Revelations,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 19, 1901.

century than as a healing one.⁴ Doctors and sexologists' work extended far beyond the hospital and doctor's office as they became expert witnesses, like sexologist Dr. James Kiernan in Chicago, at the criminal trials of gender and sexual minorities, or medical examiners of immigrants at Ellis Island where they regularly denied entry to immigrants suspected of homosexuality, or consultants to the government, like those at the Menninger Clinic and Sanatorium in Topeka, Kansas on how to use Rorschach tests to identify homosexuals in the military and in the State Department during World War II.⁵ Those diagnosed as "deviant" faced a wide array of possible responses ranging from temporary acceptance of behavior attributed to a short phase of sexual development to state-mandated commitment to criminal insane asylums for indeterminate sentences.⁶ The individual's race, class, gender, immigration status, ability, and family often, though not always, informed their experiences post-diagnosis.⁷

Certainly gender presentation, lack of family support, and poverty shaped the life of Lucy Ann Lobdell, an unemployed widow from Delaware County, New York who wore men's clothing and went by the name "Joe" for much of his adulthood. In 1876, Joe was imprisoned after his wife's uncle discovered he was a female. Reunited with his wife upon his release many months later, Joe became impoverished and then, at the urging of the almshouse keeper, committed to the Willard Asylum for the Chronic

⁴ Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999).

⁵ Alexis Coe, *Alice + Freda Forever: A Murder in Memphis* (San Francisco: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014); Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); Martin S. Bergmann, "Homosexuality on the Rorschach Test," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic* (1945); and Ivan Crozier, "James Kiernan and the Responsible Pervert," *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 25, no. 4 (2002). The James Kiernan residence is located in Chicago, Illinois. Ellis Island, in New York Harbor, is part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument (designated October 15, 1965). The Statue of Liberty National Monument is managed by the NPS, and was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966. The Menninger Clinic and Sanatorium site operated from 1925 through 2003 at 5800 SW Sixth Street in Topeka, Kansas.

⁶ Don Romesburg, "The Tightrope of Normalcy: Homosexuality, Developmental Citizenship, and American Adolescence, 1890-1940," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 21, no. 4 (2008).

⁷ Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture*, Series Q (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); and Julian Carter, *The Heart of Whiteness: Normal Sexuality and Race in America, 1880-1940* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

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Insane (Figure 1) where he eventually died in 1890 after nearly ten years of “treatment.”⁸ The Willard Asylum, like many asylums of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, frequently housed gender and sexual “deviants” for indeterminate sentences because medicine at the time had determined their “deviancy” possibly contagious and a danger to society, a view that also fueled the sexual psychopath laws of the mid-twentieth century that incarcerated thousands in prisons for indeterminate sentences.⁹

Throughout the twentieth century, medicine—particularly the field of psychology—slowly evolved its understanding of sexuality and gender so that new “treatments” began to emerge, all of which generally left patients physically or psychologically scarred and mistrusting of medicine.¹⁰ Even as asylums and prisons transitioned from places that quarantined the criminal and mentally ill to places of potential “rehabilitation” during the middle decades of the twentieth century, concomitant “treatments” that included hormonal castration, lobotomy, and psychoanalysis often did more harm than good. With the new psychological theories of the esteemed



Figure 1: A 1974 view of the Willard Asylum, where Ann Lubdell remained captive for nearly a decade before her death in 1890. The Willard Asylum was one of many asylums across the country where gender and sexual minorities were committed against their wills and for indeterminate sentences during the late nineteenth century and for much of the twentieth. Photo by Richard Meams, courtesy of the National Park Service.

⁸ P.M. Wise, "Case of Sexual Perversion," *The Alienist and Neurologist* 4, no. 1 (1883); James G. Kiernan, "Original Communications. Insanity. Lecture XXVI. - Sexual Perversion," *Detroit Lancet* 7, no. II (1884); and Jonathan Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.: A Documentary* (New York: Crowell, 1976), 601. The Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in Ovid, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 7, 1975.

⁹ Tamara Rice Lave, "Only Yesterday: The Rise and Fall of Twentieth Century Sexual Psychopath Laws," *Louisiana Law Review* 69, no. 3 (2009); and Estelle Freedman, "'Uncontrolled Desires': The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920-1960," *The Journal of American History* 74, no. 1 (1987).

¹⁰ Martin B. Duberman, *Cures : A Gay Man's Odyssey* (New York: Dutton, 1991).

Dr. Joseph Wolpe at Temple University and the nurturing of the well-regarded researchers at the Masters and Johnson Institute, the 1960s witnessed the widespread adoption of aversion therapy, a new outgrowth of the flourishing field of psychology.¹¹ Aversion therapy delivered unpleasant physical experiences (often in the form of electric shocks) to men and women who showed arousal at homoerotic images. The theory behind aversion therapy hypothesized that after treatment, patients would associate homosexual arousal with pain and unpleasantness, train themselves to shun homosexual thoughts, and thus cure themselves of homosexuality. While widely accepted and practiced in the 1960s, this treatment coincided with shifting sexual norms, budding gay political activism, and a growing minority of psychiatrists that questioned the validity of homosexuality's classification as a mental illness. These changes caused the removal of homosexuality from the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM) in 1973.

Despite the important 1973 reclassification of homosexuality as no longer pathological, mainstream medicine remained a source of discrimination for many gender and sexual minorities for the remainder of the twentieth century. For one, numerous other diagnoses specific to gender nonconformity and some sexual practices remained classified as mental illnesses, ensuring that stigma endured for a large number of LGBTQ people and even making diagnoses of mental illness a prerequisite

¹¹ Basil James, "Case of Homosexuality Treated by Aversion Therapy," *British Medical Journal* 1, no. 5280 (1962): 768; M.P. Feldman and M.J. MacCulloch, "The Application of Anticipatory Avoidance Learning to the Treatment of Homosexuality: 1. Theory, Technique and Preliminary Results," *Behaviour Research and Therapy* 2, no. 2 (1964): 165-183; M.J. MacCulloch and M. P. Feldman, "Aversion Therapy in Management of 43 Homosexuals," *British Medical Journal* 2, no. 5552 (1967): 594-597; John Bancroft, "Aversion Therapy of Homosexuality: A Pilot Study of 10 Cases," *The British Journal of Psychiatry* 115, no. 529 (1969): 1417-1431; Joseph Wolpe, *The Practice of Behavior Therapy*, 3rd ed., Pergamon General Psychology Series (New York: Pergamon Press, 1982); and William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson, *Homosexuality in Perspective* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1979). Dr. Joseph Wolpe's office was located on the campus of Temple University Medical School, Henry Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Masters and Johnson Institute opened in 1964 as the Reproductive Biology Research Foundation at 4910 Forest Park Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri. In 1978, it became the Masters and Johnson Institute, and closed in 1994.

for hormones or surgery for trans* individuals desiring those services.¹² Second, the removal of homosexuality from the DSM did not bring an end to treatment programs for homosexuality. Conversion therapy, encompassing a broad range of treatments including strict policing of gender roles, guided visualization, and practices common in aversion therapy, still remains common practice at the fringes of psychology, despite the disapproval of the American Psychological Association, the overwhelming body of evidence proving its ineffectiveness, and bans against it in a growing number of states.¹³ Additionally, the medical disentangling of homosexuality from mental illness did not equate to quality medical care for LGBTQ patients. While a growing number of doctors no longer viewed their LGBTQ patients as innately sick, they rarely knew how to ensure their health as few received any medical training on LGBTQ-specific health issues or treatment.¹⁴ Lastly, changing the medical classification did not erase the larger social stigma and discrimination against LGBTQ individuals that almost a century of medical research helped to build and support.

The AIDS crisis of the 1980s showcased the full and lasting extent of this discrimination. First reported in June 1981, the new and fatal illness disproportionately affected gay men from the outset, a fact emphasized by doctors, researchers, and the media to such an extent that doctors initially and informally called it Gay-related Immune Deficiency (GRID).¹⁵ Acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) became the formal name of the disease in July 1982 at a Washington, DC meeting of gay community

¹² Trans* is an inclusive umbrella term that encompasses a wide range of gender nonconforming people that might also identify as transgender, transsexual, transvestite, genderqueer, and/or other terms. I use it here to be as inclusive and accurate as possible. Dean Spade, "Mutilating Gender," in eds., Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle *The Transgender Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

¹³ Erik Eckholm, "California Is First State to Ban Gay 'Cure' for Minors," *New York Times*, September 30, 2012; Tia Ghose, "Why Gay Conversion Therapy Is Harmful," in *livescience* (2015); and Angela Delli Santi, "Chris Christie Signs Ban on Gay Conversion Therapy," *The Huffington Post*, August 19, 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/08/19/chris-christie-gay-conversion-ban_n_3779489.html.

¹⁴ D. G. Ostrow and N. L. Altman, "Sexually Transmitted Diseases and Homosexuality," *Sexually Transmitted Diseases* 10, no. 4 (1983); D. G. Ostrow and D. M. Shaskey, "The Experience of the Howard Brown Memorial Clinic of Chicago with Sexually Transmitted Diseases," *ibid.* 4, no. 2 (1977).

¹⁵ "Gay Cancer Focus of Hearing," *The Washington Blade*, April 16, 1982; and L.K. Altman, "New Homosexual Disorder Worries Health Officials," *New York Times*, May 11, 1982.

leaders, government, and Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) officials, where gay leaders argued against GRID's inaccuracy and stigma, but the association remains intact today. Consequently, homosexual men as a group, whether infected or not, experienced extreme forms of discrimination in health care, employment, and everyday life as the public feared contracting the deadly disease that no one, at the time, understood. For those infected, the stigma and fear surrounding AIDS translated into tragic injustices ranging from denial of hospital service, eviction, job loss, ejection from public spaces such as pools and schools, and even rejection from funeral homes and cemeteries.¹⁶ The Brewer's Hotel (Figure 2), a dilapidated hotel often a site for paid sex work above a long-standing blue-collar gay bar in Pittsburgh, exemplifies the consequences of this discrimination. During the AIDS crisis, the hotel became an informal AIDS hospice for people who had lost their homes to housing discrimination and money to ineffective and expensive treatments, literally providing them with a place to die as volunteer nurses tended to them.¹⁷ The Arthur J. Sullivan Funeral Home in San Francisco was one of the few funeral homes to accept the bodies of those who died from AIDS in the earliest months and years of the epidemic.¹⁸ This discrimination expanded in the 1980s to also affect bisexuals and men who had sex with men. AIDS hysteria became so fever-pitched that the federal government made public health history in 1988 when it sent the informational pamphlet "Understanding AIDS" to every household in the United States, totaling approximately 126 million copies, to raise awareness and quell fear.¹⁹ The harsh realities of the early AIDS crisis expanded the list of historic sites of medically-related LGBTQ discrimination exponentially in number and scope but also created unprecedented in-depth education around LGBTQ health and sex more broadly that had positive

¹⁶ Philip James Tiemeyer, *Plane Queer: Labor, Sexuality, and AIDS in the History of Male Flight Attendants* (Oakland: University of California, 2013); and Sean Strub, *Body Counts: A Memoir of Politics, Sex, AIDS, and Survival* (New York: Scribner, 2014).

¹⁷ The Brewer's Hotel is located at 3315 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

¹⁸ The Arthur J. Sullivan Funeral Home is located at 2254 Market Street, San Francisco, California. In 2014, a developer filed plans to demolish and redevelop the property.

¹⁹ D. Davis, "'Understanding AIDS' - The National Mailer," *Public Health Reports* 106, no. 6 (1991).



Figure 2: The Brewer's Hotel above a long-standing working-class gay bar and across the street from an old brewery became an impromptu AIDS hospice during the 1980s. Volunteer nurses would go from room to room caring for the gay men who had lost their homes and livelihoods as a result of their battle with HIV/AIDS. Photograph 2015, courtesy of Joseph W. Edgar.

repercussions on the health of people both in and beyond LGBTQ communities.

Sites of Protest

While manipulating definitions of health proved a useful tool of discrimination against LGBTQ people and communities starting in the 1880s, it also sparked various forms of protest. In creating sexual and gender minority identities, medicine also inadvertently helped create communities of people who shared those new identities, including experiences of fear, discrimination, and mistreatment, as well as a desire for change. That same change had, in fact, been the intention of some of the earliest sexologists. Those whose work introduced “sexual inversion,” “transvestism,” and “deviance” into the scientific lexicon and legitimized existing social stigmas actually intended to create more understanding

and acceptance of sexual and gender minorities.²⁰ While doctors in the United States in the early twentieth century mostly embraced the more discriminatory aspects of sexological taxonomies, some “deviants” clung to their potential use for social acceptance. In December 1924, inspired by the work of German sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld, Bavarian immigrant Henry Gerber and African American pastor John T. Graves cofounded the oldest documented homosexual rights organization in the United States, the Chicago-based Society for Human Rights.²¹ Though they faced police harassment and the organization only survived a few months, the charter “to promote and protect the interests of people who by reasons of mental and physical abnormalities are abused and hindered in the legal pursuit of happiness,” makes clear the importance of medical diagnosis in the organization’s origins.²²

In the mid-twentieth century, activists changed tactics, challenging the medical diagnoses themselves rather than trying to harness their potential to create more social acceptance—as the Society for Human Rights unsuccessfully had. The 1948 and 1953 medical research studies from the Kinsey Institute in Bloomington, Indiana that suggested homosexuality was much more common than previously thought and Evelyn Hooker’s 1957 findings at the University of California at Los Angeles that questioned the categorization of homosexuality as an illness bolstered this perspective.²³ Local chapters of the midcentury homophile organization the Mattachine Society approached the questions of diagnosis and illness

²⁰ Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Homosexualität Des Mannes Und Des Weibes*, Handbuch Der Gesamten Sexualwissenschaft in Einzeldarstellungen (Berlin: L. Marcus, 1914).

²¹ The Henry Gerber residence is located within the Old Town Triangle Historic District (listed November 8, 1984) in Chicago, Illinois. It was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015.

²² Katz, *Gay American History*, 386-387.

²³ Institute for Sex Research and Alfred C. Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1953); Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell Baxter Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948); and E. Hooker, “The Adjustment of the Male Overt Homosexual,” *J Proj Tech* 21, no. 1 (1957). The Kinsey Institute for Research on Sex, Gender, and Reproduction is currently located at the University of Indiana, Morrison Hall 302, 1165 E Third Street, Bloomington, Indiana. When established in 1947, it was located in Biology Hall (now Swain Hall East); in 1950, the institute moved to Wylie Hall (on the NRHP as part of the Old Crescent Historic District, listed on September 8, 1980; in 1955 relocated to Jordan Hall, and in 1967 moved to its current location (The Kinsey Institute website, “Chronology of Events” at <http://www.kinseyinstitute.org/about/chronology.html>). Evelyn Hooker’s office was located in the Psychology department at the University of California, Los Angeles.

differently with Frank Kameny insisting “Gay is Good” as he led the Washington, DC chapter in its fight against the federal government’s post-World War II policy to identify and terminate all homosexual employees.²⁴ The New York City chapter saw the questions around homosexuality and health produce infighting and eventual fracture of the group, with one side wanting to accept but de-emphasize their classification as mentally ill and the other challenging the diagnosis.²⁵ From this perspective, medicine and health played a central and crucial role in kick-starting the earliest LGBTQ political activism and also in shaping the ways that activism evolved over time.

The flow of influence was multidirectional and LGBTQ political activism in turn, shaped medicine. Beginning in 1970, LGBTQ individuals, mostly former patients of psychiatrists who no longer accepted the validity of homosexuality as a mental illness, began protesting the American Psychological Association’s (APA) annual meetings, first at the San Francisco Civic Auditorium in 1970 then at the Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington DC the following year. In 1972, as the APA met in the Dallas Memorial Auditorium and Convention Center, a man donning a paper sack to hide his identity and calling himself Dr. Anonymous appealed to his colleagues when he spoke of the challenges he faced as a psychiatrist who was also gay.²⁶ The protests proved effective when, in 1973 at the Sheraton Waikiki Hotel, members of the APA voted to remove

²⁴ David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); and 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, 1998). Dr. Franklin E. Kameny’s residence in Washington, DC was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011.

²⁵ D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*.

²⁶ Ronald Bayer, *Homosexuality and American Psychiatry: The Politics of Diagnosis* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987); Jack Drescher and Joseph P. Merlino, *American Psychiatry and Homosexuality: An Oral History* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2007). The San Francisco Civic Auditorium, now known as the Bill Graham Civic Auditorium, is located at 99 Grove Street, San Francisco, California. The Sheraton-Park Hotel, now known as the Washington Marriott Wardman Park Hotel, is located at 2660 Woodley Road NW, Washington, DC; it was listed on the NRHP on January 31, 1984. The Dallas Memorial Auditorium and Convention Center, now known as the Kay Bailey Hutchison Convention Center, is located at Canton and Akard Streets, Dallas, Texas.

homosexuality from the DSM, from which its members drew diagnoses.²⁷ However, the 1973 vote did not mark the end of sexual and gender minorities' struggles with medicine or the APA. Just seven years later in 1980, members of the trans* community found their identities and lives pathologized with the new addition of Gender Identity Disorder in the DSM, not only linking them to mental

pathology but also making them reliant upon the diagnosis of mental illness to gain access to hormone and surgical options.²⁸ Multiyear protests again resulted in the APA amending the DSM, replacing the longstanding Gender Identity Disorder with the less stigmatizing, though still problematic, diagnosis of Gender Dysphoria at their 2011 annual meeting held at the Hawai'i Convention Center (Figure 3).²⁹

Protest played a central role in LGBTQ health history with the emergence of the AIDS crisis in the 1980s. For most of the 1980s, doctors and the public struggled to understand AIDS, how it was transmitted, who was susceptible, and how to treat those infected. Fear informed policy.

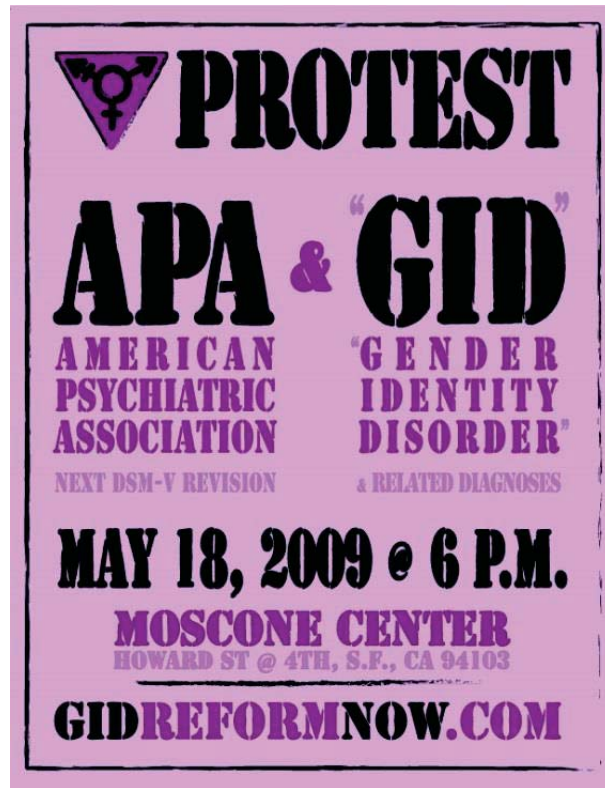


Figure 3: A poster made by activist Andrea James and used during a protest of the APA as it deliberated removing Gender Identity Disorder from the DSM in 2009. Protest poster by Andrea James, 2009.³⁰

²⁷ American Psychological Association, "Memo Regarding the Status of Homosexuality as a Mental Disorder," in *Walter Lear Personal Collection* (Philadelphia 1973). The Sheraton Waikiki Hotel is located at 2255 Kalakaua Avenue, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

²⁸ Spade, "Mutilating Gender."

²⁹ Kenneth J. Zucker et al., "Memo Outlining Evidence for Change for Gender Identity Disorder in the DSM-5," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 42, no. 5 (2013): 901-914. The Hawai'i Convention Center is located at 1801 Kalakaua Avenue, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

³⁰ License: CC BY 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/andreajames/3510437558/in/photolist-6mcUMu-6oCPAA-6pQCaH/>

Educated guesses drove research. Desperation fueled treatments. Community spaces such as gay bars and bathhouses became battlegrounds as health commissioners and mayors sought to shutter sites they saw as contributing to the epidemic, and gay community members fought to maintain the community hubs as sites for possible education and intervention. Until 1987, there were no Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approved treatments, and even then those patients on the medication AZT fared almost as poorly as those receiving nothing.³¹ Not until 1996, with the discovered efficacy of a “cocktail” of approved medications did HIV-positive people in the United States see their prospects for daily quality of life and life expectancy improve.³² However, access to these new antiretroviral (ARV) therapies varied widely across class and race. Disproportionately affected by the disease and the discrimination related to it, members of the LGBTQ community used protest to educate the public and doctors, demand research funding, insist upon humane treatment in medical settings, and fight widespread homophobia exacerbated by fear of the illness. Protests took many forms from quilting to kiss-ins, from spreading the ashes of loved ones to dispensing condoms, and from illegally importing treatments from abroad to speaking before legislators.³³

While groups protesting AIDS discrimination are far too numerous to enumerate here, highlighting the work of a handful of organizations demonstrates both the scope of the crisis and the creativity employed in fighting it. The group ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) began in March 1987, meeting in the basement of what is now the Lesbian, Gay,

³¹ Richard D. Moore and Richard E. Chaisson, "Natural History of Opportunistic Disease in an HIV-Infected Urban Clinical Cohort," *Annals of Internal Medicine* 124, no. 7 (1996).

³² Roy Gulick et al., "Treatment with Indinavir, Zidovudine, and Lamivudine in Adults with Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection and Prior Antiretroviral Therapy," *New England Journal of Medicine* 337, no. 11 (1997); and SM Hammer et al., "A Controlled Trial of Two Nucleoside Analogues Plus Indinavir in Persons with Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection and Cd4 Cell Counts of 200 Per Cubic Millimeter or Less. AIDS Clinical Trials Group 320 Study Team," *ibid.*

³³ The basement of what is now the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center, 208 W 13th Street, New York City, New York, hosted New York ACT UP for many years. Tamar W. Carroll, *Mobilizing New York: AIDS, Antipoverty, and Feminist Activism*, Gender and American Culture Series (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); and Deborah B. Gould, *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight against AIDS* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Bisexual and Transgender Community Center in New York City, and inspired chapters to start around the world. This group employed creative and disruptive tactics in direct action protests to draw attention and spur action on many fronts of the AIDS crisis (Figure 4). With a massive protest in October 1988, the group successfully shut down the FDA offices in Rockville, Maryland, drawing national media coverage and highlighting the slow and ineffective policies of the institution in administering drug trials and approving medications. A “die-in” protest against drug profiteering at the New York Stock Exchange a year later proved pivotal in forcing Burroughs Wellcome, the pharmaceutical company that developed and released AZT, to drop the medication’s annual cost from approximately \$10,000 per patient to \$6,400 per patient. The 1990 protest of the National Institutes of Health brought hundreds of activists and dozens of protest posters in the shape of gravestones to the campus lawn to challenge the slow paces of research and drug approval (AZT was the only approved drug after a full decade of the epidemic and more than one billion of research funding spent) as well as the lack of racial diversity in medical trials. A map of the ACT UP protests is diverse, ranging from the White House lawn to the Trinity Church in New York where organizers gathered for an early ACT UP protest on Wall Street and from the CDC in Atlanta to the FDA in Rockville.³⁴

ACT UP, while among the most vocal and aggressive in their protests, was far from the only group protesting AIDS and memorializing those claimed by the disease. The Names Project, first conceived by San Francisco activist Cleve Jones in 1985, encouraged friends and family members of those who succumbed to the disease to create commemorative quilt panels. The organization then arranged for display of the quilt, and later pieces of the quilt, at cities around the world to heighten AIDS awareness. The last display of the entire quilt occurred in

³⁴ The White House is located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. Trinity Church is located at 74 Trinity Place, New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP and as an NHL on December 8, 1976. The Centers for Disease Control (1980-1992), now the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, is located at 1600 Clifton Road, Atlanta, Georgia. The Food and Drug Administration is located at 5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, Maryland.

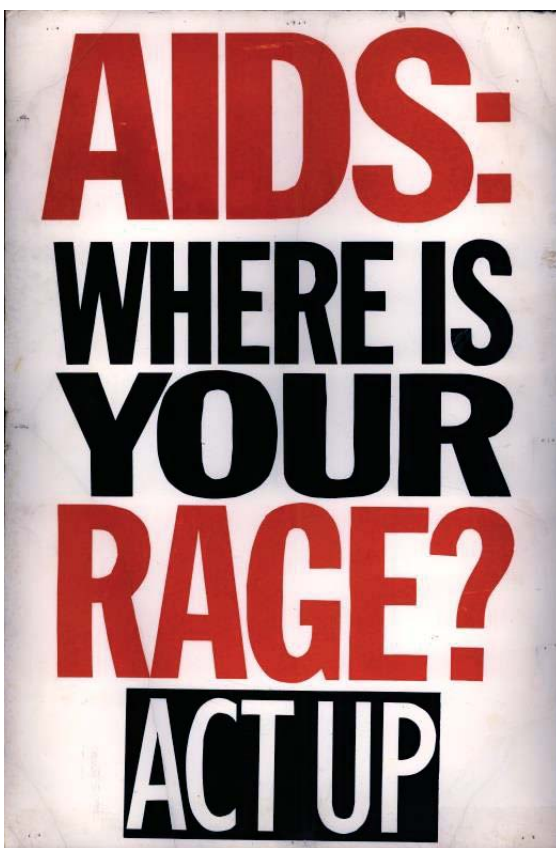


Figure 4: Activist and Kansas resident Bruce McKinney used this handmade poster during an ACT-UP protest in Wichita, Kansas. Created by Bruce McKinney. Photo courtesy of Tami Albin.

October 1996, when it filled the National Mall in Washington, DC. Founded in 1985 and displaying a completely different strategy to fight AIDS, amfAR, the Foundation for AIDS Research, has pushed research in new directions through funding initiatives and service programs directly. The works of these organizations expands the map of LGBTQ health history sites into sewing circles and living rooms across the country, hundreds of city parks and buildings, and into the labs of over the three thousand amfAR funded research teams.

LGBTQ people of color and working-class people faced another layer of complexity and discrimination that required protest.

Frequently pushed to the margins by the predominantly white and middle-class protesters within and beyond the LGBTQ communities, they often struggled to be heard by existing groups or built their own to highlight the health impacts of compounding forms of discrimination.³⁵ The annual Black Lesbian and Gay Pride event, held from 1991-1999 at Washington, DC's Banneker Field was one such event that proved incredibly successful in fundraising for HIV/AIDS-related services for the black community.³⁶ Regardless of which group organized the actions, the vast majority of protests were directed at sites of service, either to draw attention to

³⁵ Jennifer Brier, *Infectious Ideas: U.S. Political Responses to the AIDS Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); and Cathy J. Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

³⁶ Banneker Field is associated with the Banneker Recreation Center at 2500 Georgia Avenue NW, Washington, DC. The Banneker Recreation Center was listed on the NRHP on April 28, 1986.

inaction, ineffectiveness, or discrimination, or to raise awareness and money for them.

The ripple effects of the protests during the early AIDS crisis emanated into changing public attitudes toward people with AIDS, the LGBTQ communities more broadly, and in health policy. Most immediately for the AIDS crisis of the 1980s, protests led to the FDA streamlining its drug



Figure 5: Volunteers staff the first gay caucus booth at the American Public Health Association's annual meeting in 1975. Founded by Walter Lear, the American Public Health Association's gay caucus was one of the first of any professional medical association in the country and furthered LGBTQ issues within the public health profession and also improved the public health of the LGBTQ community at large. Within a decade, nearly all major medical professional organizations had a similar caucus, each working to make its specific field more welcoming to LGBTQ colleagues and better serve the LGBTQ community. Photo by Walter Lear and gifted to author.

approval process in 1987, shaving 2-3 years off of the standard time period required for drug approval. However, the impact of AIDS activism and the more sympathetic society it created translated into health policy that, by the end of the twentieth century, began to examine health disparities of sexual and gender minorities beyond mental health, substance abuse, and sexual health for the first time in American

history.³⁷ Other developments that resulted in policy shifts predated AIDS, most notably the creation of LGBTQ caucuses within all the major medical professional organizations between 1973 and 1981 (Figure 5). From their inception, these caucuses proved pivotal in propelling research, garnering support within the medical profession, and shaping LGBTQ health policy. Changing health policy is only as effective as its implementation and another battle that began in the 1970s, but continues today, seeks to make LGBTQ health a more prominent component of medical school training, expanding the map of LGBTQ history sites into medical schools across the country.³⁸

Sites of Service

Even as “health” was a source of discrimination and protest for much of LGBTQ history, gender and sexual minorities also found or created sites of service throughout the twentieth century in an effort to obtain needed health care. These sites, like those of discrimination and protest, include an unusual variety of venues and illustrate the true diversity of LGBTQ health needs. With the distrust produced by the stigma and consequences of diagnosis being so extreme for much of the twentieth century, many of these health sites appear in places or areas where members of the LGBTQ community already felt comfortable, such as bars or gay enclaves. These sites also had to serve an impressive array of health needs ranging from general care to research and from hormone therapy to fertility services. The sites of service exemplify the ingenuity of the LGBTQ communities to receive and provide health care in what was often an otherwise unwelcoming medical landscape. They also symbolize the literal growth and transformation of the LGBTQ’s relationship to health.

³⁷ Steven Epstein, “Sexualizing Governance and Medicalizing Identities: The Emergence of ‘State-Centered’ LGBT Health Politics in the United States,” *Sexualities* 6, no. 2 (2003); Institute of Medicine Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Health Issues and Research Gaps and Opportunities, *The Health of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People: Building a Foundation for Better Understanding*, (Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2011); Institute of Medicine, Andrea L. Solarz, ed., *Lesbian Health: Current Assessment and Directions for the Future*, (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1999).

³⁸ Marie Murphy, “Hiding in Plain Sight: The Production of Heteronormativity in Medical Education,” *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* (2014).

The documentation of early twentieth-century sites of service is sparse, suggesting that most gender and sexual minorities either never disclosed their practices or simply avoided medical interactions altogether. However, the Portland, Oregon office of Dr. J. Allen Gilbert is an exception.³⁹ Here in 1918, Dr. Gilbert treated “H” (Alberta Lucille Hart) who transitioned to Alan Hart and went on to use x-rays in diagnosing tuberculosis in Boise, Idaho, a revolutionary screening method that saved thousands of lives.⁴⁰ Dr. Harry Benjamin’s New York and San Francisco offices also provided treatment for transgender patients starting in the 1940s and was the basis for research for his *Transsexual Phenomenon*, a foundational text of transgender care published in 1966.⁴¹ Benjamin’s work also proved pivotal in the development of sexual reassignment surgery (SRS), a topic Susan Stryker discusses at great length in her chapter in this volume. While few in number, these sites show how members of the LGBTQ community occasionally found medical allies and built networks in the first half of the twentieth century.

The vast majority of service sites emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, as liberation politics combined with shifting sexual norms and the changing medical understanding of sexuality. The government support of community health clinics in the 1970s and the AIDS crisis of the 1980s also factored heavily in the development of many of these service sites.⁴² Equally important in mapping these spaces, the definition of service also expanded during this time period to include social services for those infected with diseases, preventative care and public health initiatives, and research that addressed the gaps in medical knowledge left by a medical profession focused, for nearly a century, on treating gender and sexual

³⁹ Dr. J. Allen Gilbert’s office was located at 601 SW Alder Street, Portland, Oregon.

⁴⁰ J. Allen Gilbert (October 1920), “Homo-Sexuality and Its Treatment,” *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 2(4): 297–332; and Alan L. Hart, “Mass X-ray Surveys in Tuberculosis Control: A Discussion of Certain Phases of Mass Radiography in Continuous Tuberculosis Control Program,” (PhD diss., Yale University, 1948). Dr. Alan Hart’s home and office were located in Boise, Idaho.

⁴¹ Harry Benjamin, *The Transsexual Phenomenon* (New York: Julian Press, 1966). Harry Benjamin’s offices were located at 728 Park Avenue, New York City, New York and 450 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California. 450 Sutter Street was added to the NRHP on December 22, 2009.

⁴² Catherine Batza, “Before AIDS: Gay and Lesbian Health Activism in the 1970s,” (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Chicago, 2010); and Brier, *Infectious Ideas*.

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“abnormalities” rather than the actual illnesses that gender and sexual minorities faced.

Each site of service set its own parameters of intended clientele and services, reflecting its capabilities, interest, and the needs of LGBTQ individuals and communities. Some, like the Gay and Lesbian Community Centers in Memphis, Washington, DC, New York, and dozens of other cities that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, provided services for an expanding range of LGBTQ identified people.⁴³ Others, like the Tom Waddell Health Center in San Francisco that opened in 1993, limited their focus to addressing the specific and poorly-attended health needs of low-income trans* identified people.⁴⁴ These different approaches illuminate logistical limitations but also speak to a larger and more complicated reality. Increasingly over the last four decades, the LGBTQ communities have aspired for unity and equality across all gender and sexual minorities but have also repeatedly, though often unintentionally, marginalized and underserved members of the trans* community, women, people of color, and low-income individuals.⁴⁵ From this perspective, the spectrum of health services that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s illustrate the real health consequences of structural racism, sexism, transphobia, classism, and ableism that operate within LGBTQ communities as much as they do in every other segment of the population.

The services offered in these sites cumulatively recast the relationship between health and LGBTQ communities, paving the way for greater trust of the medical community among LGBTQ individuals, and ultimately improved health care and quality of life. While far from complete today, this shift toward positivity in the relationship between “health” and LGBTQ

⁴³ The Memphis Gay and Lesbian Community Center is located at 892 S Cooper Street, Memphis, Tennessee. In 1975, the Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Washington, DC was located at 1469 Church Street NW, Washington, DC. It closed (two locations later) in 1990. Founded in 1983, the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Community Center is still at its original location, 208 W 13th Street, New York City, New York.

⁴⁴ The Tom Waddell Health Center was originally located at 50 Lech Walesa (Ivy) Street, San Francisco, California. In 2013, it was renamed the Tom Waddell Urban Health Center and many services, including the transgender clinic, were relocated to 230 Golden Gate Avenue.

⁴⁵ Brier, *Infectious Ideas*; Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness*; and Susan Stryker, *Transgender History*, Seal Studies (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008).

communities started with seemingly small service offerings that began in the second half of the twentieth century that would expand, or replicate elsewhere. The Homophile Health Services in Boston, Massachusetts, which began offering affirming, rather than pathologizing, mental health counseling to gays and lesbians in 1971, gave space to an emerging activism and branch of psychology that would lead to the removal of homosexuality from the DSM just a few years later.⁴⁶ The Man's Country Bathhouse in Chicago, Illinois initiated, in 1974, a VD Van program that traveled between various gay nightclubs to provide free venereal disease testing.⁴⁷ Communities in other cities copied the program and transformed bars and bathhouses from sites of transmission to sites of potential education and treatment (a concept much discussed and debated in the early AIDS crisis a decade later).⁴⁸ The Sperm Bank of Northern California, when it began as a side project of the Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center in 1982, granted lesbians and single women access to banked and screened sperm for alternative insemination for the first time, providing a new and influential pathway to lesbian motherhood.⁴⁹ Each of these sites, and the medical services they offered, altered the landscape for LGBTQ health in deeply impactful ways.

Research also propelled the improved relationship between health and LGBTQ communities during the waning decades of the twentieth century, expanding the sites of service to include medical labs and research facilities. Medical researchers' century-long focus on gender expression and sexuality as illnesses left a dearth of research on how LGBTQ individuals experienced actual illnesses and diseases or how gender and sexuality informed health experiences more broadly. While midcentury researchers like Kinsey and Hooker blazed a path into this kind of

⁴⁶ Homophile Health Services was located at 112 Arlington Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

⁴⁷ Man's Country opened in 1972 and remains in business. It is located at 5017 N Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois.

⁴⁸ Batza, "Before AIDS: Gay and Lesbian Health Activism in the 1970s."

⁴⁹ Katie Batza, "From Sperm Runners to Sperm Banks: Lesbians, Assisted Conception, and the Fertility Industry, 1971-1983," *Journal of Women's History* Forthcoming (2015). "Feminists Open Their Own Sperm Bank," *The Evening Independent*, October 8, 1982. The Sperm Bank of Northern California, currently known as The Sperm Bank of California, is now located at 2115 Milvia Street, Berkeley, California.

research, medical researchers, many of them identifying as LGBTQ, took up this vein of research in earnest in the 1970s and 1980s. Responding to the 1978 research conducted by the Women’s Clinic of the San Francisco General Hospital on the medical disparities lesbians experienced in traditional health settings (some of the earliest research in the United States to focus solely on women’s health), Lyon-Martin Health Services opened in 1980, building upon more than a decade of feminist health clinics and activism across the country.⁵⁰ Dr. Fred “Fritz” Klein of San Diego, California founded the American Institute of Bisexuality in 1998 to research the largely unstudied experiences of bisexuals, improving and broadening understanding of their medical needs.⁵¹

LGBTQ activists and medical professionals also played a key role in the early identification and understanding of AIDS. Founded in 1982, the Gay Men’s Health Crisis in New York City sought to connect those infected with willing service providers, but also initiated connections between researchers, doctors, and activists.⁵² Also opening that year, the San Francisco AIDS Foundation offered the first national AIDS hotline and has been instrumental in educating San Francisco residents and officials, advocating on behalf of people with AIDS, and providing direct medical and social services to local people touched by the disease for over thirty years.⁵³ Community health clinics specifically serving the LGBTQ communities, like the Fenway Community Health Center in Boston or the Howard Brown Health Center in Chicago, also did this work while simultaneously conducting research into treatments and modes of

⁵⁰ San Francisco General Hospital is located at 1001 Potrero Avenue, San Francisco, California. Lyon-Martin Health Services is located at 1748 Market Street, San Francisco, California.

⁵¹ Fred Klein, *The Bisexual Option*, 2nd ed., Haworth Gay and Lesbian Studies (New York: Haworth Press, 1993). The American Institute of Bisexuality is located at 8265 West Sunset Boulevard, West Hollywood, California. The Fred “Fritz” Klein residence, where he lived with his partner Tom Reise from 1995 until his death in 2006, is located in San Diego, California.

⁵² The Gay Men’s Health Crisis was founded at 318 W 22nd Street, New York City, New York.

⁵³ The San Francisco AIDS Foundation, originally called the Kaposi’s Sarcoma Research and Education Foundation, opened at 520 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.

transmission and serving as medical first responders to the first people with AIDS.⁵⁴

AIDS research took many different forms from understanding modes of transmission to developing treatments, and even possible cures, for those infected. After identifying the specific retrovirus, later called HIV, that causes AIDS in 1984, AIDS researchers developed a screening test for the virus and then moved on to manufacturing treatments and prophylactics. Some researchers focused on designing treatments that would kill or render harmless the virus once inside the body, others honed in on preventing the virus from ever being transmitted, others still sought to develop a vaccine. Treatment development and government approval proved painfully slow and many well-conceived ideas proved ineffective or impossible to execute. However, these, and countless other AIDS research efforts have combined to provide a much better understanding of LGBTQ health as well as effective transmission prevention methods within and beyond the LGBTQ community.

LGBTQ scientists and doctors also shaped the medical field around them, both within and beyond the subfield of LGBTQ health. Just as Alan Hart had made great strides in tuberculosis treatment methods, Sara Josephine Baker played a pivotal role in improving fetal health, reducing infant mortality, and curbing Typhoid fever in the early twentieth century.⁵⁵ In the 1960s and 1970s, pioneering LGBTQ doctors like Walter Lear and Howard Brown fought to make the medical profession more accepting of LGBTQ practitioners.⁵⁶ Doctors Kenneth Mayer and David Ostrow conducted extensive and important research in the final decades of the

⁵⁴ The Fenway Community Health Center, today known as Fenway Health, was founded in 1971 at 16 Haviland Street, Boston, Massachusetts. It currently has several locations in Boston, with the original one being the Haviland Street location. The Howard Brown Health Center began in a room above the grocery store across from Chicago's Biograph Theater in 1974. On October 4, 1997, they moved into their current facility at 4025 N Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois.

⁵⁵ Sara Josephine Baker lived much of her adult life with her female companion, novelist Ida A. R. Wiley. They eventually retired to a farm in Skillman, New Jersey.

⁵⁶ Walter Lear's residence was located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and in it he held regular meetings of LGBTQ health professionals and organized the creation of LGBTQ caucuses in many professional organizations. Howard Brown was a New York City Health Services Administrator before coming out and founding the National Gay Task Force (now the National LGBTQ Task Force) in 1973.

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twentieth century on LGBTQ health regarding sexually transmitted infections, HIV/AIDS treatments, and creating inclusive medical services.⁵⁷ The work of these, and many other LGBTQ doctors and scientists, expands the map and scope of LGBTQ health-related historic sites.

Conclusion

Few forces have shaped LGBTQ history to the extent that health and medicine have. The relationship between medicine and gender and sexual minorities has been complex since doctors first initiated it in the late nineteenth century, fueling extreme discrimination, harming countless individuals with physical and emotionally painful “treatments,” yet also providing the basis for LGBTQ community building and spurring political activism that factor prominently in our national history. The history told by the sites outlined here is equal parts adversity and redemption, sickness (of both society and individuals) and health, tragedy and hope, and discrimination and service. Each of the LGBTQ health-related sites reflect individual experiences of suffering that can be traced back to the first doctors who set gender and sexual minorities apart and classified them as “other” and “deviant.” The lasting legacy of that stigma is what unifies these sites, makes them noteworthy and, in fact, made many of them necessary at all.

This history continues to mold our present and future. The sites of discrimination presented here only scratch the surface of a reality that suggests that nearly every site that offered any sort of medical assessment or interaction (doctor’s offices, hospitals, court rooms, prisons, immigration entry points, etc.) before the 1970s was also very likely the site of discrimination for gender and sexual minorities. The sites of protest demonstrate the power of oppressed and vilified people, but also reflect their suffering and frustration with a medical system, society, and government that failed them. The temptation to view the sites of service

⁵⁷ Kenneth Mayer’s office is located at the Fenway Health Clinic on 1340 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts, with the clinic’s main office originally being on 16 Haviland Street. David Ostrow’s office was located at the Howard Brown Health Center in Chicago, Illinois.

as proof of progress and redemption exists, but the fact that so many of these service sites still exist to fill the gaps in medical treatments, research, and social services that LGBTQ people need, but can't find elsewhere, speaks to the lasting effects of gender and sexuality-based discrimination today. The future of LGBTQ health looks bright, but only in contrast to the darkness of its history. LGBTQ individuals still face discrimination in medical settings on a regular basis and LGBTQ communities still bear stigmas ascribed by a society informed by stereotypes and misunderstandings. Today's LGBTQ health statistics reflect these realities as fear of medical interactions, additional stress from structural discrimination, and uninformed medical professionals contribute to LGBTQ individuals experiencing more incidents of late diagnoses, more advanced disease, and death from a wide array of illnesses.⁵⁸ While this LGBTQ health-related history illustrates great strides already taken, there is much yet to do.

Though unfinished, the broader impact and significance of the struggle for LGBTQ health extends far beyond the LGBTQ communities. Through the experiences outlined here, LGBTQ health initiatives and research have improved broader understandings of sex, sexuality, and sexual transmission of disease in ways that benefit people across the full sexuality spectrum. They have illuminated another important dimension of the health consequences of structural discrimination that adds greater depth and nuance to research and services designed for those who experience racial, age, economic, and ability-based discrimination. The fights for and debates over LGBTQ health have, in fact, shaped understandings of health for all Americans and transformed aspects of

⁵⁸ Kenneth H. Mayer et al., "Sexual and Gender Minority Health: What We Know and What Needs to be Done," *American Journal of Public Health* 98, no. 6 (2008): 989-995; M.K. Hutchinson, Angela C. Thompson, and Julie A. Cederbaum, "Multisystem Factors Contributing to Disparities in Preventive Health Care Among Lesbian Women," *Journal of Obstetric, Gynecologic, & Neonatal Nursing* 35, no. 3 (2006): 393-402; Karen I. Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., "The Health Equity Promotion Model: Reconceptualization of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Health Disparities," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 84, no. 6 (2014): 653; and Sean Cahill and Harvey Makadon, "Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Data Collection in Clinical Settings and in Electronic Health Records: A Key to Ending LGBT Health Disparities," *LGBT Health* 1, no. 1 (2014): 34-41.

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health policy, medical research, pharmaceutical practices, government oversight, expectations of medical privacy, and interactions with individual care providers that regularly benefit individuals and society at large.

LGBTQ ART ²³ AND ARTISTS

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This chapter focuses on LGBTQ art and artists in the United States. Due to the scope of this essay the content is necessarily limited. These locations provide a sampling of LGBTQ contributions to broader social milieus and artistic movements. I have attempted to provide content that is representative in terms of region, diversity, and historical scope.¹ Artworks range from performance to the visual arts; places range from murals to theaters to community centers. Two key characteristics have shaped the histories of the places listed in this chapter: multiple identities and historical context. Although the historical scope of this essay is limited to the twentieth century, there are examples of LGBTQ arts in the United States as far back as the eighteenth century.²

¹ There are several excellent resources on LGBTQ art and artists, including: James Saslow, *Pictures and Passions: A History of Homosexuality in the Visual Arts* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1999); Harmony Hammond, *Lesbian Art in America: A Contemporary History* (New York: Rizzoli, 2000); Christopher Reed, *Art and Homosexuality: A History of Ideas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Richard Meyer and Catherine Lord, *Art and Queer Culture* (New York: Phaidon Press, 2013); and Claude J. Summers, ed., *The Queer Encyclopedia of the Visual Arts* (Jersey City, NJ: Cleis Press).

² In the collection of the New-York Historical Society, *Portrait of an Unidentified Woman* (c.1700-1725) has long been identified as a likeness of Edward Hyde, who served as Governor of New York and New Jersey from 1702-1708 and was known to appear in public wearing women's clothing. Pre-twentieth century artists of note who engaged in homoerotic themes include the photographers F. Holland Day, Frances "Fannie" Benjamin Johnston, and Alice Austen, and the painter Thomas Eakins. The Fred Holland Day House is located at 93 Day Street, Norwood, Massachusetts; it was listed on the NRHP on April 18, 1977. Clear Comfort, the Alice Austen House, is located at 2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island,

The umbrella term “LGBTQ” actually encompasses many identities. In other words, the experiences of individuals who identify with components of this acronym are widely diverse. This impacts the ways in which their art has been created and seen. Most disparities are grounded in uneven social and material conditions based on gender, race, and class discrimination. Male artists, historically and today, benefit from more exhibition opportunities and higher art values than women artists. There have been shifts in this dynamic since the advent of social liberation movements in the late 1960s-1970s. Underrepresented artists have taken it upon themselves to create exhibition opportunities including community art centers and cooperative galleries, some of which are explored in this study.

Due to the fact that until recently it was socially unacceptable to be LGBTQ in the United States, the ways in which we understand and categorize the history of LGBTQ art in the US are different from other art histories.³ Issues of social discrimination – homophobia as well as racism – have impacted the actual form and content of LGBTQ art. There was a time in the United States when LGBTQ individuals experienced intense pressure to remain "in the closet," meaning one's sexual proclivities and/or identity were kept separate from other aspects of professional, familial, and religious life.⁴ Actions of censorship such as the Hollywood

New York. It was listed on the NRHP on July 28, 1970, and designated an NHL on April 19, 1993. The Thomas Eakins House is located at 1729 Mount Vernon Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; it was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 21, 1965.

³ For most of the twentieth century, LGBTQ Americans could not disclose their sexual identity in the public sphere without fear of persecution including religious persecution, police brutality, violence, and discrimination in employment (see footnote 3). This climate had ramifications in art: until the 1970s there were no art movements centered on the promotion of LGBTQ concerns and most LGBTQ artists did not create art intended for public exhibition with overt homoerotic content. After the gay liberation movement of the late 1960s and 1970s there was an effort by artists, art historians, and gallery owners to collect and publish histories of LGBTQ participation in the arts. One of the earliest examples of this is Vito Russo's *The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality in the Movies* (New York: Harper and Row, 1981).

⁴ The first long-lasting homosexual political organizations, known as homophile groups, began in the 1950s: the Mattachine Society, founded in the Silver Lake neighborhood of Los Angeles in 1950, and the Daughters of Bilitis, a lesbian organization founded in San Francisco in 1955 which had their headquarters at 165 O'Farrell Street, San Francisco. Areas in which LGBTQ people were persecuted include government employment; for example in 1953 President Eisenhower issued an executive order that made disclosure of homosexuality grounds for termination of employment for any federal employee, an order that stood until 1993. Besides employment discrimination, LGBTQ people faced physical assault in gay bashings, some of them carried out by law enforcement officials. Until 1973,

Production Code (which banned depictions of "sex perversion" from films made and distributed in the United States between 1932 and 1968) and the Culture Wars (an attempt by conservatives to eliminate funding of controversial art in the 1980s and 1990s, many by LGBTQ artists) have impacted the development of LGBTQ art in the US.⁵ Before the gay liberation movement of the early 1970s when many people "came out," artists for the most part did not express their sexuality outright.⁶ Instead, under various mantles of modernism, artists found ways to indirectly express their sexual difference within countercultural art movements. Similarly, gay men developed "camp talk" in the decades before gay liberation, to safely communicate in public by referring to one another using women's names or pronouns, in order to protect their personal and sexual lives.⁷ In fact, particularly before the advent of gay liberation in the

the American Psychiatric Association considered homosexuality a mental illness, which contributed to discrimination against LGBTQ people. In the 1970s, gay activists pushed for anti-discrimination laws and successfully defeated anti-gay initiatives such as the 1978 effort to ban LGBTQ people from teaching in California public schools. In 1986 in *Bowers v. Hardwick* the US Supreme Court upheld the right of states to criminalize sodomy, even including consensual and private sexual behavior.

⁵ For more on homosexuality and the Hollywood Production Code see Russo, *Celluloid Closet* and Patricia White, *Uninvited: Classical Hollywood Cinema and Lesbian Representability* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999). The "Culture Wars" of the 1980s-1990s consisted of ideological battles between conservative and liberal Americans in religious and political contexts. The touchstone issues besides the censorship and defunding of federally funded controversial art included battles over reproductive rights (specifically abortion), homosexuality, the appropriate expressions of patriotism, the separation of church and state, and school curricula. For more information about the Culture Wars as they pertained to LGBTQ artists, see Richard Bolton, *Culture Wars: Documents from the Recent Controversies in the Arts* (New York: New Press, 1992), Steven C. Dubin, *Arresting Images: Impolitic Art and Uncivil Actions* (New York: Routledge, 1992), and Richard Meyer, *Outlaw Representation: Censorship and Homosexuality in Twentieth-Century American Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁶ Many LGBTQ artists made LGBTQ art for private display, and stuck to conventional themes for the art market. There are notable exceptions including Domingo Orejudos (1933-1991), known as Etienne, who was an artist who created large-scale murals and illustrated storybooks featuring heavily muscled men in homoerotic and sadomasochistic contexts. Along with Chuck Renslow, his lover and business partner, Etienne opened the first leather bar in the country, the Gold Coast, in Chicago in 1958. At 501 North Clark Street, the second location of the Gold Coast, Etienne painted large-scale murals depicting members of the leather community that are now permanently installed in the Leather Archives and Museum in Chicago (6418 North Greenview Avenue). Renslow and Etienne published male physique photography out of their Kris Studios, founded in 1950 in Chicago.

⁷ For example, as Michael Bronski explains, "If one man were to be overheard at a public dinner table saying to another, 'you'll never guess what Mary said on our date last night,' nothing would be thought of it." Bronski is cited in Lord and Meyer, *Art and Queer Culture*, 17. Despite the predominance of coding as a mode of public survival for gay men and lesbians during the mid-twentieth century, there were some artists for whom gay sentiment was an unequivocal part of their aesthetic, such as Paul Cadmus and George Platt Lynes. For examples of visual coding, see Jonathan D. Katz, "Agnes Martin: The Sexuality of Abstraction," in *Agnes Martin*, eds. Lynne Cooke and Karen Kelly (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012) and Meyer, *Outlaw Representation*.

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1970s, many LGBTQ people engaged in varying degrees of censorship for self-protection. This relates to an important fact of queer art history: the archive of LGBTQ art necessarily includes conventional fine art but it also includes works intended for private and underground circulation, such as scrapbooks, cartoons, anonymous photographs, and bar murals.⁸ It is not a coincidence that cities have historically been centers for the development of vanguard art as well as places for LGBTQ people to live a life out of the closet. While rural locations are mentioned in this chapter, urban sites are particularly well represented because of these factors. These places date primarily from the latter half of the twentieth century, which reflects the shift in which LGBTQ art is more often celebrated than censored.⁹ However, issues of discrimination persist. I do not wish to establish a narrative towards progress that ends with the unproblematic celebration of LGBTQ individuals and communities and their assimilation into mainstream US society. Many LGBTQ artists maintain a position of marginality in order to critique dominant social norms, and use art as a means to document marginalized communities and promote subversive messages.¹⁰ The sites that follow reflect these factors and include a range of urban places including a community center, a contemporary art museum, a public art mural, and a theater, as well as rural locations (a studio/house and a college).

Royal Theater

The Royal Theater (Figure 1) in Philadelphia opened in 1920 and closed in 1970.¹¹ During that period it was a premiere location for African

⁸ For an anthology of queer visual art in these terms, see Lord and Meyer, *Art and Queer Culture*.

⁹ While censorship was the rule in mainstream US art contexts, LGBTQ art circulated and was displayed through alternative networks and exhibition venues including bars, magazines, and private collections. Some examples include the Gold Coast bar in Chicago, *Physique Pictorial* in Los Angeles (founded by Bob Mizer in 1951 as the first all-nude, all-male magazine), and the phallic gay art collection of Charles Leslie, a founder of the Leslie-Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art in New York City (26 Wooster Street).

¹⁰ Examples include Robert Mapplethorpe, Ron Athey, Vaginal Cream Davis, and Catherine Opie.

¹¹ Irvin R. Glazer, *Philadelphia Theaters: A Pictorial Architectural History* (New York: Dover Publications, 1994). In 1919 architect Frank E. Hahn designed its neo-Georgian exterior, and in 1925



Figure 1: The Royal Theater, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 2015. Photograph by Tara Burk.

American entertainment. It is an important site because it provided opportunities to LGBTQ artists of color during a period of segregation in the United States. Located at 1522 South Street, the Royal was the first theater in Philadelphia to feature an all-black staff, and was touted as “America’s First Colored Photoplay House” since it screened films featuring black actors. Some of the most prominent African American performers of the period performed at the Royal, including Bessie Smith (1894-1937), who moved to Philadelphia from the American South in the early 1920s. The iconic blues singer, who engaged in sexual relationships

theater designer William H. Lee completed an art deco interior. The Royal Theater was listed on the NRHP on February 8, 1980.

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with men and women, lived in proximity to the Royal and often performed there in the 1920s and early 1930s, during the prime of her career.¹² Smith's trajectory reflects the Great Migration, a period in which African Americans relocated from the southern to the northern United States in the first half of the twentieth century to escape racial oppression and to gain economic opportunity. One result of the Great Migration was a flourishing arts movement in Harlem as well as in Philadelphia.¹³ The theater was part of a corridor of African American culture on South Street that flourished during the early-to-mid twentieth century. The Royal, among other locations on this South Street corridor, was featured in the 1996 film by Cheryl Dunye, *The Watermelon Woman*, which is notably the first US feature film directed by a black lesbian.¹⁴ Today the building is vacant and there are development projects in the works, with a plan for the historic facade to be preserved.

Black Mountain College

Open from 1933 to 1957, Black Mountain College (BMC) was a progressive arts and educational institution located in the remote hills of Black Mountain, near Asheville, North Carolina. The college, founded by

¹² See Chris Albertson, *Bessie*, rev. ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), and Billy J. Harbin, Kim Marra, and Robert A. Schanke, eds., *The Gay and Lesbian Theatrical Legacy: A Biographical Dictionary of Major Figures in American Stage History in the Pre-Stonewall Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).

¹³ Philadelphia is an important, although lesser known, center for African American history and culture during the period of the Great Migration, which engendered greater political and social activism among African Americans and promoted cultural production as well. The most famous example is the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s, wherein the wealthy middle-class African American community of Harlem in New York City produced some of the most talented cultural figures in the nation, such as Langston Hughes, a poet known to have same-sex relationships, and Gladys Bentley, a cabaret singer and pianist who performed a tuxedo at the Clam House. Bentley drew black lesbians and gay men, as well as white sightseers, to the venue because of her gender-bending style (short hair and tuxedo) and her provocative attitude (she would flirt with women in the audience and improvise lewd lyrics to popular songs). See Bonnie Zimmerman, ed., *Encyclopedia of Lesbian Histories and Cultures* (New York: Routledge, 1999) and A.B. Christa Schwarz, *Gay Voices of the Harlem Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003). Langston Hughes spent some time living at the Harlem YMCA, now known as the Claude McKay Residence, at 180 West 135th Street, New York City. It was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976. Hughes also spent time writing at Yaddo, an artists' retreat in Saratoga Springs, New York that was designated an NHL on March 11, 2013. Among the venues that hosted Gladys Bentley was the Ubangi Club, 131st Street at Seventh Avenue, New York City (demolished in 2013).

¹⁴ In 2005 under the auspices of the Philadelphia-based Mural Arts Program, artist Eric Okdeh memorialized Bessie Smith and others in a mural on the exterior of the Royal.

John Rice, was never accredited and its experimental pedagogy and welcoming environment attracted many of the most influential artists and writers of the day.¹⁵ The school was, in many ways, a do-it-yourself effort: a farm on campus provided the food and students and faculty both helped construct the school's buildings, designed in Craftsman and International Style. These two architectural styles, one American in origin and one associated with the development of modernism in Germany, reflect the school's diverse and international community of students and faculty.¹⁶ Today, BMC is well regarded for the subsequent influence of its students and instructors, many of whom engaged in same-sex relationships, on countercultural arts in the United States. It was added to the National Register of Historic Places on October 5, 1982.¹⁷

Amidst the social stigmas of the period, BMC was a training ground for gay artists: a beacon for men who had personal, professional, and artistic relationships with other men. In 1952, John Cage, a composer who was known to have same-sex relationships, staged the first "happening" in the dining room at the college. This multidisciplinary event combined sound, performance, visual art, and audience participation in a manner that challenged the ways in which different types of media had traditionally been kept separate in the arts. Happenings were a precursor to the now-common form of art known as "performance art" and are an important American Avant-garde art form, later developed in New York by Cage's

¹⁵ Mary Emma Harris, *The Arts at Black Mountain College* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987). In memoirs and interviews many former students and visitors to Black Mountain College detail the same-sex relationships they had there. Many of these BMC alums became major artistic figures in the US. They include the poet Robert Duncan, the writer Michael Rumaker, the composer John Cage, the choreographer Merce Cunningham, and the visual artists Jasper Johns and Robert Rauschenberg. See Martin Duberman, *Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community*, Reprint (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, (1972) 2009) and Michael Rumaker, *Black Mountain Days*, Reprint (Brooklyn, NY: Spuyten Duyvil Press, (2003) 2012).

¹⁶ During World War II, the school became a beacon for Jewish intellectuals fleeing Europe including former faculty members at the Bauhaus school in Germany; this was an important connection that influenced the development of modern art at the college. The school was at the forefront of racial integration at a time in US history when education was segregated.

¹⁷ The college moved in 1941 from its original site at Blue Ridge Assembly to a nearby campus at Lake Eden. Today it is Camp Rockmont, a Christian summer camp for boys, and the site of the Lake Eden Arts Festival (375 Lake Eden Road, Black Mountain, North Carolina). *Leap Before You Look: Black Mountain College 1933-1957*, organized by Helen Molesworth and on view at the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston from October 2015 through January 2016, is the first major museum exhibit to explore the legacy of Black Mountain College.

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student Allan Kaprow.¹⁸ Cage and his life partner and frequent collaborator Merce Cunningham were both affiliated with BMC early in their careers, as were Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg, and Cy Twombly; all were men who had relationships with men.¹⁹

The Kinsey Institute

The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction (commonly known as the Kinsey Institute) is located on the campus of Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana.²⁰ Formerly the Institute for Sex Research, Inc., it was founded in 1947 by the pioneering American sexologist Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey (1894-1956). Kinsey and his staff collected over fifty thousand erotic images (including painting and photographs) beginning in the late 1930s, many having to do with homosexual and transgender subject matter. The collection of these images challenged the public morality and obscenity laws of the time. In 1957 the US Federal Court ruled in favor of the institute for its right to import erotic photographic material for research purposes. These images are now part of the collection of the Kinsey Institute's Library and Special Collections. The Kinsey Institute has been exhibiting and publishing selections from its erotic art and archives since 1990; many of these objects depict LGBTQ subjects.

Kinsey's research and impact on American culture changed the way Americans thought and talked about sex. Specifically, his research introduced bi- and homosexuality into popular American discourse. His 1948 study, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, was based on thousands of sexual history interviews. It was in this publication that he introduced to American audiences the idea of a continuum of human sexuality rather than discrete categories of heterosexuality and

¹⁸ Harris, *The Arts at Black Mountain College*; Vincent Katz, ed., *Black Mountain College: Experiment in Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002).

¹⁹ See Jonathan D. Katz, "John Cage's Queer Silence or How To Avoid Making Matters Worse," Queer Cultural Center website, <http://www.queerculturalcenter.org/Pages/KatzPages/KatzWorse.html>

²⁰ The Institute is currently located in Morrison Hall, on campus at 1165 East Third Street. Other campus locations have included Biology Hall (now Swain Hall East), Wylie Hall, and Jordan Hall.

homosexuality.²¹ Kinsey asked interviewees to place themselves on a scale, between zero (exclusively heterosexual) and six (exclusively homosexual). His findings indicated that at least twenty percent of the adult male population fell between three and six on the scale. He and his researchers also recognized asexuality. His bestselling books *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953) were precursors to the national conversations about sexuality that characterized the 1960s and 1970s.

Six Gallery

San Francisco was a key location for the development of a countercultural artistic milieu during the conservative climate of the 1950s, one that was distinct from the abstract expressionist painting movement that developed simultaneously in New York City. This countercultural movement included the development of beat poetry; many Beat Generation poets, including Allen Ginsberg, had same-sex relationships. In 1952, gay visual artist Jess (a.k.a. Burgess Collins) founded King Ubu Gallery in a former auto repair shop at 3119 Fillmore Street, San Francisco. In 1954 King Ubu was renamed Six Gallery and was facilitated by Jess' lover, the poet Robert Duncan.²² Six Gallery is best known for the first public manifestation of the Beat Generation, a bohemian group of writers who gained influence in the 1950s through their pessimistic writings on life in America. Many Beat-affiliated writers engaged in same-sex relationships with each other. At Six Gallery, the first manifestation of the Beat movement occurred at a poetry reading in the upstairs room of the gallery on October 7, 1955, which was attended by 150 people. The gallery promoted the reading as “a remarkable collection

²¹ For more on the history of sexuality, see Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality Volume 1: An Introduction*, reissue edition (New York: Viking Press, 1990) and George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of a Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1995).

²² The name “Six” Gallery was in reference to its six founders: Wallace Hedrick, Deborah Remington, John Ryan, Jack Spicer, Hayward King, and David Simpson.

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of angels on one stage reading their poetry.”²³ This was the first public reading of the 1955 poem “Howl” by the gay poet Allen Ginsberg, now considered one of the significant poems in the American lexicon. Today, a plaque and podium outside the former gallery commemorate the October 1955 reading. It was dedicated in 2005 by San Francisco town supervisor Michela Alioto-Pier and Lawrence Ferlinghetti of City Lights Bookstore.²⁴

The Jewel Box Lounge

The Jewel Box Lounge in Kansas City, Missouri, located at 3219 Troost Avenue, was open from 1948 to 1982.²⁵ The Jewel Box Lounge featured cabaret acts with female impersonators called “femme-mimics,” who recalled earlier vaudeville performances of the early twentieth century and was distinct from the drag performances that exist today in their emphasis on musical and comedy numbers rather than runway.²⁶ In the 1950s and 1960s it was a successful bar despite the conservative climate in which police enforced laws against cross-dressing.²⁷

²³ Lisa Philips, *Beat Culture and the New America, 1950-1965* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1995); Mick Sinclair, *San Francisco: A Cultural and Literary History*, Cities of the Imagination Series (Northampton, MA: Interlink Pub Group, 2003); Jonah Raskin, *American Scream: Allen Ginsburg's 'Howl' and the Making of the Beat Generation* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006). Kenneth Rexroth organized the event, which featured readings by Michael McClure, Gary Snyder, Philip Whalen, Philip Lamantia, and Allen Ginsberg.

²⁴ City Lights Bookstore itself was an important location for the dissemination of Beat poetry—in fact, it was its associated publishing company, City Lights Publishers, which published *Howl and Other Poems* in 1956. City Lights Bookstore is located at 261 Columbus Avenue at Broadway, San Francisco, California. Ferlinghetti was charged with obscenity for selling *Howl*, and the case went to court. The judge decided that books with “the slightest redeeming social importance” were guaranteed First Amendment protection. This opened the way for previously banned publications, including D.H. Lawrence’s *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* and Henry Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer*, to be published in the United States. Philips, *Beat Culture and the New America*; Raskin, *American Scream*. For an account of queer identity in the East Coast Avant-garde scene of the 1950s, see Ann Gibson, “Lesbian Identity and the Politics of Representation in Betty Parson’s Gallery,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 27, no. 1-2 (1994): 245-270.

²⁵ In 1972 the venue changed locations, to Main Street and Thirty-First Street in Kansas City, Missouri.

²⁶ See Eric Marcus, Sherry Thomas, and Lynn Witt, eds., *Out in All Directions: A Treasury of Gay and Lesbian America* (New York: Grand Central Publishing, 1997).

²⁷ David W Jackson, *Changing Times: Almanac and Digest of Kansas City’s Gay and Lesbian History* (Kansas City, MO: The Orderly Pack Rat, 2011). The Jewel Box Lounge was distinct from the internationally known travelling variety show called the Jewel Box Revue, founded in 1939 in Miami by Danny Brown and Doc Benner, who were business and romantic partners. The Revue consisted of predominantly female impersonators and was the first racially integrated drag show in the United States, playing to mixed-race audiences in venues such as the Apollo Theater in Harlem, New York.

Harmony Hammond Studio

Harmony Hammond (b. 1944 in Chicago) is an artist and art writer who lives and works in Galisteo, New Mexico.²⁸ From her home and studio in New Mexico, where she has lived for the past thirty years, Hammond has become a prominent figure in national feminist, lesbian, and queer art communities. Galisteo itself is a small town (with a population of only 265 in the 2000 census) that is known for its artist residents. Located a half-hour drive south of Sante Fe, Galisteo became a mecca in the 1970s for prominent artists such as Agnes Martin (a minimalist painter and discreet lesbian), and the feminist art writer and critic Lucy R. Lippard, who has been a champion of lesbian artists.²⁹ Hammond's residential structure in Galisteo is a converted nineteenth-century adobe sheep barn. Before living in New Mexico, she moved to New York from the Midwest in 1969 and came out as a lesbian in 1973. She was integral to the creation of a feminist art movement in the 1970s and is particularly significant for her tireless advocacy for the particular concerns of lesbian art and artists. Hammond was a cofounder of the A.I.R. Gallery (Artists in Residence, the first women's cooperative art gallery in New York City) as well as *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics* (founded in 1977 in New York City).³⁰ Hammond's first solo exhibition was at A.I.R. in 1973. Since then she has had over forty shows. As an artist Hammond is well respected for her contribution to queering the legacy of modernist abstraction, a

One of the most famous of the performers was Stormé DeLarverie (1920-2014), a biracial lesbian master of ceremonies, singer, and male impersonator who is rumored to have thrown the first punch at the Stonewall Rebellion in New York in 1969. The Apollo Theater is located at 253 West 125th Street, New York City; it was listed on the NRHP on November 17, 1983.

²⁸ Other places associated with Harmony Hammond include: the New York Feminist Art Institute located at 325 Spring Street, New York City, New York from 1979 to 1985, and at 91 Franklin Street, New York City, New York from 1985 to 1990, where she taught; the 112 Greene Street Workshop (now private residences) in New York City's SoHo neighborhood where she curated *A Lesbian Show* in 1978; and the Women's Building, 1727 North Spring Street, Los Angeles, California, where she was one of the featured artists in the 1980 *Great American Lesbian Art Show*.

²⁹ The Harwood Museum of Art, 238 Ledoux Street, Taos, New Mexico is home to the permanent Agnes Martin Gallery dedicated to her work.

³⁰ Harmony Hammond, oral history interview by Julia Bryan-Wilson at Hammond's Home and Studio in Galisteo, New Mexico, September 14, 2008, Smithsonian Archives of American Art Oral History Program, <http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-harmony-hammond-15635>. A.I.R. gallery was originally located in the SoHo neighborhood of New York City, at 98 Wooster Street.

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historically male-dominated art form, by challenging audiences to think about issues of identity. Her large-scale, abstract and often monochrome compositions, as well as a large body of prints and sculpture, have pushed the ideas of what queer art can be. Rather than work in a documentary idiom, aiming to represent marginalized subjects, Hammond works in nonfigurative abstract mode, prompting viewers to think of “queer art” in terms of *form* as well as content.³¹ In 2000, after years of research and interviews, Hammond’s book *Lesbian Art in America: A Contemporary History* was published. This is the first publication to look exclusively at lesbian art in the United States, and remains a principal text in the field.³²

The History of California

Judith Baca (b. 1946) identifies as a Chicana lesbian feminist artist. She works in a figurative style of muralism that recalls the political golden age of the 1930s in the United States and Mexico. She is best known for the 1976 public art mural *The History of California*, popularly known as *The Great Wall of Los Angeles* in Los Angeles. The large (13 feet x 2,754 feet) mural covers six city blocks, and is one of the largest in the world. It is located on Coldwater Canyon Avenue between Oxnard Street and Burbank Boulevard at the eastern edge of the Los Angeles Valley College campus in the San Fernando Valley area of Los Angeles. It is used in the curriculum of the college and other local schools. The Army Corps of Engineers commissioned the mural from Baca as a beautification project and painting began in 1978. It was completed in 1984 with the help of over four hundred volunteers, many of whom came from impoverished or disenfranchised backgrounds and were coordinated by the community

³¹ See Harmony Hammond, *Wrappings: Essays on Feminism, Art and the Martial Arts* (New York: Time and Space, 1984).

³² While lesbian artists such as Hammond and Louise Fishman explored abstract strategies of art, Tee A. Corinne was one of the few artists of the 1970s who grappled with the problem of how to represent lesbian sexuality in photographs that range from explicit to sexually symbolic. Other artists associated with lesbian feminism include the documentary photographer Joan E. Biren (JEB). Tee A. Corinne and Louise Fishman were among the featured artists at the 1980 *Great American Lesbian Art Show* at the Women’s Building, 1727 North Spring Street, Los Angeles, California. JEB was part of the Furies Collective who, from 1971 through 1973, operated out of their home in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Washington, DC. The Furies Collective was added to the NRHP on May 2, 2016.

center Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC) in Venice, which Baca founded in 1976.³³

The mural is significant because it tells the history of California from the perspective of women and minorities. The social realist style harkens back to the US government-funded Works Progress Administration murals of the 1930s as well as to the visual traditions of Mexican muralism by artists such as David Alfaro Siqueiros. Social justice movements that emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s, including labor rights, feminism, gay liberation, and indigenous rights were important influences on *The Great Wall of Los Angeles*. The mural is significant because it includes the history of LGBTQ identified people as well as Native Americans in California. Its chronological scope moves from the time of dinosaurs through the 1950s, and there are current plans to update it through the present-day and to make it more accessible with the addition of a bike path and restoration.

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center

The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center (known as The Center) is located at 208 West 13th Street, in the historically gay West Village neighborhood of Manhattan, New York. Since opening in 1983, The Center has been a beacon for many in New York City. The Center is important because it demonstrates the notion of art as activism and/or a means to build LGBTQ community. The Center is located in a large brick building that formerly housed the Food and Maritime Trades High School; it was purchased from the City of New York for \$1,500,000 in 1983. The *New York Times* made note with the headline “Sale of Site to Homosexuals Planned.” Gay and lesbian advocacy groups had already been using the building as a site for health, counseling, and social services—particularly urgent needs in the early years of the HIV/AIDS

³³ SPARC is located at 685 Venice Boulevard, Venice, California.

crisis. Then New York City Mayor Ed Koch was quoted at the time discussing the significance of the sale as one of “a number of steps to be taken by the city to combat AIDS and other health problems that have particularly affected the gay and lesbian community.”³⁴



Figure 2: *Silence=Death*, 1987. Color lithograph by ACT-UP, The AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power.³⁵

From the beginning, The Center promoted a vision of LGBTQ community that prioritized both art and politics. In 1985 The Center initiated the “Second Tuesdays” program, a lecture series bringing notable figures in the arts (including Audre Lorde, Fran Lebowitz, and Quentin Crisp) to speak directly to the LGBTQ community.³⁶ On March 10, 1987 activist, author, and playwright Larry Kramer used his platform as a “Second Tuesdays” lecturer to address the government’s unresponsiveness to the escalating AIDS crisis. This meeting led to the formation later that month of ACT UP, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power. ACT UP meetings were held each

Monday at The Center. Many artists were participants in ACT UP and the group became well known for its striking use of visual graphics on placards, t-shirts, and posters designed to bring awareness and action to the AIDS crisis (Figure 2).

Besides agitprop, The Center facilitated other important responses to HIV/AIDS such as support groups. The Center also housed the New York

³⁴ David D. Dunlap, “Sale of Site to Homosexuals Planned,” *New York Times*, December 20, 1983.

³⁵ Creative Commons License (BY-NC-ND 4.0).

<http://wellcomeimages.org/indexplus/image/L0052822.html>

³⁶ Audre Lorde (1934-1992) was a Caribbean-American writer, lesbian, and civil rights activist. From 1972 through 1987 she lived with her children and her partner Frances Clayton on Staten Island. She was one of the speakers at the Lincoln Memorial at the second National March on Washington in 1987. Fran Lebowitz (b. 1950) is a lesbian American author and public speaker. Quentin Crisp (1908-1999) was a gay English writer.

Memorial Quilt, a participatory art therapy project completed at The Center Quilt Workshop, events held from February to July 1988 that were part of a national effort to contribute panels in memory of people who died of AIDS for the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt. The New York Memorial Quilt was displayed on the Great Lawn in Central Park in June 1988.³⁷ The impact of HIV/AIDS on gay art was immense. Many queer artists of the 1980s were HIV positive or were friends or lovers of those who were. They responded with intensity to the AIDS crisis through the production of fine art as well as agitprop, guerilla street theater, and a direct-action protest movement in the form of ACT UP and later, Queer Nation (founded in 1990).³⁸ Paradoxically, at the same time the mainstream art world began to deal with the topic of gay art in exhibitions, the HIV/AIDS crisis nearly decimated a generation of gay artists.³⁹

These connections were explored in 1989 at The Center in two important art exhibitions: *Imagining Stonewall* and *The Center Show*. *Imagining Stonewall* was a commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the June 27, 1969 occasion when LGBTQ people fought back against a typical police raid of the Stonewall Inn, located at 53 Christopher Street (in the same neighborhood as The Center). *Imagining Stonewall* was an important exhibition because it provided an example of defiant activism to

³⁷ Central Park was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on May 23, 1963.

³⁸ Some of the most important LGBTQ art institutions today emerged in the context of the HIV/AIDS crisis in the 1980s, for example Visual AIDS and the Leslie-Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art. Visual AIDS was founded in New York in 1988 as a contemporary arts organization committed to raising AIDS awareness, assisting artists living with HIV/AIDS, and preserving the work of artists lost to the disease. It operates from offices at 526 West 26th Street, New York City, New York. The Leslie-Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art began in 1969 with the private showing of art from the personal collections of Charles Leslie and Fritz Lohman in New York City. During the 1980s, Leslie and Lohman committed to preserving works of art that were being thrown away; after artists' death from AIDS their homophobic families discarded all of their belongings, including art. In 1987 they founded the nonprofit organization Leslie/Lohman Gay Art Foundation, Inc. The Leslie-Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art is located at 26 Wooster Street, New York City, New York. The exhibition *Art AIDS America*, co-organized by Jonathan D. Katz and Rock Hushka and on view at the Tacoma Art Museum, 1701 Pacific Avenue, Tacoma, Washington from October 2015 to January 2016, was the first major museum exhibition to explore the impact of HIV/AIDS on American art.

³⁹ *Extended Sensibilities: Homosexual Presence in Contemporary Art* was the first museum exhibition in the United States to explore the relationship between art and homosexuality, a decade after the impact of gay liberation and its visibility mandates. The exhibition, organized by Dan Cameron, was on view at the New Museum of Contemporary Art, 235 Bowery, New York City, New York, from October through December, 1982.

contemporary LGBTQ AIDS activists and it also gave LGBTQ artists the opportunity to come out in their work and display it in a specifically LGBTQ environment. Many pieces combined personal and political content, such as Thomas Lanigan-Schmidt's *Mother Stonewall and the Golden Rats*, installed in the stairwell in the back of the building as well as the roof, which included text featuring the artist's own memories of the 1969 Stonewall riots.⁴⁰ *The Center Show*, which opened on June 1, 1989 commissioned fifty artists to make site-specific installations throughout The Center. Curated by Rick Barnett and Barbara Sahlman, *The Center Show* featured established and emerging artists who dealt with gay sexuality directly in their work including the sculptor Arch Connelly (1950-1993), the AIDS activist art collective Gran Fury (1988-1995), and the painter Keith Haring (1958-1990).

Keith Haring was one of the most famous artists of the 1980s. He was integral to the Downtown or East Village art scene of the 1980s, which included many LGBTQ artists such as Peter Hujar, David Wojnarowicz, Nan Goldin,

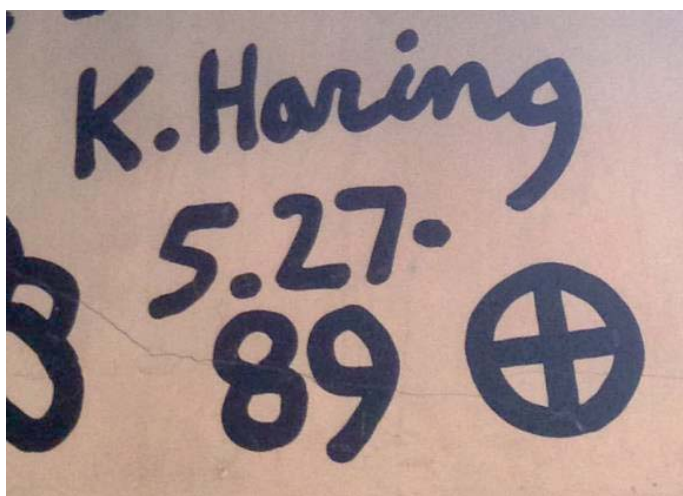


Figure 3: Detail, *Once Upon A Time*, mural by Keith Haring at the LGBT Center, New York City, New York, 2015. Photograph by Tara Burk.

Mark Morrisroe, Greer Lankton, and Martin Wong.⁴¹ Haring began his artistic career as a street artist drawing in chalk in the New York City subways. Haring chose a second floor men's bathroom at The Center for his installation, a mural entitled *Once Upon a Time* (Figure 3). He painted

⁴⁰ Reed, *Art and Homosexuality*.

⁴¹ Peter Hujar lived for a time at 189 Second Avenue, New York City, New York. Works by David Wojnarowicz were included in the 1985 *Graffiti Show* at the Whitney Museum of Modern Art, 99 Gansevoort Street, Lower Manhattan, New York City, New York. A location associated with Mark Morrisroe is the Pyramid Club, 101 Avenue A, New York City, New York where he and Stephen Tashjian founded the drag duo, the "Clam Twins." Greer Lankton was a featured artist in the important *New York/New Wave* exhibit at PS 1 (now MoMA PS1), 22-25 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, New York.

this mural just nine months before he died of AIDS in 1990. The mural itself is a celebration of gay sex and is rife with phallic imagery; it is particularly suited for its location, as men’s public bathrooms have historically been places where men who have sex with other men have found each other. Called “A Joyful Mural, Born in a Time of Shame and Fear” by the *New York Times*, it promoted sex positivity—that sex could be pleasurable and empowering—at a time when the gay community was focused largely on HIV/AIDS prevention measures ranging from abstinence to condom use. The room housing *Once Upon a Time* was later converted to a meeting room, and today is devoted exclusively to the Haring installation.⁴²

The Center is also home to the LGBT Community Center National History Archive and Pat Parker/Vito Russo Center Library, which contain many arts-related objects.⁴³ The building has undergone several major renovation projects since the 1980s including in 1998 and in 2013.⁴⁴ Today, The Center remains an important meeting spot, particularly for queer youth of color.

Club Uranus

Jerome Caja (1958-1995) was an artist who represents the radical queer scene that developed in San Francisco in the 1980s and 1990s, which he participated in as a visual artist, a drag queen, a go-go dancer, and a contributor to the nascent “queercore” zine movement. Caja cultivated a nontraditional drag persona that eschewed glamorous

⁴² John Gruen, *Keith Haring: The Authorized Biography* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1991). Because Haring intended it as a temporary site-specific installation, he did little to prepare the bathroom walls for his mural; he just covered the existing paint job, some of which was flaking in parts. In 2011-2012, conservator Harriet Irgang Alden restored the mural. The newly restored mural was unveiled with a special reception and programming and March 2012 was dedicated to celebrate the mural and Haring’s legacy, with partnership participation from the Brooklyn Museum among other institutions.

⁴³ Founded in 1991 to promote LGBTQ literature, the library was named after Pat Parker (1944-1989), a prominent lesbian poet and author of *Movement in Black*, and Vito Russo (1946-1990), gay film historian best known for his 1981 book, *The Celluloid Closet*, which was released as a motion picture in 1996.

⁴⁴ For its facade renovation in the early 1990s, the building, along with architect Françoise Bollack, was honored with several awards including the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission Certificate of Merit and the New York Landmarks Conservancy Lucy G. Moses Preservation Award.

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mimicry of conventional femininity and instead embraced a haggish persona represented in part by ripped lingerie and messy makeup. Caja's art reflected the influence of his Catholic upbringing in its references to saints and iconography. He drew upon art history as well, and broke the rules of conventional subject matter and taste to create a distinctly queer aesthetic. Caja worked on a small scale, utilizing drag materials such as glitter, lace, and nail polish to create tiny portraits that combined traditional concerns with transgressive subject matter. Caja received an MFA from the San Francisco Art Institute in 1986. Afterwards he achieved national attention, including exhibitions at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and inclusion in *In a Different Light*, the groundbreaking lesbian and gay art exhibition co-organized by Lawrence Rinder and Nayland Blake in 1995 at the Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive of the University of California, Berkeley.⁴⁵ Caja died from AIDS complications in 1995, at age thirty-seven, shortly after completing interviews for the Smithsonian Archives of American Art.

A series of clubs (Club Chaos, Club Screw, and Club Uranus) in San Francisco opened in the late 1980s and early 1990s and were notable for mixed-gender and gender-bending crowds that gathered for performances, dancing, and live art events. These bars were also favored hangout places of Queer Nation and ACT UP activists, as well as local queer musicians and cultural producers. Importantly, the patronage of these clubs reflected a queer sensibility—women, men, and transgender people were encouraged to attend. Whereas in previous decades the gay community tended to remain separated along gender lines, due to the urgency of the AIDS crisis, men and women came together and “queer” became a favored self-designation which reflected a more expansive and fluid notion of sexual identity. Club Uranus was primarily located at The EndUp, in the South of Market district at 401 Sixth Street and Harrison. The EndUp opened in

⁴⁵ The San Francisco Museum of Modern Art is located at 151 Third Street, San Francisco, California. From 1970 through 2014, The UC Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive was located at 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley, California. Citing structural and seismic deficiencies in the iconic Brutalist structure, the UC Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archives moved out. Their new location at 2120 Oxford Street, Berkeley, California opened to the public in January 2016.

1973 and was a gay disco open seven nights a week, and today is renowned as a center for House music. Club Uranus began at The EndUp on December 10, 1989. Caja was one of the master of ceremonies for the first Miss Uranus contest (judged by a *San Francisco Examiner* art critic, a sex magazine editor, and a San Francisco Arts Commission Gallery Director). Caja was a frequent attendee of Club Uranus and detailed his performances there in his interview with the Smithsonian Archives of American Art.

The Corcoran

The Corcoran is an important location in LGBTQ history as the site where the late-1980s controversy over the erotic art of gay American artist Robert Mapplethorpe (1946-1989) reached its apex.⁴⁶ This controversy has become a touchstone of the US Culture Wars—debates in the 1980s and 1990s—that played out predominantly between conservative politicians and religious leaders and liberal artists and academics. Among the Culture War battlefields were debates about artistic freedom and funding for controversial artworks, including those with sexually explicit themes.

Robert Mapplethorpe: The Perfect Moment was a retrospective of the American photographer, who died from AIDS complications in 1989 and was as famous for his still life photographs of flowers as he was for his similarly composed homoerotic photographs of nude black men. Janet Kardon of the Institute of Contemporary Art at the University of Pennsylvania organized the exhibition, which was mounted at the university in December 1988 to acclaim by critics and audiences alike, before it traveled to the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago early in

⁴⁶ The Corcoran Gallery at 500 Seventeenth Street NW in Washington, DC was founded in 1869 by William Wilson Corcoran. Architect Ernest Flagg designed the Beaux-Arts building and, for over a century, the private museum housed one of the most significant collections of American art in the United States. The building was added to the NRHP on May 6, 1971 and was designated an NHL on April 27, 1992.

1989.⁴⁷ Despite the popular and critical acclaim, the show was cancelled two weeks before it was to open at the Corcoran. Director Christina Orr-Cahall, under conservative pressure from several of the museum's trustees as well as Republican United States Senate Representatives Jesse Helms (North Carolina) and Dick Armey (Texas), cancelled the show amid threats that the Corcoran (and other institutions showing controversial art) would lose funding from the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). Opponents claimed that Mapplethorpe's work, particularly his *X Portfolio* of sadomasochistic imagery, were obscene.⁴⁸

Orr-Cahall's decision not to show Mapplethorpe's work was controversial, and several artists cancelled exhibits they had scheduled for the Corcoran. The Coalition of Washington Artists organized protests including rallies attended by hundreds of people outside the Corcoran, and on June 30, 1989, they projected slides of Robert Mapplethorpe's work onto the façade of the building. Orr-Cahall resigned from the Corcoran as a result of the controversy. In July and August of 1989, the nonprofit arts organization, Washington Project for the Arts, hosted the Mapplethorpe exhibit in DC.⁴⁹ Senator Helms and others followed up on their threats, and in 1990, Helms introduced a Senate bill to deny NEA funds to artwork considered "obscene." The bill did not pass.⁵⁰ Today, Mapplethorpe is well respected, and has had a tremendous influence on other artists including the gay artist Glenn Ligon and has been written about in influential articles by the gay art historian Richard Meyer, the gay art critic Douglas Crimp, and the gay art theorist Kobena Mercer.⁵¹ In

⁴⁷ Janet Kardon, David Joselit, and Kay Larson, *Robert Mapplethorpe: The Perfect Moment* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Institute of Contemporary Art, 1989). The ICA is located at 118 South Thirty-Sixth Street in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago is located at 220 E. Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

⁴⁸ Richard Meyer, "The Jesse Helms Theory of Art," *October* 104 (Spring 2003): 131-148.

⁴⁹ In 1989 the Washington Project for the Arts was located in the Jenifer Building in the 400 block of Seventh Street NW, Washington, DC.

⁵⁰ Meyer, "The Jesse Helms Theory of Art"

⁵¹ The black gay artist Glenn Ligon created an installation entitled *Notes on the Margin of the Black Book* (1991-1993) as a response to Mapplethorpe's 1986 *The Black Book*, a collection of homoerotic nude photographs of black men taken by the (white) photographer. For literature on Mapplethorpe see, for example, Richard Meyer, "Imaging Sadomasochism: Robert Mapplethorpe and the Masquerade of Photography," Queer Cultural Center website; Arthur C Danto, *Playing with the Edge: The Photographic Achievement of Robert Mapplethorpe* (Berkeley: University of California Press,

2014 the Corcoran Gallery closed and its collection was transferred to the National Gallery of Art.

The groundswell of hostility to transgressive culture was nowhere more evident than in the controversy that surrounded *Robert Mapplethorpe: The Perfect Moment*. However, the fallout of the Culture Wars was enormous. In July 1989, one month after the Mapplethorpe exhibition was cancelled at the Corcoran, Senator Helms called for an amendment prohibiting the use of public NEA funds for works of art including depictions of homoeroticism among other taboos. All 1990 NEA grant recipients were required to sign this anti-obscenity pledge. In July 1990, John Frohnmayer, the head of the NEA, vetoed four grants by the lesbian, gay, and feminist performance artists Karen Finley, Holly Hughes, Tim Miller, and John Fleck for being too politicized.⁵² The artists filed suit when their appeal was rejected, and three years later they settled the suit, winning reinstatement of the grants and challenging the constitutionality of the “decency” pledge required by NEA guidelines in the wake of Helm’s amendment. In retrospect these controversies served to raise important issues: who decides what is art? Is ‘quality’ a relative, socially determined word, like ‘obscenity’? The decency clause remains in effect to this day, and NEA grants to individual artists were discontinued in the 1990s. There are continuing effects of the Culture Wars on the creation, funding, and distribution of contemporary art.⁵³

1996); Douglas Crimp, *Melancholia and Moralism: Essays on AIDS and Queer Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2004); Kobena Mercer, “Skin Head Sex Thing: Racial Difference and the Homoerotic Imagination,” in Coco Fusco and Brian Wallis, eds., *Only Skin Deep: Changing Visions of the American Self* (New York: International Center of Photography, 2003).

⁵² Karen Finley performed some of her early works in places like Mabuhay Gardens, 443 Broadway, San Francisco, California and Club Foot, a live-music venue just east of the Greyhound Bus Station on Fourth Street, between Brazos Street and Congress Avenue, Austin, Texas (now demolished). Holly Hughes performed early work at Women’s One World Café (WOW). From 1981 through about 1984, WOW was located at 330 East 11th Street, New York City, New York; since circa 1984, they have been located at 59-61 East 4th Street, New York City, New York. In 1980, Tim Miller co-founded Performance Space 122 (PS 122), a performance art space at 150 First Avenue, New York City, New York.

⁵³ As recently as 2010, Culture Wars over homosexuality and religion in art flared up in the responses to the exhibition *Hide/Seek: Difference and Desire in American Portraiture*, which was the first major museum exhibition to explore LGBTQ themes in portraiture. It was on view from October 30, 2010 to February 13, 2011 at the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, DC. The show engendered protests from conservative Christian organizations, who called for the removal of a video entitled “A Fire In My

Conclusion

It is necessary to understand that due to social stigma, for the majority of the twentieth century LGBTQ artists created art in a national climate of censorship. Especially after the gay liberation movement that followed the Stonewall Riots of 1969, there was a shift in LGBTQ identity in the United States. Many more artists came out as gay, bisexual, or lesbian and began to make art that reflected those experiences and for that reason the amount of LGBTQ art and artists, as well as institutions devoted to them, dramatically increased after 1970.⁵⁴ In many forms, then, the influence of LGBTQ individuals on American art has been constant, significant, and ubiquitous.

Within the art world, recent years have witnessed a variety of approaches to the topic of LGBTQ art: a dialogue between the affirmation of difference on the one hand and the disavowal of difference on the other. Many artists who have same-sex relationships do not identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or queer because social stigmas remain and they are wary that being out as LGBTQ might hinder their careers as artists. Others have created networks based on queer cultural alliances, leading to new collaborations and exhibitions. In fact, some have taken up “queer” as a label that is accommodating of gays, lesbians, transgender and bisexual artists *as well as* heterosexual ones who engage in sexually radical or perverse themes in their art. Whereas figurative art remains a clear method of queer representation, artists have embraced conceptual and abstract aesthetic strategies as well. For many artists, the politics of sexuality cannot be divorced from other identities including gender, race, and class. Today, there is no clear definition of LGBTQ art, yet the field of

Belly” by the gay artist David Wojnarowicz, featuring an eleven-second clip of ants crawling over a crucifix, on the grounds that it was inflammatory. The National Portrait Gallery is in the building formerly known as the Old Patent Office Building, listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on January 12, 1965.

⁵⁴ For example, while many of the artists active before the 1960s discussed in this essay were known to engage in same-sex relationships, few of them actually identified as LGBT or Q. In contrast, after the 1970s many artists felt emboldened to come out as LGBTQ as well as to make art about their sexuality and create institutions to support it.

artistic production and scholarship regarding LGBTQ themes continues to expand. Many artists from the history of LGBTQ art remain under-recognized and this study aims to contribute to the promotion and recognition of LGBTQ achievements in American art.

LGBTQ SPORT AND LEISURE

Katherine Schweighofer

The history and ongoing engagement of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) Americans in sport and leisure cultures is varied and diverse, and often reflects the ebbs and flows of openness to gender and sexual diversity in mainstream culture.¹ Though interrelated and shaped by similar cultural forces, institutional sports (professional and semiprofessional leagues, school-based athletics, and community sports programs) and leisure have very different places in LGBTQ life. LGBTQ athletes and sport participants frequently sought a place in mainstream athletic cultures, and occasionally created their own. Particularly in professional and top-level sports, LGBTQ athletes have struggled with being publicly gay and/or transgender, and how that fit into mainstream sport culture. This has resulted in very minimal historical presence of out LGBTQ athletes, as the majority of examples happened since the late 1980s. Meanwhile in non-sport leisure cultures, LGBTQ individuals and communities often formed their own unique forms of leisure and entertainment outside the mainstream gaze. As such, these

¹ In this essay, “queer” is primarily used to describe those who embrace a nonnormative relationship to gender. Some queer people understand their gender as fluid (shifting between masculine and feminine points), while others reject binary (masculine or feminine) understandings of gender.

two histories will be addressed individually and through specific examples that highlight the ways in which LGBTQ identity shaped individual experiences and community cultures.

Sports

1975: David Kopay, a recently-retired National Football League (NFL) running back notices his hands trembling as he picks up the phone to call a *Washington Star* newspaper reporter. The *Star* had run a column about whether gay men played professional sports that relied upon rumors and unofficial reports. With that phone call, Kopay became the first professional American athlete to publicly come out as gay. His autobiography, *The David Kopay Story: An Extraordinary Self-Revelation*, shared the story of his relationships with other players who remained closeted and had a major impact in helping Americans rework their stereotypes of gay men as weak, effeminate “sissies.”² Though his story was compelling and was primarily well received by the American public, Kopay’s openness did not change the highly homophobic culture of the NFL and football in general.

2006: A Nike ad campaign capitalized on the popularity of several Women’s National Basketball Association (WNBA) stars, including six-time WNBA All-Star Sheryl Swoopes, who had recently come out as a lesbian. In one ad, Swoopes pushes her toddler in a playground swing when she is approached by three young girls.³ Wearing boys’ basketball attire, this swaggering little pack starts heckling Swoopes, declaring that her jump shot “needs work.” Their aggression, trash talk, and masculine appearance invoke stereotypes of African American butch lesbian basketball players—ironic given that Swoopes, a publicly out lesbian, is portrayed as a rather feminine mother figure. The ad plays on stereotypes

² Perry Deane Young, *Lesbians and Gays and Sports* (New York: Chelsea House, 1995).

³ “Nike WNBA Little Rascals 3,” YouTube video, posted by tv commercials, September 7, 2006, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WJfNO3aZGE>.

about lesbian athletes while softening Swoopes' image through her motherhood.⁴

2015: In a highly publicized interview with Diane Sawyer, 1976 Olympic gold medal decathlete formerly known as Bruce Jenner revealed her

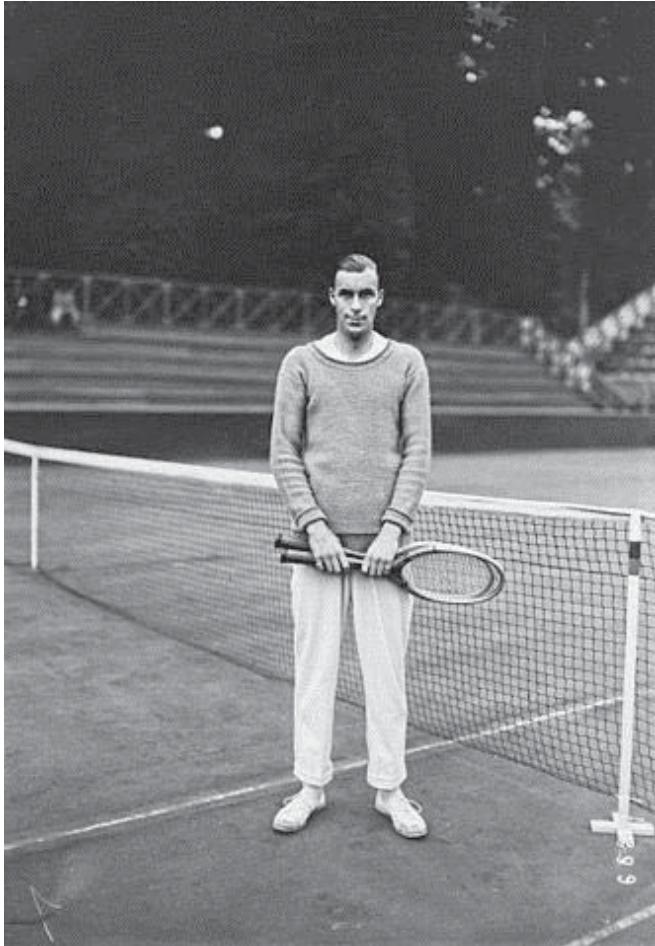


Figure 1: William "Bill" Tilden was a tennis phenomenon, holding the top world ranking from 1920-1925 before rumors of his homosexuality destroyed his career. Photo by Agence ROL, 1921; from the collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.⁵

transgender identity, and later, her new name, Caitlyn. In her interview, Jenner explained her athletic success as resulting from her "total obsession" to prove her masculinity to herself and the world.⁶ Sawyer and others in the media struggled to balance Jenner's years as the muscled warrior and the "world's greatest athlete" with her feminine appearance and identity. While there were detractors, Jenner's announcement was received by many as courageous and highlighted transgender issues in the United States. Sports talk shows, which often mock anything unusual, even

⁴ When Swoopes publicly came out in 2005 as a lesbian, she specifically stated she was not bisexual (she had previously been married), and after the ending of that 2005 relationship, has in recent years been engaged to a man. Publicly, Swoopes seems most content with a fluid understanding of her sexuality. See The Linster, "Sheryl Swoopes' comes out as NSGAA (not so gay after all)," *AfterEllen*, July 5, 2011, <http://www.afterellen.com/people/89989-sheryl-swoopes-comes-out-as-nsgaa-not-so-gay-after-all>.

⁵ License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bill_Tilden_1921.jpg

⁶ "Bruce Jenner – The Interview," *ABC News 20/20*, April 24, 2015.

brought on experts to explain concepts around being transgender and used Jenner's preferred name and pronouns.

These three snapshots from LGBTQ history reveal the complex and changing public response to gender, sex, and sexuality in sport cultures. Sports hold an important place in American culture, and are primarily shaped by our expectations of gender and ability. These dynamics are always altered by race, class, economics, and even the media and marketing of sports and athletes. For example, the WNBA has directly embraced its LGBTQ fans and is forthright about its lesbian and bisexual players in a league dominated by African American players and supported by a racially-diverse fan base looking for family-friendly events. This positive engagement with LGBTQ fans and players continues a long history of African American community support for women athletes despite their challenges to gender roles, and reveals a unique intersection of sports, gender, and race.⁷ Meanwhile, tennis' white upper-class roots have made the sport extremely inhospitable for out gay men. The rumors of Bill Tilden's homosexuality in the 1940s cost him his career, and the expectations of a game still shaped by racialized and classed standards of decorum continues to make elite men's tennis unwelcoming for gay and bisexual athletes (Figure 1). Because of the homophobia and transphobia woven throughout sport, LGBTQ athletes, coaches, and fans have historically found shifting and uneven access to athletic cultures. While doors continue to open as mainstream US culture increasingly embraces gender and sexual diversity, some aspects of sporting culture remain hostile to LGBTQ participants. For example, nearly all of the top men's professional sports (football, basketball, baseball, and hockey) have seen players come out after retirement, but very few during their playing years. Meanwhile at the amateur level, a 2015 study of nearly ten thousand gay and straight people found 78 percent believed youth sports were not safe

⁷ For more on this history, see Sarah K. Fields, "Title IX and African-American Female Athletes," *Sports and the Racial Divide*, ed. Michael E. Lomax (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2008), 126-145; for analysis of the gender disruption posed to white norms by African American female athletes, see L. Anima Adjepong and Ben Carrington, "Black Female Athletes as Space Invaders," in *Routledge Handbook of Sport, Gender and Sexuality*, eds. Jennifer Hargreaves and Eric Anderson (London: Routledge, 2014), 169-178.

for gay people and over 80 percent of gay men and lesbians had experienced verbal slurs in sports settings.⁸ LGBTQ presence in sports at all levels and in all roles continues to challenge such obstacles, and in some cases offers opportunities to reimagine the potential of sports in community and culture building.

Addressing the history of LGBTQ sports presents certain complications. First, mainstream sports history *is* LGBTQ sports history; people with same-sex sexual partners, those who challenge gender roles, and individuals who understand themselves as somehow different from the heterosexual mainstream have always existed and participated in all forms of American culture, including sports. Second, scholars have demonstrated that homosexual identity—understanding a lesbian or a gay man as a particular *type* of person instead of seeing homosexuality as a deviant sexual *act*—is a very recent concept stemming from the historically-specific confluence of medical sexological studies, the appearance of antisodomy and cross-dressing laws, and the rise of early queer subcultures in the first decades of the twentieth century. The solidification of bisexual and transgender identities happened even later. Therefore LGBTQ sport history can only begin with the origination of these concepts, addressing those individuals who understood themselves as having an LGBTQ identity. This eliminates the histories of athletes who participated in sexual activity that today would be read as gay, bisexual, or lesbian but did not identify that way. For example, historian George Chauncey explains that in the early 1900s, men who had sex with effeminate male “fairies” would not have understood themselves as gay or bisexual, given their dominant role in the sexual exchange.⁹ Even after homosexual identity began to solidify, cultural norms around homosocial spaces, including single-sex locker rooms, sports facilities, camps, and branches of the military often permitted quiet sexual activity between men free from the stigma of homosexuality, ostensibly because of the absence

⁸ Erik Denison and Alistair Kitchen, *Out on the Fields: The First International Study on Homophobia in Sport* (2015), see study website at <http://www.outonthefields.com>.

⁹ George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).

of women.¹⁰ This “boys will be boys” attitude muddies the line between histories of homosexuality and histories of sexual identity. Meanwhile, women often benefitted from the queer possibilities in same-sex environments such as military Women’s Army Corps (WAC) units and boarding schools.¹¹ The permissiveness granted women’s friendships allowed greater physical and emotional intimacy and simultaneously presumed impossible any sort of sexual activity between women, allowing many lesbian relationships to go unnoticed.¹²

In light of legacies of homophobic persecution, many athletes who did understand themselves as lesbian, gay, or bisexual did not disclose this for their own protection. Further complicating these limitations, individuals who may have understood their own desires and identities as bisexual may have chosen to exclusively be seen in heterosexual relationships as a protection from homophobic stigma, leaving even fewer out bisexuals in the sporting record. A similar pattern exists with gender expression: athletes who might have been inclined to transgress gender norms for personal identity or sexual pleasure would not have done so publicly, to protect themselves from censure. Given these limitations, this essay focuses on the histories of notable athletes and sport cultures that directly and openly identified as LGBTQ, knowing that for each out athlete there are many others who were and are unable or unwilling to be so. As many of the stories below attest, the choice to be out about one’s queer identity caused some athletes to lose their jobs, end up in jail, lose sponsorships and earnings, and endure shame, ridicule, and media harassment. More recently, other athletes have fared far better, and discovered post-playing

¹⁰ For examples, see Colin R. Johnson, “Camp Life: The Queer History of ‘Manhood’ in the Civilian Conservation Corps,” in *Just Queer Folks: Gender and Sexuality in Rural America* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2013); Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire* (New York: Free Press, 1990); Mariah Burton Nelson, *The Stronger Women Get, the More Men Love Football* (New York: Harcourt, 1994); and Jane Ward, *Not Gay: Sex Between Straight White Men* (New York: NYU Press, 2015).

¹¹ For examples, see 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, 1992) and Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*.

¹² See Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778-1928* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Judith C. Brown, *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: HarperCollins, 1981).

careers in LGBTQ advocacy or connected with partners, communities, and social support systems as a result of announcing their sexual identity. Beyond the top caliber athletes, there have been millions of everyday LGBTQ athletes who did not rise to the top levels of sport and made individual decisions about whether or not to share their sexual identity with their teammates. They too, made choices about the pros and cons of disclosing their sexual and gender identities with teammates, friends, family, and communities, and may have had to weigh their love of sport against a desire to live openly.

The history of LGBTQ sport cannot be separated from the gendered norms in US culture, nor from the operation of gender in mainstream sport cultures. American gender norms presume people with male bodies develop large muscles and pursue activities centered on competition, aggression, power, and even violence. Meanwhile, those with female bodies are expected to remain quiet and docile, engaging in caring and nurturing activities. Sport cultures embrace the masculine attributes, valorizing aggressive, muscled, and powerful athletic men demonstrating strength, physical skill, and emotional stoicism. While our culture has made some space for female athletes, these women often walk a careful line between athletic prowess and the limits of feminine respectability. In earlier eras, the image of a “mannish lesbian athlete” haunted women athletes of all sexual identities and discouraged women from participation. Ironically that same conflagration of masculinity, lesbianism, and sports also meant possibilities for women who embraced that image.¹³

The masculinity of American sport cultures is enmeshed with sexually dominant forms of heterosexuality, meaning that “real” male athletes are attracted to women and are sexual aggressors. Linking athletic masculinity with a particular form of heterosexual practice results in homophobia, as those men who do not meet the gender or sexual standard are denigrated and harassed. This shaming and ostracism can

¹³ Susan K. Cahn, “From the ‘Muscle Moll’ to the ‘Butch’ Ballplayer: Mannishness, Lesbianism, and Homophobia in U.S. Women’s Sport,” *Feminist Studies* 19, no. 2 (1993): 343-364.

be destructive for LGBTQ athletes even when the athlete isn't out to teammates. Bruce Hayes, a top-ranked University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) swimmer in the 1980s, wondered if his self-destructive training regimen was a way to "compensate for his homosexuality through athletics, proving to himself and the world that he was a real man."¹⁴ Some sporting cultures are not just homophobic, but characterized by a heightened paranoia about gender and sexuality called "homohysteria," which sports historian Eric Anderson defines as a "homosexually-panicked culture in which suspicion [of homosexuality] permeates."¹⁵ Anderson argues that the 1980s and 1990s were a period of homohysteria in the United States, marked by purges of LGBTQ athletes and coaches, terminated careers, and emotional terror, all of which have shaped today's sport environments.¹⁶ Furthermore, male and female athletic bodies are intensely sexualized, put on display and desired as ideal forms, investing further focus on bodies and desires. Given these elements, gender and sexuality are inseparable from US sport cultures and LGBTQ sport histories.

Golf

A good place to start in LGBTQ sport history is with the legendary Babe Didrikson Zaharias, born in 1911 in Port Arthur, Texas. Her story reveals how gender and sexuality are heavily policed within sports, particularly for women. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Babe was a track and field champion, winning two gold and a silver medal at the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles. Simultaneously, she led her Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) basketball team to a 1931 National Championship and set AAU records in track and field at the 1932 national championships.¹⁷ She took up golf and quickly became a top player, even competing in a men's Professional

¹⁴ Young, *Lesbians and Gays*, 109.

¹⁵ Eric Anderson, "The Rise and Fall of Western Homohysteria," *Journal of Feminist Scholarship* 1 (2011): 87.

¹⁶ See the section below on Penn State University women's basketball under Coach Rene Portland, for a prime example of the destructive effects of homohysteria.

¹⁷ Babe was a leader on the famous "Golden Cyclones" team of AAU athletes from Dallas, Texas, who dominated AAU competition in their era. See Robert W. Ikard, *Just for Fun: The Story of AAU Women's Basketball* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 2005).

Golfers' Association (PGA) tournament, the first woman to do so.¹⁸ Zaharias dominated women's golf for the next twenty years, and became a founding member of the Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA).¹⁹ Yet Babe was mocked in the press for her "mannish" features and "tomboyish" behavior until she married pro wrestler George Zaharias.²⁰ Though they remained a celebrity couple until her death from cancer in 1956, Babe's real relationship was with fellow golfer Betty Dodd, who lived with Babe and George.²¹ Scholars agree the marriage was a cover for Babe's lesbianism, and posthumously Babe has been recognized for contributions to LGBTQ culture.²² Since Babe's groundbreaking career, women's golf has somewhat embraced other openly lesbian players, including Sandra Haynie, Muffin Spencer-Devlin, Patty Sheehan, and Rosie Jones, even if these women generally kept their personal lives off the greens.²³ Lesbian fans helped turn the Dinah Shore LPGA tournament in Palm Springs into an annual lesbian party weekend, to the chagrin of LPGA officials who remain committed to portraying their athletes as normatively feminine, mothers, and above all, heterosexual.²⁴

Baseball

Baseball has celebrated its players who made America's game more inclusive by breaking racial barriers. Less attention has been given to

¹⁸ Babe competed in the Los Angeles Open in 1938, held at the Los Angeles Tennis Club, 5851 Clinton Street, Los Angeles, California.

¹⁹ The LPGA is currently headquartered at 100 International Golf Drive in Daytona Beach, Florida.

²⁰ Cahn, "From the 'Muscle Moll' to the 'Butch' Ballplayer," 351.

²¹ Babe died in Galveston, Texas.

²² Susan E. Cayleff, *Babe: The Life and Legend of Babe Didrikson Zaharias* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Zaharias was memorialized on Chicago's LGBT Legacy walk in 2014, see Daniel Reynolds, "Photos: 7 LGBT Heroes Honored With Plaques in Chicago's Legacy Walk," *The Advocate*, October 11, 2014, <http://www.advocate.com/pride/2014/10/11/photos-7-lgbt-heroes-honored-plaques-chicagos-legacy-walk?page=full>. Babe has also been memorialized in Beaumont, Texas, her childhood home, through the Babe Didrikson Zaharias Museum, 1750 I-10 Frontage Road, Beaumont, Texas.

²³ Karman Kregloe, "Interview with Rosie Jones," *AfterEllen*, April 9, 2007, <http://www.afterellen.com/people/9214-interview-with-rosie-jones>.

²⁴ "Tee Party," *Guardian*, May 6, 2001, <http://observer.theguardian.com/osm/story/0..482447.00.html>. It should be noted that the Dinah Shore tournament no longer holds that name, but is still colloquially referred to as the "Dinah Shore." The tournament is held at the Mission Hills Country Club, 34600 Mission Hills Drive, Rancho Mirage, California.

Glenn Burke, who was the first player to be out to his teammates (but not the public) during his career. An African American outfielder for the Los Angeles Dodgers and the original source of the high five hand slap, Burke was pressured by the Dodgers to get married and was traded when he refused—evidence of how team managers and officials felt about his sexual identity.²⁵ Though he struggled with drug use and eventually succumbed to AIDS, Burke was undeterred, saying, “My mission as a gay ballplayer was to break a stereotype... I think it worked.”²⁶ Burke’s legacy paved the way for Billy Bean, an outfielder who played from 1987-1995 to come out in 1999.²⁷ Though both Bean and Burke came out to the public after retirement, they made it possible for players like rising Minor League player David Denson to come out while still playing. In his role as MLB’s “Ambassador for Inclusion,” Bean was able to support Denson in his 2015 coming out to his team and the Milwaukee community.²⁸

Major League Baseball (MLB) has few out gay umpires: longstanding National League umpire Dave Pallone was forced to resign in 1988 when rumors of his homosexuality surfaced; meanwhile umpire Dale Scott, who has worked in the American League since 1986, came out in 2014 and remains the only out umpire in the MLB.²⁹

²⁵ Young, *Lesbians and Gays*, 63-65. The Dodgers play at Dodger Stadium, 1000 Elysian Park Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

²⁶ Dylan Vox, “A High Five to Baseball Great Glenn Burke,” *This Week in Texas*, December 11, 2006, http://www.thisweekintexas.com/artman/publish/printer_Glenn_Burke.shtml. Burke’s athletic career began at Berkeley High School, located at 1980 Allston Way, Berkeley, California. The Berkeley High School Campus Historic District was listed on the NRHP on January 7, 2008.

²⁷ Bean played for the Detroit Tigers, briefly for the LA Dodgers, and finished his career in San Diego with the Padres; in San Diego he felt so much pressure to remain in the closet he played a 1995 spring training exhibition game just hours after his partner died of AIDS. See Kevin Baxter, “David Denson, pro baseball’s first openly gay player, has help on his journey,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 22, 2015, <http://www.latimes.com/sports/la-sp-denson-gay-baseball-20150822-story.html>.

²⁸ See Baxter, “David Denson, pro baseball’s first openly gay player, has help on his journey,” Denson has moved between the Brewers and their lower-level farm teams, including the Timber Rattlers (Appleton, Wisconsin) and the Helena Brewers (Helena, Montana). The Milwaukee Brewers play at Miller Park, located at One Brewers Way, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

²⁹ Pallone was born in Waltham, Massachusetts and currently lives in Colorado with his partner Keith; see Pallone’s website at <http://davepallone.com>; Scott was born in Eugene, Oregon where he was inducted into the Sheldon High School Hall of Honor.

Softball

While baseball has generally not allowed for the openness of gay players, softball suffers from a split consciousness. On one hand, the top collegiate and national caliber women players struggle with an environment similar



Figure 2: Gay Activists Alliance Softball Team. Photo by Kay Tobin, ca. 1969-1974, courtesy of the New York Public Library.

to elite women's basketball—there are a number of lesbian players, but heterosexual feminine appearances are the norm. At the same time, recreational softball is an important community-building tool for the lesbian community, a tradition that reaches back to the 1940s (Figure 2).³⁰ A women's softball game provided a guaranteed lesbian crowd in places where no gay bar or other public space was available, and proved vital to women trying to meet others.³¹ Where there were gay bars available, they often sponsored teams as a way of expanding the community being built within their institutions. For many gay women, softball teams offered a safe, vibrant, and supportive community that provided a counterbalance and even resistance to the homophobic mainstream in which they lived and worked. Softball as a lesbian institution continues in today's LGBTQ softball leagues and built the Gay

³⁰ For more on lesbian softball cultures, see Yvonne Zipter, *Diamonds Are a Dyke's Best Friend* (Ithaca, NY: Firebrand Books, 1988), also Lillian Faderman *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 154, 161-62.

³¹ Cahn, "From the 'Muscle Moll' to the 'Butch' Ballplayer," 358.

Softball World Series into the cornerstone of the North American Gay Amateur Athletic Alliance.³²

Tennis

Tennis' openly LGBTQ history rests predominantly on the women's side, and is tied to a series of players in the 1970s and early 1980s. Three matches in American tennis history have been dubbed the "Battle of the Sexes," but the most famous was the exhibition match between Billie Jean



Figure 3: Tennis champion Billie Jean King playing in Phoenix, Arizona in 1978. In 1973, she beat male opponent Bobby Riggs in the famous "Battle of the Sexes" tennis match. Photo by Mitchell Weinstock.³³

King and Bobby Riggs in 1973 (Figure 3).³⁴ Riggs felt women's tennis was a joke and he boasted that he could beat the top players despite being fifty-five years old. Billie Jean King, who had been ranked Number 1 in the world in 1966 and had won ten Grand Slam titles since, took his sexist challenge and beat him in three straight sets, as a television audience of fifty million watched. King had been romantically involved with women for years but did not come out publicly until 1981, when a lawsuit from her ex-girlfriend hit the news.³⁵ King is considered the first professional female athlete to publicly

³² See North American Gay Amateur Athletic Alliance website, <https://www.nagaaasoftball.org/Legacy/Default.aspx> (web page no longer online, see archived web page at <https://web.archive.org/web/20150911085516/https://www.nagaaasoftball.org/Legacy/Default.aspx>).

³³ License: CC BY-ND 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/schlepper/5304275555>

³⁴ The match was played at the Houston Astrodome, located at 8400 Kirby Drive, Houston, Texas. The Astrodome was added to the NRHP on January 15, 2014.

³⁵ King was sued by Marilyn Barnett in a 1981 "galimony" suit after their relationship ended. See Michelle Kort, "Billie Jean King - interview," *The Advocate*, August 18, 1988.

announce her lesbianism while still playing. Since then, she has worked for women's tennis and LGBTQ organizations.³⁶ King's current partner, South African-born Ilana Kloss, was also a top player in the 1970s, and is one of few Jewish women in professional tennis.³⁷

Even before the Battle of the Sexes, Renée Richards used tennis to challenge America's understanding of sex and gender. Richards was a champion men's tennis player with a lethal backhand at Yale and in the Navy before she transitioned to living as a woman in 1975. Hoping to continue competing in the game she loved, she tried to enter the US Open in 1976, but was barred when she refused a chromosome test given to all women athletes.³⁸ She sued for her right to play, setting off a media frenzy, and in 1977 was granted entrance into the tournament held in Forest Hills, Queens, New York. During the next four years, Richards saw major successes, including winning the 1979 35-and-over singles title, despite media mockery and competitors cancelling.³⁹ In 1981, she retired and turned to coaching and medical practice in her hometown of New York City. In 2013, Richards was one of the inaugural inductees into the National Gay and Lesbian Sports Hall of Fame.⁴⁰

³⁶ See her autobiography, *Pressure is a Privilege: Lessons I've Learned from Life and the Battle of the Sexes* (New York: LifeTime Media, 2008).

³⁷ *Portrait of a Pioneer: The Billie Jean King Documentary* (New York: HBO Sports, 2006).

³⁸ The 1976 US Open was held at the Highlands Course of the Atlanta Athletic Club in Duluth, Georgia at 1930 Bobby Jones Drive, Johns Creek, Georgia; Renée Richards, *No Way Renée: The Second Half of My Notorious Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007).

³⁹ Since 1978, the US Open has been held at the USTA Billie Jean King National Tennis Center in Flushing Meadow-Corona Park, Flushing, New York. The Arthur Ashe Stadium, opened in 1997, is located within the USTA Billie Jean King National Tennis Center. It was named after Arthur Ashe, a world-ranked tennis player who was the first African American selected for the US Davis Cup team and the only black man to win singles titles at Wimbledon, the US Open, or the Australian Open. Ashe contracted HIV in the early 1980s, likely from a blood transfusion (in the years before blood banks began screening blood donations for HIV). He announced his illness in 1992 and founded the Arthur Ashe Foundation for the Defeat of AIDS, an educational non-profit to educate others about AIDS and HIV. As one of only a few straight athletes to come out publicly about his HIV status, he helped challenge stereotypes of AIDS as exclusively a "gay disease." He died from AIDS-related pneumonia on February 6, 1993.

⁴⁰ Matthew Breen, "National Gay and Lesbian Sports Hall of Fame's Inaugural Class Announced," *Out Magazine*. June 18, 2013, <http://www.out.com/entertainment/popnography/2013/06/18/national-gay-lesbian-sports-hall-fame-chicago>. The NGLS Hall of Fame is based out of Chicago but does not have a location open to the public, instead it operates at <http://gayandlesbiansports.com>.

Another famous out LGBTQ player from this era is Czech American Martina Navratilova, who held record-length top rankings in singles and doubles, the most singles and doubles titles in the open era, and is considered one of the top women players of all time. Her long rivalry with Chris Evert produced years of exceptional play.⁴¹ Yet like other LGBTQ tennis champions, Navratilova faced public scrutiny and painful gossip when her personal life spilled into the tabloids and onto the courts.⁴² Today she is an advocate for LGBTQ rights. Other lesbian players have also dominated the tennis elite. Helen Jacobs, who won multiple singles championships in the 1930s, had several women partners and broke tradition by wearing men's tennis shorts on the court. Included in her victories were a string of US Open singles titles from 1932-1935, all won at the West Side Tennis Club.⁴³ Puerto Rican-born Gigi Fernandez was a top player in the 1980s and 1990s and now has children with Jane Geddes, a former LPGA champion.⁴⁴ Between 1996 and 2012, Lisa Raymond earned a number one ranking in women's doubles (2000) and eleven Grand Slam titles, during which she was open about her relationship with her doubles partner, Australian Rennae Stubbs.⁴⁵

⁴¹ The "open era" refers to the 1968 decision allowing professional players to compete with amateurs at major tennis tournaments like the Grand Slam. Navratilova and Evert traded victories in several tournaments at the Amelia Island Plantation (Beachwood Road, Fernandina Beach, Florida) but it was their 1985 French Open Final that is considered one of the best women's tennis matches of all time, which Navratilova lost. Navratilova ended up topping Evert in the career titles and in their head-to-head matches. Navratilova now lives in Sarasota, Florida.

⁴² Navratilova initially came out as bisexual in a 1981 interview, but has since identified herself as lesbian. See Johnette Howard, *The Rivals: Chris Evert vs. Martina Navratilova Their Epic Duels and Extraordinary Friendship* (New York: Crown Archetype, 2005), 181.

⁴³ Jacob's partners include her lifelong companion Virginia Gurnee, and an earlier relationship with Henrietta Bingham, daughter of US Ambassador to England Robert Bingham. See her obituary, Susan B. Adams, "Helen Jacobs, Tennis Champion in the 1930's, Dies at 88," *New York Times*, June 4, 1997; and also Bingham's biography; Emily Bingham, *Irrepressible: The Jazz Age Life of Henrietta Bingham* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015), 223-266. The West Side Tennis Club is a longstanding US Open venue, located at One Tennis Place Forest Hills, Queens, New York.

⁴⁴ Karen Crouse, "A Dream Deferred, Almost Too Long," *New York Times*, August 29, 2010. Fernandez now lives in Connecticut and coaches at Chelsea Piers Connecticut (1 Blachley Road, Stamford, Connecticut) and The Long Ridge Tennis Club (Long Ridge Road, Stamford, Connecticut).

⁴⁵ See Lisa Raymond website at <http://www.lraymondweb.com>, for Raymond's professional history. For personal history, see Linda Pearce, "Rennae out of closet, in your face," *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 7, 2006. Since their success on and off the court in the early 2000s, Stubbs and Raymond have ended their personal and professional relationships. Raymond was born in Norristown, Pennsylvania and played for the University of Florida's Gators tennis team at Linder Stadium (Gainesville, Florida) where she helped her team win its first NCAA championship.

Few professional tennis players on the men's circuit have been out about their homosexuality. Perhaps the most famous is William Tilden. A native Philadelphian and alumnus of Germantown Academy prep school, located in the Philadelphia suburb of Fort Washington, and Peirce College, "Big Bill" Tilden is often considered one of the greatest men's players of all time, winning seven US Championships (1920-1925, 1929) and holding the number one world ranking from 1920-1925.⁴⁶ Tilden's tennis dominance did not protect him from antisodomy laws and homophobic culture, however; the end of his playing career was hastened as Tilden was plagued by rumors, arrests for soliciting minors, and jail. These charges left Tilden broke, unable to teach lessons, and shunned from his home club, Philadelphia's Germantown Cricket Club.⁴⁷ Tilden's athletic dominance posed a direct challenge to expectations tying masculine athleticism with heterosexuality, and ultimately resulted in the destruction of his athletic career and life.

Football

Despite baseball's title as "America's pastime," it is American football that is the juggernaut of sport dollars, viewership, and collegiate athletics in the United States. As a result, definitions of masculinity are closely woven in and around the gridiron game. Despite the huge number of collegiate and pro players, there are very few who have ever come out as gay, and even fewer who have done so while playing. As sports scholar Mariah Burton Nelson argues, football offers a homosocial environment in which men can express emotion, touch one another, and enjoy male bodies on display, but does so by perpetuating an understanding of sex that is violent, misogynist, and unrelentingly homophobic.⁴⁸ Although

⁴⁶ Tilden lived luxuriously for a while from his victories, even keeping a suite at the famous Algonquin Hotel at 59 West 44th Street, New York City, New York.

⁴⁷ Richard Schickel, *The World of Tennis* (New York: Random House, 1975). For more on Tilden, see Frank Deford's biography, *Big Bill Tilden: The Triumphs and the Tragedy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1976). The Germantown (Manheim) Cricket Club is located at 5140 Morris Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on February 27 1987. In 1953, Tilden died at the age of sixty, in his home in the Hollywood Hills neighborhood of Los Angeles, California.

⁴⁸ Mariah Burton Nelson, "Men in Tight Pants Embracing," in *The Stronger Women Get, the More Men Love Football: Sexism and the American Culture of Sports* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1994), 103-126.

pioneer David Kopay came out in 1975 after finishing his NFL career in Green Bay a few years earlier, his contemporaries who were widely known to be gay, did not.⁴⁹ The few who did often experienced years of misery beforehand trying to come to terms with their homosexuality or bisexuality. Roy Simmons, a guard for the New York Giants (1979-1982) and Washington Redskins (1983-1985), contracted HIV and struggled with drug addiction and homelessness after his career fell apart.⁵⁰ Ed Gallagher, a University of Pittsburgh offensive tackle, was so distraught by his homosexuality he attempted suicide in 1985 and was left a paraplegic. After the suicide attempt, Gallagher devoted the rest of his life to advocating for disabled and gay rights.⁵¹

Football players who have come out as gay recently include Esera Tuaolo (NFL rostered 1991-1999, primarily Minnesota Vikings 1992-1996), Wade Davis (NFL practice

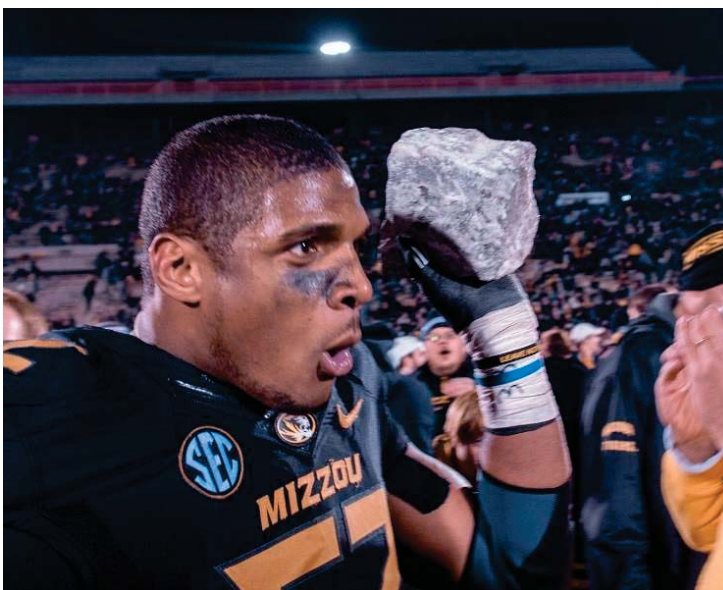


Figure 4: Michael Sam celebrates a win at his last game for the University of Missouri. Sam played defensive end for the University of Missouri, and then became the first openly gay player to be successfully drafted in the NFL draft when he signed with the St. Louis Rams in 2014. Photo by Marcus Quertyus, 2013.⁵²

⁴⁹ Players like Jerry Smith (Redskins tight end), Ray McDonald (Redskins running back), and Jackie Walker (49ers linebacker) are widely believed to have been gay, but never publicly confirmed their sexuality. See 'A Football Life': *Jerry Smith – Living a Double Life* (NFL Films, 2014); and Betty Bean, "The Jackie Walker Story," *Metro Pulse*, November 22, 2007. David Kopay played for several teams during his career, but his gay history is grounded in his time with the Washington Redskins when he was in a relationship with teammate Jerry Smith. During this time, the Redskins played at RFK Memorial Stadium, located at 2400 East Capitol Street SE, Washington, DC.

⁵⁰ For Simmons, see his memoir *Out of Bounds: Coming out of Sexual Abuse, Addiction, and My Life of Lies in the N.F.L. Closet* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 2006). Simmons was born in Savannah, Georgia, played for Georgia Tech, and died at the age of fifty-seven at his home in the Bronx, New York.

⁵¹ For Gallagher, see Cyd Zeigler, "Greatest Sports Moment #68: Ed Gallagher survives suicide attempt," *Outsports*, July 29, 2011. Gallagher attempted suicide off the Kensico Dam, located at 1 Bronx River Parkway, Valhalla, New York, and marks his survival as a turning point in his life.

⁵² License: CC BY-SA 3.0.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Michael_Sam_final_Mizzou_home_game.jpg

squad member 2000-2003, ending with the Washington Redskins), Kwame Harris (NFL 2003-2010, primarily with the San Francisco 49ers, 2003-2007), but these professional players each waited until after retirement. Meanwhile college players Brian Sims (Bloomsburg University, 1997-2001), Alan Gendreau (Middle Tennessee State University, 2008-2011), and Conner Mertens (Willamette University, 2013-present) felt comfortable coming out as gay or bisexual while still playing, evidence of the divide between the NFL and NCAA sports cultures, and possibly a generational shift.⁵³ Michael Sam was drafted by the St. Louis Rams after being a collegiate All-American, and is considered the first openly gay player to be successfully drafted into the NFL (Figure 4).⁵⁴ Sam was later cut from the Rams and now plays in the Canadian Football League; some have argued that Sam's experience and those of other openly gay players send a clear message about the NFL's inability to change its underlying homophobic culture.⁵⁵

⁵³ Tuaolo came out during a 2002 interview on HBO's "Real Sports", see "Former NFL Player Speaks Out on Being Gay," *ABC News*, <http://abcnews.go.com/GMA/story?id=125632&page=1>. Davis came out in 2012 in an interview with *Outsports*, see Associated Press, "Ex-Titans CB Wade Davis Comes Out," *ESPN*, June 7, 2012, http://espn.go.com/nfl/story/_/id/8022419/former-nfl-cornerback-wade-davis-comes-gay. Kwame Harris talked openly of being gay on CNN in March 2013, see Mike Foss, "Former 49ers player Kwame Harris talks about being gay," *USA Today*, March 29, 2013, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/gameon/2013/03/29/san-francisco-49ers-kwame-harris-gay/2034509>. Brian Sims was open with his college teammates and later worked publicly to advance LGBTQ rights, currently serving in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, see Cyd Zeigler, "Former College Football Captain Was Openly Gay," *Outsports*, April 27, 2009. Alan Gendreau was an openly gay kicker aiming for the NFL in 2013, see Cyd Zeigler, "Coming Out Kicking," *Outsports*, April 23, 2013. College kicker Conner Mertens came out as bisexual publicly in 2014, see Cyd Zeigler, "Conner Mertens came out to his college football team. Now he comes out publicly," *Outsports*, January 28, 2014, <http://www.outsports.com/2014/1/28/5348936/conner-mertens-willamette-football-kicker>.

⁵⁴ Sam came out during an interview on ESPN's "Outside the Lines" on February 9, 2014, see Chris Connelly, "Missouri's Michael Sam says he's gay," *ESPN*, February 10, 2014, http://espn.go.com/espn/otl/story/_/id/10429030/michael-sam-missouri-tigers-says-gay. The 2014 NFL draft, in which he was the first openly gay player to be drafted, was held at Radio City Music Hall at 1260 Sixth Avenue, New York City, New York. Radio City Music Hall was added to the NRHP on May 8, 1978.

⁵⁵ For example, see Michelangelo Signorile, "What's the Probability That Michael Sam Was Cut Because He's Gay, Really?" *Huffington Post*, October 24, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/michelangelo-signorile/whats-the-probability-that-michael-sam-was-cut-because-hes-gay-really_b_6041468.html.

Rugby

Rugby's British roots and similarity to American football create a unique position in US sports culture. The intense physicality of the game has meant an opportunity for women, traditionally excluded from football, to play a contact sport. For men, rugby has offered a contact sport for those disinterested in or marginalized from American football, including gay and bisexual men. The game has for decades drawn women already interested in pushing past gender norms, and cultivated a deep history among lesbian and bisexual women. In 1987, the US Women's National Team (the Eagles) was formed, and in 1991 won the inaugural Women's World Cup.⁵⁶ Beginning in the 1990s, gay men's rugby teams began to form, eventually uniting as the International Gay Rugby league. One of the most famous gay rugby players (ruggers) is Mark Bingham who was one of the passengers on United Airlines Flight 93 that was hijacked by terrorists on September 11, 2001.⁵⁷ Bingham led several fellow passengers in an uprising against their hijackers, preventing the plane from being used to attack US cities. Media coverage of Bingham's personal sacrifice often mentioned his leadership in founding a gay rugby team, the San Francisco Fog. This attention reveals America's unfamiliarity with the game of rugby, as well as the existence of gay rugby teams, but also points to the homophobic assumption that gay men couldn't embody the strength, courage, and selflessness that Bingham modeled. His legacy is memorialized in the gay rugby league's world cup tournament, as well as a memorial at the University of California at Berkeley, his alma mater.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ See "About USA Rugby," USA Rugby website, <http://www.usarugby.org/about-usa-rugby/history>. USA Rugby is based in Colorado at 2655 Crescent Drive, Lafayette, Colorado.

⁵⁷ Flight 93 was forced down in a field just off Lincoln Highway, Stoystown, Somerset County, Pennsylvania. The Flight 93 National Memorial is a unit of the NPS, established on September 24, 2002.

⁵⁸ John Morrison and John Donegan, "Mark Bingham: The 9/11 hero behind rugby's gay World Cup," *ABC Sydney*, August 21, 2014, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-08-21/the-hero-behind-the-bingham-cup/5685996>. The SF Fog are based at 2370 Market Street #232, San Francisco, California. Cal rugby plays at Witter Field, 210 Stadium Rim Way, Piedmont, California.

Hockey

Hockey's rough and tough image presents a similar challenge for its gay athletes, at least on the men's side. Brendan Burke, son of the former general manager of the Toronto Maple Leafs and the US Olympic hockey team, was a student manager for the Miami University RedHawks men's ice hockey team when he came out in order to combat homophobia in hockey.⁵⁹ When Burke was killed in an accident several months later, his family began the You Can Play Project, a campaign dedicated to ending homophobia in sports.⁶⁰

Caitlin Cahow played on two US women's Olympic hockey teams (2010 Vancouver and 2006 Turin) and in the Canadian Women's Hockey League (CWHL), and now works in CWHL administration.⁶¹ She is one of a handful of women's hockey players to publicly discuss her lesbian identity.⁶² In 2014 she was chosen by President Obama to represent the United States as part of the official Sochi Winter Olympics delegation. The selection of Cahow and Billie Jean King was considered a challenge to Russia's antigay policies, specifically a 2013 prohibition on gay "propaganda" available to minors and increasingly homophobic cultural norms promoted by President Putin.⁶³

⁵⁹ Sarah Boesveld and James Mirtle, "Brian Burke's Son Killed in Auto Accident," *Globe and Mail*, February 5, 2010, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/sports/brian-burkes-son-killed-in-auto-accident/article4305035>; also

Chris Peters, "Remembering Brendan Burke," *The United States of Hockey* (blog), February 5, 2013, <http://unitedstatesofhockey.com/2013/02/05/remembering-brendan-burke>. The Miami RedHawks play at the Goggin Ice Center, 610 South Oak Street, Oxford, Ohio.

⁶⁰ See "Welcome from the Founders," You Can Play Project website, <http://youcanplayproject.org/pages/welcome>.

⁶¹ "CWHL Board Approves League Expansion," Canadian Women's Hockey League press release, June 19, 2015, http://www.cwhl.ca/view/cwhl/news-644/news_306062. The CWHL administration is based in Ontario at 734 Srigley Street, Newmarket, Ontario, Canada.

⁶² Lucy Hollowell, "Two-time Olympian Caitlin Cahow Comes Out," *AfterEllen*, November 14, 2013, <http://www.afterellen.com/people/202810-two-time-olympian-caitlin-cahow-come-out>.

⁶³ Eddie Pells, "Obama Selects Gay Athletes for Sochi Delegation," *Associated Press*, December 18, 2013, <http://sports.yahoo.com/news/white-house-unveils-us-delegation-224216706-spt.html>.

Basketball

Like other popular sports in America, basketball's LGBTQ history was for a long time about closeted secrecy. The sport may recently have entered a period of change, with athletes coming out as gay, lesbian, and transgender to relatively positive reception. Still, the complex dynamics of sexuality, race, and class within basketball culture create a challenge for those players wishing to be open and honest about their sexual identities.⁶⁴

Women's basketball history includes decades of semipro leagues, a well-organized physical education system in schools and universities, and the Amateur Athletic Union.⁶⁵ Each of these offered safe spaces for straight, bisexual, and lesbian female athletes to participate in highly competitive athletics, despite varying gendered expectations for women throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Since the 1970s, however, women's collegiate basketball created a more difficult environment for lesbian and queer women players, despite rumors of many players and coaches themselves being lesbian. In the 1980s and 1990s, the pressures of cultural gender norms were heightened by the media spotlight on the new pro league (founded 1996), the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA). This produced an extreme level of homophobic gender policing in which female athletes' behavior, dress, and mannerisms were carefully groomed to not appear overly masculine.⁶⁶ Emblematic of this was Penn State women's head coach, Rene Portland, whose twenty-seven-year career was overshadowed by her ban on lesbian

⁶⁴ See, for example, Cheryl Cooky et al., "It's Not About the Game: Don Imus, Race, Class, Gender and Sexuality in Contemporary Media," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 27, no. 2 (2010): 139-159; and Jane Duvall Downing, "Welcome to the Ball, Cinderella: Investigating Gender, Sexuality, Race, and Class Through a Study of the Lived Experience of Women Athletes," PhD Diss., University of Missouri-Columbia, 1999.

⁶⁵ See Adolph H. Grundman, *The Golden Age of Amateur Basketball: The AAU Tournament, 1921-1968* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

⁶⁶ Sarah Banet-Weiser, "We Got Next: Negotiating Race and Gender in Professional Basketball," in *Paradoxes of Youth and Sport*, SUNY Series on Sport, Culture, and Social Relations, eds. Margaret Gatz, Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach, and Michael A. Messner (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 93-102.

players and the hostile environment she fostered, prompting nearly half of her players to transfer or quit.⁶⁷

Despite this uneven history of acceptance, the archives of women's basketball still boasts many women who have openly been in, or are in, relationships with other women. Early players include Sue Wicks (Rutgers University 1984-1988, New York Liberty 1997-2002), Sheryl Swoopes (Texas Tech University 1993, Houston Comets 1997-2007, six-time WNBA All-Star and four-time WNBA Champion 1997-2000), Michele Van Gorp (Duke University 1997-1999, Minnesota Lynx 2001-2004), and Sharnee Zoll-Norman (University of Virginia 2004-2008, European leagues, Chicago Sky 2013).⁶⁸ More recently, younger players like Glory Johnson (University of Tennessee 2008-2012, Tulsa Shock/Dallas Wings 2012-present) and superstar Brittney Griner (Baylor University 2009-2013, Phoenix Mercury 2013-present) have also been upfront about their lesbian identity, even when their dramatic relationships became tabloid fodder.⁶⁹ The 6'8" Griner linked her size and lesbianism in recalling childhood experiences of ostracism: "It was hard. Just being picked on for being different. Just being

⁶⁷ *Training Rules: No Drinking, No Drugs, No Lesbians*, directed by Dee Mosbacher and Fawn Yacker (San Francisco, CA: Woman Vision Films, 2009). Penn State Lady Lions basketball is played in the Bryce Jordan Center at 127 Bryce Jordan Center, University Park, Pennsylvania.

⁶⁸ Sue Wicks came out as a lesbian in 2002, see Lena Williams, "Wicks's Statement Stirs Little Reaction," *New York Times*, July 7, 2002. Sheryl Swoopes came out as a lesbian in 2005, but is now married to a man and hasn't chosen to publicly label her sexuality, see Cyd Ziegler, "Sheryl Swoopes is not a lesbian, now engaged to marry a man" *Outsports*, July 14, 2011. Michele Van Gorp said she'd "never been in the closet" but still caused a stir when she was interviewed by a gay and lesbian magazine in 2004, see Jim Buzinski, "Van Gorp Out and Proud," *Outsports*, July 13, 2004. Sharnee Zoll-Norman was open with teammates about being married to a woman, but hadn't seen her lesbian identity as relevant to her as a basketball player until she shared her sexual identity with the media in 2013, see Ross Forman, "Lesbian Chicago Sky player set to attend her first Pride Parade," *Windy City Times*, June 27, 2013. The Phoenix Mercury play at the Talking Stick Resort Arena (201 East Jefferson Street, Phoenix, Arizona); the New York Liberty play at Madison Square Garden (New York, New York), with a brief stint (2011-2013) at the Prudential Center in Newark, New Jersey; the Houston Comets played for most of Swoopes' reign at the Summit, renamed the Compaq Center, and now comprises the Lakewood Church Central Campus, an evangelical church (3700 Southwest Freeway, Houston, Texas); the Minnesota Lynx play at the Target Center (600 First Avenue North, Minneapolis, Minnesota); the Chicago Sky play at the Allstate Arena (6920 Mannheim Road, Rosemont, Illinois); the Tulsa Shock played in the Bank of Oklahoma (BOK) Center (200 South Denver, Tulsa, Oklahoma) but relocated to become the Dallas Wings in 2016, playing in the College Park Center (601 South Pecan Street, Arlington, Texas).

⁶⁹ For an example of the widespread gossip on Griner and Johnson, see Bossip Staff, "Sweet Black Love: Brittney Griner Shows Off Her Girlfriend Lola Just Weeks After Glory Johnson Marriage Annulment," *Bossip*, July 29, 2015, <http://bossip.com/1197080/sweet-black-love-brittney-griner-shows-off-her-girlfriend-lola-just-weeks-after-glory-johnson-marriage-annulment>.

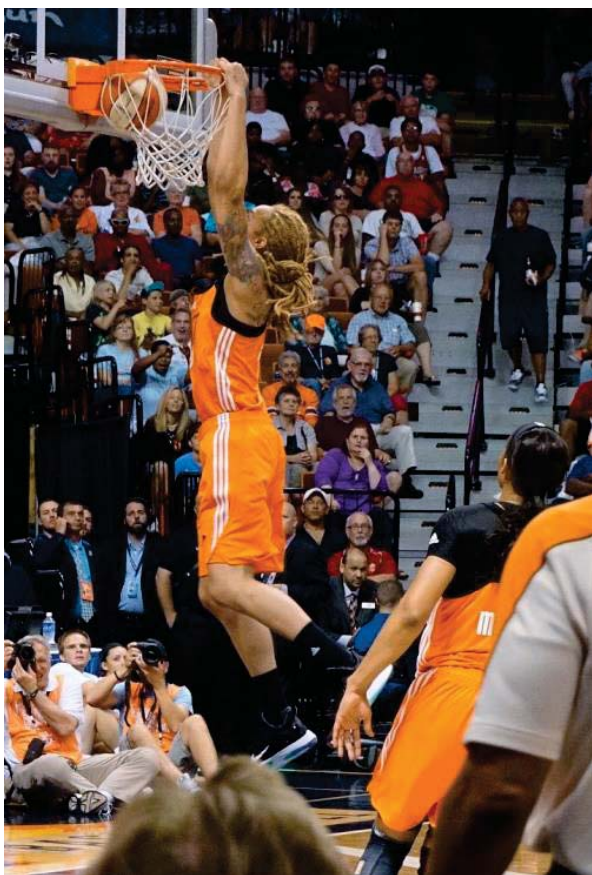


Figure 5: Out lesbian Brittney Griner dunks the ball at the 2015 WNBA All-Star Game at Mohegan Sun in Uncasville, Connecticut. Photo by Danny Karwoski.⁷²

bigger, my sexuality, everything.”⁷⁰ Griner continues to challenge expectations of what a female athlete can accomplish, being one of only three WNBA players to dunk and holding a National Collegiate Athletics Association (NCAA) career block record for all players, male and female (Figure 5). In 2013, she was even asked to try out for the National Basketball Association’s (NBA’s) Dallas Mavericks.⁷¹

In the last decade, elite men’s basketball has begun to follow in the steps of the women’s game with several players openly affirming their gay and bisexual identities, even if mostly after

their playing careers. They included Will Sheridan (Villanova University 2003-2007, Italian leagues), who came out to teammates as gay while playing and publicly after retiring in 2011; and Travon Free (Long Beach State University 2008-2011) who shared his bisexuality in 2011.⁷³ Most visible was Jason Collins, a collegiate All-American who played for thirteen seasons in the NBA, including the 2014 season, after he had publicly come out as gay and became a free agent.⁷⁴ Collins is the first publicly gay

⁷⁰ Doug Feinberg, Associated Press, “Griner, Delle Donne and Diggins dealt with bullies,” *Washington Times*, April 18, 2013, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2013/apr/18/griner-delle-donne-and-diggins-dealt-with-bullies/?page=all>.

⁷¹ The Mavericks play at the American Airlines Center, 2500 Victory Avenue, Dallas, Texas.

⁷² License: CC BY-SA 3.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/andymiah/12515038085>

⁷³ Cyd Ziegler, “Will Sheridan, former Villanova basketball player, comes out as gay,” *Outsports*, May 16, 2011; Aymar Jean Christian, “Travon Free Comes Out as Bisexual,” *NewNowNext*, January 12, 2011, <http://www.newnownext.com/travon-free-comes-out-as-bisexual/01/2011>.

⁷⁴ Jason Collins, “Parting Shot: Jason Collins announces NBA Retirement in his own words,” *Sports Illustrated*, November 24, 2014. Collins’ coming out was the cover story on the May 6, 2013 issue of

athlete to play in any of the “Big Four” major North American pro sports leagues (NBA, NFL, National Hockey League [NHL], and MLB). Collins has already inspired other athletes, including Derrick Gordon (University of Massachusetts, Seton Hall University) to come out.⁷⁵ Collins chose to wear number 98 with the Brooklyn Nets in honor of Matthew Shepard, a gay teen killed in 1998 in Wyoming.⁷⁶

Further challenging gender and sexual norms in basketball, George Washington University women’s basketball player Kye Allums broke new ground when he came out as transgender in 2010 first to his team, and then publicly.⁷⁷ Allums received notable support from his team and coach, and despite personal struggles now educates audiences on transgender identities and sports.⁷⁸

Soccer

American soccer’s LGBTQ presence has also recently seen a positive shift toward more lesbian and gender-alternative-friendly publicity, greatly aided by the 2015 World Cup victory of the US Women’s National Team in Canada, led by publicly out lesbian players Megan Rapinoe and Abby Wambach.⁷⁹ Rapinoe’s precision on the field earned her a Goal Olimpico at the 2012 Summer Olympic Games in London, the only player in the world, male or female, to have done so that year.⁸⁰ Wambach holds the

Sports Illustrated. The game after his announcement was the Nets against the LA Lakers, played at the Staples Center at 1111 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles, California.

⁷⁵ Pablo S. Torre, “Why did Derrick Gordon make history and then suddenly shun the spotlight?” *ESPN*, October 27, 2014, http://espn.go.com/mens-college-basketball/story/_/id/13950235/openly-gay-basketball-player-derrick-gordon-transfers-seton-hall-shuns-spotlight.

⁷⁶ Driadonna Roland, “NBA Will Donate Sales of Jason Collins’ Jersey to LGBT Groups,” *BuzzFeed*, February 28, 2014, https://www.buzzfeed.com/driadonnaroland/nba-will-donate-sales-of-jason-collins-jersey-to-lgbt-groups?utm_term=.eiWZ8QYLE#.djXAnWmPy.

⁷⁷ Erik Brady, “Transgender male Kye Allums on the women’s team at GW,” *USA Today*, November 4, 2010, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/sports/college/womensbasketball/atlantic10/2010-11-03-kye-allums-george-washington-transgender_N.htm. George Washington University basketball is played at the Charles E. Smith Center located at 600 Twenty-Second Street NW, Washington, DC.

⁷⁸ Elliott Moore, “Kye Allums Discusses his Personal History as a Transgender Athlete,” *GLAAD* website, February 19, 2013, <http://www.glaad.org/blog/kye-allums-discusses-his-personal-history-transgender-athlete>.

⁷⁹ Jim Buzinski, “For Abby Wambach, passion for soccer changed after she married Sarah Huffman,” *Outsports*, May 26, 2015.

⁸⁰ A Goal Olimpico is a goal scored off a corner kick untouched by any other player.

world record for international goals scored for both men and women, two Olympic gold medals (Greece 2004, London 2012), and shared captain duties for the 2015 World Cup winning American team.⁸¹ These two are part of a longer tradition of lesbian and bisexual women's soccer players: Joanna Lohman has played professionally since 2001 and has developed opportunities for girls to play soccer in India.⁸² She is open about her marriage to National Women's Soccer League (NWSL) teammate Lianne Sanderson.⁸³ Several other out lesbians play at soccer's highest levels: Lori Lindsey has made the national team pool since 2005 and came out in 2012; Natasha Kai is a national team player who also played for the national women's rugby union sevens team; and Keelin Winters plays professionally in the United States and Australia.⁸⁴

On the men's side, fewer players have been open about their homosexuality or bisexuality, particularly while still actively playing, testament to the power of heteronormative masculinity in soccer. Yet a few gay men have chosen to challenge this norm. David Testo came out in 2011 after ending an eight-year professional career with the Montreal Impact, and Robbie Rogers came out as gay during a retirement in 2013 from playing in Britain but then returned to the United States to play for the Los Angeles Galaxy.⁸⁵

⁸¹ See Abby Wambach, player profile, U.S. Soccer website, accessed August 12, 2015, <http://www.ussoccer.com/players/2014/03/15/05/05/abby-wambach#tab-4>.

⁸² Val Henderson, "Soccer players change lives of girls through sport," *ESPNW*, December 19, 2011. <http://espn.go.com/espnw/news-commentary/article/7360694/pro-soccer-players-joanna-lohman-lianne-sanderson-want-change-lives-girls-sport>.

⁸³ Shira Springer, "Breakers have only gay couple in pro sports," *Boston Globe*, June 1, 2014. The Boston Breakers play at Jordan Field at 65 North Harvard Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts.

⁸⁴ Greg Hernandez, "US soccer star Lori Lindsey comes out as lesbian," *Gay Star News*, September 6, 2012, <http://www.gaystarnews.com/article/us-soccer-star-lori-lindsey-comes-out-lesbian060912>;

Lindsey is from Indianapolis, Indiana and played college soccer for the University of Virginia Cavaliers (Charlottesville, Virginia). Kai was born in Kahuku, Hawaii and played soccer for the University of Hawaii's Rainbow Wahine (Honolulu, Hawaii); Sarah Warn, "The New York Times blogs about out soccer player Natasha Kai," *AfterEllen*, June 5, 2009, <http://www.afterellen.com/people/52059-the-new-york-times-blogs-about-out-soccer-player-natasha-kai>; "Soccer star joins US 7s squad," *ScrumQueens*, November 2011, <http://www.scrumqueens.com/news/soccer-star-joins-us-7s-squad>.

For Keelin Winters, see player interview in *Let it Reign* (Seattle, WA: LEVYfilms, 2013); Winters was born in Cleveland, Ohio and played collegiate soccer for the University of Portland Pilots (Portland, Oregon).

⁸⁵ For the costs David Testo paid coming out, see Leander Schaerlaeckens, "Out of Bounds," *SB Nation*, September 28, 2012, <http://www.sbnation.com/soccer/2012/9/28/3419354/david-testo>.

Bodybuilding and Boxing

The sport of bodybuilding has a complex relationship with gay male culture. The physique magazines popular in the 1940s and 1950s displayed bodybuilders in nude and seminude poses, offering a culturally acceptable way for men to admire male bodies. The magazines also became a coded way for gay men to make connections, whether in person or through pen pal and hobby directories.⁸⁶ Yet because of gendered expectations, bodybuilding remains a sport misunderstood as exclusively heterosexual, despite the visible presence of lesbian, gay, and bisexual bodybuilders.

Bob Paris came out in 1989 as gay while still competing as a bodybuilder, one of the first professional athletes in any sport to do so.⁸⁷ The result was a major hit to his career, including death threats and lost bookings and endorsements.⁸⁸ Jim Morris competed as an openly gay African American champion bodybuilder (1973 Mr. America) from the 1970s through the 1990s (1996 Mr. Olympia Masters Over 60). Morris took to the Internet in 2011 as a seventy-six-year-old to challenge stereotypes of the elderly and encourage others to increase their fitness.⁸⁹

[gay-soccer-player](#). Testo was born in Winston-Salem, North Carolina and played for the Montreal Impact (Saputo Stadium, 4750 Sherbrooke Street, Montreal, Quebec, Canada) from 2007-2011. Robbie Rogers, born in Rancho Palos Verdes, California, also struggled with his gay identity, "Gay soccer star Robbie Rogers: Living in closet 'creates this monster inside you,'" *NBC Today Show*, November 25, 2014, <http://www.today.com/popculture/soccer-star-robbie-rogers-reveals-why-he-came-out-gay-1D80314694>. The LA Galaxy play at the StubHub Center at 18400 Avalon Boulevard, Carson, California.

⁸⁶ See Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); later, homophile magazines like *DRUM* would incorporate physique photography as part of their appeal to gay male readers, see Marc Stein, "Birthplace of the Nation: Imagining Lesbian and Gay Communities in Philadelphia, 1969-1970," in *Creating a Place for Ourselves: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Community Histories*, ed. Brett Beemyn (New York: Routledge, 1997), 253-288. See also Johnson (this volume).

⁸⁷ "Bob Paris, Former Mr. Universe, Talks About Coming Out: 'My Life was Threatened,'" *Huffington Post*, February 25, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/02/25/bob-paris-mr-universe-gay-oprah_n_4849671.html.

⁸⁸ Terri-Lynne Waldron, "Former Mr. Universe Bob Paris on Oprah, coming out, marriage," *Windy City Times*, April 1, 2014, <http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/Former-Mr-Universe-Bob-Paris-on-Oprah-coming-out-marriage/46835.html>.

⁸⁹ Carla Hall, "Mr. America has bulk – three decades after winning the title," *Los Angeles Times*, September 4, 2007, <http://articles.latimes.com/2007/sep/04/local/me-morris4>. For Morris' video, see "The Story of a 78-year-old Vegan Bodybuilder-Jim Morris: Lifelong Fitness-Short Film," YouTube video, posted by Lifelong Fitness, March 11, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tUtv4slpm-U>.

Other notable gay male bodybuilders include Chris Dickerson, the first openly gay Mr. Olympia title holder (1982) and the first African American Mr. America (1970). He competed from the mid-1960s until the 1990s, came out as gay in the late 1970s, and now spends his retirement coaching in Florida.⁹⁰ Morris and Dickerson received different responses to being gay bodybuilders than Paris, perhaps shaped by the timing and manner of their outing (Paris on Oprah in the late 1980's versus Dickerson and Morris quietly in the 1970s) or Paris' public advocacy for gay marriage. Their experiences would also have been shaped by race, as Dickerson and Morris struggled against the racism that kept African Americans out of the championship circles until their arrival in the 1970s. In women's bodybuilding, Shelley Beattie was an openly bisexual woman who also was deaf, and after her professional bodybuilding career (early 1990s), she sailed on the all-women's America's Cup sailing team (1994-1995) and competed on the American Gladiators television show (1992-1996), though her bisexuality was not discussed in those contexts.⁹¹

Women's boxing joined the Olympic offerings in 2012, evidence of the growing popularity of women's fighting. American boxer Pat Manuel won multiple women's national championships until a 2012 shoulder injury gave him time to officially move to the men's division as part of his gender transition. Based out of Los Angeles, Manuel now uses his sport as a platform for advocating LGBTQ and women's equality while working on his own career in the men's USA Boxing amateur circuit.⁹² The rise of Mixed Martial Arts (MMA) style fighting, including the 2013 start of Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC) matches for women, have given athletes like

⁹⁰ Walker Tisdale III, "Exclusive Conversation with Chris Dickerson," *Healthy Black Men*, March 20, 2011, <http://healthyblackmen.org/2011/03/20/talking-truth-with-chris-dickerson>. Dickerson's Mr. Olympia title was won at the Wembley Conference Centre, London, England.

⁹¹ Jerry Casey, "Life Story: Shelley Beattie," *Oregonian*, April 19, 2008.

⁹² Kylie Krabbe, "A Transgender Boxing Champ Plans His Return to the Ring," *LA Weekly*, September 11, 2015. Manuel has also opened an online gym for "oppression-free fitness" for queer clientele at www.buffbutch.com. See also Spectra Speaks, "Queer Female Boxer Pat Manuel Launches BUFF BUTCH: Masculine of Center Fitness Resource," April 2013, <http://www.qwoc.org/2013/04/female-boxing-champion-pat-manuel-launches-buff-butch-an-online-fitness-resource-for-masculine-of-center>, and Kylie Krabbe, "Pat Manuel poised to blaze trail as transgender amateur, then pro," *The Ring*, December 3, 2015, <http://ringtv.craveonline.com/news/405687-pat-manuel-poised-to-blaze-trail-as-transgender-amateur-then-pro>.

lesbian UFC fighter Liz Carmouche a chance to shape their own emerging sport cultures.⁹³ Carmouche faced off against fellow lesbian fighter Jessica Andrade in July 2013 at the KeyArena in Seattle, Washington for the first lesbian-lesbian UFC fight.⁹⁴

Rodeo

In 1975, Phil Ragsdale, a Reno, Nevada businessman, suggested a gay rodeo as a community fundraiser. Initially struggling to secure a site and animals, the rodeo finally took place at Reno's Washoe County Fairgrounds in October 1976.⁹⁵ The event was a hit, and by the early 1980s had grown into a multiday event raising thousands of dollars for charity. The idea spread and by 1985, the International Gay Rodeo Association (IGRA) was founded to unite local Gay Rodeo Associations.⁹⁶ IGRA events include traditional rodeo competitions, like bull riding and calf roping, as well as special gay rodeo events, including the Wild Drag Race (cowboys help a person in drag mount a wild steer) and Goat Dressing (put underpants on a goat). Events are open to all participants regardless of gender, unlike other rodeo associations, which are often marked by hostile cultures toward homosexuality and gender deviance.

Gay bars in the West and Midwest are an important part of IGRA advertising and Charlie's Bar in Denver provided notable support for the Colorado Gay Rodeo Association and the IGRA.⁹⁷ Major figures in gay rodeo include cowboy Greg Olson, a seven-time IGRA All-Around

⁹³ Kaitlyn, "A Talk With The Fighters From The First UFC Match Between Two Lesbians," *Autostraddle*, July 25, 2013, <http://www.autostraddle.com/a-talk-with-the-fighters-from-the-first-ufc-match-between-two-lesbians-187123>.

⁹⁴ The full fight report is available at Shaun Al-Shatti, "Liz Carmouche vs. Jessica Andrade full fight video highlights," *SB Nation*, July 28, 2013, <http://www.mmfighting.com/2013/7/28/4564518/liz-carmouche-vs-jessica-andrade-full-fight-video-highlights-ufc-on-fox-8>. The KeyArena is located at 305 Harrison Street, Seattle, Washington.

⁹⁵ The Washoe County Fairgrounds are located at 1001 Wells Avenue in Reno, Nevada. For more information about the Gay Rodeo, see Auer (this volume).

⁹⁶ See IGRA's website at <http://www.igra.com>.

⁹⁷ Rebecca Scofield, "Too Legit to Quit: Gay Rodeo, Camp, and the Performance of Gender in Reagan's America," in *Riding Bareback: Imagining American Gender, Sexuality, and Race through Rodeo*, PhD diss. in American Studies, Harvard University, November 2015. Charlie's also provided support to other LGBTQ recreation groups, including social dancing groups like the Denver Country Cloggers and the Mile High Squares. Charlie's is located at 900 East Colfax Avenue, Denver, Colorado.

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Champion,⁹⁸ IGRA's historian Cowboy Frank Harrell, and gay rodeo producers Wayne Jakino (Colorado), John King (Colorado), Linn Copeland (Kansas), Al Bell (California), and Terry Clark (Texas).⁹⁹

Diving

Occasionally the disclosure of an athlete's sexuality invoked other fears. Greg Louganis was America's top diver for most of the 1980s, and was widely considered the best ever in his events (Figure 6).

After having won two gold medals, five world championships, and many other international events, Louganis found himself at the Seoul Summer



Figure 6: Diver Greg Louganis won four gold medals between the 1984 Los Angeles and 1988 Seoul Olympics before coming out about his gay identity and his HIV-positive status. Here he speaks at the University of Southern California Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism about his role representing both the United States and the LGBTQ athlete community, 2011. Photo by Brett Van Ort.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Olson was born in Erickson, Nebraska, and was a bartender and regular at Charlie's in Phoenix, Arizona where he lived most of his adult life. Charlie's is located at 727 West Camelback Road, Phoenix, Arizona. See "IGRA Hall of Fame: Greg Olson," IGRA website, <http://gayrodeohistory.org/HallOfFame/OlsonGreg.htm>.

⁹⁹ Jakino was born in Durango, Colorado but spent most of his adult life in Denver, Colorado, where he owned Charlie's bar, helped raise thousands for local AIDS charities, and served as a consultant to the local police department, see "IGRA Hall of Fame: Wayne Jakino," IGRA website, <http://gayrodeohistory.org/HallOfFame/JakinoWayne.htm>. King grew up on a farm in Iowa, was involved in starting Charlie's bars as well as gay rodeo in Denver, Phoenix, and Chicago, see "IGRA Hall of Fame: John King," IGRA website, <http://gayrodeohistory.org/HallOfFame/KingJohn.htm>. Copeland owned Our Fantasy Club (3201 South Hillside Street, Wichita, Kansas), Wichita's oldest gay and lesbian bar, which closed in 2015, and was a founding member of the Kansas Gay Rodeo Association, see "IGRA Hall of Fame: Linn Copeland," IGRA website, <http://gayrodeohistory.org/HallOfFame/CopelandLinn.htm>. Bell founded Floyd's, a Long Beach, California gay country western bar with his partner, which served as the home for the Golden State Gay Rodeo Association, see "IGRA Hall of Fame: Al Bell," IGRA website, <http://gayrodeohistory.org/HallOfFame/BellAl.htm>. Patricia Nell Warren, *The Lavender Locker Room* (Beverly Hills, CA: Wildcat Press, 2006), 276. Simonton, Texas was host of the first Texas gay rodeo event organized by Terry Clark, in November of 1984, see "Texas Star Page A1, November 9, 1984," IGRA website, <http://gayrodeohistory.org/1984/1984-11-09-TexasStar-A1.htm>.

¹⁰⁰ License: CC BY-ND 2.0. https://www.flickr.com/photos/public_diplomacy/16572760405

Olympics in 1988, looking to repeat his previous double gold victory. During a preliminary round Louganis hit his head on the springboard, and with the spectators and television viewers aghast, got out of the pool clutching his head. Fortunately, he only needed a few stitches, and returned to win his third and fourth gold medals. Louganis retired after Seoul, and then revealed that he was gay and HIV positive. His announcement touched off a wave of panic given the bleeding head injury. When questioned about not disclosing earlier, he explained the terror he faced despite the minimal risk he posed to others. “At the time, if people in Seoul knew I was HIV-positive, I would never have been allowed into the country,” Louganis said, “I was paralyzed by fear.”¹⁰¹

Other divers were inspired by Louganis. Patrick Jeffrey competed for the United States in the 1996 Atlanta Olympics as openly gay, as did diver David Pichler who went on to become the US Diving Team Captain for the 2000 Sydney Olympics.¹⁰² Both Pichler and Jeffrey attended Ohio State University and competed for the Buckeyes dive team.¹⁰³

Figure Skating

In sports like figure skating, the gendered expectations are already far from dominant understandings of masculinity. Despite these athletes’ incredible physical abilities, male figure skaters are derided for participating in a sport that demands grace, artistic sensibility, and

¹⁰¹ Bill Plaschke, “Greg Louganis remembers the Olympic dive that made history,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 12, 2013, <http://articles.latimes.com/2013/sep/12/sports/la-sp-plaschke-louganis-20130913>.

¹⁰² “David Pichler,” Gay Swimmers website, May 2008, http://www.gayswim.co.uk/pages/david_pichler.htm; Jim Buzinski, “Moment #93: David Pichler, Patrick Jeffrey compete as openly gay in Olympics,” *Outsports*, July 11, 2011. Jeffrey currently coaches at Stanford University and owns the Stanford Diving Club, operating out of the Avery Aquatic Center at 235 Sam McDonald Mall, Stanford, California. The Atlanta Olympics held their diving events at the Georgia Tech Aquatic Center, 750 Ferst Drive NW, Atlanta, Georgia. A pipe bomb explosion at the 1996 Atlanta Olympics resulted in two deaths and over one hundred injuries. The same man responsible for that bomb also detonated bombs at the Otherside Lounge, a lesbian bar at 1924 Piedmont Road, Atlanta, Georgia in 1997 and at two abortion clinics in 1997 and 1998 before his capture.

¹⁰³ The Buckeyes dive at McCorkle Aquatic Pavilion, 1847 Neil Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.



Figure 7: Figure skater Johnny Weir reporting at the Sochi 2014 Olympic Winter Games. A 2004-2006 US National Skating Champion, Johnny Weir's flamboyance challenged figure skating's gendered norms. Photo by Andi Miah.¹⁰⁴

costumes. In response to these pressures, figure skating's history includes written and unwritten gender rules covering everything from performance wear to particular moves, including particular spins and difficult jumps; for example, male skaters often find not just their skating but their manhood questioned if they don't perform a quadruple jump, and women skaters are expected to display emotion, not power, in their performances.¹⁰⁵ In line

with this gender policing, figure skating has not been hospitable to its LGBTQ skaters, and those who flaunt these rules have paid deep personal costs. Ronald "Ronnie" Robertson left his mark on skating in the 1950s through his spinning techniques, but was often passed over for gold medals and was posthumously outed by a vindictive coach.¹⁰⁶ Rudy Galindo was a Mexican American skater in the mid-1990s who came out as gay while still skating, and struggled with the death of his brother and coach from HIV. Galindo revealed his own HIV-positive status not long before he won the men's title at the 1996 US Championships at the San Jose Arena in legendary late career performance in front of his elderly

¹⁰⁴ License: Public Domain. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/andymiah/12515038085>

¹⁰⁵ Chloe Angyal and Daniel Eison, "Policing Gender in Figure Skating," *Sociological Images*, March 31, 2010. <http://thesocietypages.org/socimages/2010/03/31/guest-post-policing-gender-in-figure-skating>.

¹⁰⁶ Newsweek Staff, "LGBT Moments in Figure-Skating History," *Newsweek*, January 31, 2014, <http://www.newsweek.com/lgbt-moments-figure-skating-history-227576>. Robertson was born in Brackenridge, Pennsylvania and silvered in the 1956 Olympics in Cortina d'Ampezzo, Italy.

mother.¹⁰⁷ Brian Boitano, who won gold at the 1988 Calgary Olympics and several world championship medals, came out in 2014 when angered by Russia's homophobic policies brought to light by the Sochi Olympics.¹⁰⁸ The recent rise of young Johnny Weir and his wildly flamboyant, gender-queer performances in the 2010 Vancouver Olympics forced skating to reconsider its gendered assumptions. As homophobic media and skating world comments were countered by a younger generation of skating fans through social media, Weir continued to declare that his sexuality was unrelated to skating and called for a change of sexist and homophobic attitudes. Weir officially came out as gay in his 2011 memoir and, after retiring in 2013, joined skating broadcasting with NBC's Olympic coverage (Figure 7).¹⁰⁹

Other Sports

Other sports have seen one or two athletes come out of the closet in the past decades. Professional lacrosse goalie Andrew Goldstein came out while attending Dartmouth College and was out during his professional career playing for the Long Island Lizards in the mid-2000s, and now works to undo homophobia in his beloved game.¹¹⁰ Even the conservative world of stock car racing saw its first out gay driver in 2003, as Stephen Rhodes joined the national touring circuit.¹¹¹

Even new sports continue to move uncertainly into an era of LGBTQ acceptance. The newly-developed sport of CrossFit merges aerobic endurance, weightlifting, and gymnastics. Based primarily in local gyms, CrossFit includes an international competition in which men and women

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. Galindo was born in San Jose, California where he lives today. The San Jose Arena (now renamed the SAP Center) is located at 525 West Santa Clara Street, San Jose, California.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Johnny Weir, *Welcome to My World* (New York: Gallery Books, 2011). Weir was born in Coatesville, Pennsylvania.

¹¹⁰ Cyd Ziegler, "Why I'm increasingly frustrated with closeted pro athletes," *Outsports*, September 1, 2015. The Long Island Lizards of Major League Lacrosse play at the James M. Shuart Stadium on Hofstra University's campus at 900 Fulton Avenue, Hempstead, New York.

¹¹¹ Joseph Ehrman-Dupre, "Stephen Rhodes Hopes to be NASCAR's First Openly Gay Success Story, Seeks LGBTQ Sponsorship," *Towleroad*, September 10, 2014, <http://www.towleroad.com/2014/09/stephen-rhodes-hopes-to-be-nascars-first-openly-gay-success-story-seeks-lgbtq-sponsorship-video>. Rhodes was born in Goldsboro, North Carolina.

compete in multipart events over several days. Though some of its early CrossFit Games champions in the women's division were out about their lesbianism, the organization's media coverage carefully avoids discussion of athlete sexuality and continues to promote highly gendered workout apparel and heterosexist culture.¹¹² Yet cities like New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles now boast LGBTQ-friendly CrossFit gyms and organizations like OUTWOD, which bring LGBTQ CrossFitters together in a merging of community building, gay male cruising cultures, and this new model of fitness.¹¹³ The erasure of LGBTQ participants at the national level while LGBTQ connections flourish at the local level suggests the moment of transition that CrossFit and many other sports drawing a younger audience are currently experiencing.

Gay Games

In response to the extreme homophobia and closeting that elite sports and particularly the Olympic Games seemed to foster, one man dreamed of a different athletic culture. Tom Waddell knew he was gay at an early age, and found friends through sports while growing up in the 1940s and 1950s.¹¹⁴ A tireless decathlete, he finally made the US Olympic team in 1968. There, Waddell, who is white, worked in solidarity with the African American athletes who made Black Power statements, earning the ire of the US Olympic Committee.¹¹⁵ After the games, Waddell was inspired to organize a Gay Olympics festival. Despite the US Olympic Committee's lawsuit over the name "Olympics," the first event held in San Francisco in

¹¹² Samantha Briggs, a British competitor who won the 2013 games, spoke openly of her partner, Jo Cartwright. See "The Woman Behind Sam Briggs: Jo Cartwright," Reebok CrossFit Games website, March 23, 2011, <http://games.crossfit.com/video/woman-behind-sam-briggs-jo-cartwright>.

¹¹³ For example, see Chadwick Moore, "My Month of Hell: Thirty Days in a Gay CrossFit Cult," *Out Magazine*, July 9, 2015, <http://www.out.com/lifestyle/2015/7/09/my-month-hell-gay-crossfit-cult>. For more on OUTWOD, see <http://www.outwod.com>.

¹¹⁴ Tom Waddell lived in a home in the Mission District of San Francisco, California from 1975 until his death in 1987.

¹¹⁵ Young, *Lesbians and Gays*.



Figure 8: The Closing Ceremonies of the 2006 Chicago Gay Games held at Wrigley Field. Photo by Rick Aiello.¹¹⁶

1982 was a huge success.¹¹⁷ The Gay Games, as it is now called, emphasizes sportsmanship, personal achievement, and inclusiveness over competitiveness or nationality (Figure 8).¹¹⁸ Events were open to anyone interested, and alongside traditional Olympic sports the Gay

¹¹⁶ License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gay_Games_2006_End-Ceremonie_01.jpg. Wrigley Field is located at 1060 West Addison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

¹¹⁷ The Gay Games have been held in the following locations: 1982 San Francisco, California; 1986 San Francisco, California; 1990 Vancouver, Canada; 1994 New York City, New York; 1998 Amsterdam, Netherlands; 2002 Sydney, Australia; 2006 Chicago, Illinois; 2010 Cologne, Germany; 2014 Cleveland and Akron, Ohio; and are scheduled for 2018 in Paris, France. The Gay Games are an important part of San Francisco LGBTQ History. For more, see the Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco, available at the City and County of San Francisco Planning Department website, <http://sf-planning.org/lgbt-historic-context-statement>.

¹¹⁸ Caroline Symons, "The Gay Games: A Beacon of Inclusion in Sport?" in Hargreaves and Anderson, eds., *Routledge Handbook*, 318-327.

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Games currently offers darts, cheer, and scheduled for future games, wheelchair rugby and roller derby.¹¹⁹

Beyond a basic operating model that removes the hostility and aggressive competition that underlies mainstream sports, the Gay Games also celebrate LGBTQ culture through physical movement. Beginning in 1990, the Pink Flamingo has been an “aquatic spectacle” involving teams of swimmers competing via a costumed, choreographed skit and synchronized swimming routine. Wildly popular among spectators and participants alike, the Pink Flamingo mixes histories of drag and camp into sports, essentially upsetting what “sports” can be.¹²⁰ By doing so, this particular Gay Games tradition continues to directly challenge mainstream heteronormative and gender-normative sport cultures.¹²¹

LGBTQ sports and recreation organizations have continued to expand as more and more individuals are comfortable with their gender and sexuality and seek others who also enjoy physical and outdoor activity. The North American Gay Amateur Athletic Alliance oversees a range of LGBTQ recreational sport leagues. Across the United States, LGBTQ sports and leisure groups formed between 1970 and 2015 include running clubs, volleyball teams, hockey leagues, equestrian groups, wrestling teams, and gyms. The New York Sundance Outdoor Adventure Society is a gay hot air ballooning group; the Tarheel Outdoor Sports Fellowship offers gay and lesbian canoeing camaraderie; Unusual Attitudes Flying Club is a Southern California LGBT pilots association; OutRiders is a Boston-based LGBT bicycling club; the Houston Outdoors Group organizes LGBTQ hiking and

¹¹⁹ Jim Buzinski, “Gay Games Oks New Sports – including roller derby – for 2018 Event,” *SB Nation Outsports*, December 20, 2012, <http://www.outsports.com/2012/12/20/4054112/gay-games-oks-new-sports-including-roller-derby-for-2018-event>.

¹²⁰ See Terry Allison, “The Pink Flamingo: A Gay Aquatic Spectacle,” in Hargreaves and Anderson, eds., *Routledge Handbook*, 328-336.

¹²¹ See Scarlett Drury, “Gay Sports Spaces: Transgressing Hetero/(Homo)normativity and transforming sport?” in Hargreaves and Anderson, eds., *Routledge Handbook*, 309-317.

camping trips; and the Ruby Red Flippers, the Village Dive Club, and the Sea Squirts are all LGBT dive clubs.¹²²

Various LGBTQ dance groups arose when straight dance clubs would not permit dancing in same-sex pairs. This was the motivation for the formation of the International Association of Gay Square Dance Clubs (IAGSDC) in 1983.¹²³ The Boston Gay and Lesbian Folk Dancers operated from 1977 through 1985. The Lavender Country and Folk Dancers began as the South East Gay and Lesbian Country Dancers in 1987, changing their name to the LCFD in 1992. The LCFD has hosted dances at the First Church in Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts since 1988.¹²⁴ Founded in 1980, Greg's bar in Indianapolis, Indiana hosted regular gay line dancing lessons and events from the late 1990s until recently.¹²⁵ These groups and others like them allowed, and continue to allow, safe and fun ways to meet partners, socialize, and learn new skills for everyday LGBTQ people.

The highly competitive world of sports writing and journalism has not been an easy place for LGBTQ journalists. Yet sports writers LZ Granderson and Christina Kahrl have come out as gay and transgender, respectively, and been able to have successful careers (Figure 9). Kahrl is best known for her work on the MLB and BaseballProspectus.com, and currently lives in Chicago. Granderson is a native Detroit and has worked for both ESPN and CNN. These individuals and even Chicago Cubs superfan Jerry Pritikin, who is open about his homosexuality, help

¹²² Sundance Outdoor Adventure Society headquarters, 208 West 13th Street, New York City, New York; Unusual Attitudes is based out of Signal Hill, California and can be found at <http://www.unusualattitudes.org>; OutRiders website <http://www.outriders.org/contact.html>; Houston Outdoor Group website <http://www.houstonoutdoorgroup.org/contact.html>; Flippers are based in Portland, Oregon, <http://www.rubyredflippers.org/RubyRedFlippers/Home.html>; The Village Dive Club is in New York City, New York, see website at <http://www.villagediveclub.org>; The Sea Squirts are headquartered in Greensboro, North Carolina, see website at <http://www.sea-squirts.net>.

¹²³ See the IAGSDC website at <https://iagsdc.org>.

¹²⁴ See "Chris Ricciotti's History of the JP Contra Dance," Lavender Country and Folk Dancers website, December 2013, <http://lcfid.org/jp/JPContraDanceHistory.html>. The First Church of Jamaica Plain is located at 6 Eliot Street, Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts. It was added to the NRHP on July 15, 1988 and is a contributing property to the Monument Square Historic District, added to the NRHP on October 11, 1990.

¹²⁵ Greg's/Our Place is located at 231 East Sixteenth Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.

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normalize the vocal presence of LGBTQ fans and press.¹²⁶ LGBTQ sports and activity organizations expand the world of physical recreation and sports to include a diversity of sexualities and genders while remaining separate from the dominant sports culture, both for protection and for community building. As such, these spaces held fewer social costs and greater rewards for their participants. They also reflect the ethos of many LGBTQ leisure spaces—separate and specifically created to celebrate LGBTQ cultures—explored in the next section.



Figure 9: Sportswriter Christina Kahrl came out as transgender in 2003 and continues to be an important voice in baseball and other sports coverage on ESPN. Photo by The SABR Office, 2009.¹²⁷

Leisure

While America's top LGBTQ athletes struggled against gender and sexual norms that dominated mainstream sport cultures, leisure activities and cultures produced a different history. Rejected by so many

¹²⁶ LZ Granderson, "No contradiction: I'm black and gay," *CNN*, June 8, 2012, <http://www.cnn.com/2012/05/22/opinion/granderson-black-and-gay>; Kristie Chong Adler, "ESPN writers LZ Granderson, Christina Kahrl inducted into National Gay & Lesbian Sports HOF," *ESPN Front Row*, August 2, 2014, <http://www.espnfrontrow.com/2013/08/espn-writers-lz-granderson-christina-kahrl-inducted-into-national-gay-lesbian-sports-hof>; David Murray, "Nothing to Cheer About," *Chicago Reader*, August 22, 2002, <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/nothing-to-cheer-about/Content?oid=909480>.

¹²⁷ License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Christina_Kahrl_2009.jpg

mainstream leisure communities and cultures, LGBTQ individuals and communities formed their own places and forms of leisure and entertainment. LGBTQ contributions to mainstream and alternative literary, art, music, and performance cultures in particular are too numerous to be



Figure 10: Male impersonator Ella Wesner gained fame in New York City's vaudeville and music-show circuits in the 1860s and 1870s where she appeared in male and female roles. Scandal erupted when she eloped to France with Josie Mansfield, a famous mistress of several wealthy New York business barons. Photo by Napoleon Sarony, ca. 1873, from the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.¹²⁹

addressed here.¹²⁸ Instead this section addresses the uniquely LGBTQ leisure histories of drag and ballroom cultures, resort communities, and women's music festivals.

Drag

Woven throughout urban-based LGBTQ leisure cultures, in particular bar and club scenes, is a rich history of performance including cabaret, burlesque, and drag. Within the contemporary LGBTQ context, drag often refers to male-bodied performers in highly feminized clothing and makeup, often performing in bars or cabaret settings. Yet drag and cross-dressing entertainment histories reach back into the late 1800s, and have often been associated with gender and sexual deviance.¹³⁰ In

¹²⁸ See Burk (this volume).

¹²⁹ License: Public Domain.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ella_Wesner_Gilded_Age_male_impersonator_photographed_by_Sarony.jpg

¹³⁰ Drag histories draw on, but are separate from the even earlier theater traditions of cross-gender performance. Cross-dressing history is complex and culturally-specific. For some examples in the

particular, a popular trend in mainstream music houses and variety shows of the 1920s was the male impersonator, a female-bodied performer who dressed as a man and often sang songs and performed short skits. The pleasure of these acts was in heterosexual and non-gender transgressing audiences' confusion over whether they were "real" men. Annie Hindle (1868-1886, New York City), Ella Wesner (1860-1880s, traveling vaudeville), Gladys Bentley (1920-1930s, Harlem, New York), and Stormé DeLarverie (1950-1960s, New York City and touring) were all successful performers from the late nineteenth through mid-twentieth century who wore male attire in their acts (Figure 10).¹³¹ Early male-bodied female impersonators include Julian Eltinge (1904-late 1920s, vaudeville and Hollywood), whose sexual identity was unclear.¹³² Yet these forms of gender-transgression and gender play have particular meaning within LGBTQ communities. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, gay clubs began more regularly including female impersonators, some of whom preferred the newer term "drag queen." Performers might lip-synch, sing, dance, or otherwise entertain a crowd in glamorous or sexy dresses and makeup.¹³³ Though there has been some conflict between drag and transgender communities over whether drag's gender play is positive or negative for transgender representation, there is also crossover between

American context that include but are not exclusively linked with queer and LGBTQ people, see Peter Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Claire Sears, *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); and Martin Manalansan, "Diasporic Deviants/Divas: How Filipino Gay Transmigrants 'Play with the World,'" in *Queer Diasporas*, eds. Cindy Patton and Benigno Sánchez-Eppler (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 183-203.

¹³¹ Hindle had previously married a man who was also a performer, but divorced, and later married her dresser Annie Ryan in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Wesner scandalously eloped to Europe in the early 1880s with Josie Mansfield, mistress of multiple wealthy New York men. Bentley was open about her lesbianism until she met and married Charles Roberts at age twenty-eight. Bentley rose to stardom at the famous Harry Hansberry's Clam House at 133rd Street between Lenox and Seventh Avenue, New York City, New York. DeLarverie was MC of the Jewel Box Revue, North America's first racially-integrated drag revue, which regularly played the Apollo Theater in Harlem, New York, and lived much of her adult life immersed in New York City's butch lesbian and LGBTQ communities, including taking part in the Stonewall Riots in 1969 at the Stonewall Inn. The Apollo Theater, 253 West 125th Street, New York City, New York was added to the NRHP on November 17, 1983. Stonewall, 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York was added to the NRHP on June 28, 1999 and designated an NHL on February 16, 2000.

¹³² Julian Eltinge lived in the Silver Lake neighborhood of Los Angeles, California in the 1920s. Elmer Grey, "Architectural Rambling: Julian Eltinge Home - 1921," *Architectural Record* February 1921.

¹³³ For more on 1960s and early 1970s drag cultures, see Esther Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

the two—some drag queens identify as transgender women, though they are not necessarily the same.¹³⁴ In 1979, the Pyramid Club opened in New York City.¹³⁵ This club played a key role in nurturing a new style of drag performance that was politically and socially conscious, including performers Lady Bunny, Lypsinka, and RuPaul, whose first New York City show was at the Pyramid Club in 1982. RuPaul brought drag culture to mainstream television in 2009 with a competition show, RuPaul’s Drag Race. Other famous drag queens include José Sarria, Vaginal Davis, Chi Chi LaRue, Divine, Shangela, Miss CoCo Peru, Hedda Lettuce, The Lady Chablis, and Harvey Fierstein. Famous drag clubs of the past few decades include Lucky Cheng’s (New York City), Hamburger Mary’s (Los Angeles), and the Stud Bar (San Francisco)¹³⁶ among many, many others.

Parallel to these primarily white performers and audiences arose a similar form of entertainment and community building rooted in African American and Latino LGBTQ communities known as ballroom culture or ball culture, for short. Contemporary ball culture also traces its roots back to the late-1800s music hall performances, and particularly to the Balls of the Harlem Renaissance, but reworks some of this gender play with a contemporary twist.¹³⁷ Ball performances may involve cross-gender clothing, or dressing in a manner that mocks the heteronormativity of gender roles. Influenced by 1970s and 1980s music, fashion, and cultures of resistance, performers “vogue” or strike poses as a fashion model on a catwalk. Ballroom culture extends beyond performances to include Houses, organizations led by an accomplished performer that serve as a family, and may include shared living spaces. Famous early

¹³⁴ For example, see Zack Ford, “The Quiet Clash Between Transgender Women and Drag Queens,” *ThinkProgress*, June 25, 2014, <http://thinkprogress.org/lgbt/2014/06/25/3449462/drag-queens-trans-women>.

¹³⁵ In 1979, the Pyramid Club opened at 101 Avenue A, New York City, New York. This club has played a key role in nurturing a new style of drag performance that was politically and socially conscious, including those of Lady Bunny, Lypsinka, and RuPaul, whose first New York City show was at the Pyramid Club in 1982.

¹³⁶ Lucky Cheng’s was at 24 First Avenue, New York City, New York. Hamburger Mary’s was located at 8288 Santa Monica Boulevard, West Hollywood, California. The Stud Bar is located at 399 Ninth Street, San Francisco, California and hosted the Trannyshack regular drag show in the early 2000s.

¹³⁷ Early twentieth century drag balls were held at venues like the Webster Hall and Annex, 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, NY and Rockland Palace, 280 West 155th Street, New York City, New York (now demolished).

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houses in Harlem, New York include the House of LaBeija (founded 1970), the House of Pendavis, and the House of Xtravaganza (founded 1982), though the tradition extends back into the early 1960s.¹³⁸ Houses extend balls from entertainment into a family and community structure that supports poor and homeless LGBTQ youth of color. The excitement and energy of ball culture was captured in the award-winning 1990 documentary *Paris Is Burning*.¹³⁹

Post-Stonewall, drag's gender play helped build lesbian and feminist communities. Drag kings are women who dress and perform as males, often to skewer heteronormativity and patriarchal definitions of masculinity. The International Drag King Community Extravaganza (IDKE) is an annual gathering of troupes and individuals for workshops, performances, and networking, and the San Francisco Drag King Contest, first organized in 1994 by Nancy Kravitz and Katherine Murty, claims itself the oldest drag king contest in the world.¹⁴⁰ Though many of the longest-running drag contests and organizations are in coastal cities with large LGBTQ populations, drag exists from coast to coast. Recent work has uncovered the histories of equally thriving drag cultures in the 1990s and 2000s in the South, Midwest, and rural America.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ See Michael Cunningham, "The Slap of Love," *Open City Magazine*, vol. 6, <http://opencity.org/archive/issue-6/the-slap-of-love>; also Douglas Martin, "Pepper LaBeija, Queen of Harlem Drag Balls, is Dead at 53," *New York Times*, May 26, 2003, <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/05/26/arts/pepper-labeija-queen-of-harlem-drag-balls-is-dead-at-53.html>.

¹³⁹ *Paris Is Burning*, directed by Jennie Livingston (Burbank, CA: Miramax Home Entertainment, 1990). For more on ballroom culture, see Marlon M. Bailey, *Butch Queens Up in Pumps: Gender, Performance, and Ballroom Culture in Detroit* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013); David Valentine, *Imagining Transgender* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Frank Leon Roberts, "There's No Place Like Home: A History of House Ball Culture," *WireTap Magazine*, reprinted at TransGriot website, June 6, 2007, <http://transgriot.blogspot.com/2008/02/theres-no-place-like-home-history-of.html>.

¹⁴⁰ For more on drag king histories, see Judith Jack Halberstam and Del Lagrace Volcano, *The Drag King Book* (London: Serpent's Tale, 1999). The SF Drag King Show is currently held at Oasis, 298 Eleventh Street, San Francisco, California. For more SF Drag King history, see the SF Drag King Contest website at <http://www.sfdragkingcontest.com/aboutus.htm>.

¹⁴¹ See J. Basiliere, "Out of the Limelight: Queering Success through Nonmetropolitan Drag Kings," PhD diss. in Gender Studies, Indiana University, November 2015.

Women's Music

In the 1970s, urged by lesbian feminist desires to celebrate music that spoke to women's specific struggles, a network of women's music festivals arose to promote artists and offer women an opportunity to build community with one another. Though often labeled as "for women," these events became synonymous with lesbian culture. Women's music festivals in particular emphasized "women-only" space, which led to decades long struggles over whether transwomen should be included. The Michigan Womyn's Music Festival (MichFest), the largest and one of the longest-running women's music festivals, was a famous site of this conflict. Michfest was founded in 1976 as a women-only space to share knowledge, build community, and support women's music. It continually operated for forty years, bringing thousands of women together each summer for a communal living and working experience in the woods of rural Michigan.¹⁴² MichFest was one of many women's music festivals that began in the early 1970s, including the first one held in 1973 at Sacramento State University, the first National Women's Music Festival (Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, 1974), and the Midwest Wimmin's Festival (Kaiser, Missouri, late 1970s).¹⁴³ Performers included women of diverse racial and class backgrounds, as well as a host of musical genres; Cris Williamson, Holly Near, Alix Dobkin, The Indigo Girls, Tribe 8, Melissa Ferrick, Bikini Kill, Le Tigre, Betty, Bitch, Toshi Reagon, Staceyann Chin, Marga Gomez, and many others took the stage at Michfest over the years. The festival was limited to "women-born-women" which led to incidents of transwomen being harassed or turned away, and an ongoing media battle over the inclusion of transwomen. Between 1991 and 2011 both cisgender and transgender activists frequently formed a protest camp across the road from MichFest called Camp Trans, and called for full

¹⁴² For more on women's music festivals in general and MichFest in particular, see Bonnie Morris, *Eden Built By Eves* (Boston: Alyson Books, 2000).

¹⁴³ See *Midwest Wimmin's Festival website* at <http://midwestfestival.weebly.com>.

inclusion. In 2015, festival founder and organizer Lisa Vogel announced the fortieth festival in 2016 would be the last MichFest.¹⁴⁴

The interest in women's music also contributed to a thriving women's music industry in the mid and late 1970s in which women worked to gain control of all aspects of the music industry, from songwriting to producing and marketing. Olivia Records was originally founded with such a mission in 1973 by Judy Dlugacz and several friends and former members of the Furies Collective in Washington, DC. The group soon relocated to California to gain better access to the music industry.¹⁴⁵ Olivia Records was also the site of a notorious conflict over women-only policies. In 1978, an Olivia sound engineer named Sandy Stone was outed as a transgender woman by those who did not believe that transwomen are "real" women. Sandy Stone left Olivia Records but went on to help found the field of Transgender Studies with the publication of her famous essay "The Empire Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto."¹⁴⁶ Meanwhile, Olivia Records floundered as they failed to keep up with a changing music industry in the 1980s, and finally by 1988 reworked their business model into a women's travel and cruise line. Olivia Travel continues to cater to lesbian and bisexual women by offering women-only cruises and events with performances by popular lesbian musicians, artists, athletes, comedians, and activists.¹⁴⁷

Resort Communities

With the rise of urban LGBTQ communities came a desire to escape the city in the summertime, particularly among those who could afford a

¹⁴⁴ Trudy Ring, "This Year's Michigan Womyn's Music Festival Will Be the Last," *Advocate*, April 21, 2015, <http://www.advocate.com/michfest/2015/04/21/years-michigan-womyns-music-festival-will-be-last>.

¹⁴⁵ From 1975 to 1988, Olivia Records operated out of offices at 4400 Market Street, Oakland, California. The Furies operated out of a home in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Washington, DC, from 1971-1973. The Furies Collective was listed on the NRHP on May 2, 2016.

¹⁴⁶ For the manifesto itself as well as historical context provided by the editors, see Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle, eds., *The Transgender Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 221-235.

¹⁴⁷ Founded in Washington, DC, in 1973, Olivia Records was an important publisher of women's music. They stopped publishing albums in 1988, and founded the Olivia cruise line that same year.

vacation. Yet most mainstream resort areas were dominated by heterosexual families and didn't offer the privacy or safety lesbian, bisexual, and gay vacationers desired. Thus within driving distance of many urban LGBTQ centers, there arose particular towns, islands, and spas known for their LGBTQ community.¹⁴⁹ While many of these resort towns were predominantly made by and for white, middle- and upper-class urban gay and bisexual men, lesbians and LGBTQ people of color have also been part of the development of queer vacation destinations.



Figure 11: Provincetown, Massachusetts has a long history as an LGBTQ vacation spot, including the Atlantic House, known as a safe spot for gay and queer people as early as the start of the 1900s. It has been an openly LGBTQ bar since the 1950s. Photo by Mararie, 2014.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:P-town_in_all_its_glor%2815381859282%29.jpg. The Provincetown Historic District was added to the NRHP on August 30, 1989.

¹⁴⁹ At the turn of the century, there were also resorts and spas that historians have uncovered as having certain queer tendencies, not clearly fitting in our contemporary understanding of heterosexual, bisexual, or homosexual. For a unique examination of several such resorts, see Kevin D. Murphy, "Heterotopia, Queer Space, and the Turn-of-the-Twentieth-Century American Resort," *Winterthur Portfolio* 43, no. 2/3 (2009): 185-228.

One of the most thorough histories of a gay resort town is Esther Newton's study of Cherry Grove, a small town on Fire Island, a barrier island off Long Island, New York.¹⁵⁰ A short trip from Manhattan, the wind-swept dunes were originally the summer spot of gay men in the theater and entertainment industries.¹⁵¹ Lesbians later played an important role in the development and protection of Fire Island's LGBTQ institutions. Other east coast resort towns include Ogunquit, Maine; Asbury Park on the New Jersey shore; Rehoboth Beach, Delaware; and Provincetown at the tip of Cape Cod, Massachusetts. Beginning with the alternative culture of an 1899 artists' colony, Provincetown's LGBTQ history includes drag and other gay events throughout the first half of the twentieth century.¹⁵² By the 1970s, the town was known for its gay culture, and has since developed an extensive LGBTQ event schedule, drawing thousands each year (Figure 11).¹⁵³

The Midwest's gay resort areas include the sister towns of Saugatuck and Douglas, Michigan, who like Provincetown, benefitted from the early presence of an artists' colony in the early 1900s, drawing a liberal and often gay, bisexual, and lesbian vacation crowd to mingle with locals, who had already quietly formed networks and gay beach spots.¹⁵⁴ In the 1960s and 1970s, Saugatuck was home to one of the Midwest's earliest gay bars, the Blue Tempo House of Music, which served openly gay patrons in violation of state liquor laws of the time.¹⁵⁵ Today Saugatuck and Douglas

¹⁵⁰ Esther Newton, *Cherry Grove, Fire Island: Sixty Years in America's First Gay and Lesbian Town* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993).

¹⁵¹ The Carrington House, Cherry Grove, New York was listed on the NRHP on January 8, 2015; the Cherry Grove Community House and Theater, 180 Bayview Walk, Cherry Grove, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 4, 2013.

¹⁵² For more on the Provincetown artists' colony and the Cape Cod School of Art, see Nyla Ahrens, *Provincetown: The Art Colony - A Brief History and Guide*, rev. ed. (Provincetown, MA: Provincetown Art Association and Museum, 2000). The Provincetown Historic District was added to the NRHP on August 30, 1989.

¹⁵³ For more on Provincetown's history, see Karen Christel Krahulik, *Provincetown: From Pilgrim Landing to Gay Resort* (New York: NYU Press, 2007).

¹⁵⁴ Jay Deratany, "The Fascinating History of Gay Resort Towns," *Travel Pulse*, July 27, 2015. <http://www.travelpulse.com/news/features/the-fascinating-history-of-gay-resort-towns>; Emily Fox, "How the largest gay resort in the Midwest is in Michigan's 'Bible belt,'" *Michigan Public Radio*, January 11, 2016, <http://michiganradio.org/post/how-largest-gay-resort-midwest-michigans-bible-belt#stream/0>.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. The Blue Tempo was located on Lake Street in Saugatuck but burned to the ground in 1976; much of Saugatuck-Douglas' LGBTQ history is chronicled at the Saugatuck-Douglas Museum (in the

boast many LGBTQ-owned and operated businesses, as well as parades, special events, and other attractions for LGBTQ tourists.¹⁵⁶

The South has its gay resort history as well: Both Fort Lauderdale and Key West, Florida, have long histories of LGBTQ resident and tourist culture. Asheville, North Carolina and Eureka Springs, Arkansas are also home to gay bed and breakfasts, artists' colonies, gay beach parties, and annual summer swarms of gay, lesbian, and bisexual and men and women. Eureka Springs originally began its resort town identity in the 1880s with the arrival of the railroad, and today continues that tradition, marketing itself as a "microcosm of San Francisco" with dozens of LGBTQ owned and operated businesses, three Diversity Weekends (Pride-like celebrations), beautiful Victorian homes, charming narrow streets, and a welcoming and affirming environment for LGBTQ residents and visitors.¹⁵⁷

The West Coast's most famous gay and lesbian resort towns include Palm Springs and Guerneville, California. Guerneville was first a popular mainstream resort town in the late nineteenth century, but shifting transportation patterns and destructive flooding in the 1960s left it run down.¹⁵⁸ The inexpensive real estate, proximity to San Francisco, and the efforts of a handful of individuals, including gay Philadelphian Peter Pender who bought a riverside hotel and named it Fife's, started the rebirth of Guerneville into an LGBTQ gay vacation hotspot.¹⁵⁹

LGBTQ leisure spaces have varied and uneven histories in the United States, often formed as spaces of safety, resistance, and community

Saugatuck Pump House at 735 Park Street, Saugatuck, Michigan), see "Mystery of the Blue Tempo House of Music, Topic of Saugatuck Museum 'Tuesday Talk,'" Saugatuck/Douglas Historical Society website, <http://sdhistoricalsociety.org/collections/histmystery/news072307-1.htm>.

¹⁵⁶ See Gay Saugatuck Douglas website at <http://gaysaugatuckdouglas.com>.

¹⁵⁷ See Out in Eureka website at <http://www.gayeurekasprings.com>.

¹⁵⁸ Catherine Cole, "How Did Guerneville Get to Be So Gay?" *The Bold Italic*, June 22, 2014, <https://thebolditalic.com/how-did-guerneville-get-to-be-so-gay-the-bold-italic-san-francisco-c1abf89c0566#.rkjkcrmqt>.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. Fife's struggled with a 1995 flood (see Michael Dougan, "Many are digging out in Guerneville; Fife's may be lost," *San Francisco Examiner*, January 23, 1995, <http://www.sfgate.com/business/article/Many-are-digging-out-in-Guerneville-Fife-s-may-3159623.php>) and was eventually sold and renamed Dawn Ranch Lodge and no longer operates as an LGBTQ-focused business (16467 River Road, Guerneville, California).

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building outside of mainstream venues. As a result, some forms of LGBTQ leisure hold great importance to the LGBTQ community, as sites where relationships and lifelong connections are made, sites where gender and sexuality are in play, and sites where creativity and fun flourish. These environments sometimes sit at odds with the history of LGBTQ sporting cultures; instead of advocating for separate spaces, LGBTQ athletes usually push for acceptance in mainstream sports. As a result, the possibilities in community building and gender play available in LGBTQ-specific leisure spaces are often not available to LGBTQ athletes. Female athletes in particular face a particularly challenging set of gender obstacles, as athletic masculinities in women remain tied to homophobic accusations of lesbianism.

LGBTQ Americans are both central to our American culture, and yet still often outsiders from mainstream norms. When it comes to sport and leisure histories, LGBTQ Americans are everywhere and also sometimes nowhere—the lasting effects of our gender and sexual norms has meant many LGBTQ stories will go untold. Those who have the talent and abilities to gain sport or entertainment celebrity and then also are unabashed about their LGBTQ identities forge a connection with everyday LGBTQ Americans who struggle with the same homophobic, transphobic, and sexist cultural norms. Bringing more of these stories to light strengthens all our sport and leisure cultures, whether professional sport leagues and long-running television shows or backyard ballfields and quiet sunny beaches. LGBTQ sports and leisure history is America's sport and leisure history.

PLACES



Unlike the Themes section of the theme study, this Places section looks at LGBTQ history and heritage at specific locations across the United States. While a broad LGBTQ American history is presented in the Introduction section, these chapters document the regional, and often quite different, histories across the country. In addition to New York City and San Francisco, often considered the epicenters of LGBTQ experience, the queer histories of Chicago, Miami, and Reno are also presented.

25 SAN FRANCISCO: PLACING LGBTQ HISTORIES IN THE CITY BY THE BAY

Donna J. Graves and
Shayne E. Watson

Introduction

San Francisco is internationally recognized as a magnet and place of pilgrimage for LGBTQ people and a critical proving ground for advancements in queer culture, politics, and civil rights. The city has also pioneered efforts to identify, document, and preserve LGBTQ historic sites, and San Francisco was the site of foundational efforts to bring LGBTQ concerns into the preservation agenda. Those efforts are the focus of this chapter, as we outline our experience of preparing a citywide historic context statement for LGBTQ history in San Francisco, which was carried out from 2013 to 2016. We conclude with a summary of some of the key themes in San Francisco's LGBTQ history and examples of historic properties associated with those themes. It is our hope that this chapter may inspire other towns and cities throughout the country to develop LGBTQ heritage preservation programs, as well as serve as an example of

Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson

how the documentation of sites associated with LGBTQ heritage can be organized from conceptualization to implementation.

San Francisco's first LGBTQ landmark, Harvey Milk's residence and Castro Camera store, was designated in 2000.¹ The following year, the first national conference on LGBTQ historic preservation was organized in San Francisco by the grassroots LGBTQ preservation group Friends of 1800, the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender (GLBT) Historical Society, and the James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center of the San Francisco Public Library.² In 2004, the Friends of 1800 sponsored the nation's first historic context statement for LGBTQ history, titled *Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979*, authored by Damon Scott.³ *Sexing the City* was groundbreaking as the first LGBTQ heritage documentation report in the country. It was, however, intended to be a framework for future research, not a broad and inclusive study.

In 2013, we secured funding to develop a more comprehensive historic context statement for San Francisco's LGBTQ history, spanning the Native American period through the AIDS epidemic in the 1990s. The *Citywide Historic Context Statement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer History in San Francisco* presents historical background on nine historic themes and pays particular attention to incorporating the place-based histories of underdocumented groups within

¹ Harvey Milk's residence and Castro Camera were located at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California. Since 2000, two more San Francisco buildings have received local recognition for their LGBTQ significance: the Jose Theatre/Names Project Building at 2362 Market Street and the Twin Peaks Tavern at 401 Castro Street. In 1996, the National AIDS Memorial Grove in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park was designated a National Memorial.

² The conference, *Looking Back and Forward: Significant Places of the GLBT Community*, was held June 21-22, 2001 at the Hotel Bijou (111 Mason Street, extant) and the San Francisco Public Library (100 Larkin Street, extant).

³ Damon Scott with Friends of 1800, *Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933-1979* (San Francisco: Friends of 1800, 2004). The study can be accessed online at http://www.friendsof1800.org/context_statement.pdf. The Friends of 1800 is a nonprofit organization dedicated to preserving the architectural heritage of San Francisco with a special interest in the identification and recognition of issues and sites important to LGBTQ history and culture. The Friends of 1800 was founded to prevent the demolition of the Fallon Building at 1800 Market Street, an 1894 Victorian that embodies many layers of San Francisco history. The group was successful in preventing the demolition, and the Fallon Building was incorporated into the construction of the LGBT Center (1800 Market Street).

the LGBTQ communities, including lesbians, bisexuals, transgender people, and LGBTQ people of color.⁴ In 2015, San Francisco's Historic Preservation Commission formally adopted the context statement; the final version of the report, including revisions responding to public comments, was accepted by the San Francisco Planning Department in March 2016 and is available online.⁵

Crafting a Citywide LGBTQ Historic Context Statement

Context statements are place-based research documents that identify historic resources within a specific theme, geographic area, and/or time period, providing a foundation for future planning and development decisions that affect cultural heritage. Until recently, context statements and historic designations in San Francisco have generally focused on architectural characteristics such as building type or style, or a geographic target such as a neighborhood, rather than a thematic focus on aspects of social or cultural history. To date, three citywide historic context statements have focused on some of the social and cultural aspects of

⁴ Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson, *Citywide Historic Context Statement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer History in San Francisco*, (San Francisco: San Francisco Planning Department, March 2016). The report can be accessed online at <http://sf-planning.org/lgbt-historic-context-statement>. The LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was funded by a grant from the City's Historic Preservation Fund Committee, with fiscal sponsorship from the GLBT Historical Society, which also provided enthusiastic support as a partner and resource. Since 2005, the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee has provided grants to preservation-related projects. These grants are drawn from a fund established as a result of civil action pursuant to an unlawful demolition of a landmark building. See <http://oewd.org/index.aspx?page=176>. Los Angeles' Office of Historic Resources commissioned a similar document, "Survey LA: LGBT Historic Context Statement," completed by GPA Consulting in September 2014 and accessible online at <http://preservation.lacity.org/sites/default/files/LGBT%20Historic%20Context%209-14.pdf>.

⁵ The GLBT History Museum (4127 Eighteenth Street) in the Castro neighborhood has been curating and exhibiting LGBTQ history in San Francisco since its opening in 2010. San Francisco has a long history of interpretive projects honoring significant LGBTQ individuals and events including: interpretive plaques at the Black Cat Café (710 Montgomery Street), Compton's Cafeteria (101 Taylor Street), the home of gay veteran and activist Leonard Matlovich (along Eighteenth Street in the Castro neighborhood); renaming of streets and parks to honor gay-rights pioneer José Sarria (José Sarria Court), founder of the Gay Games Dr. Tom Waddell (Dr. Tom Waddell Place), transgender performer and activist Vicki Marlane (Vicki Mar Lane), lesbian businesswoman and activist Rikki Streicher (Rikki Streicher Field), and the Pink Triangle Park in the Castro neighborhood, a memorial to honor LGBTQ people who were persecuted, imprisoned, and/or killed during and after the Nazi regime; and the creation of the Rainbow Honor Walk in the Castro neighborhood, a series of sidewalk plaques honoring LGBTQ individuals.

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San Francisco's diverse past, including African American, LGBTQ, and Latina/o histories.

The preparation of the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was supported by an extraordinarily talented and diverse advisory committee made up of academics, preservation professionals, independent scholars, and community activists.⁶ These individuals reviewed document drafts and shared specific areas of expertise. They also offered advice on strategies to tap community-based knowledge in order to create a document that recognizes the diverse and intersectional experiences of LGBTQ people in San Francisco. Even with the richness of San Francisco's LGBTQ archives, the majority of primary sources reflect the experiences of white, gay, and middle-class men. Connecting with people who had important knowledge of underrepresented communities was an essential task and included numerous individual interviews.⁷ This research into otherwise underrepresented members of San Francisco's LGBTQ communities must be ongoing.

Creating a framework for the plethora of potential themes in San Francisco's LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was the first task and prompted discussions with archivists and key advisors on organizing important topics, events, sites, and periods into a cohesive and comprehensive document. The overarching theme of the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement is the development of LGBTQ communities in San Francisco. The structure of the historical narrative is roughly chronological and is organized around the following nine subthemes:

- Early Influences on LGBTQ Identities and Communities (Nineteenth Century to 1950s)

⁶ See Graves and Watson for the list of advisory committee members.

⁷ Toward the end of the project, Graves and Watson established a partnership with the national oral history collecting project, StoryCorps, which has a recording station at the main branch of the San Francisco Public Library at 100 Larkin Street. A workshop called "Our Stories" gathered video interviews with elders and youth. One of the challenges presented was how to utilize and share these recorded interviews. Digital technologies have reduced barriers to gathering people's memories in audio and video format—but without expertise and funding to edit the recollections and a platform to share them, the potential of these resources is yet to be tapped.

San Francisco: Placing LGBTQ Histories in the City by the Bay

- Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco (Early Twentieth Century to 1960s)
- Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities (1933 to 1960s)
- Homophile Movements (1950s to 1965)
- Evolution of LGBTQ Enclaves and Development of New Neighborhoods (1960s to 1980s)
- Gay Liberation, Pride, and Politics (1960s to 1990s)
- Building LGBTQ Communities (1960s to 1990s)
- LGBTQ Medicine (1940s to 1970s)
- San Francisco and the AIDS Epidemic (1981 to 1990s)

In addition to a growing library of secondary sources, historians of LGBTQ San Francisco have two invaluable local archives from which to draw: the GLBT Historical Society (established in 1985) and the James C. Hormel Gay & Lesbian Center at the San Francisco Public Library (established in 1996).⁸ These archives provided crucial information for tracing the social and physical history of LGBTQ communities in San Francisco. Material at these repositories includes hundreds of oral history interviews, a database of over thirteen hundred sites associated with LGBTQ history, historic photographs and documents, collections related to individuals and organizations, and ephemera associated with sites throughout the San Francisco Bay Area.⁹

Establishing a public presence and lines of communication between the project team and the LGBTQ communities was essential in launching the endeavor. We created a project email address, an informational page on the City's Planning Department website, and used a Facebook page, "Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California," to create a space for people

⁸ The GLBT Historical Society is located at 989 Market Street. The James C. Hormel Center is located at 100 Larkin Street. Other important LGBTQ archives in California include the ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives at the University of Southern California and the June Mazer Lesbian Archives at UCLA and in West Hollywood.

⁹ Some of the materials in these archives were compiled and donated by scholars and historians such as Allan Bérubé, Nan Alamilla Boyd, Martin Meeker, Susan Stryker, and Don Romesburg, whose articles, books, and exhibitions were also critical resources for development of San Francisco's LGBTQ Historic Context Statement.

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to offer their knowledge, share research findings, and ask questions of community members.¹⁰ Social media and press helped us inform the community about the project and invite questions and information about LGBTQ sites. We also conducted in-person outreach at events, meetings, and conferences of neighborhood associations, LGBTQ groups, preservation organizations, and historical societies.¹¹

San Francisco's LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was written and organized to be as reader-friendly as possible, guide nonpreservationists through the process of nominating properties for designation as local, state, and federal landmarks, and support future place-based educational and interpretive projects. The report begins with an illustrated narrative history, and concludes with a "Step-by-step Guide to Evaluating LGBTQ Properties in San Francisco," which presents directions for evaluating, documenting, and designating historic LGBTQ properties.

One of the challenges the San Francisco LGBTQ Historic Context Statement addresses is that local, state, and national registers of historic places have historically privileged well-maintained buildings or high-style architecture, commonly associated to middle and upper-class individuals, usually white and male, who could afford to live, work, and socialize within them. Buildings with rich histories but poor integrity have often been overlooked or rejected for landmarking. The importance placed on integrity—requiring that the structure retain a substantial amount of original physical fabric related to its historical significance—can present major obstacles when trying to designate sites associated with marginalized communities such as LGBTQ. Many aspects of LGBTQ history unfolded in San Francisco's less privileged neighborhoods, or in areas that

¹⁰ Preserving LGBT Historic Sites in California can be found at <https://www.facebook.com/PreservingLGBTHistory>.

¹¹ The project team organized two community workshops to introduce the project and gather information. The first workshop drew approximately sixty community members who enthusiastically shared their memories in small working groups, facilitated by note-taking volunteers. A subsequent workshop, called "Our Stories," had two purposes: to capture information about sites important to elders in underdocumented communities, including people of color and people who identify as bisexual or transgender; and to foster intergenerational dialogue with youth from the Lavender Youth Recreation and Information Center (LYRIC) summer internship program.

were in flux or slated for redevelopment. In many cases, the physical spaces are no longer extant or have undergone major changes. Important events or organizational meetings were often held in restaurants, bars, or storefronts that continually changed over time due to shifting economic and cultural realities in a dynamic city. All of these factors have led to diminished integrity of physical spaces, which historically has left properties vulnerable to substantive change or demolition and therefore ineligible for formal recognition or for historic preservation tax credits.

We assert that loss of integrity should not affect determination of a property's historical significance if that significance is rooted in cultural or social, rather than architectural, histories. The San Francisco LGBTQ Historic Context Statement presents a strong argument and suggestions for recognizing properties that have poor integrity but significant histories.¹² Properties no longer extant or that have undergone physical change can still retain powerful meaning for communities and remain important cultural sites.

In addition to suggesting designation of more individual landmarks and historic districts associated with LGBTQ histories, the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement acknowledges that preservation of buildings alone is not sufficient in conveying this important aspect of San Francisco's history. The report's recommendations discuss the importance of interpretation and education at LGBTQ historic sites, and supporting critical aspects of San Francisco's existing LGBTQ communities, such as historic LGBTQ businesses that are still in operation, and ongoing community events such as the annual San Francisco Pride Celebration & Parade, the Dyke and Trans Marches, and the Pink Triangle memorial on Twin Peaks. San Francisco is pioneering strategies to protect such manifestations of what is known as "intangible cultural heritage," including exploring the creation

¹² Work by historian Raymond W. Rast and architectural historian Elaine Brown Stiles was especially helpful in framing arguments about integrity and significance. Raymond W. Rast, "A Matter of Alignment: Methods to Match the Goals of the Preservation Movement," *Forum Journal* 28, no. 3 (Spring 2014): 13-22; Elaine Brown Stiles, "Integrity Considerations in Evaluating LGBTQ Historic Sites," (unpublished paper, Arcus Internship, College of Environmental Design, University of California, Berkeley, 2014).

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of a “Legacy Business Program” intended to preserve longstanding neighborhood-defining commercial and nonprofit establishments, and a new historic preservation element of the city’s general plan that incorporates “cultural heritage assets.”¹³

By creating a broader and more inclusive picture of the development and establishment of the LGBTQ communities in San Francisco, the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement will help community members, city planners, and elected officials make better-informed decisions regarding the protection and stewardship of physical and intangible LGBTQ cultural resources. Furthermore, the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement was adopted in the midst of a period of rapid redevelopment in San Francisco and a seemingly constant stream of proposals to demolish socially and culturally significant places. The more than three hundred properties documented in the context statement now stand a chance of being protected under California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) laws related to historic preservation, which mandate municipalities to consider the impacts of redevelopment on historic properties. And perhaps most importantly, state historic preservation laws afford tremendous power to public opinion during environmental review processes, providing LGBTQ communities an opportunity to use their collective voice to oppose projects that would destroy the historic fabric of San Francisco’s LGBTQ enclaves.

¹³ See San Francisco Heritage website, “Sustaining San Francisco’s Living History: Strategies for Conserving Cultural Heritage Assets,” <http://www.sfheritage.org/cultural-heritage>, 2014, accessed January 31, 2015; San Francisco Planning Department memo: “Draft Preservation Element: Cultural Heritage Discussion,” June 24, 2015.

Sampling of Historic Themes in the San Francisco LGBTQ Historic Context Statement and Associated Properties

The sections that follow illustrate several of the key themes covered in San Francisco’s LGBTQ Historic Context Statement and a sampling of the types of historic properties associated with them.

Early Influences on LGBTQ Identities and Communities (Nineteenth Century to the 1950s)

Recognizing early expressions of what we now term LGBTQ identities was an important part of the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement, even though documentary sources are scarce and our insights into previous lives is limited by our current understanding of sexual identity. The narrative history begins in the Native American period when two-spirit people lived among the San Francisco Bay Area indigenous groups, the *Ohlone*.¹⁴ When Europeans arrived in California in the 1700s to establish *presidios* (military garrisons), Catholic missions, and *pueblos* (secular townships), their contact with two-spirit people was often cruel and punishing.¹⁵ At Mission Santa Clara, a former Ohlone settlement, Spanish soldiers imprisoned two-spirit people, stripped their clothes, and humiliated them by forcing them to sweep the plaza (traditionally women’s work).¹⁶

¹⁴ Malcolm Margolin, *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 1978), 84. For more about two-spirit peoples, see Roscoe (this volume).

¹⁵ San Francisco’s mission (Mission San Francisco de Asís, also known as Mission Dolores) and presidio were constructed in 1776. An important remnant of the Spanish period in California is the extensive manuscripts left by the early explorers and later the Franciscan missionaries and military governors. Firsthand accounts by soldiers and missionaries make it clear that the Spanish wanted to eradicate two-spirits among the indigenous people. The Mission San Francisco de Asís, listed on the NRHP on March 16, 1972, is located at 320 Dolores Street. The presidio, listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966, designated an NHL on June 13, 1962, and incorporated into the NPS—part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area—on October 1, 1994, is at the northern tip of the San Francisco peninsula.

¹⁶ Francisco Palóu, *Palóu’s Life of Fray Junípero Serra*, trans. and ed. Maynard J. Geiger O.F.M. (Washington, DC: American Academy of Franciscan History, 1945), 198-199.

When gold was discovered in California's mountains in 1848, the state's nonindigenous population exploded and San Francisco grew from a tiny village into an "instant city."¹⁷ *Californios* (the Spanish-speaking descendants of the Spanish and Mexican colonizers, now American citizens), Sonoran Mexicans, Chileans, Peruvians, French, Chinese, Americans, and others flooded into San Francisco before heading to the goldfields. The disparity of men to women (12.2 to 1 in 1850) was extraordinary and opened a space for men to form homosocial and (likely) homosexual relationships.¹⁸ Early forms of non-Native LGBTQ expression in California were born in this period, including cross-dressing and cross-gender entertainment.¹⁹ During the Gold Rush and subsequent decades when women continued to be scarce, men wore traditionally female clothing to play the role of women at all-male parties known as stag dances.²⁰ During the same period, men performed in cross-gender roles in San Francisco's minstrel and vaudeville theaters.²¹ One of the city's famous early female impersonators was Ah Ming, who in the 1890s had a contract at a Chinatown theater and was making \$6,000 a year (the

¹⁷ Roger Lotchkin, *San Francisco, 1846-1856: From Hamlet to City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), xxxvii.

¹⁸ Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), 174.

¹⁹ Historians generally describe three primary motivations for cross-dressing during this period: cross-gender identification (before the concepts of transgender and transsexual existed); cross-dressing for comfort or for access to gender-restricted work; and cross-dressing as a form of entertainment. When discussing cross-gender identities in the nineteenth century, historians caution against applying labels such as gay, lesbian, and transgender because it is difficult to know if the men and women identified in these ways, especially in a period before the terminology existed and before the social roles in question were clearly distinguished from one another. See Peter Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

²⁰ A stag dance held on July 4, 1849, on the *Panama*, a ship bound for San Francisco, featured a "fancy dress ball" for which some of the young men dressed in calico gowns. See Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past*, 64.

²¹ Male-to-female cross-dressers were more common than their female-to-male counterparts, but women performing as men also appeared in minstrel troupes. In August 1863, famous American stage performer Adah Isaacs Menken played a Tartar prince in *Mazeppa* at Maguire's Opera House, Washington and Montgomery Streets (now demolished). The show drew a huge audience that waited outside for hours on opening day and filled the theater every night of the series. Newspapers described Menken's performances as venturing "out of the common run" and creating an "idealized duality of sex," see Ben Tarnoff, *The Bohemians: Mark Twain and the San Francisco Writers Who Reinvented American Literature* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2014), 57. In the 1860s, Salle Hinckley of the Buislay Troupe performed as "Don Guzman" at San Francisco's Metropolitan Theatre, Montgomery and Washington Streets (now demolished). Grace Leonard, billed as "Stageland's Most Artistic Male Impersonator" and "The Ideal American Boy," performed at the Empress, 965 Market Street (now demolished) in 1912. Information on Hinckley and Leonard from various advertisements and articles in the *San Francisco Call*.

equivalent of \$159,000 in 2016). Ming’s obituary notes, “As a female impersonator... Ming led all of his countrymen” and was rumored to have performed for the “crowned head of China.”²² In the bawdy saloons and dance halls of entertainment districts such as the Barbary Coast on Pacific Avenue, female impersonators performed on stage but also engaged in the sex trade.²³ One of the most documented early cases of cross-gender performers engaging in homosexual sex occurred at the Dash, one of the largest dance halls built after the 1906 earthquake.²⁴ In 1908, the Dash became notorious when it was reported that male patrons could purchase sex from cross-gender performers for a dollar.²⁵ These early cases of cross-dressing and cross-gender entertainment formed what theater historian Laurence Senelick calls a “queer and transgender demi-monde,” an early underground LGBTQ community that was able to thrive because of its connection to mainstream cross-gender entertainment.²⁶ In the Barbary Coast and later the Tenderloin, explains historian Nan Alamilla Boyd, “female impersonators transported the language and gestures of a

²² *San Francisco Call*, November 27, 1892.

²³ For more on LGBTQ history in the Barbary Coast, see Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). The Barbary Coast was San Francisco’s principal entertainment district from the Gold Rush through the 1910s, stretching west along Pacific Avenue from the waterfront to Montgomery Avenue (now Columbus) with branches down Kearny Street and Broadway. The streets were lined with saloons, concert and dance halls, gaming houses, and brothels. The Barbary Coast was home to a mix of races with American, Irish, German, and African American saloonkeepers and patrons of many nationalities. The area also was a draw for soldiers stationed at the Presidio and merchant marines arriving at the port of San Francisco. As San Francisco neighborhoods continued to develop to the south and west through the end of the nineteenth century, the Barbary Coast and other northern environs were neglected and cut off from the major street-car lines leading to the Market Street hub, adding to the district’s reputation as a desolate wasteland.

²⁴ The Dash was located at 574 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, California. The building is extant and is a contributor to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971, and the San Francisco Article 10 Jackson Square Historic District.

²⁵ The Dash was short-lived and closed soon after opening. The Dash is often called San Francisco’s “first gay bar,” but likely it was one of many early examples of a typical entertainment-district saloon featuring female impersonators engaging in homosocial or homosexual activity—either with the intention to deceive or to meet a demand for nonnormative sex. “Dive Men Officials for Cook,” *San Francisco Call*, Vol. CIV, no. 142, October 20, 1908; cited in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 25.

²⁶ Laurence Senelick, “Boys and Girls Together: Subcultural Origins of Glamour Drag and Male Impersonation on the Nineteenth-Century Stage,” in *Crossing the Stage: Controversies on Cross-Dressing*, ed. Lesley Ferris (London: Routledge, 1993), 85. Senelick is quoted in Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 34.

nascent queer culture to the popular stage,” and “enabled audiences to negotiate the boundaries of a changing sexual landscape.”²⁷

Other subthemes presented in the first chapter of the LGBTQ Historic Context Statement are: Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Sex Laws and Policing; Progressive Era Women’s Reform Movements; and Bohemianism. Some of the highlights from these early histories include a highly publicized police sting in 1918 known as the Baker Street Scandal, which uncovered an underground gay community in San Francisco involving dozens of servicemen and civilian men;²⁸ pioneering female architect Emily Williams and metal artist Lillian Palmer, who shared a life together in the home that Williams designed for them in 1913;²⁹ Charles Warren Stoddard, one of the first writers in the United States to speak relatively openly about his homosexuality, who in 1903 published an autobiographical novel with homosexual themes set in San Francisco;³⁰ and lesbian poet and San Francisco resident Elsa Gidlow, who in 1923 published *On a Grey Thread*, a book of lesbian-centric poems that literary historians recognize as the first book of openly lesbian poetry published in North America.³¹

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ The Baker Street Scandal was centered on a residence along Baker Street near the Presidio (the building is partially extant at the rear).

²⁹ The residence in the Nob Hill neighborhood of San Francisco is extant. Williams and Palmer met in 1898 and lived together at various residences until Williams’ death in 1942. They are buried together in Los Gatos Memorial Park Cemetery in San Jose, California. For more on Emily Williams, see Inge S. Horton, *Early Women Architects of the San Francisco Bay Area: The Lives and Careers of Fifty Professionals, 1890-1951* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., Publishers, 2010).

³⁰ Stoddard formed an intimate relationship with Japanese poet Yone Noguchi in the late 1890s. See Amy Sueyoshi, “Intimate Inequalities: Interracial Affection and Same-sex Love in the ‘Heterosexual’ Life of Yone Noguchi, 1897–1909,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 29 (Summer 2010): 26. See also Sueyoshi (this volume).

³¹ Elsa Gidlow lived at 150 Joice Street (now demolished) near Chinatown in San Francisco for thirteen years (c. 1924-1937). After that, she moved to the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, first to 1158 Page Street (now demolished) and later a few blocks away, also on Page Street (extant). Gidlow lived for thirteen years in a former summer cottage in Fairfax, Marin County, before moving to Druid Heights in Muir Woods. Druid Heights is now part of the Muir Woods National Monument, added to the NPS on January 9, 1908 and listed on the NRHP on January 9, 2008. Gidlow died at Druid Heights in 1986.

Early Development of LGBTQ Communities in San Francisco (Early Twentieth Century to the 1960s)

The central place of bars and sex-commerce establishments to LGBTQ history in both public memory and scholarship is well established.³² This important aspect of LGBTQ history was included in San Francisco's LGBTQ Historic Context Statement, particularly for more recent decades when people could share their memories of places in which they gathered for social life, community organizing, and intimacy.

The repeal of Prohibition in 1933 was a watershed in LGBTQ history, and LGBTQ bars and nightclubs subsequently opened all over the country.³³ Queer spaces thrived in San Francisco in large part because of the highly lucrative tourism industry based on sexualized and racialized nightclub performances.³⁴ The post-Prohibition nightclub provided a space in which San Francisco's historic cross-gender entertainment model was revived, and the city's tourism industry, which thrived on exoticized entertainments, encouraged the renaissance.³⁵

From 1933 through 1965, the North Beach neighborhood was one of San Francisco's most popular tourist destinations, with over twenty venues catering to LGBTQ communities opening during this period.³⁶ The sexually charged cross-gender performances at nightclubs such as Finocchio's, Mona's 440 Club, and the Black Cat Café drew huge crowds and allowed San Francisco's nascent LGBTQ communities to blend easily with tourists and develop seemingly under the radar.³⁷

³² See chapters by Giesecking, Baim, Hanhardt, and Johnson (all this volume) for a broader discussion.

³³ Little documentation exists about queer spaces in San Francisco during and prior to Prohibition, but certainly there were spaces frequented by the nascent LGBTQ communities. Finocchio's, discussed later in this section, started out as a speakeasy and after Prohibition became famous for its cross-gender performances.

³⁴ For a detailed explanation of how and why queer spaces thrived in San Francisco as part of a tourist economy after Prohibition, see Nan Alamilla Boyd's *Wide Open Town*.

³⁵ Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 15.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 245. A substantial number of LGBTQ spaces opened in the Tenderloin during the same period, including the Old Crow at 962 Market Street (extant), opened c. 1935, and the Silver Rail at 974 Market Street (partially extant), opened c. 1942.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

One of the earliest known LGBTQ spaces in San Francisco was Finocchio's nightclub in the North Beach neighborhood.³⁸ Finocchio's female-impersonation shows began during Prohibition and later featured some of the country's most famous female impersonators, such as Walter Hart, billed as the "Male Sophie Tucker," and Lucian Phelps, the "Last of the Red Hot Papas."³⁹ Finocchio's was popular with both tourists and members of the city's LGBTQ communities. Since many of the Finocchio's performers were LGBTQ, gay men, especially, were drawn to the nightclub and viewed the drag queens as heroines because of their overt and unabashed queerness.⁴⁰

San Francisco's first lesbian nightclub was Mona's 440 Club in North Beach (Figure 1).⁴¹ Open from 1938 through 1952, Mona's was known for its cross-gender entertainment featuring tuxedoed male-impersonating performers. As the only lesbian-centric space in San Francisco through World War II, Mona's became famous throughout the country as a fun, safe, and welcoming space where women could find love and friendship.⁴²

³⁸ Finocchio's was originally a restaurant owned by heterosexual couple Marjorie and Joseph Finocchio. It opened in the late 1920s or early 1930s at 441 Stockton Street (extant) near Union Square. Sometime in the mid-1930s, Finocchio's moved to the second floor of a two-story building at 406 Stockton Street near Sutter Street (now demolished). In the late 1930s, Finocchio's moved to 506 Broadway Street near Kearny (extant). Finocchio's closed at this location in 1999. For more on the history of Finocchio's, see Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 52.

³⁹ Clyde Evans, interview by Allan Bérubé and Eric Garber, April 12, 1983, GLBT Historical Society Oral History Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society; Eric Garber, "Finocchio's: A Gay Community Landmark," *Newsletter of the San Francisco Bay Area Gay & Lesbian Historical Society* 3, no. 4 (June 1988): 1.

⁴⁰ Esther Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), cited in Garber "Finocchio's: A Gay Community Landmark."

⁴¹ A heterosexual, self-described bohemian named Mona Sargent is credited for operating San Francisco's first lesbian bar, Mona's 440 Club at 440 Broadway in the North Beach neighborhood. Sargent opened her first bar in 1933 in a small storefront at 451 Union Street (now demolished) on Telegraph Hill above North Beach. The bar was short-lived and closed after two years. In 1936, Sargent opened her second bar in the basement space at 140 Columbus Avenue (extant). Known as Mona's Barrel House, the space became a draw for lesbians when Sargent featured male-impersonating waitresses as entertainment. For more on the history of Mona Sargent's lesbian bars, see Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 68.

⁴² Mona (Sargent) Hood, interview by Nan Alamilla Boyd, July 25, 1992, GLBT Historical Society Oral History Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.



Figure 1: Performers at Mona's 440 Club in the 1940s or 1950s. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

One of the most well-known performers at Mona's was African American singer Gladys Bentley, billed as the "Brown Bomber of Sophisticated Songs."⁴³

The Black Cat Café opened in 1933 in Jackson Square near the former Barbary Coast.⁴⁴ Early patrons were a broad mix of bohemians, intellectuals, dockworkers, and North Beach residents. The bar always attracted a clientele described as a cross-section of class, race, and sexuality, but the Black Cat became a popular gay hotspot in the 1950s when it began hosting politically infused drag operas starring gay rights pioneer José Julio Sarria.⁴⁵ The Black Cat was at the center of an

⁴³ Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 76. For more on Gladys Bentley, see Boyd.

⁴⁴ The Black Cat Café building at 710 Montgomery Street remains extant. It is a contributor to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971. Austrian holocaust survivor and libertarian heterosexual Solomon "Sol" Stoumen purchased the Black Cat in 1945 and operated the bar until it closed in 1963. For more on the history of the Black Cat Café, see Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 56.

⁴⁵ Gerald Fabian, interviewed by Willie Walker, November 30, 1989 and January 23, 1990, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. José Sarria was born in San Francisco to a Colombian mother and a Nicaraguan father. Sarria also co-founded several homophile organizations,

important court case in 1951 when owner Sol Stoumen, after having his liquor license repeatedly revoked for catering to homosexuals, appealed to the Supreme Court of California and won. The decision in *Stoumen v. Reilly* essentially legalized gay and lesbian bars in California—the first state in the country to do so, and at the peak of McCarthyism and antihomosexual policy making.⁴⁶ In 1961, the Black Cat served as headquarters for José Sarria’s campaign for city supervisor, the first time an openly gay candidate anywhere in the world ran for public office.⁴⁷

Highlights of other important LGBTQ bars, nightclubs, and restaurants documented in San Francisco’s LGBTQ Historic Context Statement include the Old Crow in the Tenderloin, one of the first gay-friendly bars to open after Prohibition and one of the longest-running LGBTQ bars in the city (open c. 1935-1980).⁴⁸ The Paper Doll in North Beach (open 1947-1961) was one of the first restaurants catering to the queer community in San Francisco and provided a public alternative to nightclubs and bars.⁴⁹ Popular with both gay men and lesbians (and presumably bisexual and transgender people), the Paper Doll was one of the earliest spaces in San Francisco that functioned as an informal community center where “gay, lesbian, and transgendered people could make friends, find lovers, get information, or plan activities.”⁵⁰ The Beige Room in North Beach (open 1951-1958) was a lower-budget, but decidedly queerer version of Finocchio’s, famous for its female-impersonation shows by performers such as Lynne Carter, a white man known for impersonating African

including the League for Civil Education, the Tavern Guild, and the Society for Individual Rights. In 1964, he founded the Imperial Court System, which became an international association of charitable organizations and the second largest LGBTQ organization in the world.

⁴⁶ Christopher Lowen Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco: Policing and the Creation of a Cosmopolitan Liberal Politics, 1950-1972* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 85.

⁴⁷ Had he won, Sarria also would have been the first Latino to win a supervisor’s seat in San Francisco, see Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 60.

⁴⁸ The Old Crow at 962 Market Street (extant) and another gay bar, the Silver Rail at 974 Market Street (extant at front, demolished at rear), were located in the same building at the corner of Market, Turk, and Mason Streets, an area known as the Meat Market, a hot spot for gay hustling and prostitution. Turk Street from Jones to Mason was one of the main drags for cruising and hustling from the 1940s to the 1980s. The Old Crow and the Silver Rail were known gay hustler pick-up spots.

⁴⁹ The Paper Doll was located at 524 Union Street (extant).

⁵⁰ Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 61.

American singers Pearl Bailey and Josephine Baker.⁵¹ Unlike Finocchio's, which followed a stringent hiring process, the Beige Room was more of an "underworld operation...with a lot more freedom in [whom] they hired."⁵² Many of the performers were openly queer, giving the Beige Room an "insider's appeal," according to Nan Alamilla Boyd.⁵³ "[F]emale impersonators at the Beige Room both legitimized queer culture and set the standard for flamboyant drag performance ... the Beige Room was the place where San Francisco's drag culture flourished."⁵⁴

Bathhouses, streets, parks, restrooms, beaches, and other public spaces where cruising and hustling took place allowed vast, but discreet, sex-based communities to develop in San Francisco.⁵⁵ "Because *all* sex acts between men were ... illegal," writes historian Allan Bérubé, "gay men were forced to become sexual outlaws ... experts at stealing moments of privacy and at finding the cracks in society where they could meet and not get caught."⁵⁶

One of San Francisco's longest-running gay bathhouses was Jack's Turkish Baths, open from the mid-1930s through the 1980s in the Tenderloin.⁵⁷ Jack's was popular with gay servicemen during World War II and was known to be more upscale than other gay bathhouses.⁵⁸ Another important sex and community space in San Francisco was the Sutro Bath House, open from 1974 through the 1980s in the Mission-Valencia and

⁵¹ The Beige Room was located at 831 Broadway (extant).

⁵² Gerald Fabian, interviewed by Willie Walker, 1989 and 1990.

⁵³ Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 130

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 130, 132.

⁵⁵ The experiences of gay men and transgender women are the focus of this section; for a variety of reasons, those populations were more inclined to seek sex in public and to form communities around sexual activity.

⁵⁶ Allan Bérubé, "The History of the Baths," *Coming Up!* (San Francisco), December 1984. Historian George Chauncey, in his groundbreaking *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), argues that cruising and hustling on city streets and sex in public spaces mirrored, or blended with, the sexualized street culture of urban working-class heterosexual neighborhoods in the first half of the twentieth century.

⁵⁷ Jack's Baths opened at 1052 Geary Boulevard near Van Ness Avenue in the mid-1930s, according to San Francisco city directories; the building is extant. In 1941, Jack's Turkish Baths moved one block away to 1143 Post Street, where it remained until it closed in the 1980s (extant).

⁵⁸ Bérubé, "The History of the Baths"; and Gerald Fabian, interviewed by Willie Walker, 1989 and 1990.

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South of Market neighborhoods.⁵⁹ Sutro was one of the only sex clubs that welcomed lesbians and bisexuals. Equally significant was Osepto, opened in Mission-Valencia in 1980, the only bathhouse in San Francisco that catered exclusively to women.⁶⁰

Beginning in 1984, as the number of San Franciscans with AIDS grew to unprecedented numbers, bathhouses began to close, primarily a result of loss of business as patrons began to fear contracting AIDS.⁶¹ The City of San Francisco ordered bathhouses to close later that year. Osepto survived the bathhouse closures and operated until 2008, presumably because it prohibited sex of any kind: “Unlike the men’s bathhouses, [Osepto] really was a place for bathing.... [T]he rules were no sex (not even with yourself), and privacy was respected. But if you couldn’t touch, you could look: it was a place to experience the myriad beauty of real women.”⁶²

Two of the earliest gay cruising and hustling areas in San Francisco were lower Market Street, as early as the 1920s, and the Tenderloin, a center for gay and transgender sex beginning in at least the 1930s.⁶³ The Tenderloin intersection of Mason, Turk, and Market Streets became known as the “Meat Market” for the amount of gay hustling that took place there. Other popular public sex spaces throughout the twentieth century were Union Square;⁶⁴ the northeast waterfront, especially at the Embarcadero YMCA;⁶⁵ the Presidio of San Francisco, with ties to a gay sex

⁵⁹ Sutro Bath House opened at 312 Valencia Street in 1974 and moved to 1015 Folsom Street c. 1977. Both buildings are extant.

⁶⁰ The building that housed Osepto is extant in the Mission District, and is now a private residence. Osepto was reportedly very strict about not allowing sexual activity among its patrons.

⁶¹ John-Manuel Andriote, *Victory Deferred: How AIDS Changed Gay Life in America* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 78.

⁶² Stephanie J. Rosenbaum, “Osepto, 1980-2008,” *The Adventures of Pie Queen* (blog), August 20, 2008, <http://piequeen.blogspot.com/2008/08/osepto-1980-2008.html>.

⁶³ The portion of Lower Market that was popular for gay hustling and cruising stretched from the Embarcadero to Fifth and Mason Streets. One reason for the popularity of this strip was that it served as a connection between the waterfront and the Tenderloin, and it was an entertainment corridor dotted with movie theaters, restaurants, bars, and all-night cafeterias. See 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), 24.

⁶⁴ Union Square in downtown San Francisco is bordered by Geary, Powell, Post, and Stockton Streets.

⁶⁵ The Embarcadero YMCA was built in 1926 at 169 Steuart Street between Mission and Howard and is still extant and in operation. By World War II, the Embarcadero YMCA had become a favorite spot for

scene as early as the 1910s;⁶⁶ and all of the city's parks, especially Golden Gate Park, Buena Vista Park in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood and Dolores Park in the Mission District.⁶⁷

Policing and Harassment of LGBTQ Communities (1933 to the 1960s)

The history of antihomosexual and antitransgender hostility, including manifestations in policing and harassment, is crucial to understanding LGBTQ history and essential to documenting the rise of places of queer resistance. While new queer spaces continued to appear in San Francisco in the 1940s and 1950s and communities coalesced around them, governmental agencies became intent on reversing the progress. Policing of queer people intensified during this period for a confluence of reasons. World War II brought hundreds of thousands of young men and women to the Bay Area, prompting the military to set boundaries as a form of social control. McCarthyism and the federal antigay witch-hunt known as the Lavender Scare cast a pall on all things related to “sexual deviancy.” New state legislation in the 1950s and homophobic politicians radically changed the way queer people and places were policed in California. Consequently, increased negative media coverage of queer people led to growing public pressure to crack down on queer communities.

Throughout World War II, the armed forces went to great lengths to control the enormous population of military personnel in San Francisco.⁶⁸ Military and local police joined forces to monitor queer spaces and people

gay sexual activity. Alfred Kinsey called it the “most notorious Y in the states.” Kinsey cited in Justin Spring, *Secret Historian: The Life and Times of Samuel Steward, Professor, Tattoo Artist, and Sexual Renegade* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010), 180.

⁶⁶ Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay*. In the 1930s, gay rights pioneer Harry Hay was involved in a gay sex network associated with the Presidio. Hay describes a guardhouse off of one of the Geary-side gates (likely the Presidio Gate) that was headquarters for the network. See Harry Hay, “Gay Sex before Zippers,” interview with Chris Carlsson (San Francisco: Shaping San Francisco, 1995), <https://archive.org/details/ssfHAYBVDCT>. Part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area (as of October 1, 1994), the Presidio of San Francisco was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 13, 1962.

⁶⁷ Golden Gate Park, located on the west side of the city, was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 2004.

⁶⁸ Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Free Press, 1990), 113.

in the city. Policing intensified after World War II when Governor Earl Warren oversaw sweeping changes to California's sodomy laws and punishments for sex crimes, essentially allowing for a conviction for homosexual acts to result in life in prison.⁶⁹ This led to an uptick of homosexual-related arrests in San Francisco in the mid-1950s.⁷⁰ Dozens of bars were permanently shuttered or had their liquor licenses repeatedly revoked. Countless LGBTQ people were harassed, arrested, imprisoned, institutionalized, and had their lives permanently altered or destroyed by harassment and oppression.

One of the most publicized police raids in San Francisco history occurred on September 8, 1954, when officers raided Tommy's Place/12 Adler Place in North Beach—at that time the only queer space in the city owned and operated by lesbians.⁷¹ The bars and restaurant were run by entrepreneur Eleanor “Tommy” Vasu, along with her girlfriend, Jeanne Sullivan, and bartenders Grace Miller and Joyce Van de Veer. Police arrested Miller and Van de Veer on suspicion of supplying narcotics to minors. The next morning, photographs of the two women leaving jail appeared in the newspaper under the headline “Arrested.”⁷² Their ages and home addresses were included in nearly every article reporting on the case. After a long and very public legal battle, the jury found Grace Miller guilty of selling alcohol to minors and sentenced her to serve six months in the county jail. Media attention and public pressure in the wake of the Tommy's/12 Adler raid forced the two bars to close.⁷³

⁶⁹ William N. Eskridge Jr., *Dishonorable Passions: Sodomy Laws in America, 1861-2003* (New York: Viking, 2008), 88-91. Warren was governor of California from 1943 to 1953.

⁷⁰ Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 92.

⁷¹ Tommy's Place and 12 Adler Place were located in the same building with addresses at 529 Broadway Street and downstairs at the rear at 12 Adler Place (both extant). For detailed discussion of the raid on Tommy's Place/12 Adler Place, see Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 91.

⁷² “Arrested,” *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, September 1954, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

⁷³ “2 Girls Tell Visits to Tommy's Place,” *San Francisco Examiner*, December 2, 1954, Grace Miller Papers, San Francisco Public Library. See also Boyd, *Wide Open Town*.

The largest raid of an LGBTQ establishment in San Francisco occurred in August 1961 at a late-night coffee house called the Tay-Bush Inn.⁷⁴ Over one hundred people, mostly lesbians, were arrested for disorderly conduct and taken to jail.⁷⁵ The Tay-Bush Inn raid is significant not only for the number of patrons arrested, but also because the media coverage of the Tay-Bush raid, unlike previous raids, was somewhat sympathetic toward the men and women arrested. The resulting spirited public dialogue about the rights of gay men and lesbians to congregate in bars marked a turning point in San Francisco citizens' perception of gay and lesbian spaces.⁷⁶

Homophile Movements (1950s to the 1960s)

San Francisco is a site of national and international significance for its role in the rise of mid-twentieth-century homophile movements. The homophile groups that organized in the United States in the 1950s were the radical first phase of the gay and lesbian rights movement.⁷⁷ By publishing newsletters and organizing national conferences, homophile organizations educated LGBTQ communities and the public about what it meant to be gay or lesbian in mid-twentieth-century America—and by doing so made significant steps toward LGBTQ people achieving fundamental rights as citizens.⁷⁸ Some of the country's most influential and enduring homophile organizations were founded in San Francisco in the 1950s and 1960s.

⁷⁴ The Tay-Bush Inn (now demolished) was located at 900 Bush Street at the corner of Bush and Taylor Streets between Union Square and Nob Hill.

⁷⁵ Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 97.

⁷⁶ Boyd, *Wide Open Town*, 213-215.

⁷⁷ John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 3. For a detailed history of homophile movements in San Francisco, see D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities* and Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

⁷⁸ San Francisco's first homophile organizations were generally focused on lesbians and gay men. Bisexual and transgender organizing was largely separate and started in the 1960s.

The country's first nationwide homophile group, the Mattachine Society, was founded in 1950 by Harry Hay and others in Los Angeles.⁷⁹ The founding premise of the Mattachine Society was to instill a positive "group consciousness" in homosexuals, urging members to take pride in their minority status and "forge a unified movement of homosexuals ready to fight against their oppression."⁸⁰ The organization educated members



Figure 2: Williams Building, national headquarters of the Mattachine Society and Daughters of Bilitis. Photographer unknown. Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress (HABS CAL,38-SANFRA,212).

through meetings, conferences, and a newsletter, the *Mattachine Review*. Within a few years, the organization had expanded to include chapters throughout California, almost exclusively consisting of white, middle-class gay men. While women were welcome in name, their participation was limited, with the group focusing predominantly on men's issues. The first Mattachine Convention was held in San Francisco's

⁷⁹ The group was originally called the Mattachine Foundation and had their first meetings in the homes of Harry Hay and his mother in the Silver Lake and Hollywood Hills neighborhoods of Los Angeles. The first homophile group in the United States was the Society for Human Rights, founded by Henry Gerber and others in Chicago, Illinois in 1924.

⁸⁰ D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 58, 65-66.

Japantown in 1954.⁸¹ After a series of schisms and shifts, the Mattachine Society reorganized and by 1957 had established its national headquarters in San Francisco's Williams Building in the South of Market area (Figure 2).⁸²

The Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), the nation's first lesbian-rights organization, was founded in San Francisco in 1955. Similar to the Mattachine Society, DOB membership was comprised predominantly of white and middle-class women. The first meetings were attended by a group of lesbian couples at the home of Filipina Rose Bamberger and Rosemary Sliepan in the Bayview neighborhood. Two of the co-founders were gay rights pioneers Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon. The DOB was initially a lesbian social organization, but the group's focus soon shifted to LGBTQ advocacy and education with a focus on women's issues. The DOB's first national headquarters was established in 1956 in a space shared with the Mattachine Society in the Williams Building.⁸³ That same year, the organization began publishing the first national lesbian newsletter, *The Ladder*. The DOB hosted the first of many biennial conventions in San Francisco in 1960 at the Hotel Whitcomb.⁸⁴ It was the largest public gathering of lesbians in the country up to that point. The DOB expanded to include local chapters in cities throughout the country. By the mid-1970s, there were twenty chapters throughout the United States. The San Francisco chapter of the DOB closed in 1978.

The Society for Individual Rights (SIR), which eventually became the largest homophile organization in the country, was formed in San

⁸¹ The first Mattachine Convention was held at 1830 Sutter Street, San Francisco, built originally as the Japanese YWCA in 1932. By 1954, it had been removed from Japanese American control and was being leased by the Quaker organization, American Friends Service Committee.

⁸² The Williams Building, located at 693 Mission Street in the South of Market neighborhood is extant. The Mattachine Society stayed at the Williams Building through c. 1967 when the organization moved to Adonis Books at 348 Jones Street. Meeker, *Contacts Desired*, 53. The Williams Building was also the location of offices of the Daughters of Bilitis and Pan Graphic Press, one of the first small gay presses in the US, responsible for publishing issues of both the *Mattachine Review* and *The Ladder*.

⁸³ Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, *Lesbian/Woman* (San Francisco: Glide Publications, 1972), 11.

⁸⁴ The Hotel Whitcomb is extant at 1231 Market Street. See "1st National Convention (1960) - San Francisco," Box 7, Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin Papers, 93-13, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

Francisco in September 1964.⁸⁵ SIR was started during the period when gay and lesbian activism was becoming more militant and more inclusive of all members of queer communities.⁸⁶ In April 1966, SIR opened the first LGBTQ community center in the country in the South of Market area.⁸⁷ Services offered by SIR included job referrals, legal aid, financial advice, and health and wellness. The organization ceased operations in the late 1970s.

The Council on Religion and the Homosexual (CRH), the first homophile organization in the United States with religious affiliation, was founded in San Francisco in 1964. In 1962, Glide Memorial Methodist Church in the Tenderloin hired clergymen to staff and operate the Glide Urban Center, a pioneering community organizing center that operated out of the church.⁸⁸ Glide hired Reverend Ted McIlvenna to oversee a young-adult program focused on the Tenderloin neighborhood's growing population of homeless youth.⁸⁹ Soon after arriving at Glide, McIlvenna discovered that many of the program's youth were young gay men "driven to street hustling by the hostility and ostracism of their parents and peers."⁹⁰ Because McIlvenna was heterosexual and unfamiliar with LGBTQ issues, he turned to local homophile organizations for help. In late May 1964, McIlvenna, with sponsorship from the Glide Urban Center, organized a three-day conference attended by twenty Protestant clergymen and over a dozen members of the homophile movement, including representatives from the DOB, Mattachine Society, SIR, and the Tavern Guild.⁹¹ For many of the ministers in attendance, the "face-to-face confrontation" with the homophile activists was "the first time they had ever knowingly talked with

⁸⁵ SIR was founded in the basement of a residential building in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood of San Francisco. "Society for Individual Rights," José Sarria papers, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

⁸⁶ D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 190.

⁸⁷ The building is extant at 83 Sixth Street and, although no longer a queer space, continues to operate as a community center.

⁸⁸ Glide Memorial Methodist Church is extant at 330 Ellis Street.

⁸⁹ D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 192.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 191-192.

⁹¹ The retreat was held at the extant Ralston L. White Memorial Retreat at 2 El Capitan in Mill Valley, California. The retreat center is a residence designed by Bay Area architect Willis Polk. See Agee, *The Streets of San Francisco*, 103; and Marcia Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers), 105.

a homosexual or a lesbian.”⁹² Del Martin wrote of the retreat: “San Francisco was the setting for the historic birth of the United Nations in 1945. And again, in 1964, San Francisco provided the setting for the re-birth of Christian fellowship ... to include all human beings regardless of sexual proclivity.”⁹³ The CRH was founded as an outgrowth of the conference. It was the first organization in the country to have “homosexual” in its name.

The CRH sponsored one of the most significant events in LGBTQ history in San Francisco: the Mardi Gras Ball on January 1, 1965, at California Hall.⁹⁴ Organized as a fundraiser for the newly founded CRH, over five hundred guests purchased tickets for the event. CRH leaders anticipated some form of police harassment and negotiated with city officials to obtain the proper permits. In spite of this, the police turned out in full force, illuminating Polk Street with klieg lights and photographing everyone who entered the event (Figure 3). After a scuffle



Figure 3: San Francisco Police Department officers harassing patrons entering the Council on Religion and the Homosexual’s New Year’s Mardi Gras Ball on January 1, 1965. Photograph by San Francisco Examiner photographer, Ray “Scotty” Morris. Courtesy of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

with police, six attendees were arrested, including two attorneys retained to prevent harassment. The following morning at a press conference, CRH

⁹² D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 193.

⁹³ Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 106.

⁹⁴ California Hall is extant at 625 Polk Street and is a San Francisco Article 10 Landmark.

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clergymen called to end police harassment of gay and lesbian communities in San Francisco, marking one of the first times in US history that religious leaders spoke publicly for LGBTQ rights.⁹⁵ The ministers' outrage provoked unprecedented public support and homophile groups mobilized to combat police oppression.

While the New Year's Mardi Gras Ball incident later came to be known as San Francisco's "Stonewall," a much closer parallel event to the 1969 New York rebellion occurred in 1966, in what became known as the Compton's Cafeteria Riot. For several days in August 1966, transgender women, drag queens, and young male hustlers demonstrated militant resistance in the face of police harassment at a favorite late-night Tenderloin establishment, Gene Compton's Cafeteria.⁹⁶ Part of a local chain, Compton's Cafeteria at the corner of Turk and Taylor Streets was considered a relatively safe space for transgender women, who often scraped together a living by working as street prostitutes. Cheap residential hotels in the Tenderloin were among the very few places that would rent rooms to them. Protests in San Francisco such as the Compton's Riot, as well as others by CRH and Vanguard, the first queer youth group founded in 1966, illustrated a new era of gay radicalism that preceded the now far better-known events at New York's Stonewall Inn of June 1969.

LGBTQ Medicine (1940 to the 1990s)

San Francisco became an important center for the study of gender and sexuality in the 1940s and 1950s through the work of the Langley Porter Clinic at the University of California San Francisco (UCSF).⁹⁷ Opened in

⁹⁵ Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 108.

⁹⁶ Gene Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street (extant). A smaller, but similar "riot" occurred in 1959 at Cooper's Doughnuts in Los Angeles. See Faderman and Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 1. Neither event received wide press coverage, which has contributed to the erasure of these events from popular understanding of LGBTQ history. See Stryker (this volume).

⁹⁷ The UCSF Medical School and the California Department of Institutions, which oversaw the state's psychiatric hospitals, founded the clinic in 1941 as a joint venture creating California's first "psychiatric institute where several specialties in medicine, especially neurology and neurosurgery, would collaborate in a true multi-discipline approach to mental illness." Mariana Robinson, *The*

March 1943, the clinic's founding director, Dr. Karl Bowman, had taught and practiced psychiatry in New York City. During World War II, Bowman conducted research on gay men held in the psychiatric ward of the US Naval Hospital on Treasure Island in the San Francisco Bay after their sexuality had been discovered while in uniform.⁹⁸

One of Bowman's key collaborators was Louise Lawrence, who had been living full-time as a transgender woman since 1942. Lawrence lectured on transgender topics at UCSF and created an expansive international network of transgender people, some of whom stayed with her at her home in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, a residence Susan Stryker describes as a "waystation for transgender people from across the country who sought access to medical procedures in California."⁹⁹ Lawrence's carefully compiled data supported medical research and treatment by the most prominent doctors dealing with transgender issues, including Alfred Kinsey, Karl Bowman, and Harry Benjamin.¹⁰⁰ Benjamin was a German-born endocrinologist who popularized the term transsexual and publicly defended homosexual rights and the rights of such individuals to medical support rather than psychiatric "cures."¹⁰¹ New York-based Benjamin kept a medical office in San Francisco during summers from the 1930s to the 1970s.¹⁰²

Later, San Francisco's international reputation as a place that challenged gender norms made it the birthplace of the first intersex rights organization. Cheryl Chase, who had been designated male at birth, was later raised as a girl after doctors changed their decision and performed

Coming of Age of the Langley Porter Clinic: The Reorganization of a Mental Health Institute, ICP case series (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1962), 2-3. Bowman's tenure ended in 1956, 8. The Clinic, later the Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute, was located at 401 Parnassus Avenue (extant).

⁹⁸ Susan Stryker, *Transgender History*, Seal Studies (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008), 41-42.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁰⁰ Stryker, *Transgender History*, 44.

¹⁰¹ Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 144. Susan Stryker, "Dr. Harry Benjamin," *GLBTQ Encyclopedia.com*, 2015, http://www.glbtqarchive.com/ssh/benjamin_h_S.pdf

¹⁰² Benjamin organized Magnus Hirschfeld's tour of the United States in 1930, see Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 44. His office was located at 450 Sutter Street, extant. The building was added to the NRHP on December 22, 2009.

surgery on her at the age of eight.¹⁰³ Her discovery as an adult of these childhood manipulations of her gender identity led Chase to move to San Francisco and form the Intersex Society of North America in 1993.¹⁰⁴ In its early years, the Society operated out of Chase's home in the Twin Peaks neighborhood, and early meetings were held at the Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality, where Chase was a student.¹⁰⁵ Within a few years, the organization was providing peer support to approximately four hundred people around the world, educating medical providers about treating people with ambiguous genitalia, and providing education about intersexuality to the general public.¹⁰⁶

Gay Liberation, Pride, and Politics (1960s to the 1990s)

New York's Stonewall Inn is often cited as the "birthplace" of the gay rights movement in the United States, yet San Francisco and other cities such as Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Boston played major roles in advancing civil rights for LGBTQ people. Scholars Elizabeth Armstrong and Suzanna Cragge argue that the focus on the Stonewall rebellion in 1969 as the starting point of LGBTQ liberation has obscured earlier key moments in LGBTQ history, including the Mardi Gras Ball.¹⁰⁷ The San Francisco LGBTQ Historic Context Statement used archival materials and interviews of participants active in San Francisco during the 1960-1980s to identify sites associated with the myriad organizations and events that shaped queer politics, culture, and identity in those pivotal decades (Figure 4).

¹⁰³ Vernon A. Rosario, "An Interview with Cheryl Chase." *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Psychotherapy* 10: 2 (2006).

¹⁰⁴ Natalie Angier, "Intersexual healing," *New York Times*, February 4, 1996, <http://www.nytimes.com/1996/02/04/weekinreview/ideas-trends-intersexual-healing-an-anomaly-finds-a-group.html>, accessed July 23, 2014.

¹⁰⁵ Bo Laurent (formerly Cheryl Chase), electronic communication with Donna Graves, July 23, 2014. The Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality, founded in 1976, is located at 1523 Franklin Street.

¹⁰⁶ Cheryl Chase, "Surgical Progress is Not the Answer to Intersexuality" in *Intersex in the Age of Ethics*, Alice Domurat Dreger ed. (Hagerstown, MD: University Publishing Group, 1999), 147. Susan Stryker, *Transgender History*, 138. The Intersex Society of North America (ISNA) closed in 2006 and turned its mission over to Accord Alliance, see <http://www.isna.org>.

¹⁰⁷ Elizabeth A. Armstrong and Suzanna M. Cragge, "Movements and Memory: The Making of the Stonewall Myth," *American Sociological Review* 71, no. 4 (October 2006): 724-751.

San Francisco: Placing LGBTQ Histories in the City by the Bay

The radical youth movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s shaped gay liberation organizations that emerged after the homophile period. Bay Area activist Carl Wittman's "A Gay Manifesto" (1970) was an influential and widely distributed essay that linked the fate of gays and lesbians to other oppressed groups and viewed sexual liberation "as merely one aspect of a broader social transformation."¹⁰⁸ Wittman



Figure 4: San Francisco Pride Parade 1982, view east down Market Street to the Ferry Building. Photograph by Greg Day. Courtesy of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

described San Francisco as "a refugee camp for homosexuals. We have fled here from every part of the nation, and like refugees elsewhere, we came not because it is so great here, but because it was so bad where they are."¹⁰⁹ Historian John D'Emilio writes that within a few years of the Manifesto's publication "San Francisco had become, in comparison with

¹⁰⁸ Elizabeth A. Armstrong, *Forging Gay Identities: Organizing Sexuality in San Francisco, 1950 to 1994* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 2.

¹⁰⁹ Carl Wittman, "A Gay Manifesto," in *Out of the Closets: Voices of Gay Liberation*, eds. Karla Jay and Allen Young (New York: Douglas Book Corp, 1972), 332-342.

the rest of the country, a liberated zone for lesbians and gay men. It had the largest number and widest variety of organizations and institutions.”¹¹⁰

Younger people shifted the terms and tactics of the movement for gay rights; as Charles Thorpe, the keynote speaker at the 1970 National Gay Liberation Front Student Conference held at the SIR Community Center noted, “it is the young that are aware and aware is synonymous with

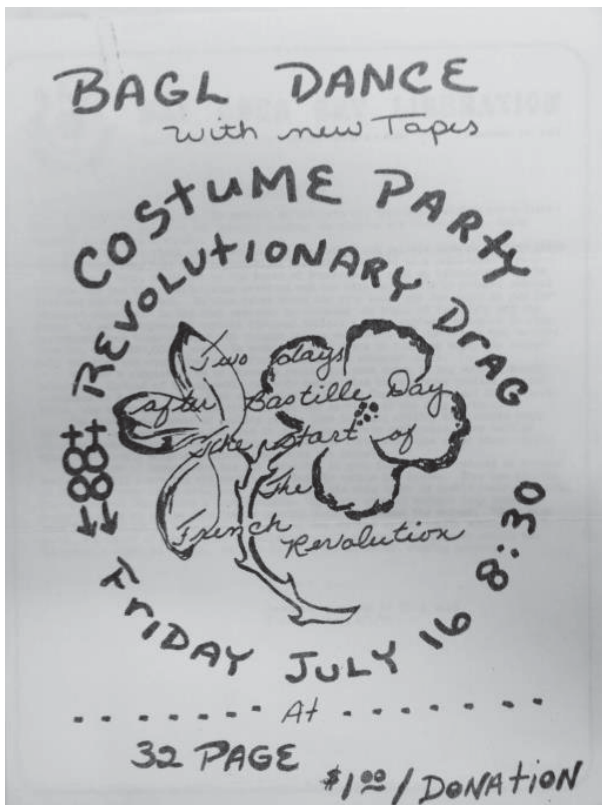


Figure 5: Poster for the Bay Area Gay Liberation’s “Revolutionary Drag” Costume Party, 1976. Courtesy of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society.

desperate. That means a new culture, a new society, and a new education. This has scared the don’t-rock-the-boat older gays.”¹¹¹ San Francisco’s Bay Area Gay Liberation (BAGL, 1975–1978) was among the groups who advocated a radical agenda for gay rights (Figure 5).¹¹² Organizational meetings and special events were held at the SIR Community Center and at the gay community centers that followed in San Francisco’s Civic Center neighborhood.¹¹³ BAGL activities included protests supporting the Gay Teachers Coalition; against

¹¹⁰ John D’Emilio, “Gay Politics, Gay Community,” in *Making Trouble: Essays on Gay History, Politics, and the University* (Hoboken, NJ: Taylor and Francis, 2014), 87.

¹¹¹ Charles Thorpe, “Identity, Leadership and Violence” in *Out of the Closets*, 352.

¹¹² Christina B. Hanhardt described BAGL’s platform as “based on a multi-issue critique of capitalism and the state,” see “Butterflies, Whistles and Fists: Gay Safe Streets Patrols and the New Gay Ghetto, 1976-1981,” *Radical History Review* (Winter 2008): 65.

¹¹³ San Francisco had a small succession of gay community centers in the 1970s and 1980s: 32 Page Street operated from ca. 1976-1978 (extant) and a larger center at 330 Grove Street operated ca. 1977-1981 (now demolished). In 1982, many of the organizations from 330 Grove moved to a former convent at 890 Hayes Street (extant). Groups Ephemera Collection GLBT Historical Society; Christina B. Hanhardt, *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 98.

police repression on Polk Street, an area that housed a concentration of gay-owned and oriented businesses; and against The Club Bath's practice of turning away customers who were effeminate, elderly, or African American.¹¹⁴

By the mid-1970s, the sheer numbers of LGBTQ people in San Francisco allowed for the emergence of groups organized along various axes of race, ethnicity, and sexual/gender identity. In 1967, transgender women activists formed Conversion Our Goal (COG), which has been described as "probably the first formal organization of self-defined transsexuals in the world."¹¹⁵ COG met twice monthly at Glide Memorial Church to offer mutual support to its members and call publicly for freedom from police harassment, legal rights to medical care for transition, job opportunities, and fair housing.¹¹⁶ Bisexual rights pioneer Marguerite "Maggi" Rubenstein helped to found The Bisexual Center, the nation's first specifically bisexual organization in 1976. The Center offered counseling and support services to Bay Area bisexuals and published a newsletter, the *Bi Monthly*, from 1976 to 1984.¹¹⁷

Recognizing that their concerns were often not reflected in groups dominated by white gay men, LGBTQ people of color formed new organizations beginning in the mid-1970s. The Gay Latino Alliance was founded in 1975 with approximately fifty men and women attending its second meeting at the SIR Center. The same year, Randy Burns and Barbara Cameron founded Gay American Indians, the first reported organization for queer Native Americans. The Black Gay Caucus organized in 1976 and met every two weeks at the Gay Community Center on Page Street. Gay Asian Support Group, formed in 1977, which appears to be the first formal Asian Pacific Islander American organization for LGBTQ people, also held bimonthly meetings at the Page Street community center "to rap,

¹¹⁴ The Club Baths was located at 201 Eighth Street (extant).

¹¹⁵ Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 230.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Clare Hemmings, *Bisexual Spaces: A Geography of Sexuality and Gender* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 156. The Bisexual Center operated first out of offices at 544 Market Street and later from the North Panhandle neighborhood home of co-founder David Lourea; initial Bisexual Center meetings were held at Rubenstein's home just south of Glen Park.

socialize, do outreach work, get into politics, develop ourselves more, make new friends and/or develop relationships.”¹¹⁸

Many lesbians also began to see the gay liberation movement as reproducing oppressive patterns that privileged men’s voices and issues. Del Martin voiced the objections of lesbians who had felt sidelined or condescended to by gay activists in an influential manifesto titled “If That’s All There Is” that appeared in the October 1970 issue of *Vector*. “I’ve been forced to the realization that I have no brothers in the homophile movement,” Martin wrote; “Fifteen years of masochism is enough.”¹¹⁹ Lesbians of color stood in complex relation to both the women’s movement and gay and lesbian rights organizations. Bay Area lesbian writers Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa helped shape discussion of these issues with their influential 1981 anthology *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*. The Latina, African American, Asian American, and Native American writers represented in the book—many of them from San Francisco—challenged claims of sisterhood made by white feminists and explored the links between race, class, feminism, and sexuality.¹²⁰

Although not an exclusively lesbian organization, The Women’s Building in the Mission District is one of the anchors of the history of women, feminists, lesbians, and queer and progressive groups more generally in San Francisco (Figure 6).¹²¹ In 1978, a core group of women from the San Francisco Women’s Centers, an incubator for women’s rights organizations, began looking into purchasing a building. A sympathetic realtor pointed them towards the Sons of Norway’s Dovre Hall, built in

¹¹⁸ Gay Asian Support Group (GASP) Newsletter, September 22, 1977, in GLBT Historical Society Newsletters. See Roscoe, Sueyoshi, and González and Hernandez (all this volume).

¹¹⁹ Josh Sides, *Erotic City: Sexual Revolutions and the Making of Modern San Francisco* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 114. She expanded on this observation in *Lesbian/Woman*, coauthored in 1972 with her partner Phyllis Lyon, and originally produced by the publications arm of Glide Memorial Church.

¹²⁰ Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds., *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981).

¹²¹ The Women’s Building is located at 3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, California.



Figure 6: The Women's Building has served as an anchor for LGBTQ culture since it was founded in 1979. The MaestraPeace Mural, painted in 1994 by Juana Alicia, Miranda Bergman, Edythe Boone, Susan Kelk Cervantes, Meera Desai, Yvonne Littleton, Irene Perez, and many helpers, covers two exterior walls and four stories of the building. Photograph by Wally Gobetz, 2009.¹²²

1910, which was no longer active except for a ground-floor bar. Negotiations moved forward, and The Women's Building opened in the fall of 1979.¹²³ Within a year, the building held a memorial service for assassinated leader Harvey Milk, meetings of Lesbians Against Police Violence, a slide lecture by Allan Bérubé that benefited the San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project, and "Becoming Visible" a conference of African American lesbians. Since then, a remarkable number and range of events and meetings important to LGBTQ history have been held at The Women's Building, which continues to function as a community space.¹²⁴

¹²² License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/wallyg/3922017349>

¹²³ Sushawn Robb, *Mothering the Movement: The Story of the San Francisco Women's Building* (Denver: Outskirts Press, 2012), 47-48.

¹²⁴ Many organizations initially supported by The Women's Building went on to form their own nonprofits, such as Lesbian Visual Artists, the San Francisco Network for Battered Lesbian and Bisexual Women, Older Lesbian Organizing Committee, and the Lavender Youth Recreation and Information Center.

San Francisco and the AIDS Epidemic (1981 to the 1990s)

San Francisco, New York, and Los Angeles were the first American cities to face the AIDS crisis; a pathologist at UCSF identified the first diagnosis of Kaposi's sarcoma in April 1981.¹²⁵ Two months later, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) released a report describing an alarming new disease in a handful of gay and bisexual men. Within a few weeks of the CDC's announcement, clinicians, public health officials, and other medical professionals in San Francisco realized the potential tsunami. The San Francisco Department of Public Health quickly established a system for reporting and registering cases; the reporting network grew over the years to include major hospitals and private clinics.¹²⁶

In December 1981, the San Francisco *Sentinel* published an article in which Bobby Campbell became the first Kaposi's sarcoma patient to publicly announce his illness. Declaring himself the "KS Poster Boy," Campbell convinced Star Pharmacy, a drugstore in the heart of the Castro neighborhood, to allow him to put up posters in their storefront windows warning about the "gay cancer."¹²⁷ Campbell's physician, Dr. Marcus Conant, shared his alarm and in 1982 approached activist Cleve Jones about creating an organization to mobilize the gay community and pressure the government for additional funds. The resulting Kaposi's Sarcoma Research and Education Foundation (later renamed the San Francisco AIDS Foundation) initially operated from folding tables covered with flyers and leaflets at the corner of Eighteenth and Castro Streets. Within a few months, it opened the first agency specifically addressing the new disease.¹²⁸ In October 1983, the KS/AIDS Foundation offices

¹²⁵ Randy Shilts, *And the Band Played On; People, Politics and the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2007), 60.

¹²⁶ Sides, *Erotic City*, 177. The Department of Health was headquartered at 101 Grove Street (extant).

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 10-108. Star Pharmacy was located at 498 Castro Street (extant).

¹²⁸ Shilts, *And the Band Played On*, 161. For the initial address of 520 Castro Street, see San Francisco AIDS Foundation website, "The View from Here: Cleve Jones and Dr. Marcus Conant," <http://www.sfaf.org/hiv-info/hot-topics/from-the-experts/the-view-from-here-cleve-jones-marcus-conant-2011.html>, 2011, accessed June 1, 2014. The first offices of the San Francisco AIDS Foundation were at 520 Castro Street (extant).

received national attention when a Florida hospital flew a critically ill AIDS patient to San Francisco and had him dumped at the organization's front door.¹²⁹

By 1984, San Francisco's rate of infection was the highest per capita in the nation. Community members, doctors, public health workers, and others debated their concerns over public health and civil liberties for over a year; in the meantime, nearly a third of the city's twenty bathhouses had closed, primarily because business was down as a result of patrons' fear of contracting AIDS.¹³⁰ The City of San Francisco ordered bathhouses to close in October 1984. One bathhouse, the 21st Street Baths refused to comply but ultimately gave in and closed in 1987 when threatened with a lawsuit by the city. It was the last licensed gay bathhouse in the city.¹³¹

The first dedicated inpatient AIDS ward in the world, at San Francisco General Hospital's Ward 5B, opened in July 1983 with an innovative program of integrated treatment, care, and support services for patients, partners, friends, and family members.¹³² In addition to pioneering patient care, San Francisco was the location for a number of important studies of AIDS prevention and treatment. San Franciscans also established the field of organized end-of-life AIDS care. In 1987, the defunct convent of Most

¹²⁹ Mark Thompson, ed., *Long Road to Freedom: The Advocate History of The Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 240.

¹³⁰ John-Manuel Andriote, *Victory Deferred*, 78. By spring 1984, The Cauldron, Cornholes, Liberty Baths, Sutro Baths, and Bulldog Baths had all closed according to Rodger Streitmatter, *Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995), 257.

¹³¹ "14 San Francisco Sex Clubs Told to Close to Curb AIDS," *New York Times*, October 10, 1984. <http://www.nytimes.com/1984/10/10/us/14-san-francisco-sex-clubs-told-to-close-to-curb-aids.html>, accessed June 12, 2014; and Johnny Miller, "Last Gay Bathhouse in S.F. Shut Down Over AIDS," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 13, 1987, <http://www.sfgate.com/entertainment/article/Last-gay-bathhouse-in-S-F-shut-down-over-AIDS-3549850.php>, accessed June 12, 2014. The 21st Street Baths were located at 3244 Twenty-First Street (now demolished).

¹³² Andriote, *Victory Deferred*, 116; and Carol Pogash, *As Real As It Gets: The Life of a Hospital at the Center of the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1992), 21. San Francisco General Hospital is located at 1001 Potrero Avenue. Pogash describes AIDS treatment at SF General starting in the seven-story main building constructed in the 1970s and moving to an older brick structure late in 1982.

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Holy Redeemer Church in the Castro became Coming Home Hospice, reportedly the first AIDS hospice in the nation.¹³³

Because public funds to combat AIDS were so scarce, the widely heralded “San Francisco model” of AIDS care developed based on volunteer labor and charitable giving.¹³⁴ A plethora of local community groups emerged, made up of individuals who cared for the sick, researched treatment options, raised funds, and pressured government agencies to do more. Because these organizations usually formed as small, grassroots efforts and evolved with the crisis, their space needs and locations shifted over time. Much of the focus of early AIDS organizations was on the Castro, a neighborhood that was predominately white and relatively wealthy. LGBTQ people of color argued that they needed to develop services within their communities that were not being met by the more mainstream organizations such as the San Francisco AIDS Foundation and Shanti Project. From the mid-1980s on, LGBTQ people of color formed numerous HIV/AIDS organizations to serve their communities and to advocate on their own behalf.

As the numbers of the dead grew with no cure on the horizon, many San Franciscans turned their anger and frustration into direct action protests and civil disobedience. In May 1983, thousands walked from the Castro to the Civic Center behind a banner “Fighting for Our Lives,” in the AIDS Candlelight March—the first major demonstration against AIDS.¹³⁵ Under Mobilization Against AIDS, this event grew to become an annual, international vigil of protest and commemoration.¹³⁶ In what has been described as the first use of civil disobedience against the AIDS epidemic

¹³³ Donal Godfrey, *Gays and Grays: The Story of the Gay Community at Most Holy Redeemer Catholic Church* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007), 89. The Hartford Street Zen Center purchased 61 Hartford Street in 1988. David Schneider, *Street Zen: The Life and Work of Issan Dorsey* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2000), 174-175. Coming Home Hospice was located at 115 Diamond Street (extant).

¹³⁴ Stryker and Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay*, 93.

¹³⁵ The Civic Center Historic District was added to the NRHP on October 10, 1978 and designated an NHL on February 27, 1987.

¹³⁶ Mobilization Against AIDS brochure, 1986. Mobilization Against AIDS file, Groups Ephemera Collection, The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society. Other ephemera in this collection indicate that the first meeting of MOB was held at 647-A Castro Street, and by 1986 offices were located at 2120 Market Street, Suite 106.

anywhere in the world, several protestors chained themselves to the doors of the federal building housing the regional office of Health and Human Services on October 27, 1985.¹³⁷ The ARC/AIDS Vigil became an encampment that occupied a lawn in United Nations Plaza twenty-four hours a day for ten years.

San Francisco is the birthplace of two of the nation's most visible and enduring memorials to AIDS: the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt and the National AIDS Memorial Grove. Conceived by longtime San Francisco gay rights activist Cleve Jones in November 1985, the project rallied volunteers to a storefront along Market Street.¹³⁸ First shown as forty panels at the 1987 Lesbian & Gay Freedom events in San Francisco, the project soon began accepting a growing flood of panels contributed from across the country. It became an international tool to illustrate the devastating impact of AIDS and to humanize its victims.¹³⁹ In 1988, another group of friends began discussing the creation of a public memorial garden in San Francisco to the victims of the AIDS epidemic. Beginning in 1991, monthly workdays brought together diverse Bay Area residents affected by the pandemic who reclaimed a former derelict site in Golden Gate Park. In 1994, the City of San Francisco signed a ninety-nine year lease with The AIDS Memorial Grove, and two years later it was designated the only national AIDS memorial authorized by Congress and the president.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Libby Ingalls, "AIDS/ARC Vigil 1985-1995," Found SF website, http://foundsf.org/index.php?title=AIDS/ARC_Vigil_1985-1995, accessed March 22, 2014. Health and Human Services was located in the Federal Building, 50 United Nations Plaza (extant), a contributing element to the Civic Center Historic District (see note 134).

¹³⁸ The NAMES Project first met, and had their first home at 2362 Market Street (extant, San Francisco Landmark No. 241).

¹³⁹ The quilt had grown to nearly two thousand panels when it was displayed four months later on the National Mall in Washington, DC, during the National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. The NAMES Quilt was nominated by Representative Nancy Pelosi for a Nobel Peace Prize in 1989, the same year that San Francisco filmmakers Rob Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman won an Academy Award for the documentary film, *Common Threads: Stories from the Quilt* (San Francisco: Telling Pictures Films, 1989). Cleve Jones with Jeff Dawson, *Stitching a Revolution: The Making of an Activist* (San Francisco: Harper One, 2000).

¹⁴⁰ By 1990 the Grove Steering Committee had received Recreation and Parks Department permission to use de Laveaga Dell in Golden Gate Park. Volunteers who reclaimed the formerly derelict site saw it as a metaphor for resilience and the power of community. See Bruner Foundation, *National AIDS*

Conclusion

The *Citywide Historic Context Statement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History in San Francisco* is the most comprehensive research yet conducted on LGBTQ historic sites in an American city. Yet it is by no means complete. The project points to the need for intensive and detailed studies to fill in the gaps in queer histories, as well as the promise of creative approaches to documentation and interpretation. Our intention is that this information will not only provide a platform for better recognition of LGBTQ heritage in San Francisco, but serve as a guide and inspire similar efforts and nominations across the country.

26 PRESERVATION OF LGBTQ HISTORIC & CULTURAL SITES—A NEW YORK CITY PERSPECTIVE

Jay Shockley

For over two decades, New York City has been in the forefront nationally in the historic preservation of LGBTQ historic and cultural sites. Beginning in the early 1990s, a number of historic preservationists, historians, and artists began documenting LGBTQ history and worked on projects to bring official commemoration and public awareness of significant LGBTQ sites.

Given that New York is the largest American city and has a dense urban building fabric, and also that the various New York LGBTQ communities have been so prominent in LGBTQ rights and other social movements, and all aspects of American arts and culture, it is no surprise that there are many notable sites. New York City is also extraordinarily fortunate in the fact that it has had strong historic preservation protections since 1965, and many neighborhoods and sites associated with LGBTQ history are extant through historic district designations, even if their LGBTQ histories

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have often not been officially recognized. Greenwich Village, in particular, one of the first neighborhoods in the city that allowed, and gradually accepted, an open gay and lesbian presence in the early twentieth century, resulting in its emergence as an early, nationally significant LGBTQ enclave, has multiple historic districts that have thus far protected many sites.

A number of strategies have been employed to bring these “hidden histories” to light: identifying previously unknown sites and reinterpreting historic sites through maps, guidebooks, walking tours, public talks, online guides, and street-marking projects; weaving LGBTQ history into documentation of individual landmark and historic district designations; and using a variety of tools to advocate for official recognition of significant representative sites. Unlike the City of San Francisco, for instance, which recently commissioned a four-year long project to produce a context statement for its LGBTQ history and associated sites, New York City has not had an officially sanctioned overall survey of LGBTQ sites, despite extensive documentation within city landmarks designation reports. The currently-evolving, independent New York City LGBT Historic Sites Project, founded in 2014, will do this through a comprehensive survey, documentation, and evaluation of LGBTQ-associated properties in all five boroughs of the city. Below is a chronology of these efforts over the past two decades, as well as a case history of Greenwich Village.

New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission Designation Reports (1992 on) and Pride Month Website Slide Shows (2013-2015)

In 1992, Andrew S. Dolkart in *Guide to New York City Landmarks*, the official guidebook to the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission’s designated landmarks and historic districts, included for the first time several LGBTQ sites, including the Stonewall Inn¹. Also

¹ Andrew S. Dolkart, *Guide to New York City Landmarks* (Washington, DC: Preservation Press, 1992).

beginning that year, staff members of the commission's research department began to include LGBTQ history, where appropriate, in official designation reports for projects to which they were assigned.² The commission did not undertake an effort to locate significant LGBTQ historic sites, so that this staff effort was rather random and in no way reflected an ordering of the most important LGBTQ sites or the diversity of the city in terms of boroughs or race or other criteria. However, as a result of these staff efforts and research, New York City has far more official landmark designation reports that document LGBTQ history and specific extant sites than any other American city. New York lagged behind at least five other cities in designating landmarks specifically for their LGBTQ associations. In June 2015, after years of staff and public advocacy, the commission designated the Stonewall as New York City's first landmark recognized for its LGBTQ history.³

Many of the LGBTQ-related sites documented by staff and designated by the commission were in the greater Greenwich Village area of Manhattan [see case study below], though there were some chance or surprise discoveries in the rest of the city. On occasion, there was the opportunity to introduce an LGBTQ context in a discussion of, for instance, a building type. The Wilbraham is a prime example of a bachelor flats building, a type of residential hotel that developed in the late nineteenth century exclusively for men. At that time, nearly half of men over the age of fifteen in the city were unmarried, and housing options were severely limited for single men, who were seen as a threat to marriage and traditional gender roles. Historian George Chauncey, in his pioneering book *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay*

² This was led primarily by Jay Shockley and Gale Harris.

³ Jay Shockley began to publically advocate for the Stonewall to be designated as an individual NYC landmark in 2009 when he was invited to speak on LGBTQ preservation by the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation (GVSHP). Under Andrew Berman, GVSHP became a political force for LGBTQ preservation after the loss in 2012 of the building at 186 Spring Street, which had been home to a number of early LGBTQ rights leaders. The Stonewall, located at 51-53 Christopher Street, was designated as part of the Greenwich Village Historic District (GVHD) on April 29, 1969, just months before the uprising. It was the first LGBTQ site listed on the NRHP (June 28, 1999), the first LGBTQ NHL (February 16, 2000), and the first LGBTQ National Monument (June 24, 2016). It was designated an NYC Landmark on June 23, 2015.

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Male World, 1890-1940, recognized these apartments as significant early private spaces for some upper-middle-class/professional gay men.⁴

Another Landmarks Preservation Commission research staff effort has been the re-interpretation of already designated landmarks and buildings in historic districts all over the city from an LGBTQ perspective, via slide shows posted on the commission's official website for Pride Month in 2013 through 2015.⁵ The variety of such sites chosen, from the mid-nineteenth century to the present, allowed for a greater diversity, including associations with African Americans, women, and the boroughs other than Manhattan:

Bethesda Fountain, Central Park

Sculptress Emma Stebbins (1815-1882) designed her masterpiece Angel of the Waters in the 1860s while living in Rome with her lover Charlotte Cushman, a leading actress of the American and British stages. Stebbins was but one of a number of lesbian artists who formed a circle around Cushman. This fountain is the earliest public artwork by a woman in New York City and was the only sculpture sanctioned as part of the early design and construction phase of Central Park.⁶

"Clear Comfort" (Alice Austen House)

Alice Austen (1866-1952) lived for much of her life in this early family farmhouse on Staten Island. A photography pioneer most active from the 1880s to the 1920s, she produced about eight thousand images. Among these are Austen and friends dancing together, embracing in bed, and

⁴ George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994). The Wilbraham, located at 1 West 30th Street, remains a residential building. Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC), *The Wilbraham Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2004), researched and written by Jay Shockley.

⁵ This was done by Jay Shockley, Gale Harris, and Christopher D. Brazee.

⁶ Central Park was designated an NHL on May 23, 1963, listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966, and designated an NYC Scenic Landmark on April 16, 1974.



Figure 1: Julia Martin, Julia Bredt, and self: dressed up. Photo by Alice Austen, 1891. From the Collection of Historic Richmond Town.

cross-dressing, photographs that were unique for their time and have become iconic for the LGBTQ community (Figure 1). In 1899, Austen formed an intimate relationship with Gertrude Amelia Tate (1871-1962), who came to live here from 1917 until the property was lost to foreclosure in 1935 and the women were forced to separate. The house became a public museum in 1975, though for decades the real story of the owners' lives was actively discouraged in the museum's interpretation. In recent years, the Historic House Trust has reversed this policy.⁷

⁷ The Historic House Trust Newsletter (Fall 2010) included contemporary re-creations of several of Alice's images by photographer Steven Rosen. The Austen House is located at 2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island. It was designated an NYC Landmark on August 2, 1967, added to the NRHP on July 28, 1970, and designated an NHL on April 19, 1993.

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Oliver Smith House

This Brooklyn Heights residence was purchased in 1953 by Oliver Smith (1918-1994), one of the most famous theatrical designers of his day and a twenty-five time Tony Award nominee. He created the original sets for such Broadway shows as *Guys and Dolls*, *West Side Story*, *My Fair Lady*, *The Sound of Music*, *Hello Dolly!*, and such ballets as *Rodeo* and *Fancy Free*. Smith was associated with an influential group of gay writers, artists, and intellectuals, and perhaps influenced by his time at February House (a noted gay commune that once stood at 7 Middagh Street, since demolished), he established his own home as a center of gay culture in Brooklyn. From around 1955 to 1965, he rented the garden apartment to Truman Capote (1924-1984).⁸

Paul Rudolph Apartments

Paul Rudolph (1918-1997), architect and chairman of the Department of Architecture at Yale University, began renting an apartment in 1961 by the East River in Midtown. After purchasing the building in 1976, he converted it into apartments and added a remarkable, sculptural penthouse completed in 1982. This work is emblematic of the architectural contribution of the LGBTQ community to American architecture and Rudolph's acclaim as one of America's most innovative twentieth-century architects. From 1922 to the early 1950s, this had been the home of "First Lady of the Theater" Katharine Cornell and her husband, director-producer Guthrie McClintic, who had one of the most famous Broadway "lavender marriages" of their day.⁹

⁸ Capote supposedly wrote portions of *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (published 1958) and *In Cold Blood* (published 1966) while living here. The Smith House is located in the Brooklyn Heights Historic District, which was designated an NHL on January 12, 1965, designated by NYC on November 23, 1965, and added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966.

⁹ The term "lavender marriage" usually refers historically to a marriage between a gay man and lesbian, often done for social and professional reasons. The Rudolph Apartments was designated an NYC Landmark on November 16, 2010.

Audre Lorde House

The acclaimed black lesbian feminist writer/activist Audre Lorde (1934-1992) resided on Staten Island from 1972 to 1987 with her partner, psychology professor Frances Clayton. During her time here, Lorde held professorships at Hunter and John Jay Colleges and wrote several books of poetry and essays, as well as her renowned autobiographical works, *The Cancer Journals* (1980) and *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (1984).¹⁰

Lesbian Herstory Archives

Celebrating its fortieth anniversary in 2014, the Archives houses the world's largest collection of materials by and about lesbians and their communities. Established in the Manhattan apartment of Joan Nestle and Deborah Edel, the Archives moved in 1993 to Brooklyn. A combined research facility, museum, and community center, it owns a vast library of books and journals, subject and organizational files, unpublished papers, conference proceedings, reference tools, audio-visual materials, art, and ephemera.¹¹

OLGAD Map, REPOHistory, and Gay New York (1994)

In 1994, the year of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Stonewall Rebellion in New York City, a group of eight historic preservationists and one architect participated in the short-lived Organization of Lesbian + Gay Architects and Designers (OLGAD) and produced one of the first known public attempts in the city to introduce the issue of LGBTQ preservation

¹⁰ The Lorde House is located in the St. Paul's Avenue-Stapleton Heights Historic District, Staten Island, designated by NYC on June 22, 2004.

¹¹ The Archives is located at 484 14th Street in the Park Slope Historic District, Brooklyn, designated by NYC on July 17, 1973, and added to the NRHP on November 21, 1980.

and historic sites.¹² One of the group's members, Ken M. Lustbader, had recently broached this topic in his Columbia University historic preservation thesis "Landscape of Liberation: Preservation of Gay and Lesbian History in Greenwich Village."¹³ OLGAD's map "A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks" (Figure 2) was intended as

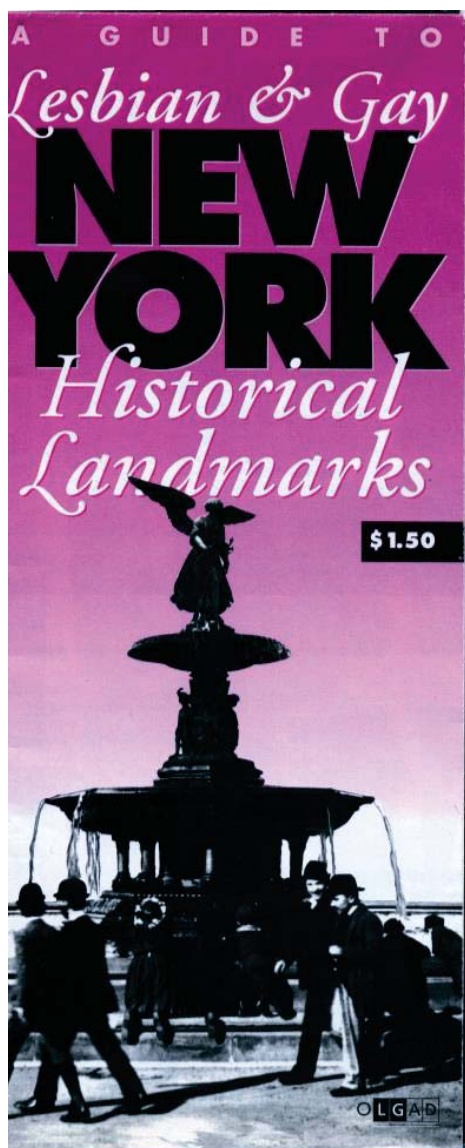


Figure 2: Organization of Lesbian + Gay Architects and Designers, "A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks" map (1994).

a sampling of LGBTQ-related sites, with walking tours of Greenwich Village, Harlem, and Midtown, displaying a wide range of extant buildings. These included well-known landmarks, such as hotels and theaters, listed for their LGBTQ connections, as well as bars and social meeting places, residences of notable people, and gay rights movement locations. This map led the Municipal Art Society and others to begin sponsoring LGBTQ walking tours.

Many of the sites were located in Greenwich Village, which had the largest map. In Harlem, one of New York's most significant African American neighborhoods, just one of the significant sites featured is the famous Apollo Theater, where nearly every important African American entertainer played during its heyday as a showcase for black performers from the 1930s into the 1970s. Gay, lesbian, and bisexual luminaries such as Bessie Smith, Alberta Hunter, Ethel Waters, Jackie "Moms"

¹² Joan C. Berkowitz, Don L. Dinkel, Jr., Andrew S. Dolkart, Gale Harris, Mary Jablonski, Ken M. Lustbader, Tom Reynolds, and Jay Shockley.

¹³ Ken M. Lustbader, "Landscape of Liberation: Preservation of Gay and Lesbian History in Greenwich Village," master's thesis, Columbia University, 1993.

Mabley, Little Richard, Johnny Mathis, Alex Bradford, and James Cleveland appeared there. During the 1960s, a popular attraction was the drag Jewel Box Revue, America's first traveling troupe of gender impersonators featuring a racially integrated cast of twenty-five men and one woman, Master of Ceremonies Stormé DeLarverie.¹⁴

The OLGAD map was not the only project that sought to recognize important LGBTQ sites as part of Stonewall's twenty-fifth anniversary. REPOHistory, an activist group of visual and performance artists, writers, filmmakers, and historians who sought to publicly repossess aspects of history that had generally been ignored, undertook a Queer Spaces project. They designed pink triangle signs giving the LGBTQ history of nine Manhattan locations, which they then erected on street signposts.¹⁵ George Chauncey's *Gay New York*, also published that year, was an immensely important contribution to raising awareness of the incredibly rich history of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century New York City. Two subsequent guidebooks that listed many LGBTQ sites in New York in 1997 were *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites and Stepping Out: Nine Tours Through New York City's Gay and Lesbian Past*.¹⁶

Effort to Have the Stonewall Declared a National Historic Landmark (1994)

In connection with the twenty-fifth anniversary of Stonewall, OLGAD members worked to have the Stonewall Inn (Figure 3) declared a National

¹⁴ The Apollo Theater is located at 253 West 125th Street. It was designated an NYC Landmark and NYC Interior Landmark on June 28, 1983, and listed on the NRHP on November 17, 1983. Organization of Lesbian + Gay Architects and Designers (OLGAD), "A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks" (1994); LPC website, Pride Month slide show (PMSS), 2014, <http://www.nyc.gov/landmarks>.

¹⁵ These included the site of the first ACT UP demonstration at Trinity Church, 74 Trinity Place, listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976; Everard Baths, 28 West 28th Street; Julius' Bar, 159 West 10th Street; and a headquarters of the Daughters of Bilitis.

¹⁶ Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997); and Daniel Hurewitz, *Stepping Out: Nine Tours Through New York City's Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997).

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Historic Landmark (NHL).¹⁷ The designation did not happen at this time for two reasons: the lack of building owner support which was necessary in order to proceed, and the lack of precedence. Since there had never been any prior LGBTQ NHL historic context or theme study developed, the Department of the Interior deemed it impossible to determine the Stonewall's significance. Further, the successes of the gay rights movement were seen as too recent and too limited at that point; a street riot was questioned as the most worthy site for commemoration; Stonewall was not considered a defining moment or event for the LGBTQ community's "basic humanity" to be demonstrated (or commemorated) to American society; and written gay history was misinterpreted as too "lacking" to provide sufficient historical background.¹⁸



Figure 3: The Stonewall Inn, 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. Photo by John Barrington Bayley, circa 1965. Courtesy of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

Thirtieth Anniversary of Stonewall – National Register of Historic Places (1999) and National Historic Landmark (2000)

Just four years later, the Stonewall nomination became a priority, facilitated by openly-gay John Berry, who was serving as Assistant Secretary for Policy, Management and Budget, Department of the Interior.¹⁹ Sponsored by the Greenwich Village Society for Historic

¹⁷ This effort was led by OLGAD member Gale Harris.

¹⁸ Memorandum, March 4, 1994, NPS, Department of the Interior.

¹⁹ Stephen Morris, Chris Thomson, and Jim Gasser, members of Gay, Lesbian or Bisexual Employees (GLOBE), began meeting about the Stonewall in 1998, *Interior GLOBE News* (Spring 2000).

Preservation, the nomination was fast-tracked for listing on the New York State Register and then the NRHP in 1999, and the Stonewall became an NHL in 2000.²⁰ The nomination focused solely on the significance of the Stonewall to LGBTQ history, since the building was already part of the Greenwich Village Historic District, and included the surrounding streets and Christopher Park where the Stonewall Rebellion took place. This expansion of the site to include the park and streets was promoted by Kathleen LaFrank, of the New York State Historic Preservation Office, who suggested Civil War battlefields as a boundary precedent. In order to address the issue of the NRHP fifty-year threshold, the nomination extensively quoted from contemporary newspapers and journals, personal reminiscences, scholarly books, and historians' statements, which established Stonewall's "exceptional significance" due to its impact on the history of civil rights both nationally and internationally. The Stonewall was the first and only specifically LGBTQ-related listing on the NRHP until the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence was added in 2011, and was the only LGBTQ NHL until the Henry Gerber House was designated in 2015.²¹

New York City LGBT Historic Sites Project (2014-2015)

In 2011, three former OLGAD members, Jay Shockley, Andrew S. Dolkart, and Ken M. Lustbader, wishing to raise the discussion of LGBTQ historic preservation on a national level, led the session "Beyond Stonewall: Recognizing Significant Historic Sites of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community" at the National Trust for Historic Preservation Conference in Buffalo. When the Department of the Interior, in 2014, announced the National Park Service Historic Preservation Fund

²⁰ The nomination was written by Andrew S. Dolkart with Jay Shockley, using in part research later published in: David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004).

²¹ The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence, in the Palisades neighborhood of Northwest Washington, DC, was added to the NRHP on November 2, 2011. The Gerber House, in the Old Town Triangle neighborhood of Chicago, was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015.

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Grants to Underrepresented Communities, for projects that would assist in broadening the diversity of sites on the NRHP and as NHLs, the three men submitted an LGBTQ grant application through the New York State Historic Preservation Office. The New York City LGBT Historic Sites Project was awarded a federal grant of \$49,999, and subsequently leveraged additional foundation support.

The New York City LGBT Historic Sites Project, initially conceived as a two-year project, is currently surveying, documenting, and evaluating previously unknown and undocumented properties in all five boroughs of the city associated with LGBTQ historic and cultural themes, as well as those already locally designated or listed on the NRHP, flagged for LGBTQ connections. A publically accessible, online map of sites will be created, using outreach and input from professionals, organizations, archives, and community members. Although New York City has been a national leader in the LGBTQ rights movement, no survey or comprehensive documentation currently exists of sites associated with LGBTQ history. The project provides context and baseline documentation for New York City's LGBTQ history and extant sites; establishes a resource for future scholarship and preservation efforts; and will produce new NRHP nominations, amended NRHP listings, and local designations. The first NRHP nomination by the project was Julius' Bar, which was listed on the New York State Register in March 2016 and on the NRHP in April 2016.²²

Greenwich Village: An LGBTQ Historic Preservation and Cultural Case History

Within greater Greenwich Village, including the East Village and also a few sites in the immediately adjacent SoHo and Union Square neighborhoods, there are numerous, disparate extant sites representing the history of the LGBTQ community from the 1850s to the present. These include bars, popular meeting places, cultural institutions, housing

²² Julius at 159 West 10th Street, New York City was added to the NRHP on April 21, 2016.

accommodations, theaters, residences of noted persons, and sites associated with LGBTQ civil rights. Greenwich Village was one of the first neighborhoods in New York City that allowed, and gradually accepted, an open gay and lesbian presence, which resulted in its emergence as an early and nationally significant LGBTQ enclave. The following discussion is not meant in any manner as a definitive history of the LGBTQ community in New York, or the various communities within the larger community. It represents a partial site-based narrative of New York's first "gay" neighborhood that emerges based solely on documented and extant sites drawn from the various projects mentioned in this chapter above. In particular, many of these sites are documented in official city landmark designation reports, a fact which is unique nationally. New York City is fortunate in the fact that so many LGBTQ-associated sites are protected by historic district designations, within Greenwich Village alone by six historic districts.

Early Known Gay and Lesbian Life from the 1850s to the 1890s

The period from the 1850s to the 1890s is the first recorded emergence in New York of what would now be regarded as LGBTQ spaces, a number of which are extant. The earliest currently known is Pfaff's, operated from 1859 to 1864 by German-born proprietor Charles Ignatius Pfaff, which was a Rathskeller-like beer/wine cellar restaurant in the Coleman House Hotel, extending into the sidewalk vaults (basement area below the sidewalk). It became a favorite haunt of the Bohemians of the 1850s, including artists, writers, and actors. Walt Whitman, iconic in the United States and Europe as one of the first people to openly express the concept of men loving men via his poetry, was a central figure among this group from 1859 to 1862. During his Pfaff's period, around 1859, Whitman wrote twelve famously homoerotic "Calamus" poems that were included in the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass*. A portion of Pfaff's was known as a place for men looking for other men. Although Pfaff's vault

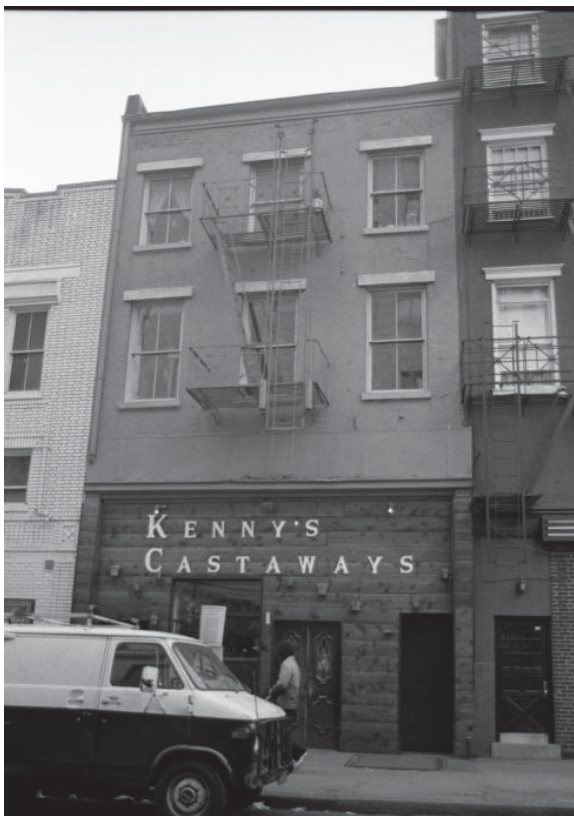


Figure 4: Former location of The Slide, 157 Bleecker Street, New York City, New York, 1980s. Courtesy of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

space has been destroyed, the basement, along with the rest of the hotel, survives.²³

In Gay New York, Chauncey identified the 1890s as one of the earliest periods in the city when one very specific, and “notorious,” aspect of the emerging gay male community—the subculture of flamboyantly effeminate “fairies”—became noticed by a wider public. He posited that this subculture was more fully and publicly integrated into working-class than middle-class culture.²⁴ While the Bowery, Lower East Side, and Tenderloin were the most notorious New York centers for “commercialized vice” and

“homosexual rendezvous” at this time, there were also such spots on Bleecker Street in Greenwich Village. Upper middle-class men, in particular, and some women, were attracted to downtown, in part to witness the “depravity” of the lower classes and thus to be scandalized or titillated (or both). For example, The Slide (Figure 4) was popularly identified by 1890 as “New York’s ‘worst dive’ because of the fairies ... gathered there.”²⁵ A “slide,” in prostitutes’ jargon of the time, was “an establishment where male homosexuals dressed as women and solicited men.”²⁶ Contemporary newspapers, purporting to defend the public’s

²³ The Coleman House Hotel, 645-647 Broadway, is located in the NoHo Historic District, designated by NYC on June 29, 1999. LPC, PMSS, 2014. The only other known extant New York City location associated with Whitman is his house in Wallabout, Brooklyn, where he completed an early version of his *Leaves of Grass* in 1855.

²⁴ Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 34.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 37.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 68. Chauncey suggested that The Slide, in a rowhouse basement, was so named to specifically announce its character, even though its “fairies” did not in fact dress as women.

morals, spotlighted the most sensational aspects of this underworld. The Slide was closed by police in 1892 and the proprietor convicted of keeping a “disorderly house.”²⁷ Another “dive,” the Black Rabbit, was personally raided in 1900 by Anthony Comstock of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. Of this establishment, he fumed “that he has never before raided a place so wicked, and that ‘Sodom and Gomorrah’ would blush for shame at hearing to what depths of vice its habitués had descended.”²⁸

On the opposite side of the social spectrum were a number of LGBTQ individuals who operated within the spheres of upper New York society, politics, and culture. The Victorian lesbian power couple Elsie de Wolfe, often credited as America’s first professional interior designer, and Elisabeth Marbury, one of the world’s leading, and pioneering female, theatrical producers (Figure 5), lived in a house near Union Square between 1892 and 1911. They first met in 1887, and their relationship lasted nearly forty years. Their Sunday afternoon salons



Figure 5: Elsie de Wolfe and Elisabeth Marbury.²⁹

²⁷ The Slide was located at 157 Bleecker Street in the South Village Historic District (SVHD). “The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Community’s Presence in the South Village,” in LPC, South Village Historic District Designation Report (New York: City of New York, 2013), researched and written by Jay Shockley.

²⁸ “Black Rabbit Club is Closed Forever,” *New York Herald*, March 15, 1899, 12; and “Raid on ‘The Black Rabbit,’” *New York Times*, October 6, 1900, 2. The Black Rabbit was located at 183 Bleecker Street in the SVHD.

²⁹ From Elisabeth Marbury, *Reminiscences by Elisabeth Marbury* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1932).

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here were attended by notables connected with the worlds of the arts, society, and politics. By coincidence, the house next door was, according to a 1914 biography, a place where the great gay Irish wit and writer Oscar Wilde lodged while touring America in 1882.³⁰

Murray H. Hall (1840-1901) was a Tammany politico who lived as a man for over thirty years but after death was revealed to have been a woman, creating an international press furor and attracting the attention of pioneering sexologist Havelock Ellis. In 1872, Hall married Cecilia Florence Lowe, a school teacher, and by 1874 Hall had established an employment agency chiefly representing domestic help. The couple moved several times but remained close to the Jefferson Market Police Court since Hall was also a bail bondsman. Hall's last home/office was an apartment on Sixth Avenue. As a Tammany figure, Hall played poker and pool with city and state officials and other political leaders and was often able to secure appointments for friends.³¹

The Gay and Lesbian Presence in the 1910s and 1920s

After a period of decline as a desirable residential neighborhood, Greenwich Village was becoming known, prior to World War I, not only for its historic and picturesque qualities and affordable housing, but also for the diversity of its population and their social and political ideas. In the 1910s, gay men and lesbians frequented the many cheap Italian restaurants, cafeterias, and tearooms that the Village became known for. After the war and increasingly in the 1920s, they appropriated their own spaces, despite some opposition from fellow Villagers. This represented the first instance in New York City of covert middle-class gay and lesbian commercial enterprises, and started the Village's reputation as its most famous gay neighborhood. As Chauncey wrote, "the Village...came to

³⁰ LPC, *East 17th Street/Irving Place Historic District Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 1998), researched and written by Gale Harris and Jay Shockley; and LPC, PMSS, 2013.

³¹ According to one source, Hall (née Mary Anderson) was born in Scotland and at about age sixteen began dressing as a man, taking the name John Anderson. Anderson married young, but had a roving eye and an angry wife who disclosed Anderson's gender to the police. Fearing arrest, Anderson fled to America in 1870 and assumed the name Murray H. Hall. "Murray Hall Fooled Many Shrewd Men," *New York Times*, January 19, 1901, 3; GVHD; and LPC, PMSS, 2014.

represent to the rest of the city what New York as a whole represented to the rest of the nation: a peculiar social territory in which the normal social constraints on behavior seemed to have been suspended and where men and women built unconventional lives outside the family nexus.”³²

In 1914, the block of MacDougal Street just south of Washington Square emerged as a cultural and social center of the Bohemian set, with the Liberal Club, radical feminist Heterodoxy Club, and Washington Square Bookshop. The next-door Provincetown Playhouse from 1916 to 1929 was a serious amateur theater, and though most famous in this period for playwright Eugene O’Neill, it was also associated with figures prominent in the gay and lesbian community including Edna St. Vincent Millay, Djuna Barnes, Katharine Cornell, Tallulah Bankhead, and Eva Le Gallienne.³³ Washington Square Park was by the early twentieth century a popular cruising ground for gay men, and its west side became known as the “meat rack.”³⁴ While West 3rd and 4th Streets had housed some of the speakeasies and tearooms run by and/or catering to New York’s burgeoning lesbian and gay community after the war, this block of MacDougal became an important LGBTQ nucleus, especially after a series of police crackdowns on spots elsewhere in the Village in 1924 and 1925.

One such place on this block was “Eve Addams” Tearoom, a popular after-theater club run in 1925 and 1926 by Polish-Jewish lesbian emigre Eva Kotchever (Czlotcheber), with a sign that read “Men are admitted but not welcome.” A Village columnist in 1931 reminisced that her club was “one of the most delightful hang-outs the Village ever had.”³⁵ After a police raid, Kotchever was convicted of obscenity (for *Lesbian Love*, a collection of her short stories) and disorderly conduct, and was

³² Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 237, 243-244.

³³ Washington Square Bookshop was located at 135 MacDougal Street, the Liberal and Heterodoxy Clubs at No. 137, and the Provincetown Playhouse at No. 139. Of these locations, only a portion of the facade of the playhouse survives.

³⁴ GVHD; OLGAD.

³⁵ Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 242.

deported.³⁶ The Black Rabbit (unrelated to the earlier Bleecker Street establishment with the same name), another of “the Village’s gay stamping grounds,”³⁷ was closed by the police around 1929 and became the Minetta Tavern in 1937.

Webster Hall, one of New York’s most historically and culturally significant large nineteenth-century assembly halls, has been the venue for countless events including conventions and political and union rallies, particularly for the working-class and immigrant populations of the Lower East Side. In the 1910s and 20s, it became famous for its Bohemian masquerade balls (Figure 6). It was significant as a gathering place for the city’s early twentieth-century lesbian and gay community, who felt welcome to attend the balls in drag, and then sponsored their own events by the 1920s. Among the many notables who attended events here at this time were artist Charles Demuth and writer Djuna Barnes.³⁸

The Village attracted a large number of artistic and socially progressive residents, among them many like-minded gay men and lesbians. One of the most notable and enduring Village cultural institutions is the Little Red School House, often considered the city’s first progressive school, founded by lesbian reform educator Elisabeth Irwin (1880-1942). As early as 1912, Irwin worked at revising public school curriculum, and started her progressive “Little Red School House” curriculum in 1921. With the threat of public funding cuts, she was urged to found her own private, independent primary school. In 1932, the school moved to Bleecker Street and a high school (now Elisabeth Irwin High School) was added in 1940.³⁹

³⁶ Ibid, 240. Allegedly “the police had received many complaints about objectionable persons visiting the tea room.” “Sentenced for Giving Book,” *New York Times*, July 3, 1926, 13. Eve Addams’ Tearoom was located at 129 MacDougal Street. LPC, *129 MacDougal Street House Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2004), researched and written by Jay Shockley; SVHD.

³⁷ Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 241. The Black Rabbit was located at 111 MacDougal Street in the SVHD.

³⁸ Webster Hall is located at 119-125 East 11th Street. LPC, *Webster Hall and Annex Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2008), researched and written by Jay Shockley.

³⁹ The Little Red School House is located at 196 Bleecker Street in the SVHD. The Irwin High School is located in the Charlton-King-Vandam Historic District, designated by NYC on August 16, 1966, and added to the NRHP on July 20, 1973.



Figure 6: Masquerade ball in the 1910s or 1920s at Webster Hall, 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, New York. Photographer unknown.⁴⁰

Irwin continued to direct the school until her death. Her partner of thirty years was Katharine Anthony, a social researcher and feminist biographer. They lived nearby and were members of the Heterodoxy Club.⁴¹

Author Willa Cather, then an editor at McClure's Magazine, lived on Washington Square from about 1908 to 1913, with her partner Edith Lewis. Edna St. Vincent Millay was the first woman to win the Pulitzer Prize for poetry (1923), and "Vincent" had a number of relationships with women before her marriage. One of Millay's many Village residences was on Bedford Street in 1922-1923.⁴²

⁴⁰ License: Public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Drag_Ball_in_Webster_Hall-1920s.jpg

⁴¹ Their house on Bank Street is in the GVHD; Martinac, 112-113.

⁴² Cather's apartment was at 82 Washington Place West. This building and Millay's residence are in the GVHD. OLGAD.

LGBTQ Social and Cultural Life, 1930s to the 1950s

From the 1930s, and particularly after World War II, the area of Greenwich Village south of Washington Square continued as the location of many known bars and clubs that catered to, welcomed, or merely tolerated, the LGBTQ community. Reflecting the not wholly hospitable climate of the post-war period, even in this neighborhood, many of these bars (largely lesbian) were located in the shadow of the elevated train that ran along West 3rd Street. Louis' Luncheon (1930s-1940s) was a hangout popular with gay men and lesbians, writers, and chorus girls. Tony Pastor's Downtown (1939-1967) had a mixed clientele of lesbians and tourists, some gay men, and female impersonators. Raided on morals charges in 1944 for permitting lesbians to "loiter" on the premises, Pastor's survived apparently with mob backing. The New York State Liquor Authority, however, revoked its liquor license in 1967 because, in the homophobic language of the agency, it had "become disorderly in that it permitted homosexuals, degenerates and undesirables to be on the license premises and conduct themselves in an offensive and indecent manner."⁴³ Among the numerous other lesbian bars nearby were Swing Rendezvous (c. 1940-1965), also a jazz club, Ernie's Restaurant/Three Ring Circus (c. 1940-1962), mostly heterosexual but also attracting working-class lesbians, Mona's (c. late 1940s-early 1950s), and Pony Stable Inn (c. late 1940s-1968), remembered by African American lesbian poet Audre Lorde in *Zami Sister Outsider Undersong*.⁴⁴

The San Remo Cafe (c. 1925-1967) was a working-class bar that became a famous Bohemian hangout that attracted in the late 1940s and early 1950s, among its most prominent patrons, many gay artists and writers. These included Tennessee Williams, Gore Vidal, James Baldwin, Allen Ginsberg, William Burroughs, W. H. Auden, Harold Norse, John Cage, Larry Rivers, Frank O'Hara, and Merce Cunningham. The Music Box (c.

⁴³ "Liquor License is Revoked at Tony Pastor's Night Spot," *New York Times*, March 18, 1967, 15.

⁴⁴ Louis' Luncheon was located at 116 MacDougal Street. Tony Pastor's Downtown was located at 130 West 3rd Street. Swing Rendezvous was located at 117 MacDougal Street. Ernie's Restaurant/Three Ring Circus was located at 76 West 3rd Street. Mona's was located at 135 West 3rd Street. All of these buildings are in the SVHD.

1950-1972) was one of the places listed in a 1955-1956 FBI investigative report of “notorious types and places of amusement” in the Village that stated “A majority of the bars and restaurants in this area cater to lesbians and homosexuals, quite a few of whom reside in the area and are not inhibited in the pursuit of their amorous conquests. In the bars and



Figure 7: Apartment building, 171 West 12th Street, New York City, New York. Photo by John Barrington Bayley, c. 1965. Courtesy of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

restaurants there will also be found a segment of the tourist trade who go to the Village to observe the lesbians and queers at play and to enjoy the atmosphere of the ‘gay life.’”⁴⁵

Farther west in the Village, the Stewart (later Life) Cafeteria opened in 1933, quickly became a popular haunt for lesbians and gay men. Its plate-glass windows allowed visitors to the Village to gawk at the homosexuals inside, frequently attracting crowds.⁴⁶ In today’s East Village, the Mafia-controlled 181 Club (1945-1953), called “the homosexual Copacabana,” was one of the

⁴⁵ FBI, “Notorious Types and Places of Amusement” (April 1956), cited by the OutHistory website, October 2013, <http://www.outhistory.org>. The San Remo was located at 93 MacDougal Street, and the Music Box at 121 West 3rd Street. Both buildings are in the SVHD.

⁴⁶ The Stewart Cafeteria was located at 116 Seventh Avenue South, in the GVHD. OLGAD.

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most luxurious gay and lesbian clubs in the United States and featured lavish shows of female impersonators.⁴⁷

Greenwich Village continued to attract many notable LGBTQ residents. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt had key associations with Village women beginning in the 1920s. An apartment building on West 12th Street (Figure 7) housed many influential women between 1920 and 1950, including lesbians of note: Communist Party leaders Grace Hutchins and Anna Rochester, political radical Polly Porter, Democratic Party leader Mary Dewson, artist Nancy Cook, and educator Marion Dickerman, who organized the Todhunter School on the Upper East Side, and the Val-Kill furniture factory in partnership with Roosevelt, on her property near Hyde Park, New York. From 1933 to 1942, Roosevelt rented an apartment “haven” in the East 11th Street house of two close friends, writer Esther Lape and attorney Elizabeth Read. The couple, who lived here for over two decades, were influential suffragists, political reformers, and founders of the League of Women Voters. Roosevelt maintained her own apartment on Washington Square in 1942-1949.⁴⁸

Photographer Berenice Abbott (1898-1991) and her partner Elizabeth McCausland (1899-1965) lived and worked in two flats they shared in a Village loft building from 1935 to 1965. An influential art critic and historian, McCausland wrote the text for Abbott’s classic photographic series *Changing New York*, published in 1939. Djuna Barnes was a longtime resident of a modest rowhouse on Patchin Place after the publication of her lesbian novel *Nightwood* in 1936.⁴⁹ St. Luke’s Place with its stately houses has long been a favored address for leaders in the arts and entertainment industry. Among its famous residents were painters Paul Cadmus (1904-1999) and Jared French (1905-1988), lovers

⁴⁷ The 181 Club was located in the former Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater, 181-189 Second Avenue. LPC, *Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 1993), researched and written by Jay Shockley; and LPC, PMSS, 2014. The building was listed on the NRHP as the Yiddish Art Theatre on September 19, 1985.

⁴⁸ The apartment building at 171 West 12th Street, house on East 11th Street, and apartment building at 29 Washington Square West are located in the GVHD; OLGAD.

⁴⁹ Abbott and McCausland resided on Commerce Street. This building and Patchin Place are located in the GVHD. LPC, PMSS, 2013 and 2014; OLGAD.

when they moved there in 1935. French married artist Margaret Hoening in 1937 and they continued to share their home with Cadmus, who was joined by a new lover, painter George Tooker (1920-2011). In 1948, their friend George Platt Lynes photographed them here. Another close friend, British author E. M. Forster, was their houseguest in 1947 and 1949, and other visitors included Tennessee Williams, Cadmus's brother-in-law Lincoln Kirstein, and Andy Warhol.⁵⁰

In the 1950s, the celebrated African American authors, civil rights activists, friends, and early gay-rights pioneers James Baldwin (1924-1987) and Lorraine Hansberry (1930-1965) moved to the Village. Baldwin was openly gay and many of his works centered on gay or bisexual characters and frankly explored issues of identity, race, and homosexuality.⁵¹ Calling himself a “transatlantic commuter” he lived much of his life abroad while maintaining a series of residences in New York. From around 1957 to 1963 he rented a Village apartment. Hansberry, meanwhile, joined the Daughters of Bilitis homophile organization in 1957 and penned several essay-length letters about such topics as sexual identity, feminism, and homophobia to its publication, *The Ladder*. She moved into an apartment on Bleecker Street in 1953, shortly after she married Robert B. Nemiroff. In 1960, using a portion of the profits from her wildly successful play *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959), the couple—who later divorced amicably— purchased a residence near Washington Square. Hansberry became involved with one of the building's tenants, Dorothy Secules, and the two remained partners until Hansberry's premature death from cancer.⁵²

⁵⁰ The Cadmus-French-Tooker residence is located in the GVHD. Playwright-screenwriter-director Arthur Laurents (1917-2011) also bought a house on St. Luke's Place around 1960 and resided there until his death in 2011, for most of the time with his partner Tom Hatcher (d. 2006). Over that long period, Laurents wrote the screenplays for *The Way We Were* (1973) and *The Turning Point* (1977) and won Tony Awards for his book for *Hallelujah, Baby!*, his direction of *La Cage aux Folles* (1984), and a revival of *Gypsy* (2009). LPC, PMSS, 2013 and 2014; OLGAD.

⁵¹ These included his second novel *Giovanni's Room* (1956), *Another Country* (1962), and *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone* (1968).

⁵² Baldwin's apartment on Horatio Street, and Hansberry's residences on Bleecker Street and Waverly Place are all located in the GVHD. LPC, PMSS, 2014.

The LGBTQ community has had a disproportionately significant and immeasurable impact on the cultural life of Greenwich Village and all of New York City, particularly in its theaters, which have featured the work of LGBTQ actors, directors, playwrights, and the various associated professions, as well as performers in its cafes and clubs, and as patrons of all of these venues. In the 1950s, Greenwich Village and the East Village became the cradle of what became the off-Broadway and off-off Broadway theater movements. The former Jaffe Art Theater, one of the most tangible reminders of the heyday of Yiddish theater in twentieth-century New York, was particularly renowned as the Phoenix Theater from 1953 to 1961. Founded by Norris Houghton and T. Edward Hambleton, it featured the work of directors including Tony Richardson and such performers as Montgomery Clift, Will Geer, Farley Granger, Eva Le Gallienne, and Roddy McDowall.⁵³ Actress-manager Julie Bovasso, in 1955, established and directed the Tempo Playhouse in the East Village, where she is credited with the American premieres of works by Jean Genet, including *The Maids*, as well as Gertrude Stein's *In a Garden* and *Three Sisters Who Are Not Sisters*.⁵⁴



Figure 8: The former Caffè Cino, 31 Cornelia Street, New York City, New York, 2010. Courtesy of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

⁵³ The Phoenix Theater was located at 181-189 Second Avenue. LPC, *Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater Designation Report*.

⁵⁴ The Tempo Playhouse was located on St. Mark's Place. In 1964 this location also became a venue for the showing of early Avant-garde "underground" films by the Film-Makers' Cooperative under Jonas Mekas, then film critic of *The Village Voice* and editor-publisher of *Film Culture* magazine. The work of the Kuchar Brothers was introduced here, including the premiere of *Lust for Ecstasy*. The district

Caffe Cino (Figure 8) is widely recognized as the birthplace of off-off Broadway theater and is also significant as a pioneer in the development of gay theater. In 1958, Joe Cino (1931-1967) rented a ground-story commercial space, originally intending to operate a coffee shop with a small exhibition space for concerts, poetry readings, and art exhibits. He then allowed patrons to stage small Avant-garde theatrical performances. His partner Jon Torrey worked as electrician and lighting designer. Many of its early productions featured gay characters or subject matter. The staging of Lanford Wilson's *The Madness of Lady Bright* in 1964 was both the Cino's breakthrough hit and an early play to deal explicitly with homosexuality. Caffe Cino provided an important platform for newly emerging gay playwrights such as Doric Wilson, H. M. Koutoukas, Bob Heide, Bill Hoffman, Lanford Wilson, Tom Eyan, Jeff Weiss, David Starkweather, Charles Stanley, and Robert Patrick. The coffeehouse itself also became an important gay meeting spot, offering an alternative to bars and bathhouses. It closed in 1968, a year after Cino's suicide following Torrey's accidental death.⁵⁵ Judson Memorial Church on Washington Square, with an activist congregation, had begun sponsoring Avant-garde exhibits and performances in the 1940s and playwright/minister Al Carmines staged his own works here after 1958.⁵⁶

1960s – Early 1970s – the Early LGBTQ Rights Movement and Cultural Influence

Inevitably, Greenwich Village has many of the sites most associated with the struggle for LGBTQ rights in New York City, and nationally, over the decades. Julius' Bar by the 1950s attracted a gay clientele, despite

attorney's office raided the theater, seizing Jack Smith's allegedly "obscene" film *Flaming Creatures* and arresting Mekas, and he was again arrested for showing Genet's *Un Chant d'Amour*. LPC, *Hamilton-Holly House Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2004), researched and written by Jay Shockley.

⁵⁵ Caffe Cino was located at 31 Cornelia Street. LPC, *Greenwich Village Historic District Extension II Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2010), researched and written by Olivia Klose Brazee, Marianne Percival, and Virginia Kurshan; and LPC, PMSS, 2013.

⁵⁶ Judson Memorial Church, 55 Washington Square South, was designated an NYC Landmark on May 17, 1966, and listed on the NRHP on October 16, 1974. OLGAD.

the treatment they received. With the New York State Liquor Authority's (SLA) regulations against serving liquor to "disorderly" patrons, and its interpretation that homosexuals were per se in that category, the bar's management pursued a policy of not encouraging the presence of gay men. On April 21, 1966, members of the New York Mattachine Society staged a "sip-in" at Julius' to challenge SLA regulations. The tactic was that men would enter the bar, declare their sexual orientation, and order a drink—knowing that they would be turned away. The group then filed a complaint of discrimination with SLA, and the publicity attracted favorable public support and the attention of the New York City Commission on Human Rights. This was a hugely significant pre-Stonewall assertion of LGBTQ rights and paved the way for the right of gay people to peacefully assemble and the legalization of gay bars.⁵⁷ That same year, a mass protest against the Lindsay administration's attempt to "clean up" Washington Square was staged from Judson Memorial Church, which was used in the 1960s-70s for lesbian and gay political gatherings.⁵⁸ In 1967, gay activist Craig Rodwell opened the Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookshop on Mercer Street, which was the nation's first lesbian and gay book store. It became a community meeting center as well.⁵⁹

The Stonewall Inn is considered one of the most significant sites associated with LGBTQ history in New York City and the entire country. In June 1969, a routine police raid on this bar resulted in active resistance, setting off days of confrontation and demonstrations, with unprecedented cries for "gay pride" and "gay power." The Stonewall Rebellion sparked the next phase of the gay liberation movement, which involved more radical political action during the 1970s, and also inspired the LGBTQ pride movement. The first anniversary of the uprising was commemorated in June 1970 as Christopher Street Gay Liberation Day, the main event being a march from Greenwich Village to Central Park.

⁵⁷ Julius' Bar, which remains in operation, is located at 159 West 10th Street, in the GVHD. LPC, PMSS, 2013 and 2014. It was listed on the NRHP on April 21, 2016.

⁵⁸ OLGAD.

⁵⁹ The first location of the shop was in the apartment building at 291 Mercer Street. From 1973 to 2009, the shop as the Oscar Wilde Bookshop, was located at 15 Christopher Street, in the GVHD. OLGAD; and LPC, PMSS, 2014.

Preservation of LGBTQ Historic and Cultural Sites—A New York City Perspective

In the immediate aftermath of Stonewall, one of the earliest organizations formed was the Gay Liberation Front (GLF). Though of brief duration, the Gay Community Center was located (c. 1970-1971) on West 3rd Street (formerly Tony Pastor's Downtown). GLF had Sunday meetings and dances here, and this was also the headquarters of Radicalesbians, spun off of the male-dominated GLF in 1970, and the meeting place of Gay Youth, for GLF members under the age of eighteen.⁶⁰ A former firehouse in SoHo served as the headquarters of Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) (Figure 9) in 1971-1974. Formed in 1969 when a number of members broke away from the more radical GLF, GAA was primarily a



Figure 9: Gay Activists Alliance Firehouse, 99 Wooster Street, New York City, New York. Photo by John Barrington Bayley, circa 1972. Courtesy of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

political activist organization whose exclusive purpose was to advance LGBTQ civil and social rights. It lobbied for the passage of local civil rights laws, banning police entrapment and harassment, the creation of fair employment and housing legislation, and the repeal of sodomy and solicitation laws. Many of the group's activities were planned at the Firehouse, including sit-ins and picket lines. Perhaps the most famous GAA tactic was the "zap," a direct, public confrontation with a political figure regarding LGBTQ rights designed to gain media attention. The Firehouse also served as an

⁶⁰ The Gay Community Center was located at 130 West 3rd Street, in the SVHD.

important community center and hosted numerous social events, particularly Saturday night dance parties and Firehouse Flicks, a movie series selected by activist and film buff Vito Russo.⁶¹

During the 1960s, the influence of the LGBTQ community on off- and off-off-Broadway theater continued as strongly as before. The Provincetown Playhouse, in a later incarnation, housed Edward Albee's first play *The Zoo Story* (1960).⁶² The Cherry Lane Theater, formed in 1924-1926 as an experimental theater by Edna St. Vincent Millay with friends, developed a close association with Albee in the early 1960s, presenting *The American Dream*, *The Sandbox*, and *The Death of Bessie Smith*. In 1969, the theater featured a retrospective look at the life and career of Lorraine Hansberry, *To Be Young, Gifted and Black*.⁶³ La Mama Experimental Theatre Club in the East Village was founded in 1961 by Ellen Stewart and opened in its current location in 1969. Today it is widely considered the oldest, most influential, and most prolific of all the off-off-Broadway stages. Though commercial theater has never been its focus, a number of La Mama plays achieved success on Broadway, including Harvey Fierstein's *Torch Song Trilogy*, and its resident director, Tom O'Horgan, later produced the influential hit *Hair*. Among the many notable playwrights and directors associated with La Mama have been Jean-Claude van Itallie, Tom Eyen, Lanford Wilson, William Hoffman, Charles Ludlam, Terrence McNally, Joseph Chaikin, John Vaccaro, Marshall Mason, and Meredith Monk.⁶⁴

1970s to the Present

While the LGBTQ bar and social scene in Greenwich Village had emerged around MacDougal Street in the 1910s-1920s and remained

⁶¹ The Firehouse, at 99 Wooster Street, was designated as part of the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District by NYC on August 14, 1973, while GAA still occupied the building and their lowercase lambda symbol was displayed on the facade. The district was designated an NHL on June 2, 1978, and listed on the NRHP on June 29, 1978. LPC, PMSS, 2013 and 2014.

⁶² SVHD.

⁶³ The Cherry Lane Theater, at 38 Commerce Street, is in the GVHD. OLGAD.

⁶⁴ La Mama is located at 74 East 4th Street. LPC, AschenbroedelVerein (later Gesangverein Schillerbund/now La Mama Experimental Theatre Club) Building Designation Report (New York: City of New York, 2009), researched and written by Jay Shockley.

centered in the South Village through the 1960s, there was also a migration northwest, to venues on Greenwich Avenue in the 1950s. Christopher Street became one of the best-identified LGBTQ locations in the world after Stonewall, and the popularity of the thoroughfare was sustained in the 1960s and 1970s by many gay-owned and gay-friendly bars and businesses. Gay men had traversed to the western terminus of Christopher for decades, to the piers along West Street for sexual encounters. By the early 1970s, the western end of Christopher Street and adjacent blocks along West Street, long established with seamen-oriented waterfront taverns, had become a nucleus for bars catering to a gay clientele. Six of the fourteen buildings that comprise the Weehawken Street Historic District have housed gay bars from that time to the present.⁶⁵

North of Christopher Street, in the meatpacking district (today's Gansevoort Market Historic District), another type of LGBTQ nightlife—very late and usually sexual—emerged (Figure 10). The *New York Times* in 1995 described its varied activities: “nightspots lie scattered, often tucked away, among the frigid warehouses of beef, pork, veal and poultry...The meatpacking district runs around the clock, and throughout, there are marked shifts in what goes on...Burly men in stained white overalls often unload meat trucks in the predawn hours just as club kids and bikers emerge from late-night hangouts...The district has always had a vibrant gay and lesbian night scene.”⁶⁶ The first of the new businesses (other

⁶⁵ These included West Beach Bar & Grill, 388-390 West Street (c. 1970-1980); Choo Choo's Pier, 392-393 West Street (c. 1972); Peter Rabbit, 396-397 West Street (c. 1972-1988); Ramrod, 394-395 West Street (c. 1976-1980); Sneakers, 392-393 West Street (c. late 1970s-1999); Badlands, 388-390 West Street (c. 1983-1991); and Dugout/RockBar, 185 Christopher Street (c. 1985-present). LPC, *Weehawken Street Historic District Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2006), researched and written by Jay Shockley.

⁶⁶ “Shifting Shadows and the Multiple Personality of the Meatpacking District,” *New York Times*, February 5, 1995. The earliest gay club here was the Zoo, 421-425 West 13th Street, in 1970. This was followed by Cycle/Den/ Zodiac/O.K. Corral/Mineshaft, 835 Washington Street (1970-85); Triangle/Barn/Attic/Sewer/J's Hangout/Hellfire, 669-685 Hudson Street (1971-2002) (Figure 10); Clit Club/Mother/Jackie 60, 859-877 Washington Street (1990s); Lure, 405-409 West 13th Street (1995-2003); and Locker Room/Mike's Bar, 400 West 14th Street (1990-1993). LPC, *Gansevoort Market Historic District Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2003), researched and written by Jay Shockley. The Gansevoort Market Historic District was listed on the NRHP on May 30, 2007.

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than clubs) in the district was Florent Restaurant opened in 1985 by Florent Morellet in a 1949 diner, which became quite popular as an all-hours spot and performance venue.⁶⁷

Two of New York's most famous LGBTQ clubs opened in the East Village. The Pyramid Club (1979-present) became a defining venue in the 1980s for Avant-garde music and "politicized" drag performers such as Lypsinka, Lady Bunny, and RuPaul, and sponsored early benefit concerts for AIDS. The Saint (1980-1988), owned by gay entrepreneur Bruce Mailman and located in the former Commodore Theatre (later Fillmore East), was one of the most spectacular and expensive dance clubs the city had ever seen.⁶⁸

Numerous LGBTQ notables in the arts have continued to reside and work in the Village. The Merce Cunningham Dance Studio, one of



Figure 10: 669-685 Hudson Street building, New York City, New York, 2003. Courtesy of the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission.

⁶⁷ It was located at 69 Gansevoort Street, in the Gansevoort Market Historic District (GMHD).

⁶⁸ The Pyramid Club is located at 101 Avenue A, and the Saint was located at 105 Second Avenue. LPC, *East Village/ Lower East Side Historic District Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2012), researched and written by Christopher D. Brazee.

America's most influential dance companies, was located in a penthouse of Westbeth Artists' Housing (former Bell Telephone Laboratories) along the Hudson River waterfront from 1971 until 2010.⁶⁹ Star chef James Beard and his partner, architect Gino Cofacci, purchased a house on West 12th Street in 1973. The ground-floor interior was re-designed for the kitchen, site of Beard's famous classes and cooking demonstrations, and the building later became the James Beard Foundation.⁷⁰ After the front portion of the Jaffe Art Theater was converted into apartments, residents included Jackie Curtis, drag "superstar" in Andy Warhol films, photographer Peter Hujar (1975-1987), and artist David Wojnarowicz (1980-1992).⁷¹ The last apartment of iconic artist Keith Haring (1958-1990) was on LaGuardia Place. Author/playwright Paul Rudnick, who lived in the 1990s in the former apartment of actor John Barrymore, wrote the play *I Hate Hamlet* (1991), which was set in this apartment and featured the ghost of Barrymore.⁷²

As New York's longest-established gay neighborhood, the Village remained the location of a number of significant institutions. From 1975 to 2016, Congregation Beit Simchat Torah, the city's first LGBTQ synagogue (established 1973), worshiped at Westbeth, led by Rabbi Sharon Kleinbaum since 1992.⁷³ The Lesbian & Gay Community Services Center (now Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community Center) was organized in 1983 and took title to a former school building in 1984. A focal point for LGBTQ activities in the metropolitan area, each year the Center welcomes more than three hundred thousand visitors and is used by over four hundred community groups to host meetings, social and cultural events, and health-based programs. The Center witnessed the

⁶⁹ The Cunningham Dance Studio was located at 55 Bethune Street. LPC, *Bell Telephone Laboratories Complex Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2011), researched and written by Jay Shockley. Bell Telephone Laboratories was listed on the NRHP on May 15, 1975. It was listed again as Westbeth on December 8, 2009.

⁷⁰ The James Beard Foundation, at 167 West 12th Street, is in the GVHD. OLGAD.

⁷¹ The former Jaffe Art Theater is located at 181-189 Second Avenue. LPC, *Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater Designation Report*.

⁷² Haring's and Rudnick's apartments were located in the SVHD.

⁷³ The synagogue was located at 57 Bethune Street. LPC, *Bell Telephone Laboratories Complex*; and LPC, PMSS, 2014.

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founding of GLAAD (formerly Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation, 1985) and ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power, 1987). The important community service group SAGE (Services & Advocacy for Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual & Transgender Elders) also met here for over twenty years. In 1988, it housed the Quilt Workshop to create panels for the Names Project AIDS Memorial Quilt. For Stonewall's twentieth anniversary in 1989, the Center presented *Imaging Stonewall*, a site specific installation of fifty artworks that included a mural by Keith Haring in the second floor men's room (restored 2012). In 1990, the LGBT Community Center Archive was established under the curatorship of Rich Wandel and now houses thousands of papers, periodicals, correspondence, and photographs donated by individuals and organizations. Today, the Center remains a major forum for politicians and gathering place for political groups, an important center for cultural events, and a gathering place for the LGBTQ community in times of trouble and celebration.⁷⁴ The former Rectory of St. Veronica's Roman Catholic Church was selected by the Catholic Church to become a hospice for homeless AIDS patients and the facility opened in December 1985. From 1993 to 2003, the New York City Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project and Empire State Pride Agenda were located in the meatpacking district.⁷⁵

Finally, one former restaurant location has taken on historic significance in light of the path-breaking Supreme Court decision in *United States v. Windsor* in 2013. *Portofino* (c. 1959-1975) was an Italian restaurant in the South Village that was a discreet meeting place frequented on Friday evenings by lesbians. The case that overturned the federal Defense of Marriage Act had its roots in the date here in 1963 of Edith S. Windsor and Thea Clara Spyer. The couple eventually married in

⁷⁴ The Center is located at 130 West 13th Street, in the GVHD. LPC, PMSS, 2014.

⁷⁵ The Rectory of St. Veronica's Roman Catholic Church was located at 657 Washington Street. LPC, *Greenwich Village Historic District Extension Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2006), researched and written by Jay Shockley. The Anti-Violence Project and Empire State Pride Agenda were located at 647 Hudson Street, in the GMHD.

Canada in 2007 and Windsor challenged the act after receiving a large tax bill from inheriting Spyer's estate.⁷⁶

Summary

New York City, the largest American city, has played a prominent role in the LGBTQ rights and other social movements, and is recognized as one of the most important centers for all aspects of American arts and culture. There are many known extant historic and cultural sites of import to the LGBTQ community and nation. Since the early 1990s, various efforts towards their documentation, recognition, and commemoration have placed New York in the forefront nationally in LGBTQ historic preservation. Greenwich Village is an example of an historic “gay” neighborhood that can be analyzed for its significant sites. However, much work remains to be done in New York—such as further research and evaluation of known sites, uncovering currently unknown ones, and, above all, representing the great diversity of all of the communities within the greater LGBTQ community of the city. The New York City LGBT Historic Sites Project, among many other efforts, will hopefully accomplish these tasks and continue to provide inspiration for other projects around the nation.

⁷⁶ Portofino was located at 206 Thompson Street, in the SVHD.

27 LOCATING MIAMI'S QUEER HISTORY

Julio Capó, Jr.

In the wee hours of a summer night in 1954, several Dade County deputies raided a handful of bars and nightspots throughout Miami and Miami Beach in what had popularly become known as their “pervert roundup.” Local law enforcement arrested nineteen “suspected perverts” that August night. Police, politicians, and those connected to the courts often used the term “pervert” to reference those thought to be homosexual or those who challenged gender norms, particularly by wearing clothes traditionally associated with the opposite sex. They raided those places that night just as they had in the past and would continue to do in the future. This was, by no means, an anomalous occurrence. “We don’t want perverts to set up housekeeping in this county,” claimed Dade

The author would like to express his gratitude to the whole crew connected to the NPS’s important initiative to promote and identify queer historical sites in the United States. Many thanks, in particular, to Megan Springate and the two anonymous reviewers for providing such thoughtful feedback on an earlier draft of this essay.

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County Sheriff Thomas J. Kelly. “We want them to know that they’re not welcome.”¹

Fast-forward sixty years to 2014, when the same county, by then renamed Miami-Dade County to capitalize on the namesake of its internationally-recognized major city, prohibited discrimination based on gender identity and expression. On December 2, 2014, the Miami-Dade County Commission voted eight to three to extend legal protections to transgender individuals in the realms of employment, housing, and public accommodation. County residents filled the County Hall in downtown Miami and offered over four hours of crucial debate on the matter.² Once the commissioners announced their majority vote in favor of adding the anti-discrimination clause, many of those eagerly anticipating the decision in the chambers celebrated with booming cheers and applause—even as a sizeable part of the audience expressed disappointment. In many ways, this moment represented unfinished business of a local political movement that started in earnest in the 1970s. Indeed, a lot had changed in Miami since its “pervert roundup” days.³

As this reveals, Miami has a long and rich queer history. That is, the city has a complex relationship with those whose gender and sexual identities, expressions, and behaviors have somehow been seen as different or against established norms. These queer representations are fluid and change over space and time. As such, these histories include “unsavory” vagrants, female and male impersonators, “mannish” women, lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgender individuals, as well as many others.

Here I present a cohesive narrative of Miami’s queer past that is by no means exhaustive. Rather, I seek to concisely capture snapshots of the

¹ “Raiders Seize 19 in Pervert Roundup,” *Miami Daily News*, August 14, 1954; also see Fred Fejes, “Murder, Perversion, and Moral Panic: The 1954 Media Campaign against Miami’s Homosexuals and the Discourse of Civic Betterment,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9, no. 3 (July 2000): 305–347.

² The Stephen P. Clark Government Center, or County Hall, is located at 111 NW First Street, Miami, Florida. It was built in 1985.

³ Tony Lima, executive director of SAVE Dade, personal communication with author, August 10, 2015; and Patricia Mazzei and Douglas Hanks, “Miami-Dade Commission Bans Discrimination Based on Gender Identity,” *Miami Herald*, December 2, 2014, accessed May 11, 2015, <http://www.miamiherald.com/news/local/community/miami-dade/article4249334.html>.

area's diverse queer communities while remaining true and faithful to the historical record. While I highlight some better-known moments, I also seek to shed light on histories that have largely been erased from this narrative. Throughout this essay, I stress two themes that best represent Miami's significance in regional, national, and even international queer history. The first concerns questions of public struggle and visibility. In particular, this perspective factors how Miami's queer community negotiated its space in the city's social, cultural, political, and economic realms. My other major intervention highlights Miami's status as a city of the Americas. Shifting attention to Miami and its rich immigrant cultures—especially as the city's distinct ethnic groups gained greater political power in the urban center—helps reframe the general narrative of US queer history. It reveals this queer past is far less bound or dictated by national borders and far more racially and ethnically diverse than mainstream narratives generally ascribe.

One brief caveat: like many other metropolitan areas in the United States, the space generally perceived as “Miami” is often imprecise or misleading. In actuality, the metropolitan area of Miami represents a constellation of distinct municipalities, including Miami Beach, Coral Gables, Hialeah, and so forth. When applicable, I refer to these distinct municipalities. Otherwise, I refer to both Miami proper and Miami. The former refers to the actual City of Miami, while the latter includes parts of incorporated and unincorporated Miami-Dade County.

Incorporated in 1896 with the votes of less than 350 residents, Miami proper is, relatively speaking, a very new city. The majority of the city's early power brokers—those who controlled the city's newspapers, law enforcement, courts, and real estate—were primarily white men, and a few women, from the US Midwest, Northeast, and South. These early settlers often built their empires by exploiting the social and cultural customs of the day, particularly Jim Crow racial segregation and discrimination.⁴ A lot

⁴ N. D. B. Connolly, *A World More Concrete: Real Estate and the Remaking of Jim Crow South Florida* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2014).

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of Miami's early laborers were "native" blacks who migrated to Miami from north and central Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina.⁵

Equally important were the migrants who came from the Caribbean and worked building the city's infrastructure and Miami's growing agricultural and service industries. Unlike other metropolitan areas in the United States, Miami never attracted a great number of immigrant-laborers from eastern or southern Europe. Instead, Miami's early labor force was largely made up of black migrants from the then-British colony of the Bahamas.⁶

Indeed, one of Miami's greatest sources of distinction—true in both the nineteenth century and today—was its connection to the Caribbean. Miami's early labor needs found hundreds of black Bahamian men traveling to Miami in search of work during the early 1900s. Their migration was further motivated by struggling local economies in the Bahamas; the product of falling global prices on pineapples and sisal, natural disasters, drought, and a general sentiment of discontent among laborers who learned they could earn higher wages abroad.⁷

In addition to the gendering of the city's construction and agricultural work as male, US immigration policy restricted many black Bahamian women from entering Miami. The reasons for this were often sexualized, as immigration officials suspected many unmarried or single Bahamian women of being prostitutes. This unbalanced immigration policy meant that many transient Bahamian men lived in "bachelor" cultures and spaces in their new, often temporary, adoptive city. Such spaces often facilitated same-sex intimacy, including sexual acts. At this time, however, women and men did not yet organize or understand their lives the way we do today; that is, those who engaged in same-sex sexual behavior did not

⁵ Marvin Dunn, *Black Miami in the Twentieth Century* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 71.

⁶ Melanie Shell-Weiss, "Coming North to the South: Migration, Labor and City-Building in Twentieth-Century Miami," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 84, no. 1 (Summer 2005): 79–99.

⁷ Raymond A. Mohl, "Black Immigrants: Bahamians in Early Twentieth-Century Miami," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (January 1987): 271–97; and Howard Johnson, "Bahamian Labor Migration to Florida in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *International Migration Review* 22, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 84–103.

understand themselves as either “homosexual” or “heterosexual,” as neither identity yet had formal currency. This shift did not occur fully until about World War II.⁸ Meanwhile, this gender-imbalanced migration also facilitated female-dominated spaces on several of the islands in the Bahamas, particularly those in the north such as Abaco, Bimini, and Cat Island.⁹

This history, then, locates Miami's early harbor as an important site of the city's queer and migrant history. In the early 1900s the port was located between Sixth and Ninth Streets on Biscayne Bay and, due to the harbor's shallow waters, new channels were dredged to allow larger vessels to pass.¹⁰ Some of these vessels carried Bahamians trying to enter the new city. While many “sexually suspect” Bahamian women were excluded, the city's dire labor needs demanded male laborers. In particular, Miami entrepreneurs looked for young and able-bodied men to do physically demanding work. The city's early criminal records show that Miami's law enforcement policed black Bahamian migrants far more stringently than other residents; arresting them for varied crimes such as vagrancy and cohabitation. Several of the Bahamian men were charged with committing same-sex crimes, such as sodomy or a crime against nature. All of these charges marked them as sexually “perverse,” transgressive, and unnatural.¹¹

While the Bahamians represented a critical part of the city's early black, ethnic, and working-class sexual life, Miami's white male elites also carved out their own queer spaces in the early city. It is important to note that the city's early power brokers segregated black residents—including the Bahamians—away from their neighborhoods and into a part of the city then called “Colored Town” (today, it is known as historic Overtown, a neighborhood just northwest of downtown Miami) through Jim Crow laws

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 Julio Capó, Jr., “Welcome to Fairyland” (manuscript in progress).

¹⁰ Arthur Chapman, “Watch the Port of Miami,” *Tequesta* 53 (1993): 9–13.

¹¹ Capó, Jr., *Welcome to Fairyland*.

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and discriminatory housing policies.¹² White women and men often frequented these black, working-class spaces. In fact, they proved to be eager clients and participants in the early city's sexual economy, which thrived in Miami's Colored Town during the first few decades of the twentieth century. These white residents often "slummed" in these racialized spaces because they believed them to be more titillating and subversive; but since it occurred "over there," they upheld a pretense of security and respectability.¹³

One of the early city's elite queer spaces was the Italian-style palazzo Vizcaya located on the shores of Biscayne Bay in the Coconut Grove neighborhood.¹⁴ James Deering, an agricultural equipment tycoon from Chicago, chose Miami—then mostly a barren swampland—as the site for his winter villa. He ordered the villa built and ultimately lived there from



Figure 1: West Parterres of the Villa Vizcaya, circa 1934. Frank Bell Photographic Collection, courtesy of Vizcaya Museum & Gardens, Miami, Florida.

¹² Connolly, *A World More Concrete*.

¹³ "Segregation for Lewd Women is Asked by Jury," *Miami Daily Metropolis*, November 29, 1918.

¹⁴ Villa Vizcaya is located at 3251 South Miami Avenue, Miami, Florida. It was listed on the NRHP on September 20, 1970 (boundary increase November 15, 1978) and designated an NHL on April 19, 1994. It is currently a museum.

late 1916 until his death in September 1925. The property, which remains in pristine condition today, defined extravagance and excess (Figure 1). In addition to its fine tropical gardens, “the interior of Villa Vizcaya is the repository of a wonderful collection of art objects, antique statuary, brocades, velvets, carpets, and hangings, which centuries ago were precious possessions in Venetian palaces,” noted one contemporary.¹⁵ Much like the working-class lodges and boarding houses many Bahamians and other black and ethnic laborers lived in, Vizcaya was a predominantly male space in its early days.

All sorts of stories—many unsubstantiated or untrue—persist about Vizcaya’s queer history. Rumor, perhaps closer to folklore, suggests that Deering hosted queer parties during his time there. Many take it a step further and describe Saturnalia where queer men would unleash their sexual inhibitions. None of this is substantiated by the available evidence. While there is no documentary evidence that Deering had sexual relationships with other men, that association somehow stuck with him over time. He was, for instance, often referred to in the historical record as a “bachelor”—a common euphemism for a contemporary queer, or potentially queer, man. Decades after his death, this association had spread so widely that a 1961 newspaper referred to Deering as “the prissy bachelor who preferred bourbon to women.”¹⁶ Perhaps this explains the origins of that unfounded rumor. Meanwhile, the evidence does reveal one of Vizcaya’s other early residents maintained a homosexual relationship at the villa. Artist, interior decorator, and architect Paul Chalfin—who proved central to Vizcaya’s aesthetic—lived openly with his male lover, Louis Koons, in the mid-1910s and early 1920s.¹⁷

The rendering of Vizcaya as a queer space, particularly with lavish gay parties, is more likely connected to Miami’s White Party. The event was first conceived in 1984 as a modest gathering to raise funds for a local

¹⁵ “Villa Vizcaya, Miami, Florida,” *Harper’s Bazaar*, July 1917, 41.

¹⁶ Jim Bishop, “Jim Bishop: Reporter,” *Lewiston Evening Journal (Maine)*, February 20, 1961, 4.

¹⁷ Interview with Diego Suarez, April 20, 1965 and June 4, 1965, “James Maher Archive Series IV, Interviews - 1964-1965,” Box 2, James Maher Papers, Vizcaya Museum & Gardens Archive, Miami, Florida.



Figure 2: The main event at the 26th annual White Party Week was held at the Vizcaya Villa on November 28, 2010. Photograph by Michele Sandberg/ZUMApres.com.

HIV/AIDS organization known as Health Crisis Network (today, Care Resource), a social service organization responding to the AIDS crisis founded in 1983 by members of the local queer community. Thousands of local LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) and allied women and men are joined every year by thousands from across the nation and abroad. Attendees dress in white, often scantily, for a number of dance parties and celebrations. Over the years, Miami's White Party has raised millions of dollars to help provide local services with people living with HIV/AIDS, a disease that devastated the queer community.¹⁸ Villa Vizcaya served as the site for this massive weeklong party until 2010 (Figure 2). In this and several other ways, the site has long held an important place in Miami's queer imaginary. Or, put another way, its significance to the queer community transcended the evidence substantiated in the historical archive and took on new meaning through a sort of local folklore that highlighted queer visibility and resilience.

¹⁸ Luisa Yanez, "To Fight AIDS, Gays Wear White Tonight and Party at Vizcaya," *Sun-Sentinel*, December 1, 1996.

By the late 1930s and 1940s, Miami had an elaborate nightlife that prominently featured both male and female impersonators. During the World War II era, with the infusion of a rich African American and Caribbean culture—including that corresponding to the aforementioned Bahamians—Miami's Colored Town became known as the "Harlem of the South." Particularly along northwest Second Avenue, the area gained a reputation for housing one of the nation's most vibrant scenes for entertainment, nightlife, and music. This included female impersonators and a growing queer culture.¹⁹

One drag revue, the Jewel Box, was particularly successful, renowned, and influential in disseminating queer culture in Miami, as well as throughout the nation and parts of North America. Performances began in 1938, perhaps even earlier, at the Embassy Hotel in Miami Beach.²⁰ The Jewel Box Revue was formally established the following year. Danny Brown and Doc Benner, reported to be lovers, owned and ran the show, which featured over two dozen female impersonators and one male impersonator. By 1946, the two men had opened up their own club space, the Jewel Club, on the Miami side of Venetian Causeway.²¹ By then, the revue had grown in popularity with its incredibly successful tour throughout North America, from Juárez, Mexico to Chatham, Ontario in Canada.²² By this period in history a growing queer community—represented by groups of people who now largely identified as lesbian and gay, for instance—had become visible in Miami. The city's queer community had carved out their own spaces in Miami: popular nightspots where they worked or starred in revues, lesbian and gay bars, or areas near the beach where they could meet others like them. Indeed, a queer culture thrived in the city, despite efforts to suppress it.

¹⁹ Dunn, *Black Miami in the Twentieth Century*, chap. 4.

²⁰ The Embassy Hotel was located at 2940 Collins Avenue, Miami Beach, Florida. It is currently the Hilton Garden Inn Miami. James Sears, *Lonely Hunters: An Oral History of Lesbian and Gay Southern Life, 1948-1968* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), 23

²¹ The Jewel Club was located at 512 NE Fifteenth Street, Miami, Florida (now demolished).

²² Program, "The Jewel Box Revue: Show Sensation of the Nation," n.d., Author's Collection; Bud Coleman, "The Jewel Box Revue: America's Longest-Running, Touring Drag Show," *Theatre History Studies*, no. 17 (1997): 79-91.

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While the Jewel Box Revue only featured one regular male impersonator, women in Miami often pushed gender norms to the limits. As local politicians grew increasingly worried with what became known as the “homosexual problem” in the city, commissioners passed new laws that prohibited men from impersonating women or from wearing clothes unbecoming of the masculine ideal.²³ Miami proper, for instance, passed such an ordinance in 1952—just as the city’s queer culture had become more public and visible. In January 1953, one of the most popular local entertainers and dancers, Joanne Gilbert, identified and exploited a loophole in the 1952 legislation: it did *not* apply to women. Swapping out her scanty burlesque costume for a pair of masculine britches and a shirt, Gilbert tongue-in-cheekily went on stage and thrilled her audience at the famous Clover Club.²⁴ Such resistance led commissioners to change the law in 1956 to include both women and men from being “in a state of nudity or in a dress not customarily worn by his or her sex.”²⁵ Meanwhile, Miami’s growing lesbian community and its queer women’s culture—including several bars and nightspots, such as one called Goggie’s—was featured in several pulp fiction novels and magazines during the 1950s and 1960s.²⁶

In addition to frequenting bars and nightspots throughout the city, Miami’s queer communities also established their own territory on the area’s public beaches. The city’s queer communities congregated by the sands of Twenty-Second Street in Miami Beach (Figure 3). By the early 1950s, that part of the beach attracted “men with girlish-looking hair-dos and flimsy, Bikini-type tights,” as well as queer women.²⁷ Police records

²³ City of Miami Commissioners Meeting Minutes, September 15, 1954, City of Miami Clerk’s Office, Miami, Florida.

²⁴ “Miami Mish-Mash,” *Miami Daily News*, January 1, 1953, 7B. The Clover Club was located at 118 Biscayne Boulevard, Miami, Florida.

²⁵ William N. Eskridge, Jr., “Privacy Jurisprudence and the Apartheid of the Closet, 1941 - 1961,” *Florida State University Law Review* 24, no. 4 (Summer 1997): 830.

²⁶ Julia Penelope, *Call Me Lesbian: Lesbian Lives*, *Lesbian Theory* (Freedom, CA: Crossing Press, 1992), 7–8; and John Dexter, *Miami Call Girl* (United States: Nightstand Books, 1960).

²⁷ Stephen J. Flynn, “Turn-About Not Fair Play, Say Beach Police,” *Miami Herald*, November 21, 1953, 1B; and James T. Sears, “Growing Up as a Jewish Lesbian in South Florida: Queer Teen Life in the Fifties,” in *Generations of Youth: Youth Cultures and History in Twentieth-Century America*, ed. Joe Austin and Michael Nevin Willard (New York: NYU Press, 1998), 178.

reveal that those who transgressed gender norms were particularly susceptible to arrest and harassment.



Figure 3: Mid-1950s aerial view looking west at Twenty-First (on left) and Twenty-Second (on right) Streets on Miami Beach. The busy parking lot demonstrates the area's popularity and the ease in which people could access the beach, a common nighttime hangout for the city's queer communities. Photo courtesy of the State Archives of Florida (WE050, Wendler Collection).

As that suggests, in part, this increased visible queer culture led to more aggressive and violent police crackdowns. For instance, the beach parties on Twenty-Second Street helped fuel the “pervert roundup” described in the introduction to this essay. Another major manifestation of this was the state-run body called the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, better known as the “Johns Committee.” Named after its first chairman, former State Senator and Governor Charley E. Johns, the body was created to suppress contemporary social upheaval. In particular, its origins were in dismantling successes for black civil rights. From 1956 through 1965, however, the Johns Committee also targeted

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homosexuals.²⁸ This culminated in its investigation of suspected homosexual professors and students in the state university system. The state-instituted oppression on homosexuality had a massive ripple effect on Miami, as Florida investigators worked closely with Miami's politicians, law enforcement, and civic leaders to purge suspected lesbians and gays from their posts at local schools and colleges.²⁹

Despite these raids and forms of state oppression, these beaches, bars, and other spaces proved critical to creating community, combating isolation, and served as a precursor for future mobilization and political organizing. In January 1953, California-based activists who were part of the early homophile movement launched a magazine titled *ONE* to serve as a "forum where the gay minority could present its views to the public and to other homosexuals." A few months after its founding, *ONE* had a readership of over two thousand.³⁰ This included several in Florida. The homophile movement combated queer Miamians' sense of isolation and depression while simultaneously forging community. Homophiles often worked as a "watchdog" for homosexual oppression throughout the country. In January 1954, *ONE* published a piece titled "Miami Junks the Constitution" that condemned the recent police crackdown in the city. In addition to detailing the discriminatory practices of Miami's law enforcement, it reminded readers of their constitutional rights pertaining to arrest, detainment, and harassment.³¹ Make no mistake, Miami's queer culture registered in the national imagination. For some, this was a badge of shame or notoriety. For many others, it was part of the city's appeal.

²⁸ Stacy Braukman, *Communists and Perverts Under the Palms: The Johns Committee in Florida, 1956-1965* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012); Dan Bertwell, "A Veritable Refuge for Practicing Homosexuals: The Johns Committee and the University of South Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 83, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 410-431; and 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 & London: NYU Press, 1997), 132-163.

²⁹ Julio Capó, Jr., "'It's Not Queer to Be Gay'" Miami and the Emergence of the Gay Rights Movement, 1945-1995," PhD diss., Florida International University, 2011.

³⁰ 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), 73. Also see Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

³¹ "Miami Junks the Constitution," *ONE*, January 1954, 16-21.

As much of the above suggests, transgender individuals and gender expressions considered to be against the norm have always been central to Miami's queer history. For example, Miami residents closely followed one of the most sensational news stories of the 1950s: when an "ex-G.I." underwent sex reassignment surgery and debuted in the press as the "blonde beauty," Christine Jorgensen.³² Upon learning about Jorgensen's transition, Charlotte F. McLeod (née Charles E. McLeod) underwent surgery in 1953. She too told the world about the "army of people who live deeply depressed, under circumstances we cannot control," a reference to how her anatomy did not represent her gender identity as a woman.³³ "I always thought, felt, and reacted like a woman," she explained. Despite her pleas for understanding, transsexuals like McLeod were thrust into the era's Cold War debates on science and psychiatry. McLeod got entangled with contemporary anxieties over nuclear warfare and homosexuality. In fact, some conservatives and traditionalists even considered transsexuality a possible solution to the growing "homosexual problem."³⁴

McLeod moved to Miami a few years after the initial reports about her transition. She lived in relative obscurity in an apartment near Biscayne Bay.³⁵ McLeod found herself back in the spotlight—or under the microscope, as most contemporaries probed her as a curious scientific experiment—in 1959. That year, the local press reported that she had married a man at a local Baptist church. Within a month, word got out that McLeod, described in some reports as "he," had married a man.³⁶ Her marriage caused some in Miami to erroneously claim that the city had condoned same-sex marriage and prompted the city's first real public debate on the matter.³⁷

³² "Ex-GI Becomes Blonde Beauty: Operations Transform Bronx Youth," *New York Daily News*, December 1, 1952.

³³ "In Christine's Footsteps," *Time*, March 8, 1954.

³⁴ Joy Reese Shaw, "Her Own Story: Once G.I., Now a Bride," *Miami Herald*, November 13, 1959, 20A; and Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

³⁵ Phil Meyer, "Ex-GI Changes Sex—She's Now a Miami Bride," *Miami Herald*, November 13, 1959.

³⁶ Karl M. Bowman and Bernice Engle, "Sex Offenses: The Medical and Legal Implications of Sex Variations," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 25, no. 2 (Spring 1960): 308.

³⁷ John Connors, "Nothing in Law Here to Make It a Crime," *Miami Herald*, November 13, 1959, 2A.

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The marriage debate changed drastically over the next five decades. Floridians banned same-sex marriage in 2008. In 2014, however, Florida judges ruled the ban unconstitutional. A stay placed on the ruling was enacted, but then lifted, and on January 5, 2015, Miami-Dade County began issuing marriage licenses to same-sex couples. Just a few minutes after she ruled to lift the stay, Judge Sarah Zabel wed Karla Arguello and Catherina Pareto in her chambers at the Miami-Dade Courthouse (Figure 4). The two women had been partners for fourteen years.³⁸ Just a few months later, on June 26, the US Supreme Court ruled that the US



Figure 4: Karla Arguello (right) and Catherina Pareto (left) leaving the Miami-Dade County Courthouse shortly after Judge Sarah Zabel lifted the stay prohibiting same-sex marriages in the state. The women were the first same-sex couple to legally wed in Florida following the decision. AP Photo/Wilfredo Lee, January 5, 2015.

³⁸ Patricia Mazzei and Steve Rothaus, "Same-Sex Marriages Begin in Miami-Dade County," *Miami Herald*, January 5, 2015, accessed May 13, 2015, <http://www.miamiherald.com/news/local/community/gay-south-florida/article5439081.html>. Located at 73 West Flagler Street, the Miami-Dade County Courthouse has a long history with the city's queer communities. It was listed on the NRHP on January 4, 1989.

Constitution guarantees the right to same-sex marriage. With this historic decision, Florida's same-sex marriages would be legal and recognized throughout the rest of the nation.³⁹

Across Biscayne Bay in 1972, the Miami Beach Convention Center became a critical site for queer activism.⁴⁰ By the early 1970s, years of homophile and gay liberation activism—both at the local and national level—had started to galvanize Miami's queer community. Miami became a hotbed for national politics in 1972 when the convention center hosted both the Democratic and Republican National Conventions. Gay liberationists, along with many leftists, anti-war protestors, second-wave feminists, and others, had high hopes that change was possible under the



Figure 5: Protestors outside the Democratic National Convention, held at the Miami Beach Convention Center, in July 1972. On the far left, you can see signs that read “God loves gays,” “Gay Activists Alliance,” and “Glad to be gay.” Photo courtesy of the State Archives of Florida (JB00259, John Buckley Collection).

³⁹ Katie Park, “How Same-Sex Marriage Became Legal,” *Washington Post*, June 26, 2015, accessed August 11, 2015, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/politics/advancements-in-same-sex-marriage>.

⁴⁰ The Miami Beach Convention Center is located at 1901 Convention Center Drive, Miami Beach, Florida.

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proposed leadership of George McGovern (D-SD), the Democratic Party's presidential nominee. McGovern's campaign became the first to court lesbian and gay votes throughout the country. There were plans to include an ambitious gay rights platform at the July convention (Figure 5). In the end, the platform was rejected as too radical.⁴¹ Democratic delegates, however, had the opportunity to hear activists Jim Foster and Madeline Davis speak on behalf of the minority plan on sexual orientation. Their speeches were televised, which helped spread the word on gay liberation throughout the country.⁴² The following month, the Republicans endorsed incumbent Richard Nixon in the same venue. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender activists attended that convention, too, staging a protest outside that resulted in at least twenty arrests.⁴³

In the coming years, Miami became a popular site for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender tourism. For instance, the community-building, political activism, and general momentum of the 1972 presidential election led to Miami's first gay pride activities that June. The events brought many queer activists from throughout the country to the city. As part of the gay pride celebration, activists demonstrated on Lincoln Road Mall in Miami Beach, just a few blocks away from where the conventions were held.⁴⁴ They protested local ordinances that barred gender nonconformity, particularly female impersonations. Several noted that this demonstration was, in part, an effort to make transgender visitors more comfortable in the city.⁴⁵ In the coming years, particularly in the 1990s, Lincoln Road and other parts of South Beach attracted thousands of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender tourists from across the country and abroad. South Beach became the site of countless queer beach

⁴¹ Julio Capó, Jr., "Echoes of Miami Beach in Charlotte," *Miami Herald*, September 2, 2012.

⁴² Bruce Miroff, *The Liberals' Moment: The McGovern Insurgency and the Identity Crisis of the Democratic Party* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 215–218; Dudley Clendinen and Adam Nagourney, *Out for Good: The Struggle to Build a Gay Rights Movement in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999), chap. 9.

⁴³ "At Least 20 Gays Arrested in Protests at GOP Conclave," *Advocate*, September 13, 1972, 3.

⁴⁴ Lincoln Road Mall is located at 400-1100 Lincoln Road from Washington Avenue to Alton Road in Miami Beach, Florida. It was listed on the NRHP on May 16, 2011.

⁴⁵ "Gay Pride in Miami: Dancing, Demonstrating," *Advocate*, July 5, 1972, 3.

parties, bars, and nightclubs.⁴⁶ The massive growth and popularity of Miami's White Party, for instance, was similarly a product of this.

Meanwhile, back in the late 1970s, Miami became the battleground site for a new national movement that sought to reverse predominantly lesbian, gay, and bisexual political advancements in the area. Miami housed several political organizations then, such as a Gay Activists Alliance and a Lesbian Task Force (through the National Organization of Women). One openly gay activist named Jack Campbell co-founded a new organization in 1976 called the Dade County Coalition for the Humanistic Rights of Gays. Its main objective was political reform, particularly through the ballot box. One of the politicians the group endorsed was Ruth Shack, who won a seat on the Metro-Dade County Commission. Shack followed through with her promises and on January 18, 1977, the commission passed an ordinance she spearheaded that barred discrimination based on "affectional or sexual preference" in employment, housing, and public accommodation.⁴⁷ The commission voted three to five at the historic Dade County Courthouse (today, the Miami-Dade County Courthouse).⁴⁸ These protections mirrored the language employed by civil rights legislation in the previous decade.⁴⁹ The 2014 amendment that extended legal protections to include gender identity and expression in the county was, in many ways, tending to unfinished business from this ordinance.

The bold 1977 ordinance was met with massive resistance from conservatives throughout Miami and the nation. Many of the opponents at the hearing before the vote had been bused in "from fundamental Christian churches."⁵⁰ New coalitions linked to the New Right—a conservative and moralist political movement that attacked liberal

⁴⁶ Kai Kenttamaa Squires, "Declining Gayborhood or Homonormative Playground in the Making? South Beach Reinvented," MA Thesis, University of Miami, 2014.

⁴⁷ Morton Lucoff, "Metro Bans Bias Against Gays," *Miami News*, January 18, 1977, 1A.

⁴⁸ The Miami-Dade County Courthouse is located at 73 West Flagler Street, Miami, Florida. It was listed on the NRHP on January 4, 1989.

⁴⁹ Gillian Frank, "'The Civil Rights of Parents': Race and Conservative Politics in Anita Bryant's Campaign against Gay Rights in 1970s Florida," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 22, no. 1 (January 2013): 126–160; Capó, Jr., "It's Not Queer to Be Gay".

⁵⁰ Lucoff, "Metro Bans Bias Against Gays," 1A.

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reforms—challenged many of the advances the queer community had made or sought to make. No person was more visible in this movement against the ordinance and what it represented than Anita Bryant, a locally-based, national celebrity and Florida orange juice spokeswoman. She felt particularly betrayed, as she too had personally supported Shack in her bid for the commission seat. Bryant launched her “Save Our Children” campaign to overturn the measure. In the end, she and her supporters rallied enough community opposition to the ordinance to bring the matter to referendum.⁵¹ On June 7, 1977, county residents ultimately rescinded the progressive ordinance that shielded lesbians, gays, and bisexuals from discriminatory practices. They were, once again, susceptible to formal and legal inequity.⁵²

Despite that, this affair mobilized the queer communities—both within Miami and around the United States—in unprecedented ways and ushered many out of the closet and into the streets and voting booths. That is, while Miami’s queer community lost a battle on June 7 when the ordinance was overturned, it eventually won the war. Many who once felt apathetic to or separate from political debates concerning their sexualities galvanized to face-off against Anita Bryant and her supporters. Jack Campbell, who co-founded the 1976 organization that helped fund politicians amenable to lesbian and gay rights, reached out to those who passed through his business. He was the founder of a national chain of gay bathhouses, Club Baths. He expanded his empire further by opening Club Miami near Coral Gables.⁵³ The bathhouse became a key site for community building, organizing, and fundraising, as substantial portions of

⁵¹ Anita Bryant, *The Anita Bryant Story: The Survival of Our Nation’s Families and the Threat of Militant Homosexuality* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1977).

⁵² Fred Fejes, *Gay Rights and Moral Panic: The Origins of America’s Debate on Homosexuality* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Patrick McCreery, “Save Our Children/Let Us Marry: Gay Activists Appropriate the Rhetoric of Child Protectionism,” *Radical History Review*, no. 100 (Winter 2008): 186–207.

⁵³ Club Miami was located at 2991 Coral Way, Miami, Florida. It is under new ownership as a gay sauna called Club Aqua Miami.

the profits went to fighting Bryant and the “Save Our Children” campaign.⁵⁴

All of this prepared Miami's queer community to come to the assistance of their “sisters and brothers” from Cuba who sought to make the city their new home.⁵⁵ Thousands of Cubans had made Miami their new home both prior to, but especially after, the island's 1959 Revolution.⁵⁶ Since then, members of Miami's Cuban community have added richly to the city's growing queer culture. At the same time, in 1977 some conservative Cubans also worked against the queer communities. Many of the city's Cuban residents voted in support of Anita Bryant's referendum and celebrated the repeal of the ordinance as evidence, at least in part, of their arrival in urban politics.⁵⁷

The Mariel boatlift of 1980—a massive exodus of Cubans that proved to be one of the most controversial waves of immigration in US history—complicated these tensions. This new wave of Cuban immigration found roughly 125,000 Marielitos—as they became known, since they left from the Port of Mariel—in the United States from April to October 1980. Cuban leader Fidel Castro referred to them as the “lumpen-proletariat,” or the dregs of society who would never become an integral part of the island's revolutionary project. This “criminal” and “undesirable” population included several hundred women and men who identified as lesbian or gay, or engaged in homosexual behaviors on the island, or who expressed themselves in gender nonconforming ways.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ William N. Eskridge, Jr., *Dishonorable Passions: Sodomy Laws in America, 1861-2003* (New York: Viking, 2008), 209–210; and Clendinen and Nagourney, *Out for Good*, 293–295.

⁵⁵ Dale Leech, “Presence of Jesus Seen at Cuban Refugee Camp,” *IN UNITY: Magazine of the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches*, October 1980, 4–5.

⁵⁶ María Cristina García, *Havana USA: Cuban Exiles and Cuban Americans in South Florida, 1959-1994* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); and Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

⁵⁷ “Importante factor el voto cubano en la derrota de la ordenanza pro homosexuales,” *Diario Las Américas*, June 9, 1977.

⁵⁸ Julio Capó, Jr., “Queering Mariel: Mediating Cold War Foreign Policy and U.S. Citizenship among Cuba's Homosexual Exile Community, 1978 – 94,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 29, no. 4 (Summer 2010): 78–106.



Figure 6: Typical scene in Miami's "Tent City," the temporary housing camps under I-95. Downtown Miami can be seen in the background. Bob Mack, Photographer. Courtesy HistoryMiami (Miami News Collection, 1984-214-3299-5).

With the arrival of the Marielitos, some contemporaries noted that "cruising," or the act of finding a casual sexual partner, and a growing transgender community became more visible throughout the city. Many observed how some Marielitos who had been assigned male at birth often dressed in women's clothing in public spaces or offered fashion or preening advice in department stores.⁵⁹ Two of the most significant sites for this urban transformation were the Miami Orange Bowl in the Little Havana neighborhood and the area located under the Interstate 95 overpass near downtown by the Miami River that became known as "Tent City" (Figure 6).⁶⁰ Miami's overlapping queer and Cuban communities came to the assistance of these Marielitos. The Cuban immigrants received access to many donations, such as mounds of clothing some used to transgress gender norms or to represent their gender identities. In

⁵⁹ Guillermo Martinez, "Tense City: Wait Is Endless, Tempers Short for Refugees," *Miami Herald*, August 21, 1980, 1B-2B; Susana Peña, *Oye Loca: From the Mariel Boatlift to Gay Cuban Miami* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

⁶⁰ The Miami Orange Bowl was located at 1501 NW Third Street, Miami, Florida. It was demolished in 2008.

addition, Miami's queer and Cuban communities raised funds and launched sponsorship programs to help the Marielitos find homes, jobs, and learn English. They also offered them legal advice on how to navigate the immigration process in the United States.

The Marielitos proved critical to a massive change in US immigration reform. Officially since 1952—and, through other measures, as early as 1917—the United States maintained a policy of barring homosexual foreigners from entering the country.⁶¹ The queer Marielitos, however, posed a significant conundrum to the United States because they fled Cuba, a communist nation. In the midst of a heated Cold War, wherein the United States became a refuge for those fleeing communism and did so as an effective foreign policy tool, the US Government amended its immigration policy in part to accommodate and admit the incoming Marielitos. In this way, the United States' anti-communist imperative trumped its longstanding anti-gay immigration policy. From 1980 to 1990, the United States implemented a policy to only exclude homosexual foreigners from entering the United States upon a “voluntary submission by the alien that he or she is homosexual.” In this way, the queer Marielitos proved instrumental to affecting change for many future queer migrants. The Immigration Act of 1990 statutorily removed homosexuality as a ground for exclusion from entering the United States, even though queer foreigners continued to be excluded or discriminated against at the border in other ways. Despite the state's continued sexual anxieties at the border, in the coming decades Miami became a refuge for many other queer migrants—particularly from Latin America and the Caribbean.⁶²

For many of these queer immigrants, the freedom they thought they had found in their new home was complicated by an unforeseeable plague: HIV/AIDS. The disease, of course, did not only affect queer immigrants. Soon after the disease was “discovered” in 1981, many members of

⁶¹ Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); and Eithne Luibhéid, *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

⁶² Capó, Jr., “Queering Mariel,” 96; and Capó, Jr., “It's Not Queer to Be Gay”.

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Miami's queer community became infected with the mysterious disease, inexplicably showing symptoms such as lesions on their skin, and were desperate for answers and medical attention.⁶³

Hundreds of gay, bisexual, and queer men, in particular, found themselves in Jackson Memorial, the county's public hospital.⁶⁴ So too did sympathetic queer and allied women, serving as caretakers and advocates for their sick or dying friends. One newspaper reported, "AIDS victims have poured into Jackson Memorial over the past two years, and many have died there."⁶⁵ Jackson Memorial Hospital opened up its South Florida AIDS Network (SFAN) in 1986, the first county-run organization to provide services to people infected with HIV or living with AIDS. Despite the dire need for treatment and service providers, lack of resources and funds forced SFAN to only open a few short hours a week at first.⁶⁶ Even as late as 1988, new adult AIDS patients waited an average of three to four months before being seen at the hospital's AIDS clinic. So many who were gravely ill often could not wait that period of time and, instead, had to seek treatment at the hospital emergency room.⁶⁷

As in other cities, many people in Miami grew increasingly hostile towards and discriminated against those infected, or those suspected of being infected, with the deadly disease. One of the greatest distinctions of this urban space, however, was the city's large Haitian community, which endured some of the most egregious forms of discrimination. From the beginning of the epidemic, Haitians were listed as a high-risk group for the disease. In a July 1982 report, the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) revealed that twenty Haitians residing in Miami had shown evidence of

⁶³ Lawrence K. Altman, "Rare Cancer Seen in 41 Homosexuals," *New York Times*, July 3, 1981; and Maurice Miller, "AIDS Cases in Florida Jump 27%," *Miami Daily News*, August 11, 1983.

⁶⁴ Jackson Memorial Hospital is located at 1161 NW Twelfth Avenue, Miami, Florida.

⁶⁵ Strat Douthat, "Miami Hospital Is a Haven for AIDS Victims," *Gainesville Sun*, September 20, 1985, 8A.

⁶⁶ Jeffrey Laign, "Group Donates \$1.6 Million for AIDS Programs," *Sun-Sentinel*, October 24, 1986.

⁶⁷ Michael Lasalandra, "New AIDS Patients Waiting Months for Jackson Clinic," *Miami News*, January 8, 1988, 1A, 4A; and *The Day It Snowed in Miami*, Directed by Joe Cardona (Miami Herald/WPBT2, 2014), DVD.

“opportunistic infections.”⁶⁸ Haitians, including some whom engaged in same-sex acts, became erroneously associated with what had become known as—also erroneously—a “gay disease.” This spread the misconception that Haitians were somehow naturally prone to HIV and, as a result, many were refused work, a place to live, or admission to schools. Meanwhile, consistent with the city’s longstanding history with the Caribbean—particularly the Castro regime in Cuba—some Miami lesbian and gay activists openly criticized the Haitian government’s treatment of its own queer communities.⁶⁹

In the following years, new immigrant groups—including Nicaraguans, Colombians, Venezuelans, and Brazilians—entered Miami in large numbers and added greatly to its vibrant queer community.⁷⁰ By the 1990s, Miami had become known as a refuge for queer exiles throughout Latin America and the Caribbean.⁷¹ These Latin American and Latina/o communities played integral roles in new LGBTQ political campaigns. On December 1, 1998, Miami-Dade County commissioners prohibited discrimination based on sexual orientation, and again, as in 1977, there was an effort to repeal the ordinance. Many in Miami feared that overturning the amendment would have grave effects on the city’s lucrative LGBTQ tourism industry. Local politicians and celebrities, such as Cuban-born singer Gloria Estefan, voiced their pro-gay rights stance and their opposition to repeal. Miami-Dade County’s Cuban American Mayor Alex Penelas voiced his commitment to upholding the anti-discriminatory measure: “We’re trying to build an image of international metropolis, a bridge among cultures, but we would be saying ‘By the way, it’s OK to

⁶⁸ Centers for Disease Control (CDC), “Opportunistic Infections and Kaposi’s Sarcoma Among Haitians in the United States,” *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report (MMWR)* 31, no. 26 (July 9, 1982): 353–354; LB Moskowitz et al., “Unusual Causes of Death in Haitians Residing in Miami - High Prevalence of Opportunistic Infections,” *JAMA: The Journal of the American Medical Association* 250, no. 9 (September 2, 1983): 1187–1191.

⁶⁹ Karen Payne, “Haiti Jails Homosexuals in AIDS Fear,” *Miami Daily News*, August 10, 1983, 1A; Paul Farmer, *AIDS and Accusation: Haiti and the Geography of Blame* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

⁷⁰ Andrea Elliott, “Hispanic Gay Immigrants Come Out in U.S.—But Not to Mom, Dad,” *Miami Herald*, June 17, 2002.

⁷¹ Johnny Diaz, “More Gay Immigrants Seeking Refuge in U.S.,” *Miami Herald*, February 4, 2001, 1B.

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discriminate based on sexual orientation.”⁷² On September 10, 2002, fifty-three percent of those who showed up at the polls voted to uphold the amendment, marking a pivotal achievement for the LGBTQ community nearly thirty years in the making.⁷³ It took over a decade longer for the commission to include gender identity and expression in the anti-discrimination statutes.⁷⁴

Miami’s geography and social makeup offer a distinct—and important—narrative of the United States’ rich and diverse queer past. It is a borderland at the intersection of numerous identities: it is both south of the US South and, as Ecuadorian President Jaime Roldós Aguilera noted in 1979, the “capital of Latin America.”⁷⁵ This overview barely scratches the surface of the city’s long and textured relationship to those whose gender and sexuality did not conform to contemporary standards or established norms. Since its inception, queer individuals and communities carved out their own spaces in this international city. They have left an indelible mark and transformed the city in most significant ways.

⁷² Dana Canedy, “Miami to Vote on Repeal of Gay Rights,” *New York Times*, September 5, 2002.

⁷³ “Victory in Miami-Dade,” *The Advocate*, October 15, 2002, 16.

⁷⁴ Mazzei and Hanks, “Miami-Dade Commission Bans Discrimination Based on Gender Identity.”

⁷⁵ Raymond A. Mohl, *South of the South: Jewish Activists and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami, 1945-1960* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004); and “Cuban Victory in Miami Example for Other Cities,” *Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 15, 1985, 18.

28 QUEEREST LITTLE CITY IN THE WORLD: LGBTQ RENO

John Jeffrey Auer IV

Introduction

Researchers of LGBTQ history in the United States have focused predominantly on major cities such as San Francisco and New York City. This focus has led researchers to overlook a rich tradition of LGBTQ communities and individuals in small to mid-sized American cities that date from at least the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century. From Buffalo to St. Louis and beyond, there are many examples of small but thriving communities from this time period.¹ In the midst of these overlooked and under-researched places stands Reno,

¹ See, for example, the 1930s-1960s lesbian community of Buffalo, New York documented in Madeline D. Davis and Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993). For an example of a homosexual man living in St. Louis at the turn of the century and his experiences with seeking out other gay men, see Claude Hartland, *Claude Hartland: The Story of a Life: For the Consideration of the Medical Fraternity* (San Francisco: Grey Fox Press, 1985). Mid-sized cities in the south including Atlanta, Miami, and New Orleans are covered in James T. Sears, *Rebels, Rubyfruit and Rhinestones: Queering Space in the Stonewall South* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Press, 2001); see also Capó (this volume). For a history of Minneapolis and Saint Paul, see the Twin Cities GLBT History Project, *Queer Twin Cities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010). For an extensive history of Seattle, see Gary L. Atkins, *Gay Seattle: Stories of Exile and Belonging* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003).

Nevada. Reno has historically prided itself on being different from other cities in the United States especially since becoming the divorce capital of the US in the 1910s and legalizing gambling in 1931 when it was illegal in every other state in the Union.²

People with minority sexual and gender expressions lived in the American West well before European colonization. Native American two-spirit people lived and continue to live in the American West.³ Written accounts from California in the 1700s describe two-spirit people's interactions with colonists and missionaries.⁴ Ethnographic accounts give several terms used by the Northern Paiute (who currently and historically have lived in the Reno area) to describe two-spirit people.⁵ As recently as the mid-1990s, a two-spirit person who grew up in the area found it largely intolerant.⁶

With the California Gold Rush of 1849 came an explosion of growth into the far western states through the early 1860s. During this time, western states were not involved in heavily regulating the behavior of their citizens, as was increasingly the case in the east. With this lack of regulation came more opportunities for same-sex relationships and dress-based gender transgressions. In the days following the Gold Rush, there were often significantly more men than women in the west. For example, the ratio of men to women in California in 1860 was twenty-three to one; in Colorado at the same time, it was thirty-four to one.⁷ This imbalance led

² Alicia Barber, *Reno's Big Gamble: Image and Reputation in the Biggest Little City* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008).

³ See Roscoe (this volume) for more information on two-spirit people and history.

⁴ See Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991) and Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Wesley Thomas, and Sabine Lange, eds., *Two Spirit People: Native American Gender Identity, Sexuality, and Spirituality* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

⁵ Terms include *t'ūbás* and *moronic noho*. Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 220.

⁶ Sandra Faiman-Silva, "Anthropologists and Two Spirit People: Building Bridges and Sharing Knowledge," *Anthropology Faculty Publications*, Paper 23 (Bridgewater, MA: Bridgewater State University Virtual Commons, 2011), accessed September 19, 2015, http://vc.bridgew.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1020&context=anthro_fac

⁷ More information about LGBTQ activity in the West can be found in Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: WW Norton, 2000); Mary Ann Irwin and James F. Brooks, eds., *Woman and Gender in the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New

to men engaging in same-sex dancing, men dressed as women dancing with other men in masculine dress, women dressing as men, and speculation of same-sex sexual activity as well. Early European inhabitants of the Reno, Nevada area had appeared as early as the 1850s. In 1868, with the coming of the transcontinental railroad, the city was established.⁸

References to individuals that we would now think of as LGBTQ appear as early as 1882 in the local paper, the *Reno Evening Gazette*, which warned men that a Nevada statute banning cross-dressing would be enforced from that point forward by automatic arrest.⁹ As Peter Boag writes, “the adoption and popularizing of a law prohibiting men from donning female attire on the streets suggests that the practice had become noticeable.”¹⁰ As the American West was increasingly settled and its cities grew, the freewheeling attitude of the past gave way to a tightening mindset leading western states to implement stricter regulations of same-sex sexuality and cross-dressing. This included anti-sodomy laws targeted predominantly as a means to punish homosexual behavior in the context of both Chinese Exclusion and the rapid state-building that was underway.¹¹ In 1863, San Francisco was granted powers by the state to curb what was seen as “problem bodies.”¹² The groups by the city at this point were: “cross-dressers, prostitutes, disabled beggars, and Chinese immigrants.”¹³ Nevada’s growth as a state during the late 1800s and early 1900s fueled considerable legislation that focused on reigning in what was seen as transgressive racial and gendered behavior.

Mexico Press, 2004); and Peter Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

⁸ Barber, *Reno’s Big Gamble*, 14.

⁹ “Look Out,” *Reno Evening Gazette*, September 9, 1882.

¹⁰ Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs*, 67.

¹¹ A comprehensive analysis of anti-sodomy laws in the United States is covered in detail in William N. Eskridge Jr., *Dishonorable Passions: Sodomy Laws in America, 1861-2003* (New York: Viking Press, 2008); see also Stein, (this volume).

¹² Clare Sears. *Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, And Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

¹³ Sears, *Arresting Dress*, 67.

For example the Nevada Territorial Legislature was the first law banning whites and “Chinese” from marrying in 1861.¹⁴

Reno has long prided and promoted itself as a city distinct from others. First it was as a western railroad town and then, during the 1910s and 1920s, it became known as the “divorce capital of the world,” due to its lax residency laws. Gradually, Reno developed a worldwide image and reputation as a city that did not (and does not) abide by more broadly accepted moral codes. By 1931, with the Great Depression and the city in financial crisis, Reno turned to legalizing gambling.¹⁵ This helped cement Reno’s identity as a city where “anything goes,” and where people could escape the social, gender, and sexual-normative pressures common in other, older cities. Much of this was an image promoted to draw tourists versus reality for those living day to day; however, Reno has a long standing history of live-and-let-live libertarianism that has allowed more space for those who chose (and choose) to live outside society’s norms.¹⁶

From the 1940s through the 1990s, Reno’s LGBTQ community and geography shifted from isolated places of performance and audience to more permanent places of business and tourism. Reno as a city has remained relatively small but has an outsize reputation in relation to its actual size. Its moniker, “The Biggest Little City in the World,” actually does reflect people’s perceptions of Reno. Yet Reno, like many small cities, does not have as large an LGBTQ population as that found in big cities. As a result, these smaller cities tend to have had, and continue to have, more integrated LGBTQ communities.

Reno, like Nevada, has a long history in the twentieth century of not being ethnically diverse. Some of this is a result of the extreme policing and segregation that went on in the state before the casinos deregulated

¹⁴ Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law, and the Making of Race in America* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009), 81.

¹⁵ Barber, *Reno’s Big Gamble*.

¹⁶ For an in-depth analysis, see Don W. Driggs and Leonard E. Goodall, *Nevada and Politics: Conservatism in an Open Society* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996).

in 1960.¹⁷ According to the 1960 census, only 3,466 (4.1 percent) of metropolitan Reno's 84,743 residents were black and otherwise nonwhite.¹⁸ A decade later, the proportion of white to nonwhite residents had barely shifted: 5,144 (4.2 percent) of the city's 115,924 residents were enumerated as black and otherwise not white.¹⁹ These African American and other nonwhite populations include people living in Reno's Chinatown and the Reno-Sparks Indian Colony which is located in the center of the city.²⁰ These demographics are consistent with other smaller to midsize cities in the West, and resulted in these cities having overwhelmingly white LGBTQ communities at the time.²¹

A longtime resident of the city, Keith Ann Libby, who moved to Reno in 1962, recalls different racial and ethnic groups being accepted in the Reno gay bars. He did remember issues related to transphobia and some discrimination against lesbians, but he countered that the gathering places were always about the bottom line; ultimately those groups were served, even if not welcomed, at the bars. In general, Libby's memories are of Reno's LGBTQ community being mixed in all senses of the word: racially and ethnically, lesbians, bisexuals, transgender, and queer people as well as some straights mixing and socializing together, with no major problems.²²

Historically, Reno is part of a larger geographic and cultural area that includes Lake Tahoe and San Francisco. From its earliest days, it has been a transportation hub connecting the West to the Midwest and East. First, it was a growing stop on the transcontinental railroad, and later became an important city along Interstate 80 that connects San Francisco and New York City. The growth of Reno's LGBTQ community was fueled in part by its proximity and easy transportation to San Francisco, which after World War

¹⁷ Michael W. Bowers, *The Sagebrush State: Nevada's History, Government, and Politics*, Wilbur S. Shepperson Series in Nevada History (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1996).

¹⁸ *Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas, 1960-1970*, Final Report PH(2)-1 United States (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1971).

¹⁹ *Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas*.

²⁰ Reno-Sparks Indian Colony website, accessed September 29, 2015, <http://www.rsic.org>

²¹ *Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas*.

²² Keith Ann Libby, in phone interview with the author, September 21, 2015.

It saw an explosion in LGBTQ residents.²³ This chapter looks at the history of Reno's LGBTQ communities through its performance spaces, bars and baths, events, groups, and organizations.

Performance Spaces

Performances in Reno from the 1930s through the 1980s were the first inklings of a highly visible presence of cross-dressing, drag queens, and transgender members in the community. From the first show in a small out-of-the-way saloon in 1935 to a major show at a casino in 1975 the performances that took place in Reno helped bring a wider queer visibility to Reno.

Belle Livingstone's Cow Shed

Emerging out of 1920s and 1930s New York City were "Pansy Craze" theatrical cabaret shows. Performers pushed gender boundaries by dressing as different genders, and by singing songs and making jokes about homosexual life. These shows were so popular that, as George Chauncey notes, "In 1930-1931, clubs with pansy acts became the hottest in town."²⁴ This movement gained national importance: it was the first time in American history that LGBTQ people participated in the broader American culture by appearing on cabaret stages in large numbers.²⁵

In the early 1930s, police began to crack down on these performances especially in places such as New York City, where city leaders became

²³ To see how San Francisco, and Reno by extension, was situated spatially and temporally in the American West, see Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

²⁴ George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay World 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 314.

²⁵ For documentation about this period of American history, see chapter fifteen of Laurence Senelick, *The Changing Room: Sex, Drag and Theatre* (New York: Routledge, 2000).



Figure 1: Former location of Belle Livingstone's Cow Shed (now demolished), July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

more conservative as the Great Depression wore on.²⁶ As a result of this crackdown, performers took their shows on the road to escape the harassment. In 1935, famed cross-dressing performer Ray/Rae Bourbon (stage name of Ramón Ícares) played at Belle Livingstone's Cowshed (Figure 1).²⁷ The Cowshed was located on a small ranch, and offered a casino and live entertainment.²⁸ Despite its reputation as the emerging divorce capital during the 1910s, Reno was very small in population and was not part of the vaudeville circuit where there was a long history of cross-dressing performances. By the 1920s and into 1932, Reno's population was growing, and venues—working to draw customers from the

²⁶ For example, George Chauncey covers this period of time and the crackdown in New York City, *Gay New York*, 331-354.

²⁷ On Bourbon, see Don Romesburg, "Longevity and Limits in Rae Bourbon's Life in Motion," in Trystan Cotten, ed., *Transgender Migrations: The Bodies, Borders and Politics of Transition*, New Directions in American History (New York: Routledge, 2011). The date of Bourbon's performance is based on an email correspondence between Bourbon scholar Don Romesburg and the author on March 28, 2015. The Cowshed was located at 2295 South Virginia Street, Reno, Nevada.

²⁸ Kling, *Biggest Little City*, 9.

divorce trade—expanded their performance options in nightclubs and casinos. Despite an exhaustive search of nightlife advertisements, the first cross-dressing performance or pansy act in Reno appears to have been by Bourbon in 1935, despite the fact that the Nevada papers covered the pansy craze performances in New York in the 1930-1932 period.

From Bourbon's 1935 performance on, Reno has had a history of cross-dressing acts appearing in casino showrooms. By 1937, the Black Derby in Reno²⁹ featured a young female impersonator named Billy Givens who earned rave reviews; her act did not follow Bourbon's older, more risqué style.³⁰ Bourbon's performance rises to national significance level as an example of "Pansy Craze" acts featuring members of the LGBTQ communities appearing and spreading across the country into smaller and midsize cities in the 1930s. Bourbon's performance is similarly groundbreaking at the state level as one of the first "pansy craze" performances in Nevada. The Cowshed was in business on and off from 1931 through 1937. It subsequently burned down, and is currently the site of a shopping mall.³¹

Riverside Hotel and the Jewel Box Revue Controversy: First Controversy over Drag Acts in the State of Nevada

The Riverside Hotel (Figure 2), located along the banks of the Truckee River, was built in 1927 to cater to the booming divorce trade that emerged in Reno in the 1900s. Divorce hotels, divorce apartments, and divorce ranches have a long association in community lore with lesbians.³² As places where women lived for up to six months at a time in order to

²⁹ The Black Derby was located at 1410 East Fourth Street in Reno, Nevada.

³⁰ "Black Derby Has New Show for Coronation Week," *Nevada State Journal*, May 8, 1937. Ray Bourbon was noted for his especially vulgar shows. They were so risqué that he was banned from playing the famous Garden of Allah female impersonator club in Seattle the 1950s. See Don Paulson and Roger Simpson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah: A Gay Cabaret in Seattle* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 38.

³¹ Kling, *Biggest Little City*, 110.

³² There is very little written on these places and their association with lesbians. For an article on the general divorce trade in Reno, see Mella Rothwell Harmon, "Getting Renovated: Reno Divorces in the 1930s," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, Spring 1999. The Riverside Hotel is located at 17 South Virginia Street, Reno, Nevada.

meet residency requirements for their divorces, strong networks of women developed. The mythology of these places has over time become powerful in national lesbian feminist networks.³³

In February 1962, the Riverside had scheduled a performance of Doc Benner's and Danny Brown's touring Jewel Box Revue, which had its home base in Miami, Florida.³⁴ The Jewel Box Revue was a popular cabaret act of female impersonators that began in 1939, just as "pansy craze" shows were changing their billing to female impersonator or drag shows."³⁵ By the 1950s, amid Cold War homophobia, transphobia, and "sex panics," these shows faced an increasing police clampdown. Pressure grew



Figure 2: Riverside Hotel, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

³³ The film, *Desert Hearts*, directed by Donna Deitch (Los Angeles: Samuel Goldwyn Company, 1985), is set in 1959 Reno, and is an example of this.

³⁴ See Capó (this volume).

³⁵ "The Jewel Box Revue," Queer Music Heritage website, accessed April 19, 2015, <http://queermusicheritage.com>.

specifically on city and state leaders to ban cross-dressing performances.³⁶

The Revue opened its run at the Riverside, but from the beginning there was trouble. The Reno City Council cited calls from people complaining about the show as a reason for closing it. On February 26, 1962, the council passed an ordinance that made it unlawful for establishments with liquor licenses to present floor shows featuring impersonations of the opposite sex.³⁷ This fit into national patterns of LGBTQ retreat from the public sphere during the Cold War.³⁸ Clearly, Cold War restrictions “trickled down” to the state and local levels, playing out dramatically in venues driven by aggressive tourism and bold entertainment. The Cold War in Nevada accelerated the military presence in the state especially with the opening of the Nevada Test Site in 1951, which would be the site of atomic bomb testing throughout the Cold War.³⁹ Nevada Senator Patrick McCarran was an active Cold War participant who played a key role in passing a bill in 1952 that banned homosexuals from immigrating to the United States.⁴⁰

Harrah’s Casino – Frisco Follies – First Major Drag Show at Major Nevada Casino

In 1974 William Harrah, owner of Harrah’s Casino (Figure 3), saw the “Frisco Follies Grand Illusion” drag show starring Jamie James in San Francisco.⁴¹ Harrah opened his first casino in Reno in 1937. Over the decades he expanded his operation, and the growth of his casino along with other entertainment venues including the Riverside, brought celebrities and audiences in increasing numbers to town from the 1930s

³⁶ Senelick, *The Changing Room*, 382-384.

³⁷ “Council Holds Stand to Ban Local Revue,” *Reno Evening Gazette*, February 26, 1962.

³⁸ For example, during this time, the federal government was engaging in periodic purges of homosexual men and lesbians from civil service jobs. See David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

³⁹ A. Constandina Titus, *Bombs in the Backyard: Atomic Testing and American Politics*, Nevada Studies in History and Pol Sci (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2001).

⁴⁰ Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 102.

⁴¹ Harrah’s Casino is located at 219 North Center Street, Reno, Nevada.



Figure 3: Harrah's Casino, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

through the 1940s. Unlike neighboring states such as California, which banned gambling, Nevada embraced it. By 1974, Reno had become a gambler's paradise with top-notch entertainment.

Harrah was so impressed with the Follies that he brought them to his casino at Lake Tahoe in January 1975.⁴² The show was so well received there that Harrah booked them into his Reno location the following month.⁴³ The Follies was popular with casino patrons and ran at the Reno casino through 1981. Many members of Reno's white gay male community performed in the show along with straight female chorus girls. The men in the show identified as gay men in drag.⁴⁴ Symbolically, the

⁴² Bob Alessandrelli, "Frisco Follies Grand Illusion Taking Tahoe By Storm," *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 17, 1975.

⁴³ "Entertainment," *Reno Evening Gazette*, March 21, 1975.

⁴⁴ Jack Edwards, in phone interview with the author, September 30, 2015.

success of the Follies indicates a revived acceptance of cross-dressing in Reno after the many years of its prohibition since the Jewel Box Revue controversy of the early 1960s. This shift was part of a larger transition away from the Cold War homophobia of the 1950s and 1960s and the forcing of drag shows off of main stages in the late 1930s and 1940s.⁴⁵

The success of the Frisco Follies at Harrah's indicates a gradual reversal and redirection of attitudes toward the LGBTQ community. By 1974, Frisco Follies' popularity led to its booking in a prime theater of one of the major casinos in Reno, putting the act on a national stage. Frisco Follies became the first transgender act to be booked in a leading casino in Nevada.⁴⁶ Frisco Follies is a trendsetter among the many new heralded mainstream drag shows appearing throughout the United States in the 1970s. It brought added attention to and appreciation of Nevada and Reno as the first celebrated mainstream drag show to play a major casino in the state. This is important as the event of Frisco Follies took place at Harrah's Casino in Reno.⁴⁷

Bars and Baths

Reno bars were the nucleus of social networks for the LGBTQ community in Reno from the 1960s through the 1990s. It wasn't until the 2000s that non-bar based social organizations were formed in the city. Bars and baths were both incredibly important, providing relatively safe places for meeting and socializing at a time when the broader community was hostile towards the LGBTQ community.

⁴⁵ For the trajectory of drag show bookings, see Senelick, *The Changing Room*.

⁴⁶ Although it would have been considered a drag act from the point of view of the casino and audiences, many of the performers that worked shows like this in the 1970s and 1980s would now be considered transgender.

⁴⁷ Jonnie Clasen, "Among the Stars," *Harrah-Scope*, January 1976, 12; and Edwards.

The Reno Bar – Oldest Mixed Bar in Reno

Known today as Abby's Highway 40 (Figure 4), in the 1960s and 1970s this was the Reno Bar.⁴⁸ The building was originally constructed in 1900 as a single-family home.⁴⁹ By 1964, it housed a mixed bar that served mostly heterosexual people during the day and an LGBTQ clientele of predominantly gay men in the evenings. It was referenced in 1970 as being the oldest gay bar in Reno.⁵⁰ In 1970, two gay men traveling from San Francisco to Reno described the Reno Bar as "... an old bar and clean.

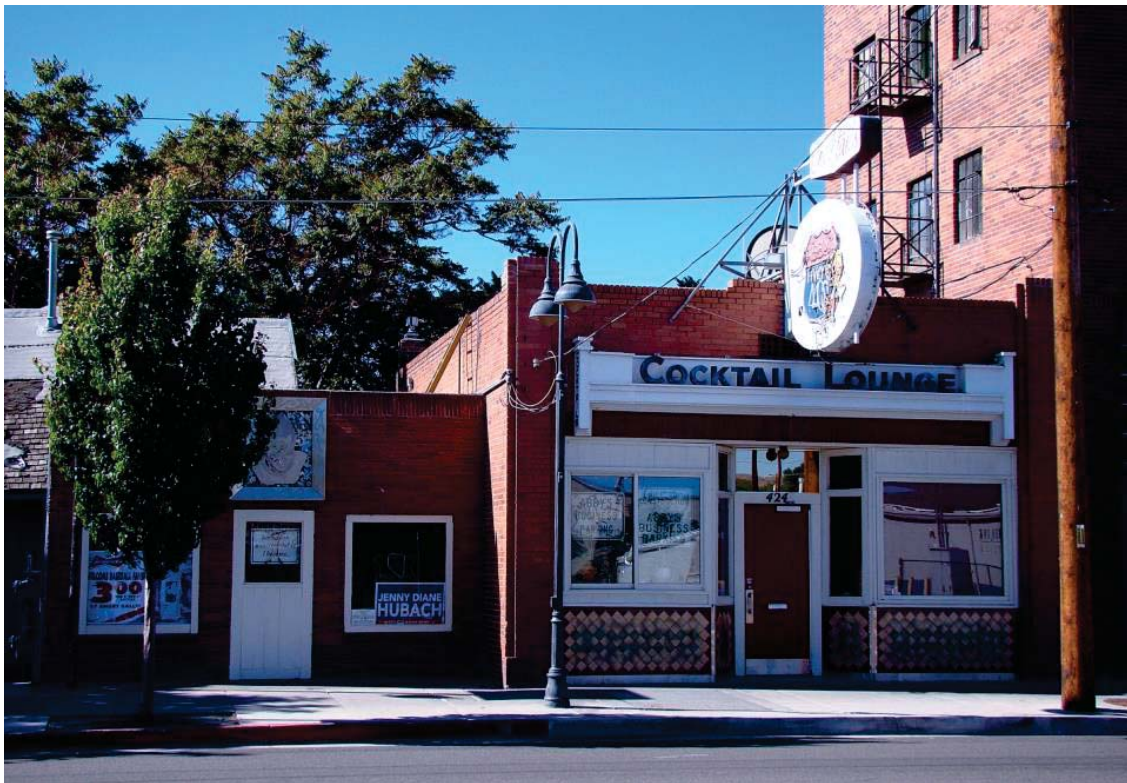


Figure 4: Former location of the Reno Bar, now Abby's Highway 40, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

⁴⁸ The bar is located at 424 East Fourth Street, Reno, Nevada.

⁴⁹ "Real Property Assessment Data," Washoe County website, accessed April 1, 2015, <http://www.washoecounty.us/assessor/cama>

⁵⁰ Don Collins, "Doing Reno on \$17," *Vector*, March 1970, 19. The Reno Bar is consistently listed in gay guides of the time as a "mixed" bar. Due to prevailing sexism and racism during the 1960s and 1970s, gay guides rarely specifically mention the presence of nonwhite, transgender people, or lesbians in their listings. The only times they are referenced is if the place is uniquely patronized by that group. For example, lesbians are listed as a clientele for Kaye's Happy Landing in Phoenix in *Barfly '73* (Los Angeles: Advocate Publications, 1973).

But it has a certain charm all its own. In addition to being the only gay bar in Reno to have a pool table, we also found it to be the campiest. When the dancing on the bar started, there was LeRoy dodging glasses with the best.”⁵¹ This location has housed a straight bar since the 1980s.

Before the 1960s, it was rare to find bars in America outside major cities such as New York that catered exclusively to an LGBTQ clientele.⁵² Until the 1970s, most bars in the United States that served LGBTQ communities did so as gay-friendly, but predominantly heterosexual bars. LGBTQ constituents chose bars to patronize in small groups, pretending to be straight and fitting in with whatever circumstances and prudence required of them. These became known as “mixed” bars.⁵³ As the 1960s progressed, more and more mixed bars appeared in urban areas around the country; influenced by the emerging gay liberation movement, an increasing number of these began to be patronized exclusively by LGBTQ people.⁵⁴ The Reno Bar is a good example of “mixed” bars in the pre-gay liberation era, and is of national importance as a representative of such bars in smaller American cities as well as state and local importance as the oldest “mixed” bar in Reno and one of the earliest in the state.

Club Baths

The Club Baths (Figure 5) opened on May 17, 1964.⁵⁵ Owned by local gay man Dale Bentley, the Club Baths was the first exclusively gay bathhouse in Reno. Opened at a time when sex acts between men were illegal in every state in the Union except Illinois,⁵⁶ this place provided a

⁵¹ Collins, *Ibid.*

⁵² For examples of pre-1960s gay bars in New York City, see Charles Kaiser, *The Gay Metropolis: The Landmark History of Gay Life in America* (New York: Grove Press, 1997), 106-107.

⁵³ This is explained in detail in James Lord, *My Queer War* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010).

⁵⁴ For more on this, see Eric Marcus, *Making Gay History: The Half-Century Fight for Lesbian and Gay Equal Rights* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2002).

⁵⁵ “New Reno Firms Receive Licenses,” *Nevada State Journal*, May 17, 1964. Club Baths first appears in gay city guides in the 1965 International Guild Guide, and appears every year in the *Bob Damron’s Address Book* (San Francisco: Bob Damron Enterprises, 1966-1993) from 1966-1989. The Club Baths is located at 1020 West Second Street, Reno, Nevada.

⁵⁶ Eskridge, *Dishonorable Passions*, 124-127.



Figure 5: Former location of Club Baths, now Steve's, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

safe environment for gay men to meet each other away from straight society, and an alternative to public cruising which could (and did) lead to arrest and harassment. Beginning in the 1970s, Club Baths advertised in gay publications including the magazines *California Scene* and *Data Boy*, and in the 1979 program for the Reno Gay Rodeo.⁵⁷

Commercial bathhouses first appeared in American cities in the 1890s and provided the general populace—who otherwise may not have had access to bathing facilities—a place to bathe in a safe, gender-segregated environment. Shortly after bathhouses appeared, some became known as covert meeting grounds for men seeking sex with one another. Which became sites of same-sex encounters and which ones did not seemed to rest purely on the whims of whether or not the owners and management

⁵⁷ *California Scene*, June 1974, 40; *Data Boy*, December 15, 1977, 19; and *Reno Gay Rodeo Program*, 1979.

of the baths decided to look the other way or to tolerate this activity to gain revenue. By the 1920s and 1930s, many gay bathhouses were permitting sex “in closed and locked cubicles.”⁵⁸

The Club Baths was located in what was previously a single-family residence. For the first decades of existence it looked like a single-family home. Why Bentley chose to open the bathhouse in a private residence is unknown. One likely scenario is that at the time, the house was not within the city limits of Reno and thus fell under the relatively lax policing of the county sheriff and not the more stringent policing by the city police.⁵⁹ During the 1980s, a new roof and siding changed the façade of the building to its current, more industrial appearance.

The bathhouses at this location have always operated as private clubs. This designation allows more activities and less strict clothing requirements than if it was a public business. This is a common legal strategy for “alternative” businesses that would otherwise get shut down for indecency. The club allowed men to register as members using false names to help protect their privacy in a climate where being known (or thought) to be gay was grounds for loss of jobs, housing, and children, among other forms of discrimination. While bathhouses (and bars) offered some protection from discrimination and harassment on one hand, they themselves were also sites of exclusion and discrimination. In the 1970s and 1980s, gay bathhouses and bars around the country were sites of protest for their racial and gender discrimination (requiring men of color and effeminate men/transgender men to provide more identification than other patrons, or excluding them altogether). There are no written records of these kinds of protests against the Club Baths. On trips during the 2000s there were a wide mix of race/ethnicities patronizing the place as

⁵⁸ For more in-depth analysis on bathhouses becoming places where gay men congregated, see Allan Bérubé, “*The History of Gay Bathhouses*,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 44, no. 3/4 (2003).

⁵⁹ A similar pattern appeared elsewhere, as in Los Angeles, where the unincorporated area of West Hollywood emerged as a gay enclave as it was policed by the county sheriff. See Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006).

well as effeminate/transgender people being represented as opposed to their being absent at Los Angeles bathhouses during the same period.⁶⁰

Club Baths was renamed Jeff's Gym in 1989, and became Steve's (no "gym") in the early 1990s.⁶¹ Advertisements for Jeff's Gym and Steve's are found in the local *Gay Life Reno* magazine, the Reno Gay Rodeo Programs from 1980-1984, and Nevada-based *Bohemian Bugle*.⁶² The bathhouse remains in business as Steve's, and is the second oldest still-operating gay bathhouse in the United States.⁶³ Club Baths is also the first exclusively gay bathhouse in the state of Nevada and in the local Reno area.

Dave's VIP – The Longest Operating LGBTQ Bar in the State of Nevada

Located at 3001 West Fourth Street, Dave's VIP was a motel and gay bar complex (Figure 6). In 1950, a motel was built at this location; at the time, what is now West Fourth Street was part of US 40, the main highway connecting Reno and Las Vegas.⁶⁴ The motel catered to the increasing number of tourists traveling by car by offering affordable lodging options. The development of Dave's at this location is part of the growth of gay tourist destinations in the West in general but also general tourism in the western United States.⁶⁵

In 1962, construction started on Interstate 80, which pulled traffic off of US 40 and caused many businesses along it (including the motel) to decline and fail. In 1965 Dave Kirkcaldy and Rex Allen reopened the motel

⁶⁰ Based on informal conversations between author and patrons between 2005 and the present.

⁶¹ *Bob Damron's Address Book*.

⁶² *Gay Life Reno*, November 1984, 8; *Reno Gay Rodeo Programs*, 1980-1984; *Bohemian Bugle*, June 1987, 20; and *Bohemian Bugle*, May 1989, 19.

⁶³ Based on a survey of bathhouses listed online as of October 18, 2015.

⁶⁴ "Real Property Assessment Data".

⁶⁵ For a broader context regarding the growth of non-LGBTQ tourism in the American West in the twentieth century, see David Wrobel and Patrick Long, eds., *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2001); and Susan Sessions Rugh, *Are We There Yet? The Golden Age of American Family Vacations* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008).



Figure 6: Former location of Dave's VIP, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

as the Westside Motel, specifically as a place for gay and other same-sex seeking men to stay on their travels.⁶⁶ This was part of a larger trend in the United States that began in the 1960s.⁶⁷ In 1966, they opened a mixed bar for gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, drag queens and others, and called the complex Dave's VIP Resort.⁶⁸ They advertised in gay travel guides and in gay magazines including the popular San Francisco publication, *Vector*.⁶⁹ It was Reno's first gay-owned and operated hotel.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ *International Guild Guide* (Washington, DC: Guild Press, 1965).

⁶⁷ For a history of this phenomenon, see Amin Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

⁶⁸ While Dave's VIP was ostensibly open to all members of the LGBTQ community, there are accounts of discrimination against lesbians and transgender people in the 1960s and 1970s. A transgender man who was a patron during this time had harsh words for the co-partner Rex Allen, who he characterized as disliking lesbians and transgender people yet they would be allowed entry because he always wanted to keep the business afloat and couldn't turn away customers. He also remembers Dave's being racially mixed as all other places, specifically that he would attend Dave's with a group of Native American friends. Keith Ann Libby, in interview with the author, July 3, 2015.

⁶⁹ *Bob Damron's Address Book*; and *Vector* issues March – December 1967. Bob Damron Guides played an important role in gay tourism from the 1960s-1990s. During this period, LGBTQ travelers

A 1969 article references Dave's "famous V.I.P. room," and describes the expansion of the business: "The motel, long popular with the Reno crowd and visitors from Northern and Southern California, is taking on the appearance of a resort."⁷¹ Amenities included a disco, a pool, and a Jacuzzi. By 1975, Dave's had expanded to include a bathhouse on premises, and was promoting itself nationally in advertisements in the glossy gay magazine, *Mandate*.⁷² It was also profiled that year in the new gay travel magazine, *Ciao*, as "The Number One spot."⁷³ The profile describes the clientele as, "All types – butch cyclists, queens, gals, drags, cowboys, gamblers and the like. The average age is about 22. Although it isn't a large bar, it can get very crowded at night...Incidentally, some of the friendliest and most beautiful people in Reno go here."⁷⁴

By 1988, Dave's VIP Resort had been sold and reconfigured. While the motel continued to let rooms to LGBTQ travelers, the bar, renamed Visions, became the focus of the business. They continued to receive national attention, and in 1989 national gay glossy magazine *In Touch* described Visions as having "a very nice bar and good size dance floor. But it also has a nice comfortable 'living room' section to have a quiet drink, and an outdoor pool where parties are held in warm weather."⁷⁵ The motel closed in the 1990s, and units were turned into private apartments. The bar went through many owners and name changes until, known as Reflections, it closed in 2009. At that time it was the oldest continuously-open gay-owned and operated bar in Reno.

Dave's VIP made it possible for the gay male community to stay safely when travelling in and around Reno, which in turn, encouraged the growth

faced outright discrimination when travelling and needed information on safe places to go, and the Damron Guides filled this role, much as the Green Guides did for African American travelers from the 1930s through the early 1960s.

⁷⁰ For an in-depth discussion of LGBTQ travel history, see Gordon Waitt and Kevin Markwell, *Gay Tourism: Culture and Context* (New York: Haworth Press, 2006); and Stephen Clift, Michael Luongo, and Carry Callister, *Gay Tourism: Culture, Identity, and Sex* (London: Continuum, 2002).

⁷¹ "Dave's Reno," *Vector*, July 1969, 25.

⁷² *Mandate*, October 1975, 68.

⁷³ Bill Josephs, "Gay Reno," *Ciao*, June 1975, 16.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Ron Thomas, "Reno: Biggest Little City," *In Touch*, 88.

of gay male tourism in the area. It was one of the early members of the San Francisco-based Tavern Guild, the first gay business organization that formed and bound together to combat police corruption in Northern California and Northern Nevada.⁷⁶ This place is a national reminder of how LGBTQ tourism began to prosper in the United States during the 1960s. Further, it stands as one of the first three gay-owned and operated LGBTQ bars in the state of Nevada, and as the very first gay-owned and operated LGBTQ bar in the history of Reno.

Club 99 – The Second-Longest Operating Gay Bar in the State of Nevada

Club 99 (Figure 7) opened in 1971.⁷⁷ During this period, which followed the Stonewall Riots, many mixed clubs of previous generations, like the Reno Bar and low-profile gay bars like Dave's VIP, were replaced by higher-visibility venues bars in urban areas. Club 99 was one of these, located on Virginia Street, one of downtown Reno's main thoroughfares. This location in the heart of the Midtown District reflected a newly-confident, much less-guarded LGBTQ community starting to socialize openly in public places. During this transition to more visible clubs after Stonewall, many bars across the country became more gender specific in their clientele, geared towards gay men or women, and were more likely to exclude gender nonconforming people.⁷⁸ In Reno, this separation of clientele did not occur until the 1990s.

The business was known as Pop's 99 in 1980 and 1981, Club 99 from 1982 through 1984, and the Ten99 Club from 1985.⁷⁹ By 1989, photographs show renovations to Club Ten99, its name painted in large

⁷⁶ Boyd, 223-224.

⁷⁷ Bob Damron, "Travel Tips," *California Scene*, January 1972. Club 99 opened at 1099 South Virginia Street, Reno, Nevada.

⁷⁸ For examples of how this played out in cities across the US, see Donald F. Reuter, *Greetings from the Gayborhood: A Look Back at the Golden Age of Gay Neighborhoods* (New York: Abrams Image, 2008). Lesbian separatism emerged in the early 1970s. For the beginning of the lesbian separatist movement, see Del Martin, "Is That All There is?" *The Ladder*, December 1970, 4-6.

⁷⁹ *Bob Damron's Address Books*, 1980-1993.



Figure 7: Former location of Club 99, now the Ten99 Club, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

graphic lettering on the windowless sides of the building and a sign hanging from a nearby utility pole.⁸⁰ In 2010, the author visited Club Ten99, which appeared to have not changed much, if at all, since 1989. Dark and enclosed inside, the club had no windows open to the outside. This is not unusual for early bars that had covered windows and discreet entrances to help protect their clientele from gawkers and harassment. In 1972, the Twin Peaks Tavern in San Francisco became the first gay bar to have open plate glass windows.⁸¹ In 2011, the Ten99 Club closed, and was replaced by straight bar called Chapel. Renovations by Chapel included open windows and a patio.⁸²

This location was an LGBTQ bar for forty years, making it one of the longest-operating gay/LGBTQ bars in the state of Nevada. When it closed

⁸⁰ Thomas, *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Marisa Lagos, "Twin Peaks Tavern – gay bar, historic landmark," *SF Gate*, January 19, 2013, accessed September 6, 2015, <http://www.sfgate.com/politics/article/Twin-Peaks-Tavern-gay-bar-historic-landmark-4208442.php>

⁸² The date of the club's closing is based on "Tronix closes after 11 years as Reno joins national trend," *TheRenoGayPage*, February 26, 2015, accessed September 5, 2015, <https://therenogaypage.wordpress.com/2015/02/26/tronix-closes-after-11-years-as-reno-joins-national-trend>. Current description based on visit by the author on August 1, 2015.

in 2011, it was the oldest continuously-available such bar in Reno. It warrants national note as an example of the increasing LGBTQ visibility sweeping larger and smaller cities across the United States post-Stonewall.

5 Star Saloon – Oldest Continuously Operating Gay/LGBTQ Bar in the State of Nevada

The 5 Star Saloon (Figure 8) is the oldest continuously operating LGBTQ bar in the state of Nevada.⁸³ It opened in 1974 as a mixed bar called Paul's Lounge. Originally built in 1919 as a retail space, its use as a gay bar beginning in the 1970s further exemplifies the spread of high-visibility bars in the post-Stonewall 1970s.⁸⁴ Paul's Lounge was located downtown, close to the tourist areas of the casinos, and across the street from the First United Methodist Church. This level of visibility would have been unthinkable five years earlier but shows how gay/LGBTQ public presence, in Reno and in general, was becoming more accepted, even expected, in urban environments. Paul's Lounge proved so popular that it expanded in 1980 from a bar to a full disco, open twenty-four hours a day. In 1984, it was sold to a group of five owners and, accordingly, renamed the 5 Star Saloon. It has retained this name for over thirty years.⁸⁵

The 5 Star Saloon remains open as an LGBTQ club, and consistently wins local awards for being the best gay bar in Reno.⁸⁶ In 2005, the Saloon appeared to have not upgraded any of its décor since the 1980s. In 2006, the bar changed ownership, and upgrades to the interior were made.⁸⁷ With an aggressive marketing campaign geared towards a younger demographic, the Saloon became the primary gay bar in Reno

⁸³ The 5 Star Saloon is located at 132 West Street, Reno, Nevada.

⁸⁴ "Washoe County Real Property Assessment Data".

⁸⁵ The first mention of Paul's Lounge appears in an advertisement in the 1974 *Apollo's Swinger's Guide*, which was a magazine devoted to gay male personal ads. No publisher or page number available, clipping of ad in possession of the author.

⁸⁶ 5 Star Saloon website, accessed September 27, 2015, <http://5starsaloon.net>.

⁸⁷ Visits by the author, 2005 and 2006.

over the next couple of years. It is open to different classes and races as well as having activities centering on drag.⁸⁸

The 5 Star Saloon is one of the nation's most persistent LGBTQ bars founded in the immediate post-Stonewall era. Many others failed financially during the Great Recession of 2007-2008.⁸⁹ Statewide and citywide, the Saloon remains the oldest LGBTQ post-Stonewall bar still in operation.



Figure 8: The 5 Star Saloon, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

⁸⁸ "Disco Divas Drag Show 2015," 5 Star Saloon website, accessed September 27, 2015, <http://5starsaloon.net/photo/disco-divas-drag-show-2015>.

⁸⁹ Based on survey of bars listed in *Reno Outlands* and *Reno Out* magazines from 2007-2009.

Bad Dolly's – Reno's First Lesbian Bar

Bad Dolly's (Figure 9) was Reno's first lesbian bar.⁹⁰ The building opened in 1930 and was a popular local grocery store from the 1940s through the 1960s. By 1992, local lesbian Shelly Palmer, who had moved to Reno in the 1980s, opened a lesbian bar called Bad Dolly's in the space. Until then, Reno's LGBTQ community was unable to support a fully lesbian bar, so lesbian and bisexual women went to more gender-mixed LGBTQ bars. One reason given for this delay was that Reno's lesbian community wasn't ready for a visible public presence like the one in San Francisco.⁹¹

Bad Dolly's became an important site not just for socializing, but political mobilizing as well. For example, in January 1994 a statewide anti-gay initiative was proposed that would have made it legal to deny housing



Figure 9: Former location of Bad Dolly's, August 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

⁹⁰ Bad Dolly's is located at 535 East Fourth Street, Reno, Nevada.

⁹¹ Adrienne Rice, "The Other Gay Community: Local Women Talk about Living as Lesbians in Northern Nevada," *Reno News and Review*, October 11, 2001.

or to fire someone based on their sexual orientation.⁹² Bad Dolly's hosted a rally against the initiative attended by then-governor Bob Miller and Las Vegas Mayor Jan Jones.⁹³ Unlike the mixed and gay bars which had long histories, Bad Dolly's closed by 1999. It was not until 2001, when the Blue Cactus Bar and Nightclub opened that Reno had another lesbian bar.⁹⁴ The history and struggles of Bad Dolly's are representative of those faced by lesbian bars in many small to mid-sized American cities.

Events, Groups and Organizations

LGBTQ Events and organizations in Reno ran the gamut from the first stirrings of gay consciousness raising on the University of Nevada, Reno (UNR) campus in 1969, through the move of the publication of the national lesbian organization, the Daughters of Bilitis to the area, through the success of the Reno Gay Rodeo. All of these were important as they not only brought awareness of the LGBTQ community in Reno to a national level, but an international one.

University of Nevada Reno – “Sex Week” Inclusion of Talk on Lesbianism and Formation of the Gay/Queer Student Union

In 1969, from October 6 through 9, the Associated Women Students at UNR sponsored an event called “Sex Week.”⁹⁵ This was during the broader sexual revolution, which played an important role in the history of the modern LGBTQ rights movement.⁹⁶ “Sex Week,” which was such a groundbreaking event that it brought the university international attention, featured a discussion about lesbianism by Rita LaPorte, a local out lesbian,

⁹² A far right extremist group called the Oregon Citizens Alliance tried to get the initiative on the November ballot. They failed to gain the number of petition signatures to make this happen, and political leaders were broad based in their condemnation of the initiative. For more, see Maria L. LaGanga, “Anti-Gay Initiative Fails to Make Nevada Ballot,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 22, 1994.

⁹³ “Around the Nation,” *The Advocate*, April 5, 1994, 22.

⁹⁴ The Blue Cactus was located at the former site of Dave's VIP.

⁹⁵ Associated Press, “U of Nevada to Observe ‘Sex Week,’” *Edwardsville Intelligencer*, October 1, 1969.

⁹⁶ David Allyn, *Make Love, Not War: The Sexual Revolution: An Unfettered History* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2000).

and then-president of the Daughters of Bilitis.⁹⁷ “Sex Week” at UNR is an event of national, state, and local import as an example of how the sexual revolution was enacted across the country.⁹⁸

Sixteen years later, in 1985, the Gay Student Union was formed at UNR, both despite and in response to the conservative national politics and “culture wars” of the 1980s. The Gay Student Union became the Queer Student Union during the 2000s and remains active on campus. UNR’s Queer Student Union is part of a broad trend, especially in smaller cities, of institutions of higher learning as sites for LGBTQ activism in the 1980s.⁹⁹ During this same period, LGBTQ groups at larger universities, which had formed in the 1970s, were expanding in size.

The experience of students in Nevada’s two largest cities, Reno and Las Vegas, showcase the inclusion and visibility for LGBTQ college and university students, as well as faculty and their allies—an important development in the last four decades that most contemporary observers likely take for granted as unexceptional. Educational institutions help not only create an informed citizenry but also serve as valuable sites for community formation and diversity.

The Ladder – *First Nationally-Distributed Lesbian Magazine*

The first nationally distributed lesbian magazine in the United States, *The Ladder*, was published by the Daughters of Bilitis. Founded in San Francisco in 1955, the Daughters of Bilitis was the first American

⁹⁷ “1969 Year of ‘Firsts’ in Education,” *Nevada State Journal*, January 1, 1970.

⁹⁸ For a good comparison of how the sexual revolution at the University of Kansas played out, see Beth Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002).

⁹⁹ For another Nevada example, the University of Nevada, Las Vegas was the site of even earlier LGBTQ organizing, including the formation of the Gay Academic Union in 1983; see Dennis McBride, “Gay Academic Union,” *OutHistory.org*, accessed September 30, 2015, <http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/las-vegas/articles/gau>.

organization working for lesbian civil rights. They began publishing *The Ladder* in October 1956.¹⁰⁰

In the 1960s, members of the Daughters of Bilitis were split between those who wanted the organization to embrace a more radical feminism and those who were still operating in the older mode of acceptance by conformity, which had been the cornerstone of groups formed in the 1950s.¹⁰¹ The founders Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin quit being involved in the group in 1966 as a result of the turmoil within the organization.¹⁰² The internal differences came to a head at the 1968 national Daughters of Bilitis convention in Denver. It was here that, unlike previous conventions, only about twenty members showed up.¹⁰³ As a result, final decisions on formal issues were tabled until the 1970 convention in New York City. At the 1968 convention, San Francisco-based lesbian activist Rita LaPorte was elected president, and Kansas City-based member Barbara Grier was elected editor of *The Ladder*.¹⁰⁴ With these elections there would be a major shift in the focus of the organization and *The Ladder* towards more radical feminism.

Marguerite Augusta LaPorte was born September 30, 1921 in New York City.¹⁰⁵ Her parents were Cloyd LaPorte and Marguerite Roeder. Her father was a successful lawyer who was elected president of the New York Bar in 1956.¹⁰⁶ In 1943 she enrolled in the army in Philadelphia, as a Women's Army Corps Aviation cadet.¹⁰⁷ By the 1960s she was a vocal and out lesbian activist living in San Francisco going by the name Rita.

¹⁰⁰ For a comprehensive history of the Daughters of Bilitis and an account of this time in the organization, 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).

¹⁰¹ The gay men's Los Angeles-based organization, ONE, followed a similar trajectory as the Daughters of Bilitis, as chronicled in C. Todd White's *Pre-Gay L.A.: A Social History of the Movement for Homosexual Rights* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

¹⁰² Gallo, 142.

¹⁰³ Gallo, 143.

¹⁰⁴ Gallo, 143.

¹⁰⁵ *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* XXUV, no. 1 (September 29, 1921): 226-227.

¹⁰⁶ *American Bar Association Journal* 42, no. 61 (July 1956): 674.

¹⁰⁷ 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).

In the spring of 1970, LaPorte and Grier decided to take the mailing addresses and printing plates for *The Ladder* to suburban Reno, where LaPorte was living with her girlfriend.¹⁰⁸ They planned that, by taking *The Ladder* out to San Francisco and away from the interference of the old guard of the organization, they could represent a more radical form of lesbian feminism. Many members of the Daughters of Bilitis saw this as a major betrayal; despite this, the magazine continued being published. The magazine launched bimonthly publication out of Reno in June/July 1970 and continued publication until a lack of funding caused production to cease in 1972.¹⁰⁹ Rita LaPorte passed away in San Francisco on October 28, 1976.¹¹⁰

Washoe County Fairgrounds – Site of the Reno Gay Rodeo

The Washoe County Fairgrounds (Figure 10) was the location of the Reno Gay Rodeo from 1976 through 1984.¹¹¹ The rodeo was created by Philip Lane Ragsdale, a native of California, who grew up on farms there and loved participating in rodeos. He moved to Reno in the early 1970s and, strongly motivated to serve others, worked for such organizations as the Muscular Dystrophy Association, and various other local charities. While volunteering at a Thanksgiving dinner in 1975, he was inspired, imagining rodeo as a way to bring pride to the gay community, and to combat negative stereotypes about gay men—all while raising money for charities.¹¹² Although created primarily as a small men’s event with 150

¹⁰⁸ They lived at 154 Stanford Way, Sparks, Nevada (now demolished).

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 180.

¹¹⁰ “Rita Laporte,” Find A Grave website, accessed October 18, 2015, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=87717943&ref=acom>.

¹¹¹ For a comprehensive history of the Reno Gay Rodeo, visit the International Gay Rodeo Association website, accessed September 30, 2015, <http://www.igra.com>. For a timeline of the Reno Gay Rodeo, see “Time Line of Interesting Facts and Events,” Gay Rodeo History website, accessed May 4, 2015, <http://gayrodeohistory.org/timeline.htm>. The Washoe County Fairgrounds are located at 1001 Wells Avenue in Reno, Nevada.

¹¹² “The History of Gay Rodeo,” Gay Rodeo History website, accessed April 21, 2015, <http://gayrodeohistory.org/GayRodeoHistory.htm>.



Figure 10: Washoe County Fairgrounds, July 2015. Photo courtesy of Nicholas-Martin Kearney.

people attending in 1976, lesbians and both men and women in drag were included by 1977.¹¹³

The rodeo quickly became an international event, drawing LGBTQ people as audiences and participants from all over the globe by 1980.¹¹⁴ Approximately ten thousand people attended the rodeo that year, and forty thousand showed up for nightlife festivities.¹¹⁵ The popularity of the event provoked a homophobic backlash by the Reno City Council and various elected officials, who tried to shut it down in 1981.¹¹⁶ On March 16, 1981 newly elected Washoe County Commissioner Belie Williams said during a caucus meeting that “he did not want the annual Gay Rodeo to

¹¹³ Gary Pedersen, “Frivolity Reigns at Gay Rodeo,” *Nevada State Journal*, August 21, 1977, 40. The rodeo can be seen as a reflection of the hypermasculinity embodied by gay men beginning in the 1970s. This includes the “Castro Clone,” a style of dress that played up images of masculinity. See Michael Flood et al., eds., *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

¹¹⁴ Mark Crawford, “Gay Rodeo: The Competition is Just as Tough,” *Nevada State Journal*, August 4, 1980. An assessment of pictures, from the Gay Rodeo History website, of the 1979 and 1980 rodeos shows a majority male and white audience with a few, if any, people of color.

¹¹⁵ “The History of Gay Rodeo”.

¹¹⁶ The attack on the Reno Gay Rodeo in 1981 was started by a councilman; it was covered in newspapers state-wide, including the *Reno Evening Gazette* and the *Las Vegas Sun*.

be held in Reno and would review its contract with Nevada State Fair officials.”¹¹⁷ He continued, “I personally don’t condone the acceptance of the thing. It may be good for business, but I don’t think it’s business our community needs...I think they [homosexuals] have their rights, but I don’t think our community needs to endorse those rights.”¹¹⁸ Fairgrounds general manager David Drew responded that he would confer with the fairgrounds attorneys.¹¹⁹

The Reno Gay Rodeo weathered the storm, and had its best year in 1982 in terms of finances and number of attendees. The rodeo of that year was so popular that comedian Joan Rivers served as a grand marshal; 22,000 people attended the rodeo itself.¹²⁰ More trouble was not far off. In 1983, people argued that government property (the fairgrounds) should not be used for a gathering that would lead to the spread of AIDS.¹²¹ Unable to survive the economic recession of the early 1980s and increasing AIDS hysteria, the last Reno Gay Rodeo was held in 1984.¹²²

The Reno Gay Rodeo was a pioneering transnational LGBTQ event that brought the idea of a “gay” rodeo to the American mainstream. It was the first rodeo created by and participated in by LGBTQ individuals in both Reno and Nevada, and is significant for the controversies surrounding the rodeo’s use of government space. Not only did the Reno Gay Rodeo lead to the international expansion of a gay sport as a recreational and philanthropic enterprise, but it founded the gay rodeo circuit that continues on an international scale.

¹¹⁷ Rodney Foo, “Commissioner Objects To Gay Rodeo in Reno,” *Nevada State Journal*, March 9, 1981.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ Mark Crawford, “National Reno Gay Rodeo: And in the Saddle,” *The Advocate*, September 16, 1982.

¹²¹ Wayne Melton, “Arguments Focus On AIDS Issue,” *Nevada State Journal*, July 26, 1983, 12A; “Foes of gay rodeo seek ban,” *Las Vegas Sun*, July 28, 1983, 17; and “AIDS Epidemic Casts Pall over Reno Rodeo,” *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, August 8, 1983, 8B.

¹²² “Unpaid Bill May End Gay Rodeo,” *Las Vegas Review Journal*, November 6, 1984, 2B. A comeback was attempted in 1988, but was unsuccessful.

Conclusion

This overview of Reno, Nevada highlights the contributions that it, and other smaller cities and tourist destinations have made to broader LGBTQ history. Many of the places of local, state, and national significance in and around Reno remain extant, and some, including Steve's Bathhouse and the 5 Star Saloon, are still in operation. While serving as a case study of small and mid-sized American cities, Reno's laws around divorce and gambling have uniquely shaped its LGBTQ history.

29 CHICAGO: QUEER HISTORIES AT THE CROSSROADS OF AMERICA

Jessica Herczeg-Konecny

Chicagoans live at the crossroads of America. As an urban center, the city has drawn people from all over the Midwest, the country, and the world. It is a city of many firsts in national LGBTQ history.¹ The city has a long history of people who experienced same-sex desire and gender transgression who lived—and live—all over the city, from Bronzeville to Boystown, and in neighborhoods within what grew to 234 square miles. This is a story of everyday people making their lives: fighting discrimination

¹ Chicago was the site of the first group advocating for homosexual rights in America. Henry Gerber founded the Society for Human Rights in 1924. His home was designated a National Historic Landmark on June 19, 2015. Jonathan Farr, et al., Draft National Historic Landmark Nomination: Henry Gerber House. University of Michigan Public History Initiative, 2014. On file, National Park Service, Washington, DC. In addition, Dr. James Kiernan delivered the first-ever lecture on homosexuality in the United States (titled “Perverted Sexual Instinct”) on January 7, 1884, at a meeting of the Chicago Medical Society. *Minute book of the Chicago Medical Society, 1884*, Gift of the Chicago Medical Society, Chicago History Museum, 1913.0091. Also, Margaret Anderson started the famous literary periodical *Little Review* in Chicago in 1914. In 1915, she wrote, “Mrs. Ellis’s Failure,” which is considered the first essay arguing for homosexual rights in the United States. Margaret Anderson, “Mrs. Ellis’s Failure,” *Little Review* 2:1 (1915), 16-19.

and homophobia, coming together for pleasure and protest, and creating communities. These are sites of resistance, pain, celebration, community building, or all of the above. This chapter is not encyclopedic, but offers assistance in the issues involved when thinking about completing a nomination for a Chicago-based historic site, as well as highlighting places important in the LGBTQ history of the Windy City.

Queer History is Chicago History

Since the nineteenth century, people have immigrated from all over the world and migrated from all over the country (especially from the South and Midwest) into Chicago. Cities like Chicago provided space for people to explore different expressions of sexuality and gender identity, freer from familial and/or religious oversight. The city allowed for increased anonymity, but also enabled people to find each other, come together, and develop communities of people like themselves.² In 1851, the city's Common Council enacted a number of laws to police behavior, especially "offenses against public morals and decency."³ Ordinances included rules prohibiting swimming in the river, gambling, and public nudity.⁴ One of the ordinances criminalized people who "appear[ed] in a dress not belonging to his or her sex, or in an indecent or lewd dress."⁵ Laws such as these were part of morality campaigns across the country; Chicago was one of the first cities with a ban on cross-dressing, but not the only. The fine was to be "not less than twenty dollars nor exceeding one hundred dollars." Twenty dollars is approximately equivalent to \$600 and \$100 is

² See Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier, "Out in Chicago: Exhibiting LGBT History at the Crossroads," in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads*, ed. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 1-22. See also John D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity," *Making Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 5. Reprinted from Ann Snitow, et al., *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 100-113.

³ City Council of Chicago, Records of Ordinances vol. 2 7/0030/01, Illinois Regional Archives Depository, Northeastern Illinois University, 51.

⁴ *Ibid.* 51-53.

⁵ 1851 ordinance, City of Chicago book of ordinances, 1856. Chicago History Museum F38.FA 1856.

approximately equal to \$2,300 in 2014 dollars.⁶ This punitive fine well exceeded the average for the time which was five dollars.⁷

Between 1850 and 1920, the *Chicago Tribune* reported hundreds of sensationalized stories of gender crossers and people whose experiences might be understood through a transgender lens had they been alive today: male-bodied people who dressed and/or lived as women, female-bodied people who dressed and/or lived as men, and others who violated normative gender categories.⁸ People expressed their gender identity differently from their sex for a variety of reasons, and according to historians Jennifer Brier and Anne Parsons, the newspaper articles provided “a sense that the actions taken by transgender people were deliberate and often strategic.”⁹ The actual sites of these so-called “transgressions” may not ever be known, and the people who were arrested were taken to different jails and different courts throughout the city. Without knowing the locations, can we situate the people and events on a map? One way to remember these histories might be to talk about them at City Hall at 121 North LaSalle Street (completed in 1911). Since 1853, this location has marked the boundaries of the sites of all city halls and a courthouse.¹⁰ At this place, we can talk about a history of policing

⁶ *Ibid.* As for an inflation calculator, see Samuel H. Williamson, “Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1774 to present,” *Measuring Worth*, 2015, <http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php>.

⁷ Jennifer Brier and Anne Parsons, “Gender Crossroads: Representations of Gender Transgressions in Chicago’s Press, 1850-1920,” in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads*, ed. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 27.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 23-40.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁰ David Garrard Lowe, “Public Buildings in the Loop,” in *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*, eds. Jannice L. Reiff, et al. (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 2005), <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1019.html>. See also *AIA Guide to Chicago*, third edition, eds. Alice Sinkevitch and Laurie McGovern Petersen, (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 74. Many other important events in Chicago’s queer history have taken place at City Hall, especially ones involving political activists. For example, on December 21, 1988, the City Council passed the Chicago Human Rights Ordinance to prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation in areas such as employment and housing. It was amended in 2002 to include the phrase “gender identity.” The 2012 ordinance reads, in part, “that behavior which denies equal treatment to any individual because of his or her race, color, sex, gender identity, age, religion, disability, national origin, ancestry, sexual orientation, marital status, parental status, military discharge status, source of income, or credit history (as to employment only) undermines civil order and deprives persons of the benefits of a free and open society.” City of Chicago Commission on Human Relations, “Chicago Human Rights Ordinance,” in *Ordinances Administered by the City of Chicago Commission on Human Relations*, 2012, PDF at 7.

and the state in Chicago, as well as the importance of bodies, comportment, and clothing in LGBTQ history.

The police and court system continued to play a large role in regulating gender and social norms throughout the twentieth century. In January 1943, Evelyn “Jackie” Bross and Catherine Barscz were arrested and brought to the Racine Avenue police station (Figure 1).¹¹ Nineteen-year-old Bross (of Cherokee descent) worked as a machinist at a World War II defense plant. On her way home from work, police arrested Bross for dressing as a man. At the Women’s Court, Bross informed the judge that she wore men’s clothing because it was “more comfortable than women’s clothes and handy for work.” The judge ordered Bross to see a court psychiatrist for six months. As a result of the case, the Chicago City Council amended the 1851 ordinance to exclude those people who did not intend to use clothing to conceal their sex. According to the *Tribune*, Alderman William J. Cowhey proposed an amendment to the city ordinance as a direct result of this case.¹² Police practice of arresting gender crossers persisted through the rest of the post-World War II period, and the ordinance against cross-dressing was finally repealed in 1973.¹³

<https://www.cityofchicago.org/content/dam/city/depts/cchr/AdjSupportingInfo/AdjFORMS/OrdinanceBooklet2012>. City Hall has also been the site of protests such as the one in November 1989. One hundred demonstrators led by ACT UP/Chicago leader Danny Sotomayor marched from the Daley Center to City Hall. They staged a sit-in to protest Mayor Richard M. Daley’s slow response to the AIDS crisis and fifteen activists - including Sotomayor - were arrested. “15 arrested at City Hall during gay rights sit-in,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Nov. 22, 1989, D2.

¹¹ 731 North Racine Avenue; site only.

¹² “Council Group Urges an O.K. on Women’s Slacks,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Jan. 21, 1943, at 3. Rita Fitzpatrick, “Parity in Pants Issue Stirs Up Feminine Ire,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Jan. 8, 1943. Fitzpatrick described Bross as “A petite, dark-haired miss, whose placidity was inherited from a full-blooded Cherokee father” and also described her “mannish haircut.” The Women’s Court was located at 1121 South State Street.

¹³ Marie J. Kuda, “Cross-Dressing Law Struck Down,” in *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City’s Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 91. See also John D’Emilio, “Chicago Gay History: Who Wears the Pants?” Online edition of *Windy City Times* (Chicago, IL), Sept. 9, 2009 <http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=22829>.



Figure 1: Evelyn "Jackie" Bross (left) and Catherine Barszcz (right), Racine Avenue Police Station, January 1943. Courtesy of The Chicago History Museum (*Chicago Daily News* negatives collection, ICHI-63143).

Building Communities

At first glance, places of entertainment such as bars and clubs may appear only to be about recreation. However, these gathering spaces had profoundly political impacts that shaped the course of LGBTQ struggles against homophobia and for equality. In the first half of the twentieth century, queer residential and commercial life thrived in the working-class neighborhoods that ringed Chicago's central business district known as the Loop: the neighborhood known as Bronzeville on the South Side, the West Side, and the Near North Side. During the 1920s and 1930s, the neighborhood around Rush and Clark Streets on the Near North Side was called Towertown, named for the nearby city Water Tower. It was an area full of rooming houses: single units for workers living and sometimes loving together. In this district was Washington Square Park, also known as "Bughouse Square"; "bughouse" was slang referring to mental health facilities.¹⁴ The park was a popular spot for people to give radical speeches and also for cruising. During the Prohibition era Towertown emerged as a bohemian as well as a lesbian and gay enclave where politics and entertainment intermingled. Nearby was the Dill Pickle Club, in Tooker Alley off of Dearborn Street. The doorway had a sign: "Step High, Stoop Low, Leave Your Dignity Outside." The club was founded in 1914, and by the 1920s, it had become a nightspot popular with writers, intellectuals, socialists, anarchists, poets, artists, gay men, and lesbians where lecturers spoke about diverse and taboo topics such as homosexuality and sexual freedom.¹⁵ The hotspot also held popular masked balls and anti-war dances. Crowds included hobos, gangsters,

¹⁴ Washington Square Park was listed on the NRHP on May 20, 1991. For historical information about Bughouse Square see Franklin Rosemont, "Bughouse Square," in *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago*, eds. Janice L. Reiff, et al., (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 2005), <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/178.html>.

¹⁵ Speakers included radicals such as Ben Reitman and Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld (who spoke specifically on homosexuality in 1931). Other lectures during the 1920s included "Is Monogamy a Failure," "Nymphomaniacs in Modern Literature," and Elizabeth Davis's lecture, "Will Amazonic Women Usurp Man's Sphere." Information from the Newberry Library, Dill Pickle Collection, Box 1, Folder 71; Box 2, Folder 154; and Box 3, Folder 228.

prostitutes, and college students.¹⁶ Towertown held other attractions as well, including clubs catering to lesbians such as the Roselle Inn and Twelve-Thirty Club; both clubs were closed by the police in 1935.¹⁷ There were many more speakeasies and cabarets, such as the Ballyhoo Café, catering to gay men known as “pansy parlors” featuring effeminate men or female impersonators as entertainment.¹⁸

Towertown drew the attention of social scientists including Ernest Burgess, a founder of the “Chicago School” of Sociology at the University of Chicago, and Alfred Kinsey from Indiana University. Burgess’s work on Towertown began in the 1920s. He charged his students to investigate social and sexual underworlds. The research provides invaluable glimpses into the intimate lives of Chicagoans.¹⁹ In June 1939, Kinsey met a gay man who introduced him to Chicago’s queer community in Towertown. During that and subsequent trips, Kinsey stayed at the Harrison Hotel and conducted sex-history interviews out of his room. The research in Chicago helped inform the research that led to Kinsey’s groundbreaking book, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948).²⁰ The work of Burgess, Kinsey, and their research assistants documented stories about Chicago’s nightlife that otherwise might have been lost. They reported on citywide sexual subcultures whose members often crossed racial and class lines at

¹⁶ “The World of the Dill Pickle Club,” Newberry Library, <http://publications.newberry.org/frontiertoheartland/exhibits/show/perspectives/dillpickle>. 1916 Masked Ball handbill, Newberry Library Dill Pickle Club collection, Box 2, Folder 88. 1920s Halloween Masque Ball handbill, Newberry Library Dill Pickle Club collection, Box 2, Folder 199. 1920s Anti-War Dance handbill, Newberry Library Dill Pickle Club collection, Box 1, Folder 33.

¹⁷ The Roselle Inn was at 1251 North Clark Street; The Twelve-Thirty Club at 1230 Clybourn Avenue. See Lucinda Fleeson, “The Gay ‘30s,” in *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City’s Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 45.

¹⁸ The Ballyhoo Café was located at 1942 North Halsted Street. Chad Heap, *Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 87-88. See also Fleeson, “The Gay ‘30s,” 42 and Schwanda Schweik, “Chicago World’s Fairies,” *Brevities* 3-6, December 7, 1931, 1.

¹⁹ Chad Heap, *Homosexuality in the City: A Century of Research at the University of Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2000); Chad Heap, “The City as a Sexual Laboratory: The Queer Heritage of the Chicago School,” *Qualitative Sociology* 26:4 (Winter 2003), 457-487.

²⁰ Letter from Alfred C. Kinsey to Ralph Voris, October 1939. Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction. See James H. Jones, *Alfred C. Kinsey: A Public/Private Life* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997), 371. See also John D’Emilio, “Chicago Gay History: Kinsey in Chicago,” *Windy City Times* (Chicago, IL), Aug. 26, 2009, <http://windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=22651>. The Harrison Hotel was on Harrison Street at Michigan Avenue.

clubs, bars, and at parties. Their findings documented that Chicago was a significant haven for same-sex sexuality and revealed LGBTQ people as an underacknowledged American population, paving the way for other research that followed.

After World War II and into the 1960s, many queer people lived and socialized in the area further north of Towertown, centered at Dearborn and Division (dubbed “Quearborn and Perversion”).²¹ In the 1950s, a number of gay-friendly male spaces sprung up in the area including the Haig and the Hollywood Bowl, and the Lincoln Street Bath continued in popularity.²² In 1958, Chuck Renslow opened the country’s first known gay leather bar, the Gold Coast (Figure 2).²³ The Gold Coast began holding the Mr. Gold Coast leather competition in the 1970s. In 1979, the competition was moved to a larger venue and renamed International Mr. Leather (IML). IML continues to draw thousands of people from around the world to Chicago each May.

City officials targeted this neighborhood on the Near North Side as part of the federal urban renewal programs. After World War II, federal policies (such as the development of the Interstate Highway System as well as the federal government providing favorable housing loans for white male heads-of-household), prompted the movement of many white, middle-class families out of American cities.²⁴

²¹ See, for example, Ron Pajak’s documentary *Quearborn & Perversion* (2009).

<http://www.quearbornandperversion.com/>

²² The Haig was located at 800 North Dearborn Street; the Hollywood Bowl at 1300 North Clark Street (See “2 Captains Face Quiz Today” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Jan. 30, 1953, 1. Police testified in front of members of the City Council that the Hollywood Bowl “was full of male degenerates. They were sitting close and holding hands.”) The Lincoln Street Bath was built in 1918 at 1019 North Wolcott Street. There are too many notable bars and nightclubs to name in this essay, but two notable ones include Tiny and Ruby’s Gay Spot at 2711 South Wentworth Avenue during the 1950s. See the documentary *Tiny and Ruby: Hell Divin’ Women* (1989) by filmmakers Greta Schiller and Andre Weiss. Another South Side hot spot is the Jeffery Pub at 7041 South Jeffery Boulevard. See Kathie Bergquist and Robert McDonald, *A Field Guide to Gay and Lesbian Chicago* (Chicago: Lake Claremont Press, 2006), 6 and 155.

²³ The bar was located at 501 North Clark Street at Rush Street. The Gold Coast closed in 1988 and the building was demolished in 2011. Owen Keehnen, “Renslow: Leather Man,” in *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City’s Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 72.

²⁴ White families increasingly lived in the suburbs that sprouted up alongside the government-funded interstate highway system. Federal housing policies further powered the explosive growth of suburbs.



Figure 2: This painting is one of a series that hung in the Gold Coast bar. The artist, Dom Orejudos (artist name Etienne), was owner Chuck Renslow's lover of forty-three years, beginning in 1955 when the two met at Oak Street Beach. This painting is courtesy of the Chicago History Museum (Gift of Mr. Allen Schuh, 2007.80.1.a-d); the other paintings in the series hang in the Leather Archives and Museum.²⁵

Federal mortgage assistance through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Veterans Administration (VA) loaned money for new suburban construction that favored white, single-family homes for male-headed households. Buying oftentimes became less expensive than renting. Furthermore, during the 1950s and 1960s, FHA or VA financing helped in some way with almost half of all housing in the United States. Thomas W. Hanchett, "The Other 'Subsidized Housing': Federal Aid to Suburbanization, 1940s-1960s," in *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century American*, ed. John F. Bauman, et al. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 163-79. See also Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 205 and 215. The federal government also provided subsidies for the construction of freeways through the Interstate Highway Acts of 1944 and 1956. The 1956 Act in particular provided that the federal government would pay 90 percent of the construction. In part President Eisenhower was keen to have the Federal Highway System in order to evacuate cities during an atomic attack. The federal government also subsidized suburban sewer construction and provided tax incentives for suburban homeowners and commercial development. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 249. See also Hanchett, "The Other 'Subsidized Housing,'" 163-79.

²⁵ For more information about the Leather Archives and Museum at 6418 North Greenview Avenue, see their website at <http://www.leatherarchives.org/>. For more information about Chuck Renslow, see Tracy Baim and Owen Keehnen, *Leatherman: The Legend of Chuck Renslow* (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Productions, 2011).

Cities such as Chicago decided against rehabilitating some existing neighborhoods and housing in favor of clearing them out and starting over.²⁶ Officials hoped developments would protect business in the Loop, fight decentralization, and transform the city center into a safe and “family-oriented” area for white middle and upper classes. In partnership with private developers, city officials cleared spaces for public housing, but also middle-class housing such as Carl Sandburg Village (buildings date to 1960-1975).²⁷ In a proposal for the Village, developer Arthur Rubloff and Company clearly spelled out the types of people they were building for: “If Chicago wants to attract middle income families with children back to the city, we must... create a beautiful environment of residential ‘neighborhood’ character.”²⁸ John Cordwell, one of the chief architects of the Village project and the director of planning for the Chicago Plan Commission (1952-1956), said “Sandburg Village was like a military operation...to go in there and push the enemy back. Coldly, like D-Day.”²⁹ Once again, LGBTQ people of all races were caught in the crosshairs of this sweeping urban reorganization.

²⁶ The federal government used a 1949 urban redevelopment bill and 1954 urban renewal bill to clear the neighborhoods, but more often than not, did not provide for low-income housing for the people displaced. Roger Biles, “Public Housing and the Postwar Urban Renaissance, 1949-1973,” in *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century American*, ed. John F. Bauman, et al. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 143-44. It should be noted, however, that many grassroots community groups were part of urban renewal programs such as those in the Lincoln Park neighborhood. These projects renovated and revitalized housing stock in the name of historic preservation. As historian Amanda Seligman stated, after urban renewal, Lincoln Park had a “status as one of the city’s most appealing residential neighborhoods for young white professionals.” Amanda Seligman, *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago’s West Side* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 78.

²⁷ The development area is bounded by North Avenue, LaSalle Street, Division Street, and the half-block east of Clark Street. Carl Sandburg Village entry in *AIA Guide to Chicago*, 3rd edition, ed. Alice Sinkevitch and Laurie McGovern Peterson (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 185. See Seligman, *Block by Block*, 77-78. An example of an Urban Renewal project for public housing was the Cabrini Green high rises. Cabrini Green was bounded by Clybourn Avenue, Larrabee Street, Chicago Avenue, and Halsted Street. Both the Cabrini Extension (built 1958, now demolished) and William Green Homes (built 1962, now demolished) were part of this development. Amanda Seligman, “Cabrini-Green,” in *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago*, eds. Janice L. Reiff, et al. (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 2005), <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/199.html>.

²⁸ Arthur Rubloff and Company, *Proposal for the Redevelopment of the Chicago Land Clearance Commission North-La Salle Project: Carl Sandburg Center, A Joint Venture*, 1962. Gift of Arthur Rubloff and Company, Chicago History Museum, F38.HH.R9 FOLIO.

²⁹ Steve Kerch, “Sandburg Village: Winning a Battle in Urban Renewal,” *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 14, 1986, O1. The article stated that Cordwell’s vision was to separate the tony Gold Coast neighborhood from the Cabrini Green public housing development.

As the city's urban renewal programs altered existing neighborhoods, such as the one demolished for Carl Sandburg Village, it pushed many LGBTQ people north into "New Town" in the 1970s and then further north into the Lakeview neighborhood, transforming part of it into what many Chicagoans call Boystown.³⁰ As historian Curtis Winkle points out, "Urban planners shaped the Near North in ways that, probably incidentally, helped create opportunities for a thriving gay commercial area."³¹ In November 1998, the city designated North Halsted Street as an official gay neighborhood; most likely the first district designated as such in the world. This was a controversial act. Many felt that it would be alienating or harm property values. Others believed it to be exclusionary because LGBTQ people lived all over the city, not just in one neighborhood. Regardless, the yearly Pride Parade and Northalsted Market Days events still draw crowds to the district.³²

Queers Mobilize Chicago

Struggles with the law continued to be a fact of life in LGBTQ communities throughout the mid-twentieth century. At bars and clubs, police targeted same-sex dancing and women who wore front-fly pants. When they could not arrest patrons for cross-dressing, officers twisted the slightest gestures of friendliness into charges of solicitation of prostitution. Raiding queer bars galvanized people in LGBTQ communities to start protesting for justice. For example, after a raid on a lesbian bar in February 1961, during which police arrested 52 people, Del Shearer started the Chicago chapter of the Daughters of Bilitis.³³ In another

³⁰ Boystown is officially marked as an area bounded by Lake Michigan, Diversey, Clark Street, and Irving Park Road.

³¹ Curtis Winkle, "Gay Commercial Districts in Chicago and the Role of Planning," in *Planning and LGBTQ Communities: The Need for Inclusive Queer Spaces*, ed. Petra L. Doan (New York: Routledge, 2015), 31.

³² Tracy Baim, "Halsted Gets Official," in *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 201. Another major enclave is the neighborhood of Andersonville, even further north. It features the Women and Children First bookstore. This women-owned, queer-friendly feminist bookstore opened in 1979 and is now located at 5233 North Clark Street.

³³ Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2007), 70-71. See also St. Sukie de la Croix,

incident, on April 25, 1964, Cook County sheriff's deputies raided a bar just outside the city limits popular among gay men called the Fun Lounge and arrested 109 people. The following day the *Chicago Tribune* included the names (and in most instances addresses) of eight teachers and four municipal employees, among others.³⁴ Many in the gay and lesbian community responded by organizing as part of the homophile and gay-rights group the Mattachine Society; the Chicago chapter was called Mattachine Midwest.³⁵

Gay and lesbian Chicagoans started many different community centers for themselves throughout the second-half of the twentieth century. These functioned as gathering spaces for educational programs, lending libraries, helplines, and entertainment. One of these organizations was Gay Horizons. In 1973, Gay Horizons opened to provide mental health and social services to LGBTQ communities.³⁶ The organization was renamed the Horizons Community Services in 1985. Horizons partnered with the Howard Brown Memorial Clinic (founded as the Gay VD Clinic in 1974; it later became the Howard Brown Health Center) to respond to the AIDS epidemic through the AIDS Action Project. This work included support groups and an AIDS hotline.³⁷ In 2003 the organization became the Center on Halsted, and in 2007, it moved to its current location.³⁸ Today, the center continues to offer community resources in a safe environment

Chicago Whispers: A History of LGBT Chicago before Stonewall (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012), 269.

³⁴ "Teacher, 1 of 8 Seized in Vice Raid," Quits," *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Apr. 26, 1964, 1.

³⁵ John D. Poling, "Mattachine Midwest: Standing up for Gay Rights," in *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 62-63. The Fun Lounge was located at 2340 North Mannheim Road. Poling, "Mattachine Midwest," 62. One of the instrumental leaders in Mattachine Midwest was attorney Pearl Hart. Hart devoted her life to defending civil rights and to social justice. Her home was on North Pine Grove Avenue. Marie J. Kuda, "Legal Pioneer: Pearl M. Hart, 1890-1975," in *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 26-27. Raids on bars continued through the twentieth century across the city.

³⁶ The 1973 location was 2440 North Lincoln Avenue. The group moved around many times during its history including to 3225 North Sheffield Avenue in 1979. The group was also located at 3519 ½ North Halsted Street (1974); 2745 North Clark Street (1975); 920 West Oakdale Avenue (1977). The group moved again to 961 West Montana Street in 1990. Information about Horizons from Tracy Baim, "The 'Center' of the Gay Community," *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 104.

³⁷ "History," *Center on Halsted*, <http://www.centeronhalsted.org/history.html>.

³⁸ 3656 North Halsted Street.

with a vision of “a thriving lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer community, living powerfully in supportive inclusive environments.”³⁹

Chicago hosted numerous sites of protest by the Chicago chapter of the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) including a twenty-four hour candlelight vigil April 21-22, 1990, in a park across the street from Cook County Hospital (Figure 3).⁴¹ Two hundred and fifty national and local activists protested the Hospital’s Board and administration (in the words of demonstrator Debbie Gould) “for [their] inadequate response to the AIDS epidemic. We’re in a crisis.”⁴² On Monday, April 23, protesters marched through the streets of downtown Chicago. Demonstrators had the following demands: 1) expanded health care for people with AIDS at Cook County Hospital, including admittance of women to the AIDS ward, 2)



Figure 3: Cook County Hospital, site of ACT UP protests in 1990. Photo by Jeff Dahl, 2008.⁴⁰

³⁹ “About,” *Center on Halsted*, <http://www.centeronhalsted.org/cohoverview.html>.

⁴⁰ License: CC By-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cook_County_Hospital.jpg

⁴¹ 1835 West Harrison Street. It was added to the NRHP on November 8, 2006. In 1983, the hospital was the site of the Sable-Sherer Clinic, the first AIDS clinic in Chicago.

⁴² John W. Fountain, “AIDS group protests at County Hospital,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Apr. 22, 1990, C2A.

national health insurance, and 3) for insurance companies to make health insurance more available to people with AIDS.⁴³ ACT UP announced that one thousand people participated in the march. Women threw mattresses into the intersection of Randolph and Clark Streets to protest the exclusion of women from the AIDS ward. Others threw red paint and stuck stickers onto buildings. They marched to the Prudential Building, Blue Cross Blue Shield Association offices, and police arrested protesters during a “die-in” outside the American Medical Association headquarters.⁴⁴ Demonstrators made it to the second floor of the Cook County Building and draped a banner over the balcony that said “We Demand Equal Healthcare Now!” The police arrested 129 activists in all.⁴⁵ Activists made formal complaints against the police for excessive force. Shortly after the protests, Cook County Hospital did open the AIDS ward to women.⁴⁶

Around two hundred national and local members of ACT UP also protested a meeting of the American Medical Association outside the Chicago Hilton and Towers Hotel on June 24, 1991. A woman interrupted a speech by Vice President Dan Quayle by calling for national health care for people with AIDS; other activists spray painted “Fight the AMA” on mailboxes and storefronts.⁴⁷ This protest faced police violence including excessive force and arrests.⁴⁸ The city “paid tens of thousands of dollars

⁴³ Jean Latz Griffin, “City braces for AIDS protests,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Apr. 20, 1990, S4.

⁴⁴ The Prudential Building was located at 130 East Randolph Street, the Blue Cross-Blue Shield Association offices at 676 North St. Clair Street, and the American Medical Association headquarters at the corner of Grand and State Streets.

⁴⁵ Jack Houston and Jack Kass, “129 arrested in AIDS protest,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Apr. 24, 1990, D1. Deborah B. Gould, *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP’s Fight Against AIDS* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 406. The Cook County Building is at 118 North Clark Street.

⁴⁶ Regarding complaints against the police: “Metropolitan Report,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Apr. 25, 1990, S3. Charles Mount, “AIDS ward is opened to women,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Apr. 27, 1990, NA7.

⁴⁷ Michael L. Millenson and Keith L. Alexander, “AIDS group in clash with the police,” *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, IL), Jun. 25, 1991, 1.

⁴⁸ Brett C. Stockdill. *Activism Against AIDS: At the Intersection of Sexuality, Race, Gender, and Class* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2003), 138. Deborah B. Gould, *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP’s Fight Against AIDS*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 406.

to settle a lawsuit brought by members of ACT UP... against the Chicago Police Department for brutality during this demonstration.”⁴⁹

Bronzeville and the South Side

Critical stories in the history of Chicago come out of the Great Migration. This movement of African Americans from the South into places like Chicago during most of the twentieth century dramatically changed life in the urban center. The black population in Chicago rose from approximately forty thousand in 1915 to more than one million by the 1970s.⁵⁰ Specifically relegated to the West and South Sides, African Americans created neighborhoods such as the one that came to be known as Bronzeville.⁵¹ Bronzeville was the home to many Prohibition-era African-American jazz clubs, blues clubs, cabarets, and drag balls where the lines of sexuality and gender were blurred. This music and entertainment scene provided social space for LGBTQ people as patrons but also as performers including people such as blues musicians Tony Jackson and Bix Beiderbecke and cabaret singer Rudy Richardson. LGBTQ themes began to be represented artistically such as in Gertrude “Ma” Rainey’s, “Prove It on Me Blues” and Jackson’s “Pretty Baby.”⁵² Hotspots included the Plantation Café, the Pleasure Inn, the Cabin Inn, Club DeLisa, and Joe’s Deluxe.⁵³

Chicago’s African-American press, notably the *Chicago Defender* and Johnson Publishing’s *Ebony* and *Jet*, reported positive accounts of gender

⁴⁹ Deborah Gould, *Moving Politics*, 269.

⁵⁰ Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns*, (New York: Random House, 2010), 11.

⁵¹ State Street to Cottage Grove Avenue, along 43rd and 47th Street.

⁵² Jonathan Ned Katz, “Ma Rainey’s ‘Prove It on Me Blues, 1928,” *OutHistory*, <http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/rainey/rainey2>. Tim Samuelson, “Tony Jackson: Music Legend,” *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City’s Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 30-31.

⁵³ Plantation Café (35th Street and Calumet), *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago*, eds. Janice L. Reiff, et al. (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 2005), <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/3491.html>. Pleasure Inn (505 East 31st Street), Cabin Inn (3119 Cottage Grove), Club DeLisa (5516 South State Street), *OutHistory*, <http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/queer-bronzeville/part-1/queer-nightlife>; Joe’s Deluxe (5524 South State Street), *OutHistory*, <http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/queer-bronzeville/part-2/joe-hughes>.

crossing and same-sex desire. The *Defender* began its coverage as early as the 1910s, and features in *Ebony* and *Jet* started in the late 1940s. African-American female impersonators entertained integrated audiences on the South Side as early as the 1920s into the 1960s. The *Defender* published many articles documenting Chicago's long history of interracial drag performance at locations such as the Cabin Inn or Finnie's Halloween Ball. Alfred Finnie staged his first ball in 1935 in the basement of a tavern on the corner of Thirty-Eighth Street and Michigan Avenue, and it was held in various places over the years. *Ebony* documented the 1953 ball which was held at the Pershing Ballroom.⁵⁴ All of these places and sites can tell stories of people finding each other and coming together, but also reveal exclusions, especially in terms of race, class, and gender. After World War II, queer people of color continued to face discrimination on the North Side, such as demands to present many more pieces of identification than white revelers to gain entrance into a club.⁵⁵

Throughout the city's history, Chicagoans have experienced *de facto* and *de jure* segregation along racial and class lines. Legal and cultural norms regarding housing affected LGBTQ people in Chicago in different ways. Important sites exist such as the home of Lorraine Hansberry, author of the play *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959), in the Woodlawn neighborhood on the South Side.⁵⁶ The home had a covenant on it restricting ownership based on race. When Hansberry's parents bought the home in 1938 and moved their family into the neighborhood, this action resulted in court cases that went all the way through to the United

⁵⁴ "Kicking at Cabin," *Chicago Defender* (Chicago, IL), Nov. 7, 1936; "Imps' at Cabin Inn," *Chicago Defender* (Chicago, IL), May 28, 1938; "Prize Winning Hallowe'en Impersonators," *Chicago Defender* (Chicago, IL), Nov. 9, 1957. See also "Drag Balls and Tearooms," *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 29. Tristen Cabello, "Drag Balls," *Queer Bronzeville* exhibition, *OutHistory*, <http://www.outhistory.org/exhibits/show/queer-bronzeville/part-2/drag-balls>

⁵⁵ Chad Heap, "Gays and Lesbians in Chicago: An Overview," *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008), 9. Tristan Cabello, *OutHistory* exhibit.

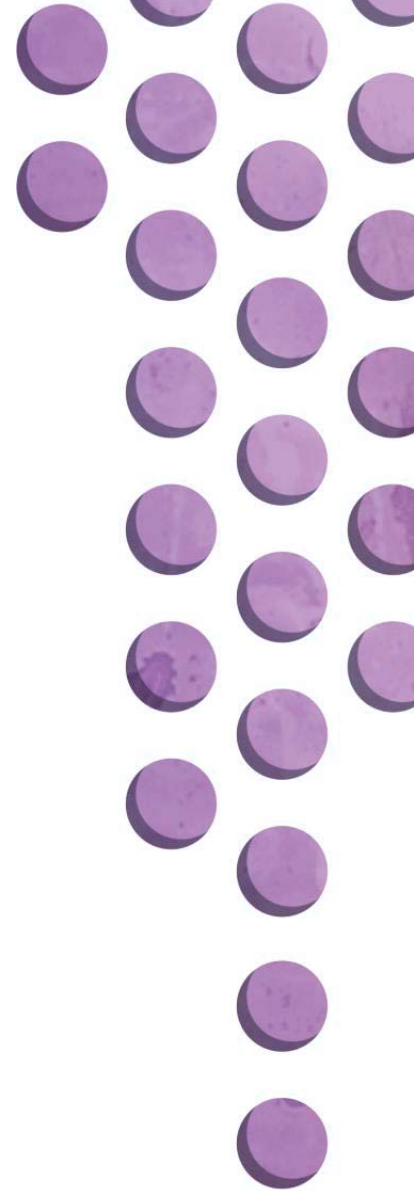
States Supreme Court. The win in favor of the Hansberrys was important in changing segregation covenants toward open housing.⁵⁷

Chicago's urban history is queer history. It's a history of individuals and communities and their relationship to the state, to their fellow Chicagoans, and to each other. There are sites of individual resistance at police stations, court houses, City Hall, and in their own homes. People enjoying themselves in Towertown and Bronzeville in the Prohibition era and exploring the political possibilities at the same time. Activists fighting discrimination and homophobia facing the AIDS epidemic. They make communities, coming together for pleasure and protest. Chicago, a queer crossroads at the heart of America.

⁵⁷ The Supreme Court case was *Hansberry v. Lee* 311 U.S. 32 (1940). In 1950, after spending two years at the University of Wisconsin, Hansberry moved to New York City, where she married and worked as a writer. Hansberry drew on her family's experience fighting housing discrimination in her seminal play *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959), set in Chicago. *A Raisin in the Sun* won the Drama Critic's Circle Award for best play; Hansberry was the youngest American, first woman, and first African-American to win this award. See Lorraine Hansberry House, Chicago Landmarks, <http://webapps1.cityofchicago.org/landmarksweb/web/landmarkdetails.htm?lanId=13024>. Steven R. Carter, "Hansberry, Lorraine Vivian," in *American National Biography Online*, Feb. 2000; <http://www.anb.org/articles/18/18-01856.html>. In 1957, after separating from her husband, Hansberry began exploring same-sex sexuality. This same year she wrote to *The Ladder*, a periodical published by the Daughters of Bilitis, a lesbian-led organization with chapters in cities across the country. Her letter to the editor stated: "I'm glad as heck that you exist... I feel that women, without wishing to foster any strict *separatist* notions, homo or hetero, indeed have a need for their own publications and organizations." See letters to the editor from "L.N.H." in *The Ladder* 1:8 (May 1957) and 1:11 (August 1957).

LEGACY

People engage with history in many ways, not just through reading books and reports. The chapters in this section are designed as resources for NPS interpreters, museum staff, teachers, professors, parents, and others who do applied history work and who wish to incorporate LGBTQ history and heritage into their programs, lessons, exhibits, and courses.



30 NOMINATING LGBTQ PLACES TO THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES AND AS NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS: AN INTRODUCTION

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The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and the National Historic Landmarks (NHL) program are two of the many ways that historic places can be identified, remembered, and preserved. Both of these programs are overseen by the National Park Service (NPS), and to be added to these lists properties (sites, buildings, structures, objects,

districts) must meet certain criteria.¹ This chapter provides an introduction to the NRHP and NHL programs as well as a discussion about evaluating and listing LGBTQ places that will be of use both to those interested in nominating properties as well as those in the various State Historic Preservation Offices, Tribal Historic Preservation Offices, and Federal Historic Preservation Officers who will be evaluating LGBTQ nominations. It does not replace registration requirements or any of the official guidance published by the NPS on nominating places to these programs.²

The Effects of Designation and Listing

Many people have misconceptions about the implications of designating a property as an NHL or having it listed on the NRHP.

What the NHL and NRHP Do

The NHL program and the NRHP are preservation tools that help recognize and preserve significant places and stories. It is important to understand how these tools work, that is, the effects of NHL designation and NRHP listing.

The NHL program was established to identify potential historic units for inclusion in the National Park System; although still a part of its mandate, the scope of the program has since evolved. The NRHP was created as a reaction to urban renewal and Federal projects in the 1960s and to expand the Federal government's role in historic preservation.³

¹ The term "property" is used when referring collectively to sites, buildings, structures, and objects, and is also used to refer generically to sites, buildings, structures, or objects. Other ways of recognizing historic places include site preservation, local or state historic markers, walking tours, public talks, museum and historical society exhibits, preservation of archival materials and artifacts, and publications.

² Information on the NPS website and bulletins published by the NPS contain much more extensive and complete information, and should be referred to when writing nominations or nomination amendments. <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/index.htm>.

³ For a full history of the National Historic Landmarks Program see Barry Mackintosh's *The Historic Sites Survey and National Historic Landmarks Program: A History*, available online at <https://www.nps.gov/nhl/learn/pubs/NHLHistoricSitesSurvey.pdf>. For a history of both programs within the larger historic preservation movement see John H. Sprinkle, Jr., *Crafting Preservation*

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Designation as an NHL ensures that stories of nationally important historic events, places, or persons are recognized and preserved for the benefit of all citizens. Designation may also provide the property's historic character with a measure of protection against any adverse effect by a project initiated by the Federal government; nominations serve as preservation planning documents. Additionally, NHLs may be eligible for grants, tax credits, and other opportunities to maintain a property's historic character.

Listing in the NRHP provides formal recognition of a property's historical, architectural, or archeological significance. There are many benefits that come with listing:

- Becoming part of the NRHP Archives, a public, searchable database that provides a wealth of research information;⁴
- Encouraging preservation of historic resources by documenting a property's historic significance;
- Providing opportunities for specific preservation incentives, such as:
 - Federal preservation grants for planning and rehabilitation
 - Federal investment tax credits
 - Preservation easements to nonprofit organizations;
- International Building Code fire and life safety code alternatives;
- Possible state tax benefits and grant opportunities; and
- Involvement by the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation when a Federally funded project may affect a historic property.⁵

Criteria: The National Register of Historic Places and American Historic Preservation (New York: Routledge, 2014).

⁴ National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, accessed June 13, 2016, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/research/>.

⁵ Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, accessed June 13, 2016, <http://www.achp.gov/index.html>.

What the NHL and NRHP Do Not Do

Designation of a property as an NHL does not give ownership of the property to the Federal government in general or to the NPS in particular; nor does it require that the public have access. NHLs are owned by private individuals; by all levels of government (federal, state, and local); by tribal entities; by non-profit organizations; and by corporations.

Similarly, NRHP listing places no obligations on private property owners. There are no restrictions on the use, treatment, transfer, or disposition of private property. Listing does not lead to public acquisition or require public access. A property will not be listed or designated if, for individual properties, the private property owner objects; or for districts, if a majority of private property owners object. Listing on the NRHP does not automatically invoke local historic district zoning or local landmark designation.

Theme Studies

Theme studies can be thought of as tools to encourage the preservation of places of value to communities nationwide and our collective history. A theme study like this one provides the necessary historic context so that significance may be evaluated for properties that are related to a specific area of American history.⁶ Theme studies are thematically, geographically, and temporally linked and describe the patterns, themes, or trends in history by which a specific property is understood. In other words, historic contexts provide a basis for judging a property's significance and eligibility under the relevant NRHP or NHL criteria, may provide important background information for other research efforts, and can be used to educate the public about the nation's heritage through interpretive and educational programs. Theme studies exist for a

⁶ A theme study is a research document that can be used to help identify potential new NHLs and properties that may be eligible for listing on the NRHP as well as potential new units of the NPS.

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Figure 1: The Hattie McDaniel House, Los Angeles, California. Photo by Waltarrrrr, 2008.⁷

broad range of themes in American history, including American Latinos, Japanese Americans in World War II, and Cold War defensive sites.⁸ Consulting with other, associated theme studies may be helpful if you are looking to nominate places with intersectional histories like the Hattie McDaniel House in Los Angeles (Figure 1),⁹ Fort Okanogan in Washington,¹⁰ or the Topaz War Relocation Center in Utah.¹¹ Mention of

⁷ License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/waltarrrrr/2941948949>.

⁸ National Park System Advisory Board, *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington, DC: National Park System Advisory Board, 2013); Barbara Wyatt, ed., *Japanese Americans in World War II: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington, DC: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, 2012); and John S. Salmon, *Protecting America: Cold War Defensive Sites, A National Historic Landmark Theme Study* (draft) (Washington, DC: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, 2011).

⁹ In the early 1940s, Oscar-winning African-American actress Hattie McDaniel moved into this residence in the Sugar Hill neighborhood of Los Angeles. When white residents filed a lawsuit against McDaniel and other black residents of the neighborhood, where property deeds explicitly forbade sale to “non-Caucasians,” McDaniel organized her neighbors and they fought back. In 1945, a judge ruled in the defendants’ favor, and McDaniel was able to stay in her home. McDaniel had intimate relationships with both men and women. She was the first African American to win an Oscar, awarded for her role as Mammy in *Gone with the Wind*. She lived in this home until her death in 1952.

¹⁰ In 1811, Kutenai two-spirit *itiquattek* Quanon Kamek Klaulha (Sitting-on-the-Water-Grizzly) led a group of Europeans from Fort Astoria in what is now Oregon into the American interior. They founded Fort Okanogan at the confluence of the Columbia and Okanogan Rivers that became an important

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LGBTQ struggles for civil rights were included in the NPS publication *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites*.¹²

Using This Theme Study

Many theme studies use already-listed NHL and NRHP places to illustrate how properties associated with a particular theme can meet the various NHL and NRHP requirements. Because there are only ten NRHP and NHL properties listed for their association with LGBTQ history and heritage, this approach is not effective. Instead, this theme study models the different ways that LGBTQ history can be told using places and provides general information about linking those histories to the NRHP and NHL programs. While chapters in the theme study focus on various aspects of LGBTQ history, many places are repeatedly mentioned throughout. Use the index to search across the whole document; the list of places mentioned in the theme study, found in the Appendices, can also be helpful. Note that the places listed in this theme study are not the only places with LGBTQ history across the country; there are many, many more. This should not be considered a definitive list of important LGBTQ places but should be treated as a baseline.

Nomination Concepts

In order to successfully nominate a place to the NRHP or as an NHL, it is important to understand some key concepts. These include property

location of commerce in the Pacific Northwest through the mid-nineteenth century. Located under the waters of the Lake Pateros reservoir since 1967, Fort Okanogan was added to the NRHP on June 4, 1973. Fort Astoria in Astoria, Oregon, was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966, and designated an NHL on November 5, 1961.

¹¹ In 1942, Jiro Onuma, a first generation Japanese immigrant who lived in the Oakland and San Francisco area, was sent to the Topaz War Relocation Center (also known as the Central Utah Relocation Center) in Millard County, Utah. This was part of the mass internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. Onuma was a gay man. The Topaz War Relocation Center was added to the NRHP on January 2, 1974, and designated an NHL on March 29, 2007.

¹² National Park Service, *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (Washington, DC: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, 2002, rev. 2008). For more about intersectionality, see Springate's chapter (this volume).

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type, significance, evaluation criteria, integrity, and the NPS Thematic Framework.

LGBTQ communities, like other minority groups, have historically been found in marginal and ephemeral places. For LGBTQ communities, this has meant places like the Meatpacking District in New York City (literally an area of slaughter houses and warehouses) or the Tenderloin in San Francisco (known as a place of transience and vice). It has meant that organizations met and formed community where they could: gay and bisexual men cruised public places like parks to find each other; organizations met in people's homes and church basements, frequently changing location. It has meant that groups and organizations in the community, even when well-established, did not have permanent spaces as a result of bad landlords, rising rents, and redevelopment. It means that, when considering places for NRHP listing or NHL designation that places are not overlooked because they are marginal or ephemeral.

Property Type

There are five different kinds of property types that can be considered for NRHP listing or NHL designation. These are: buildings, structures, sites, districts, and objects. When preparing a nomination, you must indicate what type of property you are nominating.¹³

Buildings are created primarily to shelter any form of human activity. For example, they include houses, commercial establishments, churches, hotels, courthouses, and jails. A *building* associated with LGBTQ history

¹³ For a more in-depth discussion of property types, see National Register Bulletin 16A, *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 15).

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listed on the NRHP is the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in Washington, DC.¹⁴ A *building* associated primarily with LGBTQ history designated an NHL is the Henry Gerber House in the Old Town Triangle neighborhood of Chicago, Illinois.¹⁵



Figure 2: Christopher Park, the location of protests following the Stonewall Riots, New York City.¹⁶

Structures are functional resources usually built for purposes other than creating human shelter. For example, they include bridges, railroads, roadways, grain elevators, dams, fortifications, and bandstands. There are currently no NRHP or NHL *structures* designated specifically for their association with LGBTQ heritage. Examples of

structures that are associated with LGBTQ history are Pier 45 in New York City and the State Street Bridge over Kenduskeag Stream, in Bangor, Maine.¹⁷

¹⁴ The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence was added to the NRHP on November 2, 2011. When Kameny moved into the house in 1962 it quickly became a meeting place, archives, and the headquarters of the Mattachine Society of Washington, DC. During his years here, Kameny organized the first regional gay conference, planned a picket against the American Psychiatric Association for including gay and lesbian as psychiatric conditions; ran for Congress as an openly gay man, and was generally instrumental in spear-heading the new militancy in the gay rights movement.

¹⁵ The Henry Gerber House was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015. From his boarding house room at this location, Henry Gerber co-founded and ran the Society for Human Rights, the first gay rights society in the United States. The organization lasted from 1924 to 1925, and was suspended after an episode of police harassment. Afterwards, Gerber continued to work for LGBTQ rights, and influenced homophile activists of the 1950s and 1960s, including Harry Hay, one of the founders of the Mattachine Society.

¹⁶ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ChristopherPark3358.jpg>.

¹⁷ Neither of these structures have been evaluated for inclusion on the NRHP or NHL designation; they are included here as examples only. Since the 1970s, Pier 45 has been an important meeting place and place of community for drag queens, transgender youth, and other members of New York City's African-American ballroom community and culture (Mariah Lopez, Strategic Transgender Alliance for Radical Reform in correspondence with the author, 2014). On July 7, 1984, Charlie Howard and companion Roy Ogden were walking near the State Street Bridge when they were assaulted by three teenage boys. When Charlie fell, they threw him over the bridge railing into Kenduskeag Stream, where he drowned. This attack and death led to the founding of the Maine Lesbian Gay Political Alliance, now called EqualityMaine. Judy Harrison, "Events to Mark 1984 Slaying of Gay Man in Bangor," *Bangor*

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Sites are the locations of significant events, prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a place where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archeological value. For example, they include archeological sites, battlefields, and landscapes like gardens and



Figure 4: *The Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain*, President's Park, Washington, DC. Butt and Millet, who lived together and may have been romantically involved, perished when the *Titanic* sank in April 1912. Photo by Tim Evanson, 2012.²⁰

cemeteries. Stonewall is a site

associated specifically with LGBTQ heritage that is listed on the NRHP, designated an NHL, and has been designated a National Monument (Figure 2).¹⁹

Objects are resources that are primarily artistic in nature or are relatively small in scale or simply constructed. Neither buildings nor structures, they are associated with a specific setting or environment. For example, objects include monuments, memorials, statuary, and fountains. A commemorative property is

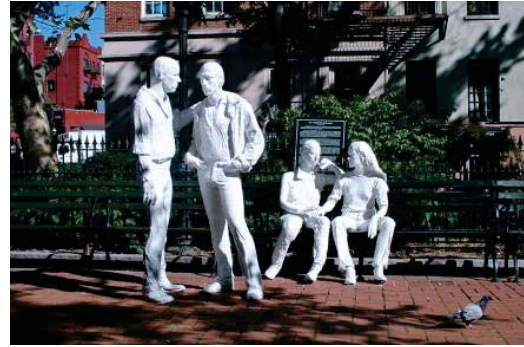


Figure 3: *Gay Liberation* (1980) by artist George Segal is located in Christopher Park, part of the Stonewall National Monument. It is the first piece of public art dedicated to LGBTQ rights. Photo by Raphael Isla, 2013.¹⁸

Daily News (Bangor, ME), July 6, 2009, <http://bangordailynews.com/2009/07/06/politics/events-to-mark-1984-slaying-of-gay-man-in-bangor/>.

¹⁸ License: CC BY-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gay_Liberation_Monument.jpg.

¹⁹ The Stonewall site includes 51-53 Christopher Street, Christopher Park, Christopher Street, Grove Street, Gay Street, Waverly Place, Greenwich Avenue, Sixth Avenue, and West Tenth Avenue between Sixth and Seventh Avenues South. It was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and designated a national monument on June 24, 2016. This was the location of the Stonewall Riots, an event considered a turning point in the modern LGBTQ rights movement, when patrons fought back and protested in the streets in response to what had been a "routine" police raid at the bar.

²⁰ License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Butt-Millet_Memorial_Fountain_-_Presidents_Park_-_Washington_DC_-_2012-05-16.jpg. See also National Park Service, Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain, <https://www.nps.gov/whho/learn/historyculture/butt-millet-memorial-fountain.htm>. President's Park was added to the NRHP on May 6, 1980.



Figure 5: Statue of Thomas Hart Benton by sculptor Harriet Hosmer. Located in Lafayette Park, St. Louis, Missouri, the statue was commissioned in 1860 and completed in 1862. Photo by Whitebox, 2007.²¹

eligible under Criteria Consideration F/Criteria Exception 7 if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has imparted it with its own national significance. If the resource is part of a historic district it does not need to meet this exception. There are currently no NRHP or NHL objects designated specifically for their association with LGBTQ heritage. Examples of *objects* that are associated with LGBTQ history include *Gay Liberation* in New York City, New York; the *Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain* in Washington, DC; and the statue of Thomas Hart Benton in St. Louis, Missouri (Figures 3 to 5).²²

Districts consist of a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, or objects that are united by their history or aesthetically by planned or physical development. For example, they include neighborhoods, business districts, residential areas, farms, large forts, and estates. There are currently no NRHP or NHL *districts* designated specifically for their association with LGBTQ heritage. Examples of *districts* that are associated with LGBTQ history include the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District in San Francisco, California, and the

²¹ License: CC BY-SA 3.0.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:ThomasHartBentonStatueByHarrietHosmer.jpg>

²² None of these objects have been evaluated for inclusion on the NRHP or NHL lists; they are included here as examples only. The statue of Thomas Hart Benton, Missouri's first senator, is located in Lafayette Park, St. Louis, Missouri. The first public monument in the state, it was completed in 1862 by artist Harriet Hosmer, who had a decades-long relationship with another woman. St. Louis LGBT History Project, 1860 Hosmer Statue, accessed April 9, 2016, <http://www.stlouislgbthistory.com/timeline/1800s/1860-hosmer-statue.html>.

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Washington Square West Historic District
in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Figure 6).²³

Significance

In the context of the NRHP and NHL programs, significance refers to a property's ability to illustrate or interpret the heritage of the United States. In addition, the property must retain a level of integrity of place (there has to be a "there there," to paraphrase Gertrude Stein) as well as historic fabric. While both NRHP and NHL properties must have value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States and a level of integrity, for the NHL the standard is of exceptional quality and a high level of historic integrity. The NRHP and NHL programs have detailed frameworks for evaluating a property's significance. These are laid out in the Evaluation Criteria and Integrity sections, below.

A property's period of significance refers to the span of time during which significant events and activities occurred. Most properties have a clearly definable period of significance, which can range from a single day to many years. The period of significance for the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence is 1962 to 1975, when Dr. Kameny was living in the house and active in significant historical events. The period of significance for



Figure 6: Street sign in Philadelphia's Gayborhood. Photo by Bruce Andersen, 2007.²⁴

²³ Neither of these districts have been evaluated for their NRHP significance regarding their LGBTQ history and heritage; they are included here as examples only. The Tenderloin has a long LGBTQ history. Compton's Cafeteria, location of an August 1966 riot against police harassment, is listed as a contributing resource to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, though the district nomination itself is not for the area's LGBTQ history. Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. The Uptown Tenderloin Historic District was listed on the NRHP on February 9, 2005. Philadelphia's LGBTQ community, known locally as "The Gayborhood" is bounded approximately by Walnut, Juniper, Pine, and Quince Streets. It is encompassed by the Washington Square West Historic District, though the district nomination does not mention the LGBTQ history of the area. The Washington Square West Historic District was listed on the NRHP on September 20, 1984.

²⁴ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:13th_Gayborhood.jpg.

Stonewall spans six days, from June 28 to July 3, 1969, encompassing the original riot and the protests that took place in the days after.

Evaluation Criteria

For a property to be considered eligible for listing on the NRHP or designation as an NHL, it must meet at least one of the criteria for inclusion provided by each program. Though similar, these evaluation criteria are slightly different for the NRHP and NHL programs. Criteria for Evaluation for listing on the NRHP are lettered A through D; for designating NHLs are numbered 1 through 6. Properties can be eligible for listing or designation under multiple criteria.²⁵

Most LGBTQ properties will be eligible under the following criteria: those associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of American history (Criterion 1/Criterion A) and association with the lives of people important in American history (Criterion 2/Criterion B). Some will be eligible for their architectural significance (Criterion 4/Criterion C). The significance of historic districts is evaluated using Criterion 5/Criterion C. The significance of archeological sites, including those at sites where structures remain standing, is evaluated under Criterion 6/Criterion D.

Ordinarily, cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, and properties that have achieved significance within the past fifty years are not eligible for listing or designation. Officials in the NRHP and NHL programs know that some properties that would normally be excluded from listing or designation are eligible under certain circumstances. The NRHP program calls these “Criteria Considerations;” the NHL program calls these “Criteria

²⁵ Researchers are directed to the appropriate bulletins for complete details on the criteria for evaluation for both the NRHP and NHL programs. See, for example, Bulletin 15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/>.

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Exceptions.” If you are nominating places to the NRHP or as NHLs and using Criteria Considerations or Criteria Exceptions, you must describe the circumstances that support them.

Several of the places listed on the NRHP and designated as NHLs for their association with LGBTQ history have invoked Criteria Consideration G/Criteria Exception 8 because they achieved their significance within the past fifty years. For example, Stonewall is designated an NHL under *Criterion 1 and Criteria Exception 8*. The significant events at the Stonewall Inn took place less than fifty years before its designation. However, the historical significance of the events is important enough to



Figure 7: Carrington House, Cherry Grove, New York. Photo courtesy the National Park Service.

warrant NHL designation. The Edificio Comunidad Orgullo Gay in San Juan, Puerto Rico, was listed on the NRHP under *Criterion A and Criteria Consideration G*. The importance of the place as the home of the organization that spearheaded the gay liberation movement in Puerto

Rico did not require the passage of fifty years to evaluate.²⁶ Researchers looking to nominate one of the many religious properties associated with LGBTQ history (i.e. as places of protest, refuge, and/or community) would address Criteria Exception 1/Criteria Consideration A.

²⁶ The Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo), at 3 Saldaña Street, San Juan, Puerto Rico, was the home of the Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico. The group was founded in 1974, inspired by New York City’s Stonewall Riots, and was Puerto Rico’s first gay liberation organization. They occupied the building from 1975 to 1976. Casa Orgullo was listed on the NRHP on May 1, 2016.

The NHL program only recognizes exceptional, national significance. The NRHP program recognizes local and statewide significance, as well as national significance (Figure 7).²⁷ Part of the evaluation for both programs is to determine significance in relation to other resources. For NHLs the basis of comparison is other nationally prominent properties; for the NRHP, comparative properties may be located within a single city, town, or state. Examples of comparative properties must be included in your nomination to help reviewers evaluate significance.

Integrity

The NRHP and NHL programs are both place-based; there needs to be a place, a “there,” in order for properties to be considered. This sense of “there” is evaluated using the seven qualities of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Although considered separately, these seven qualities also influence each other. Integrity is always related to the period of significance of a property; in other words, to be listed on the NRHP with a period of significance from 1950 through 1970, a building should have design elements, setting, feeling, etc. from that period.

Location is where the historic property was built or where the significant events took place. To be listed on the NRHP or designated an NHL, properties have to be located within the United States and its possessions. To have integrity of location, they must be in their original place.

²⁷ The Carrington House, Cherry Grove, Fire Island, New York, was listed on the NRHP for its association with the early establishment of Cherry Grove, New York, as a gay enclave, a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history at the local level. It was also listed on the NRHP for its architectural significance. The Carrington House was therefore listed as having local significance under Criteria A and C. It was added to the NRHP on January 8, 2014. The Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico was listed on the NRHP for its statewide significance under Criterion A. It was added to the NRHP on May 1, 2016. The Bayard Rustin Residence in the Chelsea neighborhood in New York City was listed on the NRHP for its association with a person nationally significant in our past. Throughout his life, Rustin impacted many campaigns for social and economic justice, including pacifism, civil rights, economic injustice, and human rights, including organizing and leading the 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom in Washington, DC. The Bayard Rustin Residence was therefore listed under NRHP Criterion B. It was added to the NRHP on March 8, 2016.

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Design refers to the historic structure and style of a property, including how space was organized, proportion, how it was built (technology), and materials. To have integrity of design means these elements from the period of significance are still present.

Setting refers to the physical environment of a historic property. Integrity of setting means that the physical context of the property remains relatively unchanged. It also refers to how the property is positioned on the landscape and its relationship to surrounding physical features.

Materials are the physical elements of a historic property. Integrity of materials means that a property's construction materials (including those associated with landscape features) and placement are consistent with the period of significance.

Workmanship is the physical evidence of craftsmanship associated with the period of significance. This quality is particularly important for architecturally significant properties.

Feeling is how the property expresses the aesthetic or historic sense of the period of significance. Integrity of feeling comes from the presence of physical features that, taken together, convey historic character.

Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. A property has integrity of association if it is the place where the event occurred and can still convey that historic relationship to an observer. If association is merely speculative a property is not eligible for listing or designation. Mere association with historic events also disqualifies a property from consideration.

All seven qualities of integrity must be addressed in nominations to the NRHP and NHL, though not all carry the same weight in evaluating significance. This varies from property to property, depending on other

aspects of the evaluation of significance. Some aspects of integrity are weighted more heavily depending on the evaluation criteria used. For example, the integrity of workmanship is more important when evaluating a property for architectural significance (Criterion C/Criterion 4) than for significance associated with important events (Criterion A/Criterion 1). The integrity of the only property of its type, or the only surviving property of its type, will also be evaluated differently than the integrity of a property type where multiple examples exist.

The absence or loss of integrity of a building, structure, site, or other historic property aboveground does not mean that the place is no longer eligible for listing on the NRHP or designation as an NHL. In many cases, evidence of the historic property remains belowground as archeological deposits. This can be significant on its own or can complement the evaluation of significance of standing structures. Archeological integrity is directly related to the potential for the property to contain historically significant information. In general, this requires intact archeological deposits – those that have not been disturbed through grading, extensive animal disturbance, additional construction, or other impacts. Intact deposits retain the patterning of artifacts and/or features (both above and belowground) that represent past uses and activities. Few properties exhibit wholly undisturbed archeological deposits; therefore, the evaluation of archeological integrity varies from property to property.

NPS Thematic Framework

The *NPS Thematic Framework for History and Prehistory* outlines eight major themes and ideas in American history that serve as a road map to identifying, describing, and analyzing the multiple layers of history that are present within each place.²⁸ These concepts are best thought of as an interconnected system of social and cultural forces.

²⁸ The National Park Service's Revised Thematic Framework, *History in the National Park Service: Themes and Concepts*, National Historic Landmarks Program, accessed June 13, 2016, <https://www.nps.gov/nhl/learn/thematicframework.htm>.

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The eight themes and examples of topics that are encompassed by each are:

1. **Peopling Places:** examining human population movement and change, family formation, community formation, colonization, health and disease, and different concepts of gender, family, and the sexual division of labor;
2. **Creating Social Institutions and Movements:** the diverse formal and informal structures like schools or voluntary associations through which people express their values and live their lives, including clubs and organizations, religious institutions, and recreational activities;
3. **Expressing Cultural Values:** expressions of culture as people's beliefs about themselves and the world they inhabit including educational and intellectual currents, the visual and performing arts, literature, mass media, architecture and landscape architecture, popular culture, and traditional culture;
4. **Shaping the Political Landscape:** tribal, local, state, and federal political and governmental institutions that create public policy and those groups that seek to shape both policies and institutions, military institutions and activities, and political ideas, cultures, and theories;
5. **Developing the American Economy:** reflects the ways Americans have worked, including slavery, servitude, volunteer, and paid labor, as well as economic endeavors like extraction, transportation and communication, agriculture, production, exchange and trade, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. It includes workers and work culture, labor organizations and protests, government policies and practices, and economic theory;
6. **Expanding Science and Technology:** encompasses experimentation and invention, technological applications, scientific thought and theory, and the effects on lifestyle and health;

7. Transforming the Environment: the variable and changing relationships between people and their environment and how the interplay between human activity and the environment is reflected in particular places; and
8. Changing Role of the United States in the World Community: diplomacy, trade, cultural exchange, security and defense, expansionism, imperialism, including immigration and emigration, and interactions among indigenous peoples, between the United States government and native peoples, and between the United States and other countries.

Individual places may represent multiple themes. For example, the Black Cat Club in San Francisco would fall under the themes of creating social institutions and of movements (as a community bar), expressing cultural values (the home of José Sarria's drag show), shaping the political landscape (as the launching place of José Sarria's political campaign and the owner's repeated fights against legal harassment), and developing the American economy (as a long-running business).²⁹

Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of concepts important in nominating properties to the NRHP and NHL, including the NPS Thematic Framework, criteria for evaluating integrity, and establishing a period of significance.³⁰ This information, as well as the historic contexts presented in the rest of this theme study, set the stage for the successful nomination, evaluation, and preservation of historic properties associated with LGBTQ history.

²⁹ The Black Cat Club at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California, was one of the most popular bars in the city from the late 1940s until it closed in 1964. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, it was the home base of drag entertainer José Sarria. He rallied his audiences against police repression, and used the bar to launch his 1961 campaign for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors – the first time an openly gay person ran for elected office. Sol Stouman, the straight owner of the Black Cat, fought repeated court battles from the 1950s onward in an effort to keep the bar open during the Lavender Scare. The building is a contributing resource to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971.

³⁰ For details, see the National Register bulletins cited in footnote 1.

31 INTERPRETING LGBTQ HISTORIC SITES

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The National Park Service's LGBTQ heritage initiative promises to raise awareness of LGBTQ history and preserve the sites related to this history. Hopefully, many of these sites will be not only designated but also interpreted to the public. In addition to these properties with their primary significance in LGBTQ history, many other historic sites, designated for primary reasons other than their LGBTQ connections, still have stories to tell on this topic. Still others may have been working with LGBTQ interpretation for some time, but seek new approaches for reaching wider audiences. With this chapter, I offer some suggestions for sharing LGBTQ stories with a public audience, while also respecting the nuances and diversity of these experiences. I begin by discussing the importance of this work, move on to exploring some conceptual issues, and conclude by providing some concrete first steps to interpretive planning.¹

¹ For more detail, see Susan Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).

Why Interpret LGBTQ History?

Evidence of same-sex love and desire, and of gender crossing, exists throughout the recorded history of North America (and elsewhere), and yet these topics are rarely included in discussions of US history, whether in classrooms, in mainstream media, or at museums and historic sites. This leaves a hole in our national narrative and erases part of the story. The most obvious reason for historic sites to share their LGBTQ stories is because doing so creates a more inclusive and accurate telling of the national past.

At the same time, the process of uncovering LGBTQ history is more than simply an exercise in inclusivity. Studying cultural outsiders not only reveals insight into their experiences, but sheds light too on the experiences of the mainstream. The question of what behavior is and is not considered normal in a particular historical era, the explanations given for those delineations, and the punishments meted out to those who violate these cultural boundaries, all reveal information to help us understand the unspoken assumptions and anxieties of a given age.

For example, historian John Murrin—observing that in the New England colonies, charges of sexual deviance were brought disproportionately against adolescent males, while charges of witchcraft were brought disproportionately against older, unmarried women—concluded that these accusations reveal an abiding Puritan anxiety about community members who lived outside of the control of the patriarchal family. Historian Siobhan Somerville has noted that a medical definition of homosexuality developed in an era—the turn of the twentieth century—when science and medicine were also actively seeking scientific proof of white superiority, and she has explored how these various delineations provided a sense of order for native-born white elites amid a rapidly changing society. More recently, in the 1970s, Anita Bryant’s anti-gay “Save Our Children” campaign coincided with the growing independence of American women as a result of second-wave feminism and a skyrocketing divorce rate. As

these examples illustrate, when we add LGBTQ experiences to our historical narrative, we gain a richer understanding, both by considering a greater range of experiences and by glimpsing new information about stories we thought we already knew.²

In addition, as historic sites expand their interpretation, they will likely expand their audiences. An inclusive approach to the past will draw attention. It sends a welcoming message to potential visitors who are accustomed to being spurned and who, in turn, may be less likely to venture to new places until they are clearly welcomed. Interpretation that includes LGBTQ stories also offers something new for all visitors; curiosity and the desire to learn new things will draw many to investigate your site.

LGBTQ historical interpretation may also improve your site's fulfillment of its mission. Over the past three decades, the role of cultural organizations in US society has changed. Whereas previously these institutions positioned themselves as some of the main conveyers of knowledge, they now more often envision their missions to be about the facilitation of meaning making. This more democratic approach has repositioned historic sites and museums as places of community dialogue, where visitors can explore new topics and draw their own conclusions, as their comfort level allows.³ Given the current preponderance of LGBTQ issues in the news, sites can offer some historic context to current events and a forum for exploring these connections—by introducing the idea that different eras have understood love between same-sex individuals in different ways, for example. In the process of providing this historical

² John M. Murrin, "'Things Fearful to Name': Bestiality in Colonial America," *Pennsylvania History* 65 (January 1, 1998): 8-43; Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture*, Series Q (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2000); and Ian Lekus, "Up They Come Again: The Rise of Family Values Politics," *The Ultimate History Project*, accessed November 5, 2015, <http://ultimatehistoryproject.com/marriage-lgbt.html>.

³ Bill Adair, Benjamin Filene, and Laura Koloski, eds., *Letting Go?: Sharing Historical Authority in a User-Generated World* (Philadelphia: Pew Center for Arts & Heritage, 2011), distributed by Left Coast Press; Graham Black, *Transforming Museums in the Twenty-First Century: Developing Museums for Visitor Involvement* (Hoboken, NJ: Taylor & Francis, 2011), 202-240; and Nina Simon, *The Participatory Museum* (Santa Cruz, CA: Museum 2.0, 2010).

context, these organizations prove their relevance and fulfill their role as sites of public exploration.⁴

Finally, interpreting LGBTQ history can serve as an act of reparation to a group who, until quite recently, has been slandered, ignored, and erased. Beyond a simple concern about visitor statistics, historic sites can perform a public service by restoring a past to people who quite often have been cut off from their historical identities.⁵ Often, as part of claiming an LGBTQ identity, people lose historic connections—to their families of origin, their hometowns, and their religious or ethnic communities. And while LGBTQ subcultures can replace some of these community connections, a desire to relate to the past may still be lacking. As Paula Martinac wrote in the late 1990s, “one thing that historic sites and travel guides never taught me was about a most important part of myself—my heritage as a gay person in this country.”⁶ Given these circumstances, to actually encounter “their” history included in an official historical narrative can be a profound and moving experience for LGBTQ visitors.

Conceptualizing the Story

While there are compelling reasons to engage with LGBTQ history, before beginning concrete interpretive planning, sites must lay some initial conceptual groundwork. As with any historical subfield, LGBTQ history carries its own peculiar circumstances that interpreters should be aware of before moving into this territory. Below are some considerations to reflect on in initial efforts to understand LGBTQ stories.

⁴ Guidance for navigating the relevance of past experiences to current events can be found through the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, www.sitesofconscience.org.

⁵ This process has similarities to previous efforts by historic sites to respectfully interpret the histories of other underrepresented groups, such as Native Americans and African Americans. As with LGBTQ history, these earlier efforts were aided by National Park Service theme studies.

⁶ Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A National Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Holt & Co, 1997), ix. See also David W. Dunlap, “Library’s Gay Show Is an Eye-Opener, Even for Its Subjects,” *New York Times*, September 6, 1994, <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/09/06/arts/library-s-gay-show-is-an-eye-opener-even-for-its-subjects.html>; Kelly Farrell, “Exposing the Soul: An Unexpected Encounter with Community-Based Interpretation,” *Legacy: The Journal of the National Association of Interpretation*, February 2010, 20–23; and Alison Oram, “Going on an Outing: The Historic House and Queer Public History,” *Rethinking History* 15, no. 2 (June 2011): 193.

Changing Understandings of Sexuality

Although the topic was hotly debated in the 1990s, scholars now generally agree that sexual identity is socially constructed—that is, it is influenced by time, place, and culture, rather than being immutable. This is an extremely important consideration when approaching same-sex desire and sexual activity in the past. The historical agents being studied may have understood their feelings, identities, and behavior quite differently than we would understand those same circumstances in our own era. Thus, historians need to evaluate source material within the context of the time in which it was created, rather than relying on their own (historically specific) assumptions of meaning.⁷

To take but the most obvious example: The concept of sexual orientation as a personal characteristic did not become firmly entrenched until the turn of the twentieth century. Same-sex sexual activity certainly existed before this, but in earlier eras the emphasis was on behavior, not psychology. Someone might engage in the *sin* or *crime* of sodomy, but that action did not indicate a particular *type* of person as it would beginning in the twentieth century.⁸

⁷ John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 30–31; Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 27–35; and Kenneth Turino and Susan Ferentinos, “Entering the Mainstream: Interpreting GLBT History,” *AASLH History News*, Autumn 2012. Staff at historic sites should understand, however, that although historians now agree that sexuality is socially constructed, the wider public—including interpretive guides—may find this to be a challenging notion. The concept warrants explanation, both in staff training and in interpretation. Indeed, establishing that different historical time periods understood sexual identity and expression differently may end up being one of your site’s main interpretive goals.

⁸ Thomas A. Foster, ed., *Long before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in Early America* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 8–9; and Molly McGarry and Fred Wasserman, *Becoming Visible: An Illustrated History of Lesbian and Gay Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Penguin Studio, 1998), 39. The emphasis before this shift most definitely was on sodomy—most often defined as male sexual penetration of another male. Women’s sexual activity with other women was largely off the radar of social commentators until the development of the medical model known as homosexuality.



Figure 1: Jane Addams, ca. 1914. Photo by Moffatt, from the collections of the Library of Congress.⁹

As a result of these changing understandings, the historical record offers many tantalizing hints of activity that, if created in our own time, would seem to be evidence of gay, lesbian, or bisexual desire, behavior, identity, or relationships. The analysis is not that easy, however. These are contemporary labels, and we cannot facilely apply them retrospectively to a time period in which such concepts did not exist. For instance, intense, exclusive bonds between members of the same sex—mostly women but also sometimes men—were quite common in the nineteenth century.

Known as “romantic friendships,” these relationships involved avowals of loyalty and love, pet names, and quite often physical affection. And yet, such bonds carried no stigma and did not preclude their adherents from also entering into marriages with members of the opposite sex.¹⁰ How are we to understand these relationships today? To call them “gay” or “lesbian” assumes a sexual consciousness that quite likely was not present. Such a label also seems somehow to disrespect those who have struggled with or proudly claimed that label in later times. As Victoria Bissell Brown notes when discussing the sexuality of reformer Jane Addams (Figure 1):

⁹ License: Public domain. <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004671949/>

¹⁰ Leila Rupp, “Romantic Friendships,” in Allida Mae Black, ed., *Modern American Queer History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 13–23; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1, no. 1 (1975): 1–29; Anthony Rotundo, “Romantic Friendship: Male Intimacy and Middle-Class Youth in the Northern United States, 1800–1900,” *Journal of Social History* 23 (Fall 1989): 1–26; and D’Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 125–129.

...I cannot use a word that has purposely erotic meaning in our era to describe the intimate experience of a woman who lived in a very different time. Too many people have fought too hard for modern lesbians' claim to a lusty, erotic life for me to daintily retreat to an ahistorical definition of "lesbian" that skirts the blood, sweat, and tears of erotic expression.¹¹

At the same time, to completely deny the relevance of romantic friendships to LGBTQ history would also be misleading. Surely, these bonds lie somewhere on the spectrum of same-sex love and desire; it is the easy use of modern labels that strips these historical trends of their nuance and context.

Shifting the topic from "LGBTQ" to same-sex love and desire addresses some of these issues. This broader category moves away from contemporary labels as well as the modern emphasis on sexual practice and self-identification. Likewise, we can take a similar approach to conceptualizing transgender identity, by instead considering the topic of "variant gender expression." Like its companion identities in the label of LGBTQ, transgender identity is a modern concept, with a relatively recent history as an identity distinct from sexual orientation.¹² The past abounds with people who chose to live as a gender opposite to their biological sex. We can certainly speak to that fact, but it is more difficult to presume their motivation for doing so, unless they specifically addressed that question. Once again, it is the modern label, not the topic itself that is problematic.

¹¹ Victoria Bissell Brown, "Queer or Not: What Jane Addams Teaches Us about Not Knowing," in Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier, eds., *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads* (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 67.

¹² Originally, the medical model of homosexuality conflated sexual desire for the same sex with the gender identification of the opposite sex (known at the time as "inversion"). See Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 40–73; Jonathan Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (New York: Dutton and Company, 1995), 51–55; and Vern L. Bullough, *Science in the Bedroom: A History of Sex Research* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 35–40.

Vocabulary

Terminology is another issue to keep in mind when beginning to conceptualize the LGBTQ stories related to your site. In addition to the interpretive issues involved in using contemporary labels to describe historical circumstances, sites that interpret the twentieth century—after our modern labels had come into use—face decisions concerning appropriate vocabulary. There is no one universally agreed upon lexicon to describe variant sexuality and gender expression, with preferences varying by generation, subculture, geographic region, and personal inclination. Because of this, some sites choose to devote interpretive space to explaining the connotations and changing meanings of specific words. For instance, *Revealing Queer*, a temporary exhibit at the Museum of History and Industry (MOHAI) in Seattle, dedicated a corner of its 1,000-square-foot exhibit space to offering definitions of various labels and providing a space where visitors could record the words they use to identify themselves. Regardless of the vocabulary your site chooses to employ, sites should make this decision carefully and in consultation with local LGBTQ communities.¹³

Intersectionality

The idea of intersectionality argues that different aspects of one's identity—such as race, class, sexual orientation, gender identity, geographic region, religion, etc.—intersect to create a particular worldview and thus we must approach historical agents as multifaceted beings whose experience of one condition—sexual orientation, for instance—is informed by all others. The concept is dealt with more fully in another chapter of this theme study. However, I mention it here because it is most certainly a factor in conceptualizing LGBTQ stories. There is not one LGBTQ community, one LGBTQ experience, one LGBTQ past—though we sometimes speak of all of these. To do true justice to the stories

¹³ Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 5-7, 153-154.

contained in a historic place, interpreters must consider the intersectionality of identities.¹⁴

The Underrepresented Nature of Bisexual and Transgender Identities

Although the terms GLBT, LGBT, and LGBTQ have been in use for decades, they do not always deliver equal representation of the identities listed. Gay and lesbian experiences have received far more consideration, generally speaking, than bisexual and transgender experiences. While one could argue that this is a consequence of greater numbers and more surviving documentation in the historical record, the neglect of bisexual and transgender experiences is at least in part an oversight that warrants redress.

Western culture tends toward the binary. Most of us are quite accustomed to the heterosexual-homosexual binary, or the male-female binary, and significantly less comfortable with those who blur those borders, as do both bisexuals and transgender folk. Rather than grapple with the in-between, many choose simply to ignore those experiences that complicate the cultural framework. And yet, exploring the lives of those who destabilize cultural categories has the potential to provide new insight; by shifting perspective, we see assumptions that we did not necessarily know existed.

For instance, what are we to make of a heterosexually married person who also left evidence of same-sex desire and behavior?¹⁵ Traditionally,

¹⁴ Mieke Verloo, "Intersectional and Cross-Movement Politics and Policies: Reflections on Current Practices and Debates," *Signs* 38, no. 4 (June 1, 2013): 893–915; Cornelia H. Dayton and Lisa Levenstein, "The Big Tent of U.S. Women's and Gender History: A State of the Field," *Journal of American History* 99, no. 3 (December 1, 2012): 793–817; and Nan Alamilla Boyd, "Same-Sex Sexuality in Western Women's History," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 22, no. 3 (September 2001): 13.

¹⁵ One such person is Ogden Codman Jr., associated with the Codman House (The Grange), 34 Codman Road, Lincoln, Massachusetts, <http://www.historicnewengland.org/historic-properties/homes/codman-estate>. However, in the discussion that follows, I am not talking specifically about Codman, but hypothetically. For more on Codman, see Kenneth C. Turino, "Case Study: The Varied Telling of Queer History at Historic New England Sites," in Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 135-136. The Grange was listed on the NRHP on April 18, 1974.

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sites may have been inclined to use the fact of a marriage as a badge of heterosexual acceptability and simply ignore any evidence that suggested a broader range of interest. Now, I fear the pendulum may have swung too far the other way and sites might be too quick to assume this hypothetical historical agent was a closeted homosexual, using a socially acceptable marriage as nothing more than a shield against accusations of impropriety. But there is, of course, another possibility. Such a person may have sincerely felt desire for both men and women. In a similar vein, bisexuals have historically shared many of the same experiences as gays and lesbians—fighting for broader protection under the law, being arrested in gay bars, and losing jobs because of perceived “sexual perversion.” It might take a second look to find them, even when they are hiding in plain sight.



Figure 2: Clear Comfort, the Alice Austen House Museum, 2011. Photo by Blindowlphotography.¹⁶

¹⁶ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Clear_Comfort_01.jpg

Along similar lines, transgender identities and same-sex love and desire exist in complicated relation with each other. Today, we understand sexual orientation and gender identity to be two distinct categories, but this has not always been the case. Traditionally, the categories have been conflated in societal understandings. As a result, when delving into the past, interpreters can find opportunities to talk about *both* same-sex love and desire *and* gender transgression.¹⁷ For instance, Alice Austen, a turn-of-the-twentieth-century photographer, challenged gender conventions in much of her work. She also spent fifty years partnered to another woman, Gertrude Tate. Both of these aspects are interpreted at her home, Clear Comfort, which is now a museum (Figure 2).¹⁸ In 2010, the Alice Austen House and its parent organization, the Historic House Trust of New York City, invited photographer Steven Rosen, working with the drag performance troupe Switch 'n' Play, to create contemporary interpretations of some of Austen's more provocative works and thus explore changing attitudes about gender expression and sexual identity. The results were later displayed in an exhibit at the site. While this program was not strictly historical in nature, it does provide an example of museums incorporating innovative programming, highlighting the interrelationship of gender and sexual identity, and encouraging visitors to engage with the past by exploring parallels with (and differences from) their own era.¹⁹

Considering the ways variant gender expression has overlapped with variant sexuality in different ways in different eras opens exciting interpretive avenues. But if we unconsciously favor gay and lesbian stories—those that fall neatly into the binary—we run the risk of neglecting other stories also present in historical sources. Staying consciously

¹⁷ Paul Gabriel, "Why Grapple with Queer When You Can Fondle It? Embracing Our Erotic Intelligence," in Amy K. Levin, ed., *Gender, Sexuality and Museums: A Routledge Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 71–79; Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press: Distributed by Publishers Group West, 2008), 150–153.

¹⁸ Clear Comfort (The Alice Austen House) at 2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island, New York, was listed on the NRHP on July 29, 1970 and designated an NHL on April 19, 1993, www.aliceausten.org

¹⁹ Frank D. Vagnone, "A Note from Franklin D. Vagnone," executive director, *Historic House Trust Newsletter*, Fall 2010; and Lillian Faderman and Phyllis Irwin, "Alice Austen and Gertrude Tate: A Boston Marriage on Staten Island," *Historic House Trust Newsletter*, Fall 2010.

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committed to finding bisexual and transgender stories, as well as gay and lesbian ones, can result in a fuller discussion of the range of ideas and experiences present.

Artifacts

What objects represent the LGBTQ elements of your site's story? The answer will vary with each site, of course, as well as with the period of significance. When interpreting the mid- to late twentieth century, objects may more obviously represent queer experience—mementos from marches or gay bars, for example. Earlier eras may present more of a challenge and may require reviewing your site's collection with new eyes—and possibly engaging the help of a specialist—to discover coded meanings not readily apparent.²⁰

Moving Away from Standard Tropes

One could argue that recent efforts to obtain legal recognition for same-sex marriage have fed into a “Queer people are just like us!” mentality. Such thinking obscures the distinct subcultures LGBTQ people have forged. The most successful interpretive efforts will approach LGBTQ experiences on their own terms, as revealed in the surviving sources, rather than crafting a narrative that mimics heterosexual patterns. Indeed, in their role as sex and gender outsiders, many LGBTQ people have worked tirelessly to challenge cultural assumptions about what is and is not “normal,” “proper,” and “natural.” This societal critique—whether it occurred with words or deeds—deserves to be remembered.

A relevant example comes from the *Out in Chicago* exhibit at the Chicago History Museum.²¹ The museum convened two separate advisory panels, one comprised of people who identified as LGBTQ and the other comprised of people who identified as straight. Interestingly, when asked

²⁰ Jill Austin et al., “When the Erotic Becomes Illicit: Struggles over Displaying Queer History at a Mainstream Museum,” *Radical History Review*, no. 113 (Spring 2012): 187–97; and Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 110–115.

²¹ The Chicago History Museum is located at 1601 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois.

what they hoped to get out of an exhibit on Chicago's LGBTQ past, the straight committee said they sought to learn about the ways queer lives were similar to their own, while the LGBTQ committee hoped that their distinct experiences and subcultures would be documented, preserved, and presented to a wider audience. After grappling with the question of how to address the legitimate desires of both groups, the exhibit team decided in the end to privilege the wishes of the LGBTQ stakeholders, who had not had as great an opportunity as the straight stakeholders to see their experiences represented in museum settings.²²

In addition to moving beyond heterosexual tropes, interpreters should also challenge the "progress narrative." Most likely visitors are accustomed to historical trajectories that move unerringly toward "progress," however defined—expanding democratic freedoms, growing economic strength, lives continually made better by technological innovation and increased access to consumer goods. This device seems particularly prevalent when discussing LGBTQ history, especially when those presentations focus on the question of civil rights.²³

Historians now understand that, over time, the dangers and freedoms afforded to LGBTQ people expanded and contracted in ways that do not fit neatly into the idea of a steady march toward acceptance and freedom from fear. Examples abound. To take but one, in the revolutionary period and early nineteenth century, emotional and physical affection between men was seen as a sign of "sensibility," a desired trait in the democratic ideal where empathy, compassion, and thoughtfulness were seen as necessary for exercising the rights of citizenry (at this time restricted to white men). By the twentieth century, however, the emotional range considered acceptable for men was greatly constricted, and male-male bonds of affection were derided and strictly policed for fear that they

²² Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier, "Case Study: Displaying Queer History at the Chicago History Museum," in Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 119-129.

²³ Robert Mills, "Queer Is Here? Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Histories and Public Culture," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 62 (October 1, 2006): 253-263; Robert Mills, "Theorizing the Queer Museum," *Museums & Social Issues* 3, no. 1 (April 1, 2008): 41-52; and Stuart Frost, "Are Museums Doing Enough to Address LGBT History?" *Museums Journal* 111, no. 1 (January 2011): 19.

would receive the taint of the then-common taboo of male love for another male (regardless of sexual component).²⁴

When conceptualizing the LGBTQ stories to be told, the issue of sexual content is likely to arise, and here, too, I encourage interpreters to challenge their assumptions about what is and is not appropriate. Many authors have written about the role of museums in enforcing heteronormativity—the assumptions that heterosexuality and the nuclear family are the societal “norm,” and hence do not need to be analyzed, while all other desires and social arrangements are “abnormal” and thus troubled.²⁵ Heteronormativity can often slip into historical interpretation when LGBTQ experiences are deemed to be too “sexual” to discuss, while analogous heterosexual experiences are present. For instance, think how ubiquitous erotic female nudes (generally created by male artists) are in Western art. These pieces fill art galleries and historic homes and seldom receive any critical comments for being there. Would it be more challenging for staff and visitors if erotic depictions of men were displayed in the historic home of a lifelong bachelor? Likewise, the fact that Paul Revere fathered sixteen children with two wives is a regular part of the tour at the Paul Revere House. Yet this information is certainly no more or less sexual than the fact that author Willa Cather shared numerous

²⁴ Rotundo, *Romantic Friendship*; Clare A. Lyons, *Sex among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender and Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730-1830* (Chapel Hill, NC: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 123–127; Richard Godbeer, *The Overflowing of Friendship: Love between Men and the Creation of the American Republic* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); and William Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America: Beyond Romantic Friendships* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2006).

²⁵ Mills, *Theorizing the Queer Museum*; Joshua G. Adair, “House Museums or Walk-In Closets? The (Non) Representation of Gay Men in the Museums They Called Home,” in Amy K. Levin, ed., *Gender, Sexuality, and Museums*, 269; Kevin Coffee, “Cultural Inclusion, Exclusion and the Formative Roles of Museums,” *Museum Management & Curatorship* 23, no. 3 (September 2008): 261–279; John Fraser and Joe E. Heimlich, “Where Are We?,” *Museums & Social Issues* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 5–14; Stuart Frost, “Secret Museums: Hidden Histories of Sex and Sexuality,” *Museums & Social Issues* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 29–40; James H. Sanders III, “The Museum’s Silent Sexual Performance,” *Museums & Social Issues* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 15–25; Patrik Steorn, “Curating Queer Heritage: Queer Knowledge and Museum Practice,” *Curator* 55, no. 3 (July 2012): 355–365; and Jennifer Tyburczy, “All Museums Are Sex Museums,” *Radical History Review*, no. 113 (Spring 2012): 199–211.

residences and thirty-eight years with her female companion, Edith Lewis.²⁶

All of the tendencies described in this section are reasonable assumptions to make, given larger societal forces. Nevertheless, truly nuanced historical interpretation needs to push beyond societal assumptions in order to get ever closer to accurately documenting the realities of past experiences.

Accept that You Won't Have All the Answers

Thus far, I have discussed numerous conceptual gray areas—the use of contemporary labels to describe historical experiences; the subtle connotations of language; the intersectionality of identity; the potentially nonbinary nature of bisexual and transgender identities; and historical nuance that doesn't fit neatly into standard cultural tropes. It would be understandable if readers began to feel that uncovering the LGBTQ past were a moving target, one that eludes clear conclusions. And to some extent, such feelings would be correct. Historical inquiry quite often reveals more questions than answers. This is the core of its power. We don't have to have all the answers in order to engage in a conversation about the past with visitors; the very fact that we *don't* know everything we wish we knew invites the visitor to interact with the past as opposed to merely consuming a historical product. Yet, admitting uncertainty may be new territory for seasoned interpreters accustomed to taking a more definitive stance when sharing the past with visitors. While it may require a change of thinking, or perhaps additional training, this challenge once again points to the potential of this type of interpretation, revealing more clearly to a wide audience that history is not just a collection of known facts. It involves piecing together shards of evidence, grappling with conflicting points of view, and drawing conclusions as best we can. And in

²⁶ Isabella Caruso, "Willa Cather North by Northeast: Cather Related Site-Seeing North of New York City and East of Ohio," ed. Andrew Jewell, Willa Cather Archive, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2003, http://cather.unl.edu/community.tours.new_york.html. Possibly the only surviving residence of this couple, which they lived in from 1908-1913, is an apartment in Greenwich Village, New York City, New York.

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particular, with regard to the queer past: ideas about sexuality change over time; previous prejudice against LGBTQ identities result in a dearth of surviving objects and documents in our own time; past eras were as complicated as our own, with competing interpretations and so very much that went unspoken.

In fact, within the field of public history, there is a growing trend to “pull back the curtain” and reveal historians’ work to visitors. Rather than presenting interpretation of established fact, this line of thinking encourages sites to reveal the historical process by presenting evidence and context to visitors and asking them to draw their own conclusions. Uncertainty itself can be an interpretive tool.²⁷ The Jane Addams Hull-House Museum puts these ideas into practice in interpreting Addams’s sexuality. Although historians know that the reformer had an intense bond with her friend Mary Rozet Smith that spanned over thirty years, the couple’s correspondence was destroyed (at Addams’s request), so questions remain about the specific nature of their relationship. The museum interprets Addams’s personal life—including her bond with Smith—in the reformer’s bedroom, and is quite open about the fact that the evidence is unclear about Addams’s sexual identity. Visitors encounter the evidence that survives and a description of the relevant historical context—that the late nineteenth century saw many life-long pairings between educated, professional women and the historical circumstances that supported such behavior. However, the museum does not draw conclusions from the evidence, instead providing visitors the opportunity to perform their own analyses.²⁸

²⁷ Susan Ferentinos, “Lifting Our Skirts: Sharing the Sexual Past with Visitors,” Digital Content, May 2014 Issue, *Public History Commons: The Public Historian*, July 1, 2014, <http://ncph.org/history-at-work/lifting-our-skirts>; Robert R. Weyeneth, “What I’ve Learned Along the Way: A Public Historian’s Intellectual Odyssey,” *The Public Historian* 36, no. 2 (May 1, 2014): 9–25. The *Public History Commons* website ran a series of articles on this idea of “pulling back the curtain.” The series is located at <http://ncph.org/history-at-work/tag/pulling-back-the-curtain>.

²⁸ Ferentinos, *Lifting Our Skirts*. The Jane Addams Hull-House Museum, located at 800 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois, was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965.

Interpretive Planning

At some point in the process of uncovering LGBTQ stories, it will be time to move from the conceptual to the concrete, to the specific steps of interpretive planning. While such steps are likely quite familiar to those who work in this area, below, I mention a few issues that either are particularly important when beginning LGBTQ interpretation or carry specific implications when approaching these populations.

Buy-In from Stakeholders

As is true of all interpretive efforts, buy-in from stakeholders—including funders—early in the planning process will help ensure that the effort goes smoothly. You might be surprised at how easy this is to achieve. Regardless of individual opinions about LGBTQ current events and legal protections, it would be difficult to find many people in the United States today who deny that LGBTQ people exist and have been productive members of society. As a result of this cultural shift, resistance to LGBTQ historical interpretation is becoming increasingly rare, when the information is based on historic evidence and avoids using modern labels to describe past circumstances. What’s more, in the last few years, there has been a sea change within corporate America. Many major companies in the United States have moved to the forefront of advocating for LGBTQ acceptance, a trend witnessed in the 2015 controversy in Indiana over the state’s Religious Freedom Restoration Act, where corporations such as Eli Lilly and Company, Angie’s List, Anthem, and Salesforce played a significant role in pressuring lawmakers to amend the law.²⁹ These events suggest that many corporate funders would welcome the opportunity to support LGBTQ historical interpretation. Nevertheless, it is best to build donor, board, and staff support early in the planning process, rather than face unpleasant surprises later on.

²⁹ Jeff Swiatek and Tim Evans, “Nine CEOs Call on Pence, Legislature to Modify ‘Religious Freedom’ Law,” *Indianapolis Star*, March 31, 2015, <http://www.indystar.com/story/money/2015/03/30/nine-ceos-call-pence-legislature-modify-religious-freedom-law/70689924>.

Solicit Input from Community Partners and Explore Partnerships

Seeking input on interpretive development from a wide range of community advisors will assist in creating programming that is relevant and respectful. Advisors can include straight stakeholders as well as representatives of LGBTQ communities, but in selecting advisors, sites should keep in mind that there is not one single cohesive LGBTQ “community.” Care must be taken to ensure gender, class, racial, and generational diversity, as well as representation of all the different categories within the LGBTQ label.

When cultivating relationships among LGBTQ advisors, site personnel should be prepared to encounter some distrust and resistance. Mainstream institutions have historically served as agents of oppression for LGBTQ people in this country. Laws criminalized their self-expression; police harassed them; doctors told them they were sick; popular culture portrayed them as depraved; educational materials denied their existence; the military gave them dishonorable discharges; and the federal government’s glacial response to the AIDS epidemic led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of gay and bisexual men and transgender women. These historical realities are fading, but they have created scars that lead many LGBTQ people to assume the worst about the powers that be. Within the museum world, this is most often seen as a reluctance to grant oral history interviews, share lived experiences, or donate material. Community advisors from relevant populations can serve as bridge builders, communicating the organization’s goals and objectives and serving as watchdogs against unintended gaffes in interpretation. Historic sites should be prepared, however, to exercise patience when building trust and legitimacy within this area.

In addition to specific individuals serving as community advisors, organizational partnerships can address similar issues, providing content expertise and advice on outreach. The Minnesota Historical Society had an established Summer History Immersion Program (SHIP) teaching first-generation college-bound high school students the skills of college-level

historical research. However, the organization partnered with the University of Minnesota's Jean-Nickolaus Tretter Collection in Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Studies when looking to expand its program into the field of LGBTQ history. Similarly, the National Constitution Center and the William Way LGBT Community Center co-sponsored a special exhibit in summer 2015 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the "Annual Reminder" protests for gay and lesbian rights that were held each Independence Day from 1965 to 1969 at the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia.³⁰ The key to creating solid partnerships is mutual assistance. Seek ways to support these organizations as a means of building trust and strengthening relationships.³¹

To assist with these outreach efforts, the American Alliance of Museums is in the process of developing LGBTQ welcoming standards for museums, which it plans to unveil at its annual meeting in spring 2016. This document intentionally aligns with the organization's *National Standards and Best Practices for U.S. Museums* and draws widely from resources on supporting LGBTQ individuals at work, school, and in community.

Staffing and Sustainability

Although familiarity with local LGBTQ realities provides an important perspective to LGBTQ site interpretation, historical and interpretive expertise is also important. Thus, choices about what staff to assign to the development of new interpretation should be made with an eye toward expertise rather than personal identification with the subject. While LGBTQ staff members will likely support the organization's efforts in this area,

³⁰ Kyle Parsons and Stewart Van Cleve, "Case Study: Interpreting for the Next Generation," in Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 141-149; and *Speaking Out for Equality: The Constitution, Gay Rights, and the Supreme Court*, National Constitution Center exhibit, <http://constitutioncenter.org/experience/exhibitions/feature-exhibitions/speaking-out-for-equality-the-constitution-gay-rights-and-the-supreme-court>. Independence Hall, where these protests took place, is at 520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. It was designated as part of the Independence National Historical Park NHL District on October 15, 1966 and became part of the NPS on June 27, 1948.

³¹ Brian O'Neill, "Twenty-One Partnership Success Factors," *AASLH History News* 69, no. 4 (Autumn 2014): 17-21.



Figure 3: Beauport, the Sleeper-McCann House, Gloucester, Massachusetts. Photo by J. David Bohl, 1979, from the NHL nomination.

effective interpretation requires the engagement of all staff with relevant skills.

In addition, the issue of sustainability is important to consider from the outset. Will the interpretative changes become part of permanent programming? Or will they be temporary (special events or occasional themed tours, for instance)? If the latter, how will you maintain the new visitors and audience enthusiasm your efforts are likely to produce? LGBTQ interpretation can send a message of welcome and inclusion; but this message will be met with expectations. How will the organization continue to create a welcoming environment for diverse audiences? How will it avoid tokenism?

Furthermore, Stacia Kuceyeski, director of outreach at the Ohio History Connection (which serves as an institutional partner to the Gay Ohio History Initiative) urges organizations to make LGBTQ projects and outreach a designated part of someone's job, rather than an unevaluated

labor of love for a particular staff member, performed above and beyond their assigned job duties. With responsibilities clearly assigned and part of articulated performance goals, Kuceyeski argues, LGBTQ interpretive efforts are protected from the vagaries of staff turnover or loss of momentum.³²

Choosing Specific Interpretive Methods

Historic sites have introduced LGBTQ stories to visitors in a variety of ways. Beauport, the home of early-twentieth-century designer Henry Davis Sleeper, discusses Sleeper's sexual identity in their standard visitor tour (Figure 3). They have also hosted lectures on queer-related topics and an evening reception and private tour specifically for a gay meet-up group.³³ Staff at Rosie the Riveter/ World War II Home Front National Historical Park, realizing that they needed more documentation before beginning to interpret LGBTQ stories, launched an oral history project complete with a confidential phone line where people interested in learning more about the project could do so while still preserving their anonymity.³⁴ The John Q Ideas Collective stages "discursive memorials"—which might also be described as historically informed site-specific theater—at sites throughout Atlanta that hold relevance to the LGBTQ past.³⁵ The Gay Ohio History Initiative, in partnership with the Ohio History Connection, erected a

³² Joe Heimlich and Judy Koke, "Gay and Lesbian Visitors and Cultural Institutions: Do They Come? Do They Care? A Pilot Study," *Museums & Social Issues* 3, no. 1 (April 1, 2008): 93–104; Donna Mertens, John Fraser, and Joe Heimlich, "M or F?: Gender, Identity, and the Transformative Research Paradigm," *Museums & Social Issues* 3, no. 1 (April 1, 2008): 81–92; Stacia Kuceyeski, "The Gay Ohio History Initiative as a Model for Collecting Institutions," *Museums & Social Issues* 3, no. 1 (April 1, 2008): 125–132; and Stacia Kuceyeski, director of outreach at the Ohio History Connection and liaison to the Gay Ohio History Initiative, in phone interview with the author, April 3, 2014.

³³ Turino, Case Study, 132–135. Beauport was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on May 27, 2003.

³⁴ "Seeking LGBT Stories from WWII Home Front," Rosie the Riveter/ World War II Home Front National Historical Park, <http://www.nps.gov/rori/planyourvisit/seeking-lgbt-stories-from-wwii-home-front.htm>; and Elizabeth Tucker, lead park ranger at Rosie the Riveter/ World War II Home Front National Historical Park, in phone interview with the author, April 29, 2014.

³⁵ Julia Brock, "Embodying the Archive (Part 1): Art Practice, Queer Politics, Public History," *History@Work* (blog), April 5, 2013, <http://ncph.org/history-at-work/brock-johnq-intro>; Julia Brock, "Embodying the Archive (Part 2): Lineages, Longings, Migrations," *History@Work* (blog), April 12, 2013, <http://ncph.org/history-at-work/crichton-brock-intro>; and Wesley Chenault, Andy Ditzler, and Joey Orr, "Discursive Memorials: Queer Histories in Atlanta's Public Spaces," *Southern Spaces*, February 26, 2010, <http://www.southernspaces.org/2010/discursive-memorials-queer-histories-atlantas-public-spaces>.

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historical marker to author Natalie Clifford Barney, who was partnered with a woman (painter Romaine Brooks) for fifty years (Figure 4).³⁶ Indianapolis and Minneapolis have each taken a city-wide approach to interpreting LGBTQ history, developing mobile phone apps that map and interpret relevant sites throughout their cities.³⁷ And the California Historical Society is currently sponsoring a crowd-sourced Historypin project where the public can upload their memories and photos of LGBTQ-related sites throughout the state.³⁸

The relative newness of LGBTQ historical interpretation means that the field remains particularly open to new ideas and methods. Sites have engaged with this history using both established and experimental interpretive methods, and many sites

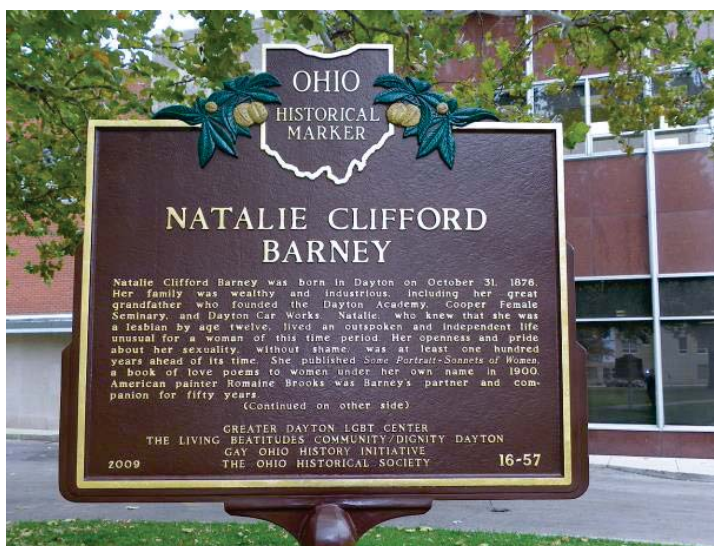


Figure 4: Historical marker to Natalie Clifford Barney, Dayton, Ohio, 2009. Photo by Zeist85.³⁹

unfolded their LGBTQ interpretation in stages, beginning with lectures or other one-time programming and eventually moving into more detailed interpretation. A combination of creative thinking and respectful consultation with stakeholders holds the possibility of producing meaningful and engaging content.

³⁶ "What is the Gay Ohio History Initiative?" *Ohio History Connection Collections* (blog), June 14, 2014, <https://ohiohistory.wordpress.com/2014/06/13/what-is-the-gay-ohio-history-initiative>. The historical marker dedicated to Barney is located on East Second Street in Dayton, Ohio, in Cooper Park.

³⁷ *Discover Indiana*, <http://www.indyhistorical.org>, LGBTQ tour in development as of November 1, 2015; Kirsten Delegard, "YesterQueer," *The Historyapolis Project* (blog), June 25, 2014, <http://historyapolis.com/yesterqueer>.

³⁸ "California Pride: Mapping LGBTQ Histories," *Historypin*, <https://www.historypin.org/project/469-california-pride/>.

³⁹ License: Public domain. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ncbarneyhistoricalmarker.jpg>

Prepare for a Range of Reactions

LGBTQ historical interpretation is still a rare enough phenomenon that many visitors likely will be encountering this subject matter for the first time. Some will be thrilled to find it; others will be challenged. As with any new interpretive effort, it is wise to prepare for a range of reactions. The literature on this subject contains numerous mentions of visitors crying; this can be a hard history to bear witness to. Visitors who have experienced violence, discrimination, and loss because of their LGBTQ identities may have such traumatic memories triggered by this interpretation. People may need a place to reflect and process what they've encountered. They may want to share stories. Some may be angry at encountering this topic; others may be frustrated that the interpretation does not go further. Consider a range of possibilities and prepare for them.

As part of planning for visitor reactions, sites may want to add participatory elements to their interpretation. Providing these kinds of opportunities—video booths or reaction boards, for example—gives visitors a chance to reflect on what they have encountered in an environment where they feel they will be heard. Another approach would be to invite audience members to take on the role of historian, “pulling back the curtain” and analyzing the evidence for themselves.

Ensuring that the nation's historic sites represent a full and inclusive past is an ongoing challenge. As LGBTQ history permeates the national consciousness and becomes increasingly evident in official historical narratives, examples of LGBTQ interpretation at historic sites will increase. And, as with all historical topics, our understanding and interpretation will become more nuanced over time. The key at this moment is to begin.

TEACHING LGBTQ HISTORY AND HERITAGE

Leila J. Rupp

Imagine a world in which students could visit not just Civil War battlefields that raise the profound issues of slavery and what it means for states to be united, but also buildings that housed places that came to feel like home to people marginalized because of sexuality and gender, places that were important enough to defend against onslaughts by the police. That is the possibility that teaching the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) past through historic sites offers. The houses where famous and less known lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people lived, the commercial establishments they patronized and defended, and even places that mark a history of discrimination and violence offer the opportunity to make LGBTQ history a part of US history in a way that makes a difference for students, wherever they are learning history.

A more inclusive history certainly matters to LGBTQ students, who suffer not just from bullying and other forms of discrimination but also from being deprived of a past. Many years ago, I was teaching an introductory US history course when I ran into a student from the class

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who was working in the local gay restaurant. He told me that he had never heard of Stonewall until I talked about it in a lecture on social movement of the 1960s (Figure 1). He was so excited to hear a mention of the gay



Figure 1: Stonewall Inn, site of the 1969 Stonewall Riots, New York City, New York. Photo by Diana Davies, 1969 from the collections of the New York Public Library (MssCol 732).¹

past in a history class that he told his roommate about it. He also came out, since they had never discussed their sexual identities, and then the roommate came out to him. The student described the moment as life-changing.

Robert King, a high school teacher interviewed by Daniel Hurewitz, tells a similar story about Jack Davis, a student in his class at Palisades Charter High School in Southern California. King included LGBTQ content in just one part of one day's lecture on civil rights movements. After a discussion of Stonewall, Davis raised his hand and came out to the class. In an essay he published later, Davis wrote that he had been looking for a way to come out, and the mention of Stonewall opened a door. His classmates applauded, got up out of their seats, and hugged him. He described it as an amazing experience, and the class as "the most defining moment of my coming out." Walking out of the classroom, he felt the weight of the world lifted from his shoulders.²

¹ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Stonewall_Inn_1969.jpg

² Quoted in Daniel Hurewitz, "Putting Ideas into Practice: High School Teachers Talk about Incorporating the LGBT Past," in Leila J. Rupp and Susan K. Freeman, eds., *Understanding and*

And it is not just LGBTQ students who benefit from a more complete history. I had another experience in a class I taught on the history of same-sex sexuality that made that clear. One straight male student, who must have signed up for the class simply because it was at a convenient time, started the course expressing strongly homophobic views based on the Bible. The main paper for the class was the analysis of an interview the students had to conduct with an LGBTQ individual, placing the interviewee's story in the context of the history we had been learning. This student chose to interview a gay coworker, and just hearing about a gay man's life and his struggles and his relationships and his views—including his religious views—completely transformed the student's attitude. Research has shown that knowing a LGBTQ person can change someone's position on political issues connected to sexuality, and in this case, a face-to-face conversation—simply seeing a gay man as a person—was transformative.

This essay addresses the ways that historic sites can be mobilized in the project of teaching about LGBTQ history in high schools, colleges, universities, or in other contexts. I begin by considering what can be gained by teaching courses on queer history or integrating queer history into US history courses. I then address some of the challenges involved in this project. In the bulk of the essay, I provide an overview of existing and potential historic sites that illustrate the main themes in the field, with suggestions for ways to bring LGBTQ history into the classroom. I end with a brief conclusion emphasizing why teaching LGBTQ history and heritage matters and what historic sites can bring to the project.

Why Teach LGBTQ History?

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer history developed as a field within the historical discipline as a result of the LGBTQ movement. As

Teaching U.S. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 74.

with African American, Asian American, Latina/o, Native American, and women's history, it was social movement activism that stimulated a desire to learn and teach about people too often left out of the mainstream historical narrative and to incorporate those histories into a transformed and inclusive story of the past. In recent years, information about LGBTQ lives has moved into mainstream discourse, thanks to the inclusion of LGBTQ characters in film and television, the coming out of prominent public figures, and debate about, and the rapid change in public opinion on, the issue of same-sex marriage, culminating in the 2015 Supreme Court decision opening marriage to same-sex couples throughout the country. Yet there is little knowledge out there about queer history, so notions about the LGBTQ community exist in a vacuum. Official recognition of this state of affairs was behind California's pioneering legislation, the Fair, Accurate, Inclusive, and Responsible (FAIR) Act, the nation's first legislation requiring public schools to teach about LGBTQ history. The 2011 law amended the language of the state's education code, adding "lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Americans," as well as disabled Americans, to the list of those, including "men and women, Native Americans, African Americans, Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, European Americans . . . and members of other ethnic and cultural groups" whose contributions must be considered in classroom instruction and materials.³ How pioneering this legislation is can be measured by the heated debate in the Tennessee legislature of the Classroom Protection Act, known as the "Don't Say Gay Bill," that, if passed, would have prevented teachers from discussing LGBTQ topics.⁴

So the first answer to the question of why teach LGBTQ history is that it makes for better history. Over the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, history at all levels of education has moved from the story of wars and the men in power to a more complex depiction of the ways that

³ Quoted in Susan K. Freeman and Leila J. Rupp, "The Ins and Outs of U.S. History," in *Understanding and Teaching*, 5. Some of this essay is drawn from our introduction to this volume. For more information, see the FAIR education website, <http://www.faireducationact.com>.

⁴ Shannon Weber, "Teaching Same-Sex Marriage as U.S. History," in *Understanding and Teaching*, 306.

all the people of a society play a part in history. Black history, Native American history, Asian American history, Latina/o history, working-class history, women's history, the history of disability—all of these fields of study within the discipline of history have transformed how we understand the US past. That is what the extensive literature on LGBTQ history has done as well. Cultural attitudes toward same-sex sexuality and gender transformation and expression tell us a great deal about the sexual and gender systems of Native Americans, European colonists, and the new “Americans.” Same-sex sexuality is part of the story of the evolution of regional differences and the growth of cities. Struggles over civil liberties and the role of government in the lives of individuals are central to LGBTQ history, and the collective resistance of sexual minorities is as much a part of US history as the struggles of other marginalized groups, whose histories intersect and overlap with queer history. We come to understand history differently when we recognize it not as the single story of a dominant group but as the convergence of multiple histories.

The second answer to the question of why teach LGBTQ history is that it matters to students, of whatever age, because of the widespread phenomenon of bullying, harassment, discrimination—or worse—of LGBTQ people. At the university level, the case of Tyler Clementi, the Rutgers University student who killed himself in 2010 after his roommate secretly videotaped him in a same-sex sexual encounter, attracted national attention. At the secondary school level, the Gay, Lesbian & Straight Education Network's (GLSEN) 2013 National School Climate Survey documents the ways that a hostile school climate affects LGBTQ students.⁵ In 2011, the National Center for Lesbian Rights and the Southern Poverty Law Center, supported by the Justice Department, filed a lawsuit against the Anoka-Hennepin School District, in Minnesota, over a gag order forbidding discussion of LGBTQ issues after the suicides of four gay or bisexual students. The successful suit cited a California study that

⁵Joseph G. Kosciw et al., *The 2013 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Youth in Our Nation's Schools* (New York: GLSEN, 2014), https://www.glsen.org/sites/default/files/2013%20National%20School%20Climate%20Survey%20Full%20Report_0.pdf

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showed that any mention of LGBTQ people or issues in the curriculum increased student safety and improved the climate for students.⁶ The GLSEN survey also shows that an inclusive curriculum, along with other resources, makes a difference. In high school, college, and university classrooms and in community centers and other places, there are students who have siblings or parents or children or friends or coworkers or neighbors who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer. Teaching an inclusive US history makes better history for all of them.

But It Isn't Easy

Teaching LGBTQ history is important, but it is not always easy. The process begins with introducing students to the social constructionist perspective, which emphasizes that sexuality is historically contingent. That is, societies, through religion, law, science, medicine, and other institutions, shape sexual behavior and identities in very different ways across time and space. Given that the reigning assumption in our society is that sexuality is purely biological and the fact that, in part because it is an easier sell in the struggle for legal equality, the LGBTQ movement has tended to embrace the notion that people are born gay, it can be difficult to teach from a social constructionist perspective. Students tend to experience their sexual desires and identities as innate and to misread social constructionism as an indication that sexuality can be easily changed. So the first task in any class is to show the ways that sexual desire, behavior, and identities vary across time and in different cultures. Such an approach calls for looking carefully at the evidence we have of what people felt, did, and thought, and using language that refers to identities with sensitivity to the times. Historical evidence of different ways that sexuality has been organized can help students understand that experiencing desire for someone of the same sex or engaging in a sexual act with someone of the same sex did not always and everywhere mean that someone was gay or lesbian in the way we understand those terms

⁶ Freeman and Rupp, *Understanding and Teaching*, 6.

today. Even after reading about all the different ways that societies have shaped sexuality in the past, students often remain firmly convinced that, in Lady Gaga's words, they were "Born This Way." The challenge is to help them see that their desires and behaviors could have quite different meanings and consequences in other times and places.⁷

As a result of this perspective, it can be difficult to identify who belongs in LGBTQ history. Although there are historians who argue that we can identify gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people in societies (including our own past) in which no such categories existed, most historians would insist that we cannot. As a result, the very question of what LGBTQ history includes is a complex one. Does Eleanor Roosevelt's love for journalist Lorena Hickok make her part of LGBTQ history? In terms of historic sites, should the White House be included? And what about a complex figure such as J. Edgar Hoover, who used the FBI to target those suspected of homosexuality at the same time that he formed an intimate relationship with Clyde Tolson. Is Hoover a part of LGBTQ history?⁸ It is important in identifying sites not to convey the message that everyone associated with them can be identified as lesbian or gay or bisexual or transgender or queer in our contemporary sense.

Another challenge is attending to the intersections of multiple identities shaped not only by sexuality and gender but race, ethnicity, class, nationality, age, disability, and more. As the US history curriculum adds to the diversity of individuals and groups included as worthy of study, it is important that LGBTQ history not focus only on white people, or men, or the middle-class. Taking inspiration from the title of a classic work in black women's history, *All the Women are White, all the Blacks are Men, But*

⁷ The concepts of essentialism and social constructionism, along with the poststructuralist concept of sexuality and gender as performative categories characterized by fluidity, are complex and beyond the scope of this essay. What is important is for students to grasp the notion that sexuality has a history.

⁸ For a sensitive and nuanced consideration of Roosevelt and Hoover in the context of LGBTQ history, see Claire Potter, "Public Figures, Private Lives: Eleanor Roosevelt, J. Edgar Hoover, and a Queer Political History," in *Understanding and Teaching*, 199-212.

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Some of Us are Brave, we need to make sure that not all the lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgender, and queer people are white and middle class.⁹

And then there is the challenge of transforming, rather than just adding a few queer individuals to, the curriculum. The language of the FAIR Act in California calls for the inclusion of the contributions of LGBTQ individuals. If all we can do is sprinkle in a few people who might have desired, loved, or had sex with others with biologically alike bodies, or who might have thought of themselves as a gender different from the one assigned to them at birth, then we will add little to our understanding of sexuality and gender in the past. What we should be after is a transformational approach that, through considering the forces that have structured the lives of LGBTQ people, opens up new perspectives on families, communities, social practices, and politics.¹⁰ As does ethnic, working-class, and women's history, a transformational LGBTQ history changes what we know about the agency and impact of people not in the seat of power, and about how power operates in complex ways. It changes history.

Teaching with Historic Sites

Historic sites provide the opportunity to bring LGBTQ history alive for students of all ages. All over the country there are places—houses, commercial establishments, public spaces, neighborhoods, and locations of significant events—that connect to the kind of transformational history that integrates sexuality and gender into the story of the past. It is possible to connect lessons to local and nearby (at the very least, state-level) LGBTQ historic sites, making this history directly relevant to where students live.

⁹ Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies* (Old Westbury, NY: The Feminist Press, 1982).

¹⁰ See Don Romesburg, Leila J. Rupp, and David M. Donahue, *Making the Framework FAIR: California History-Social Science Framework Proposed LGBT Revisions Related to the FAIR Education Act* (San Francisco: Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History, 2014).

Teaching with these sites is not without its own challenges. For one thing, there is an unavoidable imbalance of recent history, given the more public nature of LGBTQ history in the last century. The national memorial with the earliest identified LGBTQ significance is the Fort Caroline National Memorial where René Goulaine de Laudonnière and Jacques Le Moyne in the 1650s described two-spirit Timucua Indians.¹¹ In this case, they were male-bodied individuals who took on the dress and social roles of women, but there are also examples of female-bodied two-spirit people in the historical record (see Roscoe, this volume). The vast majority of LGBTQ historic places are associated with the twentieth century, and this has the potential to reinforce a view of LGBTQ history as an uplifting story of progress. Also, the difficulty, as discussed above, of determining who and what is legitimately part of LGBTQ history before the sexological definition of homosexuality and the emergence of the identities of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer makes it tricky to avoid an essentializing approach to some of these sites. For example, another early site, Kealakekua Bay in Hawai'i, has a connection to LGBTQ history because a member of the James Cook expedition reported talking with a man named Palea who described himself as *aikane*, a term now interpreted as “friend” that may have then referred to a male sexual companion (see Roscoe, this volume).¹² Were the two-spirit people in Florida transgender? Was Palea gay? These are questions that cannot be answered simply, as Native American understandings of two-spirit fall outside our Euro-American concept of a sex and gender binary. These questions require acceptance that what we can know about sexual subjectivity in the past is limited and recognition that we need to be sensitive about the use of contemporary terms to describe people in the past. And yet another challenge is that many sites, especially the homes of individuals, have the potential to stop at the contribution level of LGBTQ history that emphasizes what a few individuals did rather than moving on to a transformational approach that changes how we view history.

¹¹ Fort Caroline National Memorial is located at 12713 Fort Caroline Road, Jacksonville, Florida. It was designated a National Memorial on January 16, 1953 and listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966.

¹² Kealakekua Bay is located along Napo'opo'o Road, Hawai'i. It was listed on the NRHP on December 12, 1973.

But all of these challenges can be met head on, and a variety of different historic sites can help to breathe life into the study of the past. Whether or not students have the opportunity to visit sites in person, historic places can be brought into the classroom through photographs, and some can be linked to documentary films, oral histories, fiction, or community histories. Students can be encouraged to explore places in their own communities that have significance for LGBTQ history. The key to teaching with these sites is to connect them to the big themes of LGBTQ and US history.

So what might a class—either specifically on LGBTQ history, or a US survey incorporating LGBTQ history—that makes use of historical sites look like? I sketch out here some ways that different kinds of sites can evoke a complex and transformational history. Some of these places are already recognized as historical sites, a few by the National Park Service and some by local or state agencies. Some are recognized in connection to LGBTQ history, some for other reasons. Pre-twentieth century sites have the potential to



Figure 2: A burial marker at the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, Montana. Photo courtesy of the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, 2015.

open up a discussion of how we understand people's desires and sexual acts and intimate relationships in different cultures and in times before the naming of homosexuality and to undermine a simple progress narrative of US history. This is the case for sites connected to European

contact with two-spirit Native Americans and Hawai'ian *aikane*, including (in addition to Fort Caroline and Kealakekua Bay), Fort Wingate in New Mexico, where a two-spirit Zuni named We'Wha was imprisoned in 1892.¹³ Another recognized site, the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument (Figure 2), includes a ledger drawing of Cheyenne two-spirits leading the victory dance after Custer's defeat in 1876.¹⁴ Students might compare the role of two-spirits with the case of a female-assigned individual, Mary Henly, who wore men's clothing and was charged in colonial Massachusetts with behavior "seeming to confound the course of nature."¹⁵ Contrasting the acceptance of gender-nonconformity among some Native American cultures with the secret gender-crossing of individuals in European and American culture illustrates for students the ways that societies view gender in vastly different ways.

The homes of nineteenth-century women who lived with other women open up the question of how we think about the intense, loving, and committed relationships known as "romantic friendships." Because of the sex-segregated domestic world of "love and ritual" in which white, middle and upper-class women lived, romantic friendships between women (and, although in a somewhat different way, between young men) flourished.¹⁶ As middle-class women gained entry to professions such as teaching and social work, romantic friends could choose to forego marriage and make a life with each other in what were known as "Boston marriages." Hull House in Chicago, home to Jane Addams and Mary Rozet Smith, illustrates the role of settlement houses in fostering such Boston marriages (Figure 3).¹⁷ Likewise, Mary Dreier and Frances Kellor, active in the labor and social reform movements, lived together for fifty years in their New York

¹³ Fort Wingate Historic District was listed on the NRHP on May 26, 1978.

¹⁴ The Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument is located at 7756 Battlefield Tour Road, Crow Agency, Montana. It was first preserved as a US National Cemetery in 1879 and designated a National Monument on March 22, 1946. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966. For more information on two spirit people, see Roscoe (this volume).

¹⁵ Quoted in Genny Beemyn, "Transforming the Curriculum: The Inclusion of the Experiences of Trans People," in *Understanding and Teaching*, 115.

¹⁶ Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1, no. 1 (1975): 1-29.

¹⁷ Hull House is located at 800 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965.



Figure 3: Hull House, Chicago, Illinois. Photo by Zagalejo, 2010.¹⁸

City residence located near the Museum of Modern Art. Women's colleges were another location for long-term marriage-like relationships between women.

Katherine Bates, feminist author of “America the Beautiful” and English professor, lived in Wellesley, Massachusetts with Katherine Coman, professor of history and economics and later dean of Wellesley College, for twenty-five years. Looking at the homes that women made together, students might consider how the ideology of separate spheres for women and men—with women assigned the domestic sphere of love and care and men the public sphere of work and rationality—created the conditions for romantic friendships. Boston marriages, in turn, provided women, freed from the necessity of marriage, the support to enter into the professions of social work and higher education.

The connection between romantic friendships and Boston marriages, on the one hand, and emerging lesbian subjectivity can be illustrated through such sites as Clear Comfort, the home of Alice Austen (1866-1952), who lived for fifty years with another woman, Gertrude Tate, and who photographed women dancing together, embracing in bed, and cross-dressing (Figure 4).¹⁹ Students might consider the persistence into the twentieth century of Boston marriages such as Austen’s and Tate’s, as well as relationships such as that of Eleanor Roosevelt with Lorena Hickok,

¹⁸ License: Public domain. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Hull_House_2.JPG

¹⁹ Clear Comfort is located at 2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on July 28, 1970 and designated an NHL on April 19, 1993.

even as public awareness of the new category of “lesbian” grew.²⁰ Austen’s photographs and Eleanor Roosevelt’s love letters to Hickok might be set against texts that warned against the danger of “schoolgirl friendships” or masculine “inverts” out to seduce innocent women.²¹



Figure 4: Clear Comfort, the Alice Austen House, Staten Island, New York. Photo by Eisa.rolle, 2014.²²

A variety of homes of individuals can be used to illustrate LGBTQ lives in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The poetry of Walt Whitman (1819-1892), whose Camden home is a recognized historical site, calls attention to the complexity of male love and homoeroticism in the nineteenth century, since Whitman’s love for men did not lead him to claim an identity as homosexual.²³ Equally important for LGBTQ history is the hospital where Whitman, along with Dr. Mary Walker, who dressed in

²⁰ Eleanor Roosevelt’s home at Val-Kill in New York State is an NPS property, part of the Eleanor Roosevelt National Historic Site, established in 1977.

²¹ See Leila J. Rupp, *Sapphistries: A Global History of Love between Women* (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

²² License: CC BY-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alice_Austen_House_08.JPG

²³ Whitman’s Camden home was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962.

men's clothing, lavished attention on soldiers wounded in the Civil War.²⁴ The exuberance of Whitman's appreciation of male friendship and American democracy in his poetry opens up for students the connections between masculinity and US industrial and urban growth in the nineteenth century. Students might consider his *Leaves of Grass* alongside photographs of men and letters written between male friends to bring alive a world in which male friendship was valued.²⁵

The Murray Hall Residence in New York City is where a gender crossing female-born New York City politician (ca. 1840s-1901) lived. His secret came out after twenty-five years when he developed breast cancer and his physician shocked the world by sharing the news of Hall's anatomical sex. Students can follow the publicity about Hall and consider how people might have thought about him at the time. Outhistory.org, the premier source for LGBTQ history on the web, includes material about Hall as well as the memoir of Earl Lind, also known as Ralph Werther, also known as Jennie June, a person who considered themselves both male and female.²⁶ The stories of Hall and Lind continue a consideration of how we think about gender nonconforming individuals in periods before the concept of transgender and the possibility of sex reassignment surgery. The transition to a period in which changing one's bodily sex became possible is marked by the Dawn Pepita Simmons House in Charleston, South Carolina, the home of one of the first transsexual women in the United States. Gordon Langley Hall (1922-2000) had sex reassignment surgery at Johns Hopkins in 1968 and, as Dawn Pepita Simmons, lived in Charleston, where she married her much younger black male servant, John-Paul Simmons. Theirs was the first legal interracial marriage in South Carolina. Publicity about the case connects gender, sexuality, and race,

²⁴ The site is the Old Patent Office Building, Ninth and F Streets NW, Washington, DC. The building is now the location of the National Portrait Gallery. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on January 12, 1965.

²⁵ See David A. Doyle Jr., "Nineteenth-Century Male Love Stories and Sex Stories," in *Understanding and Teaching*, 132-142.

²⁶ The use of plural pronouns for gender-nonconforming individuals is one alternative to the use of gendered pronouns. On Earl Lind and Outhistory.org more generally, see Catherine O. Jacquet, "Queer History Goes Digital: Using Outhistory.org in the Classroom," in *Understanding and Teaching*, 115.

raising issues for students to consider about the variety of ways in which legal and social restrictions have policed intimacy.

Historic sites also include commercial establishments catering to LGBTQ people, illustrating the emergence across time of queer communities and the struggle for the right to gather in public. The Ariston Hotel Baths in New York City, which men interested in sex with other men patronized as early as 1897, was the site of the first recorded police raid on a gay bathhouse in 1903.²⁷ There are many other sites from the days before the emergence of gay liberation, ranging from Café Lafitte in Exile in New Orleans, operating as a gay bar since 1933; to Finocchio's in San Francisco, from 1933 to 1999 a famous drag club and tourist destination; to the Jewel Box Lounge in Kansas City, opened in 1948 and Missouri home of the touring Jewel Box Revue that featured male and female impersonators, including the famous Stormé DeLarverie; to the Shamrock in Bluefield, West Virginia, opened in 1964 as a gay bar at night in what was a straight diner during the day.²⁸ The variety of clubs and their spread across the country speaks to the importance of LGBTQ people having access to spaces where they were welcome. Students learning about the variety of LGBTQ commercial spaces—not just in New York and San Francisco—can come to understand how much industrialization and geographical mobility loosened the hold of the family and facilitated the emergence of new subcultures, both heterosexual and homosexual.

The importance of commercial establishments to the LGBTQ movement can be seen in the connections that developed between culture and politics. Bars and clubs both facilitated collective identity, which is the foundation of social movements, and served as central community spaces. A good example is Jewel's Catch One, the country's first black gay and

²⁷ The baths were located in the basement of the Ariston Hotel, Broadway and 55th Street, New York City, New York.

²⁸ Café Lafitte in Exile is located at 901 Bourbon Street, New Orleans, Louisiana; it is located in the Vieux Carré NHL District, designated on December 21, 1965. Finocchio's was located at 506 Broadway, San Francisco, California. The Jewel Box Lounge was located at 3219 Troost, Kansas City, Missouri (for the early days of the Jewel Box Revue, see Capó, this volume). The Shamrock was located at 326 Princeton Avenue, Bluefield, West Virginia.

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lesbian disco, opened in 1972, which was associated with a community center, nonprofit medical clinic, and the first residential home for homeless women and children with HIV/AIDS.²⁹ Another example is Julius's Bar, a straight bar where, in 1966, Mattachine members held a "Sip-in," ordering drinks and announcing they were gay, in that way challenging the law against serving alcohol to homosexuals.³⁰

The connection between commercial LGBTQ spaces and resistance becomes even clearer when we consider the kinds of activism that preceded the iconic response to a police raid at the Stonewall Inn in New York City, traditionally considered the launch of the gay liberation cycle of the LGBTQ movement.³² In San Francisco, often considered the premier LGBTQ city, the sites of such protests include the Black Cat Club, where José Sarria, famous drag entertainer who ran for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1961, performed; California Hall, where activists responded to a police raid of a drag ball in 1964; and Compton's Cafeteria, scene of a riot by young gay and

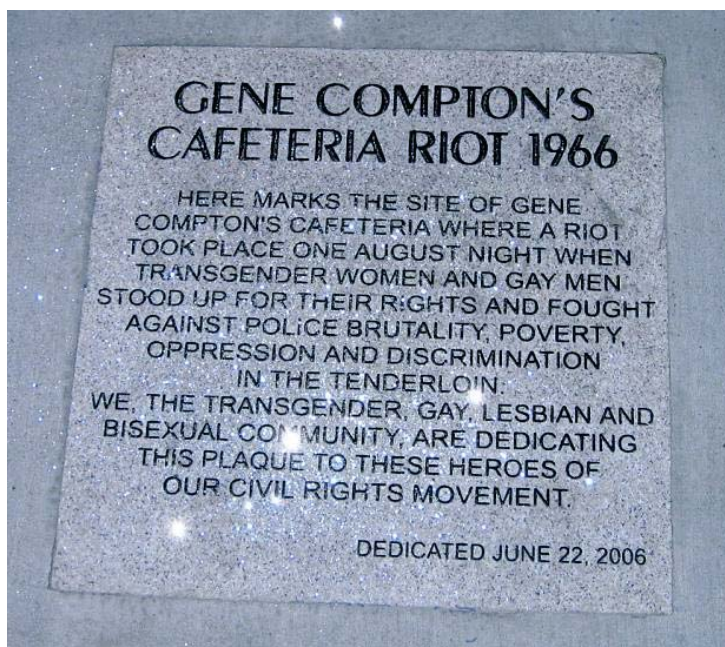


Figure 5: Historical marker commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Compton's Cafeteria Riot, San Francisco, California. Photo by Gaylesf, 2006.³¹

²⁹ Jewel's Catch One was located at 4067 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California. It was the last black-owned gay club in Los Angeles when it closed in 2015.

³⁰ Julius's Bar is located at 159 West 10th Street, New York City, New York. It was added to the NRHP on April 21, 2016.

³¹ License: Public domain.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Plaque_commemorating_Compton's_Cafeteria_riot.jpg

³² The Stonewall Inn is located at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. Stonewall was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and designated Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.

transgender customers against police repression in 1966 (Figure 5).³³ In Los Angeles, customers demonstrated against a police crackdown at Cooper's Donuts in 1959 and the Black Cat Tavern in 1966.³⁴ Many of these early protesters were people of color. Like the more genteel Mattachine "Sip-in," these street protests show how important physical spaces were to diverse members of the LGBTQ community. The film *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria*, can be used to illustrate the impact of these pre-Stonewall protests and to raise the question of why certain events come to stand for the beginning of movements or the transition to a new historical period.³⁵

As the number of locations connected to resistance to police raid suggests, there are many historical sites that document repression and discrimination against LGBTQ people. The Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in Ovid, New York, one of the many institutions where gay, lesbian, and gender-nonconforming people were locked up under "sexual psychopath laws," is already on the National Register of Historic Places.³⁶ The YMCA in Boise, Idaho, gained national attention in 1955 for the arrest of sixteen men accused of homosexual activity.³⁷ The home where transman Brandon Teena was murdered in Humboldt, Nebraska, in 1993 illustrates the widespread violence against transgender people, as does the site of the murder of African American transwoman Rita Hester in her apartment in Allston, Massachusetts in 1998. Her murder inspired the annual Transgender Day of Remembrance. The intersection of Pilot Peak and Snowy View Roads in Laramie, Wyoming, is another site of violence as the place where gay youth Matthew Shepard was beaten and left to die in

³³ The Black Cat Club is located at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California; it is a contributing property (though not for its LGBTQ history) to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971. California Hall is located at 625 Polk Street, San Francisco, California. Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California; this building is a contributing property to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, listed on the NRHP on February 5, 2009.

³⁴ Cooper's Donuts was located at 553 or 557 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California between two gay bars. The Black Cat Tavern was located at 3909 West Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

³⁵ *Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria*, directed by Susan Stryker and Victor Silverman (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005).

³⁶ The Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane in Ovid, New York was listed on the NRHP on June 7, 1975.

³⁷ The YMCA was located at Tenth and Grove, Boise, Idaho.

1998. A discussion of such cases can be set in the history of other forms of violence, such as the lynching of black people, as an extreme form of social control. Violence can also be linked to school bullying, not just of LGBTQ people but, for example, in the form of slut-shaming directed at women.

More empowering are the wide variety of sites that document the emergence of the homophile movement, gay liberation, and lesbian feminism in the early 1970s, and the bisexual and transgender movements in the 1980s and 1990s. The earliest, albeit short-lived, organization dedicated to gay rights was the Society for Human Rights, launched out of the Henry Gerber House in the Old Town Triangle neighborhood of Chicago in 1924.³⁸ The Harry Hay House overlooking the Silver Lake Reservoir in Los Angeles marks the spot where Hay and some friends launched the Mattachine Society, the first lasting organization committed to civil rights for homosexuals, in 1950. The Daughters of Bilitis headquarters in San Francisco illustrates the growth of the homophile movement as lesbians began to organize separately from gay men.³⁹ The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in the northwest of the District of Columbia is important because Kameny was a central figure in the emergence of homophile militancy in the 1960s, fighting the federal government after he was fired for being gay. Students are often astonished to learn that there was a social movement fighting for the rights of LGBTQ people in the 1950s, so teaching about the homophile movement contributes to a rethinking of the supposedly conformist and domestic post-Second World War period. Analyzing the factors that gave rise to the homophile movement—wartime geographic mobility, response to the postwar crackdown on homosexuals in government, the spread of information about gay men and lesbians—helps students to think broadly about the motor forces in history.

³⁸ The Henry Gerber House was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015.

³⁹ The Daughters of Bilitis Headquarters were at 165 O'Farrell Street, San Francisco, California.



Figure 6: The Castro Camera storefront, recreated for the shooting of the film, Milk. Photo by Rick Audet, 2008.⁴⁰

Frank Kameny was one of the figures who bridged the largely assimilationist homophile movement and the emergence of a more militant gay liberation movement. The Gay Liberation Front emerged in New York City shortly after Stonewall, and

the Gay Activists Alliance Firehouse in New York City was the center for an important group that split from the Gay Liberation Front.⁴¹ A range of other sites throughout the country housed short-lived gay liberation organizations in the early 1970s. Castro Camera, the location of Harvey Milk's shop, apartment, and campaign headquarters, is one of only a very few city-recognized LGBTQ historical sites in San Francisco, despite the city's prominence in queer history (Figure 6).⁴² One site that marks the impact of HIV/AIDS on the LGBTQ movement in the 1980s is the Gay Men's Health Crisis in New York City.⁴³

Emerging out of gay liberation and the resurgent women's movement in the early 1970s, lesbian feminism is associated with a variety of places throughout the country. Its regional reach can be illustrated through such sites as the 31st Street Bookstore in Baltimore, a women's bookstore with a strong lesbian feminist presence, which opened in 1973; the home of the newspaper *Ain't I a Woman* in Iowa City, published out of an

⁴⁰ License: CC BY 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Castro_camera_exterior.jpg

⁴¹ The Gay Activists Alliance Firehouse is located in the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District (listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL District on June 29, 1978) at 99 Wooster Street, New York City, New York.

⁴² Castro Camera was located at 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, California.

⁴³ The Gay Men's Health Crisis was founded at 318 West 22nd Street, New York City, New York.

apartment by the Women's Liberation Front; the Furies Collective House in the southeast of the District of Columbia, home of the influential newspaper *The Furies*; and Olivia Records, founded by members and associates of The Furies Collective, which calls attention to the lesbian feminist goal of creating an alternative culture.⁴⁴

For those close enough to visit, the Lesbian Herstory Archives, originally housed in founder Joan Nestle's Upper West Side Manhattan apartment, is a valuable resource for the study of the lesbian past and illustrates the importance of history to the LGBTQ movement.⁴⁵ Hesperia, Michigan, the site of the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival from 1977 to 1981, illustrates the strong connection between culture and politics in the lesbian feminist movement. The struggle over the policy of the festival to admit only "womyn-born womyn," and the subsequent founding by transwomen of Camp Trans outside the festival gates, is illustrative of the ongoing tension about boundaries and belonging within the LGBTQ movement.

Learning about internal struggles over who belongs calls attention to a process at work in all social movements. Students can trace the addition of "lesbian" and then "bisexual," "transgender," and "queer" to "gay" in the name of the movement as a way to consider the expansion of boundaries. Marking that transition are sites connected to bisexual and transgender mobilization, such as the Bisexual Resource Center in Boston, founded in 1985, which grew out of the first national conference of bisexuals, who oftentimes met hostility from gay men and lesbians who assumed they were just avoiding coming out.⁴⁶ The Erickson Educational Foundation in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, was where transman Reed Erickson funded research and activism on behalf of transgender rights.

⁴⁴ The 31st Street Bookstore was located at 425 East Thirty-First Street, Baltimore, Maryland. Olivia Records operated out of 4400 Market Street, Oakland, California. The Furies Collective operated out of a row house in the Capitol Hill neighborhood of Washington, DC. The Furies Collective house was added to the NRHP on May 2, 2016.

⁴⁵ The Lesbian Herstory Archives is located at 484 14th Street, Brooklyn, New York, within the Park Slope Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 21, 1980.

⁴⁶ The Bisexual Resource Center is located at 29 Stanhope Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

Pier 45 in New York City has been, since the 1970s, a gathering place for gay men, drag queens, transgender youth, and other members of the African American ballroom community.⁴⁷ Illustrating the inclusion of those beyond what Gayle Rubin calls the “charmed circle” are sites including the Leather Archives and Museum in Chicago, documenting the leather community’s role within the LGBTQ world.⁴⁸

The history of the LGBTQ movement in all of its cycles can be easily connected to the story of the other social movements of the 1960s and beyond. Kurt Dearie, a public high school teacher in Southern California, organizes a unit on civil rights that compares the goals, strategies, and support for the civil rights, women’s, Native American, Latina/o, Asian American, LGBTQ, and disability movements. The students write a paper evaluating what they see as the most effective movement strategies.⁴⁹ In this way, students learn about social movement processes in general and can apply what they learn to thinking about the contemporary issues they see in the news.

As the expansion of the letters in LGBTQ illustrates, a number of historic sites show the diversity of LGBTQ life. Bayard Rustin’s childhood home in West Chester, Pennsylvania, can be used in a discussion of the Quaker values that Rustin brought to the civil rights movement and the difficulties he encountered in that movement as a gay man. The A. Billy S. Jones Home in northwestern District of Columbia calls attention to Jones as the co-founder of the National Coalition for Black Lesbians and Gays and key organizer of the first LGBTQ people of color conference in association with the first Gay and Lesbian March on Washington in 1979. Black lesbian feminist poet and scholar Audre Lorde’s home with her partner, Frances Clayton, on Staten Island, New York, recalls the central

⁴⁷ The body of transgender and gay rights pioneer Marsha P. Johnson was recovered from the waters off New York City’s Pier 45 in the 1990s.

⁴⁸ Gayle Rubin, “Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality,” in Carole S. Vance, ed., *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984), 267-319. The Leather Archives and Museum is located at 6418 North Greenview Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

⁴⁹ See Daniel Hurewitz, “Putting Ideas into Practice: High School Teachers Talk about Incorporating the LGBT Past,” in *Understanding and Teaching*, 47-76.

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role Lorde played in the movement. Identifying locations that mark the contributions of African Americans, Latinas and Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans to LGBTQ history beyond the ones mentioned here are a priority for celebrating a complete story of the LGBTQ past.

In all of these ways, then, recognized historic sites and those that might become part of our official heritage can be utilized to teach about LGBTQ history, either in discrete courses or as part of a survey of US history. Sites connected to just one individual or one event can be used to open up a broad consideration of the queer past, as I have pointed out above. And important developments in LGBTQ history, in turn, connect to themes that are part of the mainstream narrative of US history. The encounters between Native two-spirit people and European explorers and settlers, for example, provide insight into the deep impact of colonialism. Romantic friendships and Boston marriages illustrate the ways that economic structures and social organization shape intimate relationships. The flourishing of commercial establishments catering to people with same-sex desires ties in with the growth of cities and the importance of social spaces to the building of communities and movements. The history of the homophile, gay liberation, lesbian feminist, and contemporary LGBTQ movements add to the story of organizing to end discrimination and win basic civil rights in the post-Second World War period.

Conclusion

Recognizing LGBTQ history as one thread in the fabric of the US past makes for better history: better for all students, who can see how historically contingent sexuality is, and better because it is more complete and more complex. A variety of social justice and multicultural education organizations utilize the metaphor of mirrors and windows to describe the relationship between students and those who people the history they are studying. When history is about great white men, then elite white male students see themselves as in a mirror. Other students are looking through windows from the outside, viewing a history of which they are not

a part. Our goal should be to provide mirrors and windows for everyone, so students learn about the histories of their families, communities, and worlds as well as those of others from different genders, races, ethnicities, classes, sexualities, and abilities. At the same time, we need to problematize the concept of mirrors, so that students—in this case, LGBTQ students—do not think that women who loved other women or men who had sex with other men or individuals who presented in a gender different than the one they were assumed to be at birth are just like them.

A history enriched by an understanding of how concepts of sexuality and gender, in conjunction with race, ethnicity, class, disability, age, and other categories of difference, have changed over time is a better history. Such a history fuels new ways of thinking about contemporary debates, including same-sex marriage; gay, lesbian, and transgender people in the military; immigration; and citizenship. What a historical perspective brings is a deeper understanding of why change has happened, why some things have not changed, and how change is not always progress. Legal, social, political, urban, and cultural history lend multiple dimensions to thinking about the LGBTQ past and present, and, in turn, the history of same-sex sexuality and gender nonconformity expands our understanding of all of these facets of history. The central narratives of US history speak to queer lives and, just as important, vice versa.

What teaching with historic sites can do is to help make the past come alive. Houses, official buildings, neighborhoods, commercial establishments, and the scenes of historic protests can make concrete the idea that there is a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer past, that what it means to have same-sex desires or to love someone of the same sex or to cross the lines of gender has changed over time, and that LGBTQ history is not a simple story of progress from the bad old days to the liberated new ones. From the representation of Cheyenne two-spirits leading a victory dance at the Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument to Hull House to the Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane to Compton's Cafeteria to Castro Camera, the places where diverse people

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lived their lives and struggled and made history have the potential to enrich our understanding of the past. In a society in which bullying, hate crimes, homelessness, and suicides are all too common in the lives of LGBTQ youth, teaching about queer history embodied in historic sites can inspire young minds to imagine and work for a more open and accepting future society. That is my hope.

APPENDIX A

Places Identified in the Text

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-------------------|--|---|--------------------|-------------------|
| Alabama | Mount Vernon Arsenal-Searcy Hospital Complex | Mount Vernon, AL | NRHP 5/26/1988 | Roscoe |
| Arizona | Charlie's | 727 West Camelback Road, Phoenix, AZ | | Schweighofer |
| | Fort Apache Historic District | Fort Apache Indian Reservation | NRHP 10/14/1976 | Roscoe |
| | Nu-Towne Saloon | 5002 East Van Buren Street, Phoenix, AZ | | Hanhardt |
| | Sri Ram Ashram Ranch | Outside Benson, AZ | | Baim; Giesecking |
| | Talking Stick Resort Arena | 201 East Jefferson Street, Phoenix, AZ | | Schweighofer |
| Arkansas | Eureka Springs (LGBTQ Community) | Eureka Springs, AR | | Schweighofer |
| California | 12 Adler Place | 12 Adler Place, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | 21st Street Baths | 3244 Twenty-First Street, San Francisco, CA | Demolished | Graves and Watson |
| | 330 Grove Street | 330 Grove Street, San Francisco, CA | Demolished | Graves and Watson |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|--|---|---|---|
| California (cont'd) | 890 Hayes Street | 890 Hayes Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | A Different Light | 4014 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Hanhardt; Johnson |
| | A Different Light | 8853 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Johnson |
| | A Different Light | 489 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA | | Hanhardt; Johnson |
| | Adonis Books | 350 Ellis Street, San Francisco, CA | | Johnson |
| | Adonis Books | 348 Jones Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Adrienne Rich-Michelle Cliff House | Santa Cruz, CA | | Dubrow |
| | African American AIDS Policy Training Institute | 1833 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, CA | | Harris |
| | Ah Men | 8933 Santa Monica Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA | | Johnson |
| | Ah Men | Santa Monica and San Vincente, West Hollywood, CA | | Johnson |
| | Alameda County California Superior Court | 1221 Oak Street, Oakland, CA | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Alcatraz Federal Penitentiary | San Francisco, CA | NRHP 6/23/1976; NHL District 1/17/1986. NPS (Golden Gate National Recreation Area) 10/27/1972 | Roscoe; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|--|--|--------|---|
| California (cont'd) | Allan Berube Residence | Lyon Street near Oak Street, San Francisco, CA | | Koskovich |
| | Amelia's | 647 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA | | Hanhardt; Johnson |
| | American Indian Center | 225 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA | | Roscoe |
| | American Institute of Bisexuality | 8265 West Sunset Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA | | Batza; Hutchins |
| | Angelino Heights (LGBTQ Community) | Los Angeles, CA | | Dubrow |
| | Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism | University of Southern California, 3502 Watt Way, Los Angeles, CA | | Schweighofer |
| | API Equality-LA | 1137 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | API Equality-Northern California | 17 Walter U. Lum Place, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Arthur J. Sullivan Funeral Home | 2254 Market Street, San Francisco, CA | | Baim; Batza; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Asian American Residential and Recovery Services | 2041 Hayes Street, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Asian & Pacific Islander Wellness Center (A&PI Wellness Center) | 730 Polk Street, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Atascadero State Hospital | 10333 El Camino Real, Atascadero, CA | | Stein |
| | Athletic Model Guild | 1834 West Eleventh Street, Los Angeles, CA | | Johnson |
| | Avery Aquatic Center | 235 Sam McDonald Mall, Stanford, CA | | Schweighofer |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|---|--|------------------------------|
| California (cont'd) | Baker Street Scandal Location | Baker Street near the Presidio | Partially demolished | Graves and Watson |
| | Barbary Coast (LGBTQ Community) | San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Barracks | 72 Hallam Street, San Francisco, CA | | Dubrow |
| | Beige Room | 831 Broadway, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Benjamin Franklin Middle School | 1430 Scott Street, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Berkeley High School | 1980 Allston Way, Berkeley, CA | Berkeley High School Campus Historic District, NRHP 1/7/2008 | Schweighofer |
| | Beth Chayim Chadashim | 6000 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Bourn |
| | Biltmore Hotel | 506 South Grand Avenue, Los Angeles, CA | | Giesecking |
| | BiPOL | 584 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA | | Hutchins |
| | Bisexual Center | 544 Market Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson; Koskovich |
| | Bisexual Rights Rally | 730 Howard Street, San Francisco, CA | | Hutchins |
| | Black AIDS Institute | 1833 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles, CA | | Harris |
| | Black Cat Tavern | 3909 West Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Dubrow; Meinke; Rupp; Stein |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|--------------------------|---|---|--|
| California (cont'd) | Black Cat Club | 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, CA | Contributing to the Jackson Square Historic District, NRHP 11/18/1971 | Baim; Estes; González and Hernández; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Johnson; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate and de la Vega; Stein |
| | Bohemian Club Clubhouse | Northeast corner of Post Street and Grant Avenue, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Bulldog Baths | 132 Turk Street, San Francisco, CA | | Baim; Johnson |
| | Bunker Hill | Los Angeles, CA | | Stryker |
| | California Hall | 625 Polk Street, San Francisco, CA | | Bourn; Graves and Watson; Rupp; Stein |
| | Canyon Sam Residence | Castro neighborhood, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Carl Bean Center | 5149 West Jefferson Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Bourn |
| | Castro (LGBTQ community) | San Francisco, CA | | Bourn; Dubrow; Giesecking; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Springate (Civil Rights); Sueyoshi |
| | Castro Camera | 573-575 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA | | Dubrow; Estes; Giesecking; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Johnson; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein |
| | Castro Street Theater | 429 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA | | Giesecking |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| California (cont'd) | Casual Man | 2060 Polk Street, San Francisco, CA | | Johnson |
| | Central Library | Los Angeles, CA | NRHP 12/18/1970 | Giesecking |
| | Center for Sex and Culture | 1349 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA | | Hutchins |
| | Center for Special Problems | 1700 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA | | Stryker |
| | Chateau Marmont Hotel | 8221 Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Stryker |
| | Chinatown Service Center Annex | 300 West Cesar E. Chavez Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Circus Disco | 6655 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Baim; Dubrow; González and Hernández |
| | City College of San Francisco, Ocean Campus | 50 Phelan Avenue, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | City Lights Bookstore | 261 Columbus Avenue, San Francisco, CA | | Burk; Stein |
| | City of Refuge United Church of Christ | 1025 Howard Street, San Francisco, CA | | Bourn |
| | City of Refuge United Church of Christ | 8400 Enterprise Way, Oakland, CA | | Bourn |
| | Civic Center | San Francisco, CA | NRHP 10/10/1978; NHL 2/27/1987 | Graves and Watson; Hanhardt |
| | Club Baths | 201 Eighth Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Club Turkish Baths | 132 Turk Street, San Francisco, CA | Part of the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, NRHP 2/5/2009 | Baim; Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights) |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| California (cont'd) | Cockatoo Inn | 11500 Acacia Avenue, Hawthorne, CA | | Bourn |
| | Coming Home Hospice | 115 Diamond Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Community United Church of Christ | 1336 Arroyo Avenue, San Carlos, CA | | Bourn |
| | Compton's Cafeteria | 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, CA | Contributing to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, NRHP 2/5/2009 | Baim; Dubrow; Giesecking; Hanhardt; Graves and Watson; Johnson; Meinke; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate and de la Vega; Stein; Stryker; Sueyoshi |
| | Congregation Ner Shalom | 85 La Plaza, Cotati, CA | | Bourn |
| | Congregation Sha'ar Zahav | 290 Dolores Street, San Francisco, CA | | Bourn |
| | Convent | Near the panhandle of Golden Gate Park | | Bourn |
| | Cooper's Donuts (also Cooper Do-Nut) | Between 527 and 555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, CA | | Baim; Dubrow; Graves and Watson; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein; Stryker |
| | Cove Avenue Stairway | Cove Avenue, Silver Lake neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA | | Dubrow |
| | Cow Palace | 2600 Geneva Avenue, Daly City, CA | | Roscoe |
| Crown Jewel | 932 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, CA | Demolished | Springate (Civil Rights) | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|--|--|
| California (cont'd) | Dash | 574 Pacific Avenue, San Francisco, CA | Contributor to the Jackson Square Historic District, NRHP 11/18/1971 | Graves and Watson |
| | Daughters of Bilitis Headquarters | 165 O'Farrell Street, San Francisco, CA | | Burk; Koskovich; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | David Hong Home | Off Santa Monica Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | David Lourea Residence | North Panhandle neighborhood, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Dodger Stadium | 1000 Elysian Park Avenue, Los Angeles, CA | | Schweighofer |
| | Doheny Memorial Library | University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA | | Koskovich |
| | Dover Hotel | 555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, LA | Demolished | Stein |
| | Dr. Harry Benjamin Office | 450 Sutter Street, San Francisco, CA | NRHP 12/22/2009 | Batza; Graves and Watson; Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker |
| | Druid Heights | Muir Woods National Monument, Golden Gate National Recreation Area | NRHP 1/9/2008; NPS 1/9/1908 | Baim; Graves and Watson |
| | East Bay Meditation Center | 2147 Broadway, Oakland, CA | | Bourn |
| | East Bay Meditation Center | 285 Seventeenth Street, Oakland, CA | | Bourn |
| | Ebony Showcase Theater | 4718 West Washington Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Bourn |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|--|--|------------|---------------------------------|
| California (cont'd) | Echo Park (LGBTQ Community) | Los Angeles, CA | | Dubrow |
| | Elbo Room | 647 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA | | Hanhardt; Johnson |
| | Elephant Walk | 500 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA | | Hanhardt; Meyer and Sikk |
| | El/La Para TransLatinas | 2940 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, CA | | González and Hernández |
| | El Rosa Hotel | 166 Turk Street, San Francisco, CA | | Stryker |
| | Elsa Gidlow Home | 150 Joice Street, San Francisco, CA | Demolished | Graves and Watson |
| | Elsa Gidlow Home | 1158 Page Street, San Francisco, CA | Demolished | Graves and Watson |
| | Elsa Gidlow Home | Page Street, Haight- Ashbury neighborhood, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Elsa Gidlow Home | Fairfax, Marin County, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Embarcadero YMCA | 169 Stuart Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Emily Williams - Lillian Palmer House | Nob Hill neighborhood, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Empress | 965 Market Street, San Francisco, CA | Demolished | Graves and Watson |
| | EndUp | 401 Sixth Street and Harrison, San Francisco, CA | | Burk |
| | Esta Noche | 2079 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, CA | | Baim; González and Hernández |
| | Evelyn Hooker's Office | Psychology Department, University of California, Los Angeles, CA | | Batza; Meyer and Sikk |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|---|---|--|---|
| California (cont'd) | Factory | 661 North Robertson Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA | | Johnson |
| | Fallon Building | 1800 Market Street, San Francisco, CA | | Dubrow; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt |
| | Federal Building | 50 United Nations Plaza, San Francisco, CA | Contributing to the Civic Center Historic District, NRHP 10/10/1978; NHL 2/27/1987 | Graves and Watson |
| | Fife's | 16467 River Road, Guerneville, CA | | Schweighofer |
| | Finnegan's Wake | 937 Cole, San Francisco, CA | | Johnson |
| | Finnoccio's | 441 Stockton Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Finnoccio's | 406 Stockton Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson; Stryker |
| | Finocchio's | 506 Broadway, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson; Rupp; Stryker |
| | First Universalist Church | Corner of West Eighth Street and Crenshaw Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Baim; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Flood Building | 870 Market Street, San Francisco, CA | | Stein; Stryker |
| | Founders Metropolitan Community Church | 4607 Prospect Avenue, Los Angeles, CA | | Bourn |
| | Fred "Fritz" Klein House | Emerald Hills neighborhood, San Diego, CA | | Batza; Hutchins |
| | Frontera | 16756 Chino Corona Road, Corona, CA | | Stein |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|---|---|--|
| California (cont'd) | Gangway | 841 Larkin Street, San Francisco, CA | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Gay American Indians | 1347 Divisadero Street, San Francisco, CA | | Bourn |
| | Gay Community Center | 32 Page Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | George Choy Plaque | In front of 468 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Gertrude Stein Home | Near Thirteenth Avenue and Twenty- Fifth Street, Oakland, CA | Demolished | Baim; Springate (Introduction) |
| | GLBT Historical Society | 989 Market Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson; Hutchins |
| | GLBT History Museum | 4127 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson; Sueyoshi |
| | Glide Memorial Church | 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, CA | Contributing to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, NRHP 2/5/2009 | Graves and Watson; Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein; Stryker |
| | <i>God Mother of Polk</i> | Clarion Alley, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Golden Gate Bridge | San Francisco, CA | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Golden Gate Park | San Francisco, CA | NRHP 10/15/2004 | Graves and Watson |
| | Graduate Theological Union | 2400 Ridge Road, Berkeley, CA | | Bourn |
| | Griffith Park | 4730 Crystal Springs Drive, Los Angeles, CA | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Guerneville (LGBTQ community) | Guerneville, CA | | Baim; Giesecking; Schweighofer; Springate (Archeology) |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|---|----------------------------------|---|------------|---|
| California (cont'd) | Haight-Ashbury (LGBTQ Community) | San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson; Johnson |
| | Hal Call House | Nob Hill neighborhood, San Francisco, CA | | Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Hamburger Mary's | 8288 Santa Monica Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA | | Schweighofer |
| | Harold and Ellen Kameya Home | Granada Hills neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Harold's | 555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, LA | Demolished | Stein; Stryker |
| | Harry Hay House | Silver Lake neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA | | Baim; Dubrow; Graves and Watson; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Springgate (Civil Rights); Stein |
| | Harry Hay House | Hollywood Hills neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA | | Baim; Dubrow; Graves and Watson; Meyer and Sikk; Stein |
| | Hartford Street Zen Center | 61 Hartford Street, San Francisco, CA | | Bourn; Graves and Watson |
| | Harvey's | 500 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA | | Hanhardt |
| | Hattie McDaniel House | Sugar Hill neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA | | Springgate and de la Vega |
| | Helen Zia Residence | Oakland, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Hillcrest (LGBTQ Community) | San Diego, CA | | Giesecking; Hanhardt |
| History Department, Stanford University | Stanford, CA | | Koskovich | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|--|--|---|------------------------------|
| California (cont'd) | <i>History of California (The Great Wall of Los Angeles)</i> | Coldwater Canyon Avenue between Oxnard Street and Burbank Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Burk; González and Hernández |
| | Hotel Bijou | 111 Maston Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Hotel Whitcomb | 1231 Market Street, San Francisco, CA | | Baim; Graves and Watson |
| | Human Rights Commission Store | 575 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA | | Hanhardt |
| | Hyland Hotel | 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, CA | | Stryker |
| | Institute for Advanced Study of Human Sexuality | 1523 Franklin Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | International Buddhist Meditation Center | 928 South New Hampshire Avenue, Los Angeles, CA | | Bourn |
| | International Hotel (I-Hotel) | Corner of Jackson and Kearny Streets, San Francisco, CA | NRHP 6/15/1977; Demolished | Sueyoshi |
| | Jack's Baths | 1052 Geary Boulevard, San Francisco, CA | | Dubrow; Graves and Watson |
| | Jack's Baths | 1143 Post Street, San Francisco, CA | | Dubrow; Graves and Watson |
| | Jackson Brewing Company | Folsom and Eleventh Streets, San Francisco, CA | NRHP 4/8/1993 | Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | James C. Hormel Gay & Lesbian Center | San Francisco Public Library, 100 Larkin Street, San Francisco, CA | In the Civic Center Historic District, NRHP 10/10/1978; NHL 2/27/1987 | Graves and Watson; Hutchins |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|---|---|--|--|
| California (cont'd) | James R. Browning United States Court of Appeals Building | Northeast corner of Mission and Seventh Streets, San Francisco, CA | NRHP 10/14/1971; NHL 10/16/2012 | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Japanese American Cultural and Community Center of Northern California | 1840 Sutter Street, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Japanese YWCA | 1830 Sutter Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Jewel's Catch One | 4067 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Baim; Harris; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Jiro Onuma Residence | 769 Brush Street, Oakland, CA | Demolished | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Jiro Onuma Residence | 1492 Ellis Street, San Francisco, CA | Demolished | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Joaquin Miller Home | 3590 Sanborn Drive, Oakland, CA | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/29/1962 | Sueyoshi |
| | Joaquin Miller Park | Oaklad Hills, Oakland, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Joaquin's El Rancho | Vine Street, Los Angeles, CA | | Harris |
| | Jose Theater | 2362 Market Street, San Francisco, CA | | Gieseeking; Graves and Watson; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail | CA | NPS 1990 | Baim; Stryker |
| | Julian Eltinge Residence | Silver Lake neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA | | Schweighofer |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|--|---|--|-------------------------------|
| California (cont'd) | June Mazer Lesbian Archives | 626 North Robertson Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA | | Giesecking; Graves and Watson |
| | Kaposi's Sarcoma Research and Education Foundation | 520 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA | | Batza; Graves and Watson |
| | Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP) Headquarters | 4704 Shattuck Avenue, Oakland, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP) Headquarters | 526 Thirty-Second Street, Oakland, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino (KDP) Headquarters | 3600 Lincoln Way, Oakland, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Kevin Bunch - Fred Brungard - Baruch Golden Residence | Mission District, San Francisco, CA | | Bourn |
| | Langley Porter Clinic | 401 Parnassus Avenue, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson; Stryker |
| | La Peña Cultural Center | 3105 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Lavender Youth Recreation & Information Center (LYRIC) | 127 Collingwood Street, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Leonard Matlovich Residence | Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Lexington Club | 3464 Nineteenth Street, San Francisco, CA | | Giesecking |
| LGBT Center | 1800 Market Street, San Francisco, CA | | Dubrow; González and Hernández; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Hutchins; Springgate (Civil Rights) | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|--|--|------------|-----------------------------|
| California (cont'd) | Liberty Baths | 1157 Post Street, San Francisco, CA | | Dubrow |
| | Los Angeles Lesbian and Gay Community Center | 1612-1614 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | Demolished | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Los Angeles LGBT Center | 1625 North Schrader Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Los Angeles Tennis Club | 5851 Clinton Street, Los Angeles, CA | | Schweighofer |
| | Los Gatos Memorial Park Cemetery | San Jose, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Louise Lawrence Home | 11 Buena Vista Terrace, San Francisco, CA | Demolished | Stryker |
| | Lyon-Martin Health Services | 1748 Market Street, San Francisco, CA | | Batza; Hutchins |
| | Mabuhay Gardens | 443 Broadway, San Francisco, CA | | Burk |
| | Maguire's Opera House | Washington and Montgomery Streets, San Francisco, CA | Demolished | Graves and Watson |
| | Main Street Theater District (LGBTQ Community) | Los Angeles, CA | | Stryker |
| | Maitri Hospice | 401 Duboce Avenue, San Francisco, CA | | Bourn |
| | Mama Bears Bookstore | 6536 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA | | Hanhardt |
| | Margaret Chung Home | 340 Stockton Place, San Francisco, CA | Demolished | Sueyoshi |
| | Margaret Chung Home | Telegraph Hill neighborhood, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|--|--|-----------------------|--|
| California (cont'd) | Margaret Chung Home | Lone Mountain neighborhood, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Margaret Chung Medical Practice | 752 Sacramento Street, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Marguerite Rubenstein Residence | South of Glen Park, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Mary's First and Last Chance | 2278 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA | | Stein |
| | Mattachine Offices | 232 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, CA | Demolished | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Maud's | 937 Cole, San Francisco, CA | | Johnson |
| | Meat Market | Intersection of Mason, Turk, and Market Streets, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Medical-Dental Building | 450 Sutter Street, San Francisco, CA | NRHP 12/22/2009 | Stryker |
| | Metropolitan Community Church | 1074 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, CA | | Stein |
| | Metropolitan Community Church | 150 Eureka Street, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Metropolitan Community Church | 2201 South Union Avenue, Los Angeles, CA | Demolished | Baim; Bourn; Stein |
| | Metropolitan Theatre | Montgomery and Washington Streets, San Francisco, CA | Demolished | Graves and Watson |
| | Mission (LGBTQ Community) | San Francisco, CA | | Dubrow; Giesecking; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Johnson |
| | Mission Basilica San Diego de Alcala (Mission San Diego) | 10818 Dan Diego Mission Road, San Diego, CA | NRHP/NHL 4/15/1970 | González and Hernández; Stryker |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|---|--|---|--|
| California (cont'd) | Mission High School | 3750 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, CA | | Hutchins; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Mission Hills Country Club | 34600 Mission Hills Drive, Rancho Mirage, CA | | Schweighofer |
| | Mission San Antonio de Padua (Mission San Antonio) | Near Jolon, Monterey County, CA | NRHP 4/26/1976 | Stryker |
| | Mission San Carlos Borromeo de Carmelo (Carmel Mission) | 3080 Rio Road, Carmel-by-the-Sea, CA | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 10/9/1960 | Stryker; Sueyoshi |
| | Mission San Francisco de Asis (Mission Dolores) | 320 Dolores Street, San Francisco, CA | NRHP 3/16/1972 | Baim; Graves and Watson; Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker |
| | Mission San Jose | 43300 Mission Boulevard, Fremont, CA | NRHP 7/14/1971 | Stryker |
| | Mission Santa Barbara | 2201 Laguna Street, Santa Barbara, CA | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 10/9/1960 | Stryker |
| | Mission Santa Clara de Asis (Mission Santa Clara) | 500 El Camino Real, Santa Clara, CA | | Stryker |
| | Mission Santa Ynez (Mission Santa Ines) | 1760 Mission Drive, Solvang, CA | NRHP 3/8/1999; NHL 1/20/1999 | Stryker |
| | Mnasidika | 1510 Haight Street, San Francisco, CA | | Johnson |
| | Mobilization Against AIDS | 647-A Castro Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Mobilization Against AIDS | 2120 Market Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Mona's Barrel House | 140 Columbus Avenue, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson; Johnson |
| | Mona's Club 440 | 440 Broadway, San Francisco, CA | | Baim; Estes; Graves and Watson; Harris; Johnson |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|---|---|------------------|--|
| California (cont'd) | Monte Vista Unitarian Universalist Congregation | 9185 Monte Vista Avenue, Monte Vista, CA | | Bourn |
| | Morris Kight House | Westlake neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA | | Springgate (Civil Rights); Sueyoshi |
| | Moscone Center | San Francisco, CA | | Hutchins |
| | National AIDS Memorial Grove | San Francisco, CA | NPS 1996 | Graves and Watson; Springgate (Archeology); Springgate (Introduction) |
| | National Transsexual Counseling Unit | 200 block of Turk Street, San Francisco, CA | | Stryker |
| | North Beach (LGBTQ Community) | San Francisco, CA | | Dubrow; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Johnson; Stryker |
| | Oakland (LGBTQ Community) | Oakland, CA | | Dubrow |
| | Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center | Oakland, CA | | Baim |
| | Oasis | 298 Eleventh Street, San Francisco, CA | | Schweighofer |
| | Ojai Valley Inn and Country Club | 905 Country Club Road, Ojai, CA | | Stein |
| | Old Crow | 962 Market Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Old Wives' Tales | 532 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA | | Hanhardt |
| | Old Wives' Tales | 1009 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA | | Hanhardt; Johnson |
| | Olivia Records | 4400 Market Street, Oakland, CA | | Dubrow; Johnson; Rupp; Schweighofer |
| One Institute | 232 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, CA | Demolished | Koskovich; Stein | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--------|--|
| California (cont'd) | One Institute | 2256 Venice Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Koskovich |
| | One National Gay and Lesbian Archives | University of Southern California, 909 West Adams Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Giesecking; Graves and Watson; Koskovich |
| | <i>On Our Backs</i> | 526 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Osenton | Mission District, San Francisco, CA | | Baim; Graves and Watson; Johnson |
| | Pacific Center for Human Growth | 2712 Telegraph Avenue, Berkeley, CA | | Hanhardt |
| | Pacific School of Religion | 1798 Scenic Avenue, Berkeley, CA | | Bourn |
| | Palm Springs (LGBTQ Community) | Palm Springs, CA | | Dubrow; Schweighofer |
| | Paper Doll | 524 Union Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson; Hanhardt |
| | Patch, The | Wilmington neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA | | Stein |
| | Pershing Square | South Olive Street, Los Angeles, CA | | Giesecking; Stryker |
| | Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin House | Noe Valley neighborhood, San Francisco, CA | | Baim; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Pine United Methodist Church | 426 Thirty-Third Avenue, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Pink Triangle Park | San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Polk Street (LGBTQ Community) | San Francisco, CA | | Johnson; Stryker |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|--|---|--|-------------------------------|
| California (cont'd) | Presidio of San Francisco | Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, CA | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 6/13/1962; NPS 10/1/1994 | Baim; Graves and Watson |
| | Proyecto ContraSIDA por Vida (PCPV) | 2940 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, CA | | González and Hernández |
| | Ralston L. White Memorial Retreat | 2 El Capitan, Mill Valley, CA | | Bourn; Graves and Watson |
| | Ramada Plaza Hotel | 1231 Market Street, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Ramon Novarro House | Studio City neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA | | González and Hernández; Stein |
| | Redd Foxx's | La Cienega Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Stryker |
| | Redstone Building | 2926-2948 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, CA | | Hanhardt |
| | Reverend Troy Perry Home | Huntington Park, CA | | Baim; Bourn |
| | Richard Heakin Memorial Butterfly Brigade | 330 Grove Street, San Francisco, CA | Demolished | Stein |
| | Ritch Street Health Club | 330 Ritch Street, San Francisco, CA | | Dubrow |
| | RKO Studios (now CBS Paramount Television) | 780 North Gower Street, Hollywood, CA | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Rock Hudson House (The Castle) | Beverly Hills neighborhood of Los Angeles, CA | | Baim |
| | Rockway Institute | Alliant International University, 1 Beach Street, San Francisco, CA | | Hutchins |
| | Rose Bamberger Home | Silver Terrace neighborhood, San Francisco, CA | | Meyer and Sikk; Sueyoshi |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|--|---|---|--|
| California (cont'd) | Rosie the Riveter/World War II Home Front National Historical Park | Richmond, CA | NRHP 1/31/2001; NPS 10/25/2000 | Ferentinos; Meyer and Sikk |
| | Rudy Galindo Home | San Jose, CA | | Schweighofer |
| | Rue's House | 4067 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Ruth Fuller Field Residence | Gailmore Apartments, 500 North Glendale Boulevard, Glendale, CA | Demolished | Koskovich |
| | Sage Granada Methodist Church | 1850 West Hellman Avenue, Alhambra, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Samuel-Novarro House | Hollywood Hills neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA | | González and Hernández |
| | San Francisco AIDS Foundation | 520 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | San Francisco Bisexual Center | Golden Gate Park panhandle neighborhood | | Hutchins |
| | San Francisco Buddhist Center | 37 Bartlett Street, San Francisco, CA | | Bourn |
| | San Francisco City Hall | 1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlet Place | Contributor to the San Francisco Civic Center Historic District, NRHP 10/10/1978; NHL 2/27/1987 | Meyer and Sikk; Springgate (Civil Rights); Stein |
| | San Francisco Civic Auditorium | 99 Grove Street, San Francisco, CA | | Batza |
| | San Francisco Department of Health | 101 Grove Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | San Francisco General Hospital | 1001 Potrero Avenue, San Francisco, CA | | Baim; Batza; Graves and Watson |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|---|--|----------------------|---|
| California (cont'd) | San Francisco Marriott Marquis Hotel | 55 Fourth Street, San Francisco, CA | | Hutchins |
| | San Francisco Museum of Modern Art | 151 Third Street, San Francisco, CA | | Burk |
| | San Francisco Public Library | 100 Larkin Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson; Koskovich |
| | San Francisco Public Library, North Beach | 850 Columbus Aveue, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | San Francisco YMCA | 121 Haight Street, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | San Jose Arena | 525 West Santa Clara Street, San Jose, CA | | Schweighofer |
| | San Miguel Saloon | San Miguel, CA | Demolished | Stein |
| | SF Fog | 2370 Market Street, #232, San Francisco, CA | | Schweighofer |
| | <i>Shin Sekai</i> | 948 Geary Street, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Silver Lake (LGBTQ Community) | Los Angeles, CA | | Dubrow |
| | Silver Rail | 974 Market Street, San Francisco, CA | Partially demolished | Graves and Watson |
| | SIR Center | 83 Sixth Street, San Francisco, CA | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Sir Francis Drake Hotel | 450 Powell Street, San Francisco, CA | | Stryker |
| | Six Gallery | 3119 Fillmore Street, San Francisco, CA | | Burk |
| | Society for Individual Rights | 83 Sixth Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson; Stein |
| | Society for Individual Rights | Haight-Ashbury neighborhood, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson; Springate (Civil Rights) |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|--|---|--------------|--------------------------|
| California (cont'd) | Social and Public Art Resource Center (SPARC) | 685 Venice Boulevard, Venice, CA | | Burk |
| | Sonoma State University | 1801 East Cotati Avenue, Rhonert Park, CA | | Hutchins |
| | South of Market (LGBTQ Community) | San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Southwest California Synod, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America | 1300 East Colorado Street, Glendale, CA | | Bourn |
| | Sperm Bank of Northern California (now Sperm Bank of California) | 2115 Milva Street, Berkeley, CA | | Batza |
| | Spinsters Ink | 803 DeHaro Street, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Spinsters Ink | 223 Mississippi, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Stanford Medical Center Gender Identity Clinic | 300 Pasteur Drive, Stanford, CA | | Stryker |
| | Staples Center | 1111 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles, CA | | Schweighofer |
| | Starr King School for the Ministry | 2441 Le Conte Avenue, Berkeley, CA | | Hutchins |
| | St. Francis Hotel | 335 Powell Street, San Francisco, CA | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | St. Francis Lutheran Church | 152 Church Street, San Francisco, CA | | González and Hernández |
| | St. Leo (LGBTQ Community) | San Jose, CA | | Gieseking |
| | Stockton State Hospital | 612 East Magnolia Street, Stockton, CA | | Stein |
| StubHubb Center | 18400 Avalon Boulevard, Carson, CA | | Schweighofer | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|--|---|---|--|
| California (cont'd) | Stud Bar | 399 Ninth Street, San Francisco, CA | | Schweighofer |
| | Studio One | 661 North Robertson Boulevard, West Hollywood, CA | | Johnson |
| | Subway Terminal Building | Hill and Olive Streets, Los Angeles, CA | NRHP 8/2/2006 | Gieseking |
| | Sutro Bath House | 312 Valencia Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Sutro Bath House | 1015 Folsom Street, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | Suzy-Q | 1741 Polk Street, San Francisco, CA | | Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Sybil Brand Institute | 4500 City Terrace Drive, Los Angeles, CA | | Stein |
| | Tay-Bush Inn | 900 Bush Street, San Francisco, CA | Demolished | Graves and Watson; Johnson |
| | Tenderloin (LGBTQ community) | San Francisco, CA | Part of the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, NRHP 2/5/2009 | Gieseking; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Johnson; Springate and de la Vega; Stryker; Sueyoshi |
| | TGI Justice | 1372 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA | | Stryker |
| | Toad Hall | 482 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA | | Stein |
| | Tom Waddell Health Center | 50 Lech Walesa (Ivy) Street, San Francisco, CA | | Batza; Stryker |
| | Tom Waddell Home | Mission District, San Francisco, CA | | Schweighofer |
| Tommy's Place | 529 Broadway Street, San Francisco, CA | | Baim; Graves and Watson | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|---|--|------------------|--|
| California (cont'd) | Tool Box | Corner of Fourth Street and Harrison, San Francisco, CA | | Dubrow |
| | Top of the Mark | 999 California Street, San Francisco, CA | | Estes |
| | Town Squire | 1318 Polk Street, San Francisco, CA | | Johnson |
| | Transgender Law Center | 1629 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA | | Springgate (Civil Rights); Stryker; Sueyoshi |
| | Trikone | 60 Twenty-Ninth Street, #614, San Francisco, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Twin Peaks Tavern | 401 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA | | Auer; Graves and Watson |
| | Union Square | Bordered by Geary, Powell, Post, and Stockton Streets, San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | United University Church | 817 West Thirty-Fourth Street, Los Angeles, CA | | Bourn |
| | University of California Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive | University of California, 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley, CA | | Burk |
| | University of California Berkeley Art Museum and Pacific Film Archive | 2120 Oxford Street, Berkeley, CA | | Burk |
| | University of California San Francisco | San Francisco, CA | | Graves and Watson |
| | University Research Library | University of California Los Angeles, CA | | Koskovich |
| | Uptown Tenderloin Historic District | San Francisco, CA | NRHP 2/5/2009 | Stryker |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------------|---|--|--------------|--|
| California (cont'd) | Valencia (LGBTQ Community) | San Francisco, CA | | Giesecking; Graves and Watson; Johnson |
| | Village Health Foundation | 4075 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Virginia Prince Childhood Home | 100 block of South Hobart Avenue, Los Angeles, CA | | Stryker |
| | Virginia Price Home | 800 block of Victoria Avenue, Hancock Park neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA | | Stryker |
| | Waite Phillips Hall | University of Southern California, 3470 University Avenue (now Trousdale Parkway), Los Angeles, CA | | Koskovich |
| | Waldorf | 527 South Main Street, Los Angeles, CA | Demolished | Stein; Stryker |
| | Wesley Foundation | University of California Los Angeles, 580 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA | | Bourn |
| | Western Gay Archives | 1653 North Hudson Avenue, Hollywood, CA | Demolished | Koskovich |
| | West Hollywood (LGBTQ Community) | Los Angeles, CA | | Dubrow; Giesecking; Hanhardt; Johnson |
| | Westlake (LGBTQ Community) | Los Angeles, CA | | Dubrow |
| | White Horse Inn | 6651 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA | | Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| William "Bill" Tilden Home | Hollywood Hills neighborhood, Los Angeles, CA | | Schweighofer | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|--------------------------------|--|--|---|--|
| California (cont'd) | Westwood Methodist Church | 10947 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Williams Building | 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA | | Baim; Dubrow; Graves and Watson; Koskovich; Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein |
| | Willie Walker Residence | Seventeenth Street near Sanches Street, Castro neighborhood, San Francisco, CA | | Koskovich |
| | Witter Field | 210 Stadium Rim Way, Piedmont, CA | | Schweighofer |
| | Women's Building | 1727 North Spring Street, Los Angeles, CA | | Burk |
| | Women's Building of San Francisco | 3543 Eighteenth Street, San Francisco, CA | | Dubrow;González and Hernández; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Koskovich; Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker; Sueyoshi |
| | Women's Press Collective | 5251 Broadway, Oakland, CA | | Sueyoshi |
| Colorado | Charlie's | 900 East Colfax Avenue, Denver, CO | | Schweighofer |
| | Iliff School of Theology | 2323 East Iliff Avenue, Denver, CO | | Bourn |
| | La Foret Conference and Retreat Center | 6145 Shoup Road, Colorado Springs, CO | Ponderosa Lodge: 8/29/2008; Taylor Memorial Chapel 4/15/1999 | Bourn |
| | USA Rugby | 2655 Crescent Drive, Lafayette, CO | | Schweighofer |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|---------------------------------|--|--|--|---|
| Colorado (cont'd) | Washington Park United Church of Christ | 400 South Williams Street, Denver, CO | | Bourn |
| Connecticut | Chelsea Piers | 1 Blachley Road, Stamford, CT | | Schweighofer |
| | James Merrill House | 107 Water Street, Stonington, CT | NRHP 8/28/2013 | Springgate (Introduction) |
| | Long Ridge Tennis Club | Long Ridge Road, Stamford, CT | | Schweighofer |
| | Mohegan Sun | 1 Mohegan Sun Boulevard, Uncasville, CT | | Schweighofer |
| | Philip Johnson's Glass House | 798-856 Ponus Ridge Road, New Canaan, CT | NRHP and NHL 2/18/1997 | Bourn; Dubrow; Springgate (Archeology) |
| | Salt Meadow | 733 Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, CT | National Wildlife Refuge 7/20/1972 | Dubrow; Springgate (Intersectionality) |
| | Stewart B. McKinney National Wildlife Refuge | 733 Old Clinton Road, Westbrook, CT | National Wildlife Refuge 7/20/1972 | Dubrow; Springgate (Intersectionality) |
| | Yale University | New Haven, CT | | Koskovich |
| Delaware | Lambda Rising | 39 Baltimore Avenue, Rehoboth Beach, DE | | Springgate (Introduction) |
| | Rehoboth Beach (LGBTQ Community) | Rehoboth Beach, DE | | Baim; Hanhardt; Schweighofer |
| District of Columbia | A. Billy S. Jones House | Northwest DC | | Rupp |
| | All Soul's Unitarian Church | 1500 Harvard Street NW, Washington, DC | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Banneker Recreation Center | 2500 Georgia Avenue NW, Washington, DC | NRHP 4/28/1986 | Batza; Harris; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | <i>Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain</i> | President's Park, Washington, DC | In President's Park, NRHP 5/6/1980 | Springate and de la Vega |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|--|---|---|
| District of Columbia (cont'd) | Charles E. Smith Center | 600 Twenty-Second Street NW, Washington, DC | | Schweighofer |
| | Charles Warren Stoddard Home | 300 M Street, Washington, DC | | Sueyoshi |
| | Chicken Hut | 1720 H Street, Washington, DC | Demolished | Johnson |
| | Cinema Follies | 37 L Street SE, Washington, DC | | Stein |
| | Cloyd Heck Marvin Center | George Washington University, 800 Twenty-First Street NW, Washington, DC | | Hutchins |
| | Clubhouse | 1296 Upshur Street NW, Washington, DC | | Harris |
| | Columbus Fountain | Columbus Circle, Washington, DC | NRHP 4/9/1980 | Baim |
| | Community Building | 1724 Twentieth Street NW, Washington, DC | | Giesecking; Johnson |
| | Congressional Cemetery | 1801 E Street SE, Washington, DC | NRHP 6/23/1969; NHL 6/14/2011 | Baim; Estes; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Corcoran Gallery | 500 Seventeenth Street NW, Washington, DC | NRHP 5/6/1971; NHL 4/27/1992 | Burk; Giesecking |
| | Crew Club | 1321 Fourteenth Street NW, Washington, DC | Contributing building to the Fourteenth Street Historic District, NRHP 11/9/1994 | Hanhardt |
| | DC Jewish Community Center | 1529 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC | | Bourn |
| | Dignity Center | 721 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC | | Bourn |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|--|---|
| District of Columbia (cont'd) | Dr. Alain Locke House | R Street NW, Washington, DC | Contributing resource to the Fourteenth Street Historic District, NRHP 11/9/1994 | Harris |
| | Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence | Northwest DC | NRHP 11/2/2011 | Baim; Batza; Dubrow; Estes; Meinke; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Shockley; Springate (Archeology); Springate (Civil Rights); Springate (Introduction); Springate and de la Vega; Stein |
| | Dr. Mary Walker Residence | 52 Morton Street, Washington, DC | Demolished | Estes |
| | Dr. Mary Walker Residence | 374 Ninth Street, Washington, DC | Demolished | Estes |
| | Dupont Circle (LGBTQ Community) | Washington, DC | Includes the Dupont Circle Historic District, NRHP 7/21/1978 | Gieseking; Hanhardt; Hutchins; Johnson |
| | Earthworks | 1724 Twentieth Street NW, Washington, DC | | Johnson |
| | El Faro | 2411 Eighteenth Street NW, Washington, DC | | Baim |
| | Fabrangen Havurah | 2158 Florida Avenue NW, Washington, DC | | Bourn |
| | Faith Temple | 1313 New York Avenue NW, Washington, DC | | Bourn |
| | First Congregational Church | Tenth and G Streets NW, Washington, DC | | Bourn |
| Frances Perkins House | Northwest DC | NRHP/NHL 7/17/1991 | Dubrow | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-----------------------------------|--|--|--|---|
| District of Columbia (cont'd) | Franklin Park | Washington, DC | | Stein |
| | Furies Collective | Capitol Hill neighborhood, Washington, DC | NRHP 5/2/2016 | Burk; Dubrow; Johnson; Meinke; Rupp; Schweighofer; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate (Introduction) |
| | Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Washington, DC | 1469 Church Street NW, Washington, DC | | Batza |
| | Georgia Douglas Johnson House | Logan Circle neighborhood, Washington, DC | Contributing resource to the Greater U Street Historic District, NRHP 12/31/1998 | Harris; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | GLF House | S Street NW, Washington, DC | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Guild Press Printing Plant | 507 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC | | Johnson |
| | Guild Press | 807-813 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC | | Johnson; Stein |
| | Harambee House Hotel | 2200 block of Georgia Avenue, Washington, DC | | Harris; Hutchins; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Harry S. Truman Building | 2201 C Street NW, Washington, DC | | Stein |
| | Horseshoe | Seventeenth Street NW, Washington, DC | Demolished | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Howard University | 2400 Sixth Street NW, Washington, DC | | Harris; Sueyoshi |
| Howard University Divinity School | 2900 Van Ness Street NW, Washington, DC | | Hutchins | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-------------------------------|--|---|--|--------------------------------|
| District of Columbia (cont'd) | Howard University Philosophy Department | Locke Hall, 2441 Sixth Street NW, Washington, DC | | Harris |
| | Human Rights Campaign | 1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW, Washington, DC | | González and Hernández; Stein |
| | Human Rights Campaign Store | 1633 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC | | Hanhardt |
| | Internal Revenue Service Building | Twelfth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC | NRHP 10/15/1966; part of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site, 9/30/1965 | Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | J. Edgar Hoover House | Forest Hills neighborhood, Washington, DC | | Baim |
| | Jewel Box | 1628 L Street NW, Washington, DC | | Johnson |
| | Jose Gutierrez Residence | S Street NW and Seventeenth Street, Washington, DC | | Koskovich |
| | Lafayette Chicken Hut | 1720 H Street NW, Washington, DC | Demolished | Hanhardt; Johnson |
| | Lafayette Park/Lafayette Square | Washington, DC | Part of the Lafayette Square Historic District, NHRP and NHL 8/29/1970 | Baim; Hanhardt; Johnson; Stein |
| Lambda Rising | 1724 Twentieth Street NW, Washington, DC | | Hanhardt; Johnson | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|--|-------------------------------------|--|--|--------------------------------------|
| District of Columbia (cont'd) | Lambda Rising | 2001 S Street NW, Washington, DC | Within the Dupont Circle Historic District, NRHP 7/21/1978 | Hanhardt; Johnson |
| | Lambda Rising | 1625 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC | Within the Dupont Circle Historic District, NRHP 7/21/1978 | Hanhardt; Johnson |
| | Lammas Crafts and Books | 321 Seventh Street SE, Washington, DC | | Johnson |
| | Lammas Crafts and Books | 1426 Twenty-First Street NW, Washington, DC | Within the Dupont Circle Historic District, NRHP 7/21/1978 | Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Langston Hughes Residence | S Street NW, Washington, DC | Contributing resource to the Dupont Circle Historic District, NRHP 1/21/1978; boundary increases 2/6/1985; 6/10/2005 | Harris |
| | Lincoln Memorial | National Mall, Washington, DC | NPS | Burk |
| | Lost and Found | 56 L Street SE, Washington, DC | | Baim; Johnson |
| | Luther Place Memorial Church | 1226 Vermont Avenue NW, Washington, DC | | Bourn |
| | Manual Enterprises | 807-813 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC | | Stein |
| Matilda Coxe and James Stevenson House | 1913 N Street NW, Washington, DC | Demolished | Roscoe | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-------------------------------|---|--|---|---|
| District of Columbia (cont'd) | Mayflower Hotel | 1127 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC | NRHP 11/14/1983 | Baim; Hutchins; Johnson; Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Meridian Hill Park (also known as Malcolm X Park) | 2400 15th Street NW, Washington, DC | NRHP 10/25/1974 | Harris |
| | National Center for Transgender Equality | 1400 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC | | Springgate (Civil Rights); Stryker |
| | National LGBTQ Task Force | 1325 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC | | Hutchins; Springgate (Civil Rights); Stein |
| | National Mall | Washington, DC | NRHP 10/15/1966; Part of the National Mall and Memorial Parks, NPS 1965 | Batza; Giesecking; Graves and Watson; Hutchins; Roscoe; Springgate (Civil Rights); Sueyoshi |
| | Nob Hill | 1101 Kenyon Street NW, Washington, DC | | Baim; Hanhardt; Harris; Johnson |
| | Office of the Mayor | 1350 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC | | Hutchins |
| | Old Executive Office Building | Pennsylvania Avenue NW and Seventeenth Street NW, Washington, DC | NRHP 6/4/1969; NHL 11/11/1971 | Hutchins |
| | Old Patent Office | Ninth and F Streets NW, Washington, DC | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 1/12/1965 | Baim; Burk; Estes; Giesecking; Hutchins; Rupp |
| | Olympic Baths | 1405 H Street NW, Washington, DC | Demolished | Baim |
| | Open Hearth Foundation | 1502 Massachusetts Avenue SE, Washington, DC | | Bourn |
| Phase One | 525 Eighth Street NE, Washington, DC | | Giesecking | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------------------|---|--|---|---------------------------|
| District of Columbia (cont'd) | Pier Nine | Washington, DC | | Baim |
| | Quaker House | 2121 Decatur Place NW, Washington, DC | | Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Quality Inn | 1900 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, DC | | Roscoe |
| | Redskin Lounge | 1628 L Street NW, Washington, DC | | Johnson |
| | RFK Memorial Stadium | 2400 East Capitol Street SE, Washington, DC | | Schweighofer |
| | Riggs-Lafayette Turkish Baths | 1426 G Street NW, Washington, DC | | Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Shakespeare Theatre Company Education and Rehearsal Studios | 507 Eighth Street SE, Washington, DC | | Johnson |
| | Sheraton Park Hotel | 2660 Woodley Road NW, Washington, DC | NRHP 1/31/1984 | Batza |
| | Smithsonian Building | Jefferson Drive at Tenth Street SW, Washington, DC | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 1/12/1965 | Roscoe |
| | Statler Hotel | 1001 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC | | Johnson |
| | St. Thomas' Parish Episcopal Church | 1772 Church Street NW, Washington, DC | | Hutchins |
| | United States Capitol Building | Capitol Hill, Washington, DC | NHL 12/19/1960 | Harris |
| | United States Supreme Court Building | 1 First Street NE, Washington, DC | NHL 5/4/1987 | Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Us Helping Us | Washington Navy Yard neighborhood, Washington, DC | | Harris |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|---|------------------------------------|---|--|---|
| District of Columbia (cont'd) | Ward Circle Building | American University, 3590 Nebraska Avenue NW, Washington, DC | | Hutchins |
| | Washington Convention Center | 909 H Street NW, Washington, DC | Demolished | Harris |
| | Washington Project for the Arts | Jenifer Building, 400 Block of Seventh Street NW, Washington, DC | | Burk |
| | White House | 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC | NHL 12/19/1960 | Batza; Dubrow; Harris; Hutchins; Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein; Sueyoshi |
| | Wonderland Ballroom | 1101 Kenyon Street NW, Washington, DC | | Hanhardt; Harris; Johnson |
| | Zephyr Restaurant | 4912 Wisconsin Avenue NW, Washington, DC | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Florida | Amelia Island Plantation | Beachwood Road, Fernandina Beach, FL | |
| Castillo de San Marcos National Monument | | St. Augustine, FL | NRHP 10/15/1966; NPS 10/15/1924 | Roscoe |
| Charlotte F. McLeod Residence | | Near Biscayne Bay, Miami, FL | | Capó |
| Clover Club | | 118 Biscayne Boulevard, Miami, FL | | Capó |
| Club Miami | | 2991 Coral Way, Miami, FL | | Capó |
| Colored Town (LGBTQ Community) | | Miami, FL | | Capó |
| Denny's | | 102 Parker Street, Tampa, FL | | Johnson |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-------------------------------|--|---|--------------------------------|---|
| Florida (cont'd) | Embassy Hotel | 2940 Collins Avenue, Miami Beach, FL | | Capó |
| | Florida State University Department of English | Tallahassee, FL | | Koskovich |
| | Fort Caroline National Memorial | 12713 Fort Caroline Road, Jacksonville, FL | NRHP 10/15/1966; NPS 1/16/1953 | Roscoe; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker |
| | Fort Lauderdale (LGBTQ Community) | Fort Lauderdale, FL | | Schweighofer |
| | Health Crisis Network | | | Capó |
| | Institute of Sexism and Sexuality | Wolfson Campus, Miami Dade College, 300 NE Second Avenue, Miami, FL | | Hutchins |
| | Jackson Memorial Hospital | 1161 NW Twelfth Avenue, Miami, FL | | Capó |
| | Jewel Club | 512 NE Fifteenth Street, Miami, FL | Demolished | Capó |
| | Jewel Box Revue | Miami, FL | | Burk |
| | Key West (LGBTQ Community) | Key West, FL | | Baim; Dubrow; Giesecking; Schweighofer |
| | Ladies' Professional Golf Association (LPGA) | 100 International Golf Drive, Daytona Beach, FL | | Schweighofer |
| | Lincoln Road Mall | 400-1100 Lincoln Road, Miami Beach, FL | NRHP 5/16/2011 | Capó |
| | Linder Stadium | Gainesville, FL | | Schweighofer |
| | Mark Silber House | Jefferson Street near South Sixteenth Avenue, Hollywood, FL | | Koskovich |
| Miami Beach (LGBTQ Community) | Miami Beach, FL | | Giesecking | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------|---|---|--|----------------------------------|
| Florida (cont'd) | Miami Beach Convention Center | 1901 Convention Center Drive, Miami Beach, FL | | Capó |
| | Miami-Dade County Courthouse | 73 West Flagler Street, Miami, FL | NRHP 1/4/1989 | Capó |
| | Miami Harbor | Between Sixth and Ninth Streets, Biscayne Bay, Miami, FL | | Capó |
| | Miami Orange Bowl | 1501 NW Third Street, Miami, FL | Demolished | Capó |
| | Naiad Press | Tallahassee, FL | | Hanhardt |
| | Pridelines Youth Services | 9526 NE Second Avenue, Miami, FL | | Hutchins |
| | Pulse Nightclub | 1912 South Orange Avenue, Orlando, FL | | Baim; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Stephen P. Clark Government Center | 111 NW First Street, Miami, FL | | Capó |
| | Stonewall National Museum and Archives | 1300 East Sunrise Boulevard, Fort Lauderdale, FL | | Koskovich |
| | Strozier Library | Florida State University, 116 Honors Way, Tallahassee, FL | | Koskovich |
| | South Beach (LGBTQ Community) | Miami Beach, FL | | Capó |
| | Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve | FL | NRHP and NPS 2/16/1988 | Roscoe; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Twenty-Second Street Beach | Miami Beach, FL | | Baim; Capó |
| | Villa Vizcaya | 3251 South Miami Avenue, Miami, FL | NRHP September 20, 1970; NHL 4/19/1994 | Capó |
| | Weekly News Offices | 901 NE Seventy-Ninth Street, Miami, FL | | Hutchins |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------------------|---|--|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| Georgia | Atlanta Athletic Club | 1930 Bobby Jones Drive, Johns Creek, GA | | Schweighofer |
| | Atlanta Eagle | 306 Ponce De Leon Avenue NE, Atlanta, GA | | Hanhardt; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Candler Park (LGBTQ Community) | Atlanta, GA | | Giesecking |
| | Centers for Disease Control | 1600 Clifton Road, Atlanta, GA | | Batza; Graves and Watson |
| | Charis Books and More | 419 Morland Avenue, Atlanta, GA | | Hanhardt |
| | Charis Books and More | 1189 Euclid Avenue NE, Atlanta, GA | | Giesecking; Hanhardt |
| | Congregation Bet Haverim | 2074 Lavista Road, Atlanta, GA | | Bourn |
| | Dallas Denny Home | Chisolm Court, Tucker, GA | | Koskovich |
| | Georgia Tech Aquatic Center | 750 Ferst Drive NW, Atlanta, GA | | Schweighofer |
| | Integrity USA | 701 Orange Street, Fort Valley, GA | | Bourn |
| | John Q Ideas Collective | Atlanta, GA | | Ferentinos |
| | Ma Rainey House | 805 Fifth Avenue, Columbus, GA | NRHP 11/18/1992 | Baim; Harris; Meyer and Sikk |
| | Midtown (LGBTQ Community) | Atlanta, GA | | Giesecking; Hanhardt |
| | National Transgender Library and Archives | Chisolm Court, Tucker, GA | | Koskovich |
| | Otherside Lounge | 1924 Piedmont Road, Atlanta, GA | | Schweighofer |
| Outwrite Bookstore and Coffeehouse | 991 Piedmont Northeast, Atlanta, GA | | Hanhardt | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--------------------|--|
| Georgia (cont'd) | Phillip Rush Center | 1530 Dekalb Avenue NE, Atlanta, GA | | Hanhardt |
| | Winecoff Hotel | 176 Peachtree Street NW, Atlanta, GA | NRHP 3/31/2009 | Bourn |
| | Women's Army Corps Training Center | Fort Oglethorpe, GA | NRHP 4/30/1979 | Stein |
| Hawai'i | Hawai'i Convention Center | 1801 Kalakaua Avenue, Honolulu, HI | | Batza |
| | Hula's Bar and Lei Stand | 2103 Kuhio Avenue, Honolulu, HI | Demolished | Giesecking |
| | Kealakekua Bay Historic District | Napo'opo'o Road, HI | NRHP 12/12/1973 | Roscoe; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Kuhio Beach Park | Waikiki, HI | | Roscoe; Stryker |
| | Nā Pōhaku Ola Kapaemāhū ā Kapuni | Kuhio Beach Park, Waikiki, HI | | Roscoe |
| | Sheraton Waikiki Hotel | 2255 Kalakaua Avenue, Honolulu, HI | | Batza; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | The Stones of Kapaemāhū | Kuhio Beach Park, Waikiki, HI | | Roscoe; Stryker |
| Idaho | Boise YMCA | Eleventh and Idaho Streets, Boise, ID | | Baim; Rupp; Stein |
| | Dr. Alan Hart Home and Office | Boise, ID | | Batza |
| | Idaho State Capitol Building | 700 West Jefferson Street, Boise, ID | | Giesecking |
| Illinois | Albert Cashier House | Saunemin, IL | | Stryker |
| | Allstate Arena | 6920 Mannheim Road, Rosemont, IL | | Schweighofer |
| | American Medical Association | Grand and State Streets, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Andersonville (LGBTQ Community) | Chicago, IL | | Giesecking |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-------------------|---|--|---|--|
| Illinois (cont'd) | Association of Latinos/as Motivating Action | 3656 North Halsted Street, Chicago, IL | | González and Hernández |
| | Ballyhoo Café | 1942 Halsted Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Beaux Arts Café | 2700 South State Street, Chicago, IL | Demolished | Harris |
| | <i>Black Hawk Statue/Eternal Indian</i> | Lowden State Park, Oregon, IL | NRHP 11/5/2009 | Baim |
| | Blue Cross-Blue Shield Association | 676 North St. Clair Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Boystown (LGBTQ Community) | Chicago, IL | Within the Lakeview Historic District, NRHP 9/15/1977; boundary increase 5/16/1986 | Dubrow; Giesecking; Hanhardt; Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Bronzeville (LGBTQ Community) | Chicago, IL | | Harris; Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Bughouse Square | Washington Square Park, Chicago, IL | NRHP 5/20/1991 | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Burnham Park | 5491 South Shore Drive, Chicago, IL | | Roscoe |
| | Cabin Inn | 3119 Cottage Grove, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Cabrini Green | Bounded by Clybourn Avenue, Larrabee Street, Chicago Avenue, and Halsted Street | Cabrini Extension and William Green Homes portions demolished | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Carl Sandburg Village | Bounded by North Avenue, LaSalle Street, Division Street, and the half-block east of Clark Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-------------------|--|---|---|--|
| Illinois (cont'd) | Center on Halsted | 3656 North Halsted Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Chicago City Hall | 121 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Chicago Hilton and Towers | 720 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL | | Baim; Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Chicago History Museum | 1601 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL | | Ferentinos; Herczeg-Konecny; Koskovich |
| | Club DeLisa | 5516 South State Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Congregation Or Chadash | 5959 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, IL | | Bourn |
| | Cook County Building | 118 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Cook County Criminal Court Building | Chicago, IL | NRHP 11/13/1984 | Stein |
| | Cook County Hospital | 1835 West Harrison Street, Chicago, IL | NRHP 11/8/2006 | Herczeg-Konecny; Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Cook County Jail | 2700 South California Avenue, Chicago, IL | | Stein |
| | <i>Crusader/Victor Lawson Monument</i> | Graceland Cemetery, Chicago, IL | Contributing to Graceland Cemetery Historic District, NRHP 1/18/2001 | Baim |
| | Department of History, University of Chicago | Chicago, IL | | Koskovich |
| | Dill Pickle Club | Tooker Alley off Dearborn Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Dreamland Café | 3518-3520 South State Street, Chicago, IL | | Harris |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-------------------|--|---|---|-------------------------------|
| Illinois (cont'd) | East Lakeview (LGBTQ Community) | Chicago, IL | | Hanhardt |
| | Eternal Silence/Dexter Graves Monument | Graceland Cemetery, Chicago, IL | Contributing to Graceland Cemetery Historic District, NRHP 1/18/2001 | Baim |
| | Eyncourt Press | 440 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, IL | Demolished | Koskovich |
| | Feinberg School of Medicine | Northwestern University, 303 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, IL | | Stryker |
| | Finnie's | Chicago, IL | | Harris; Herczeg-Konecny |
| | <i>Fountain of Time</i> | Washington Park, South Side, Chicago, IL | NRHP 8/20/2004 | Baim |
| | Frances Willard House | 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, IL | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 6/23/1965 | Meyer and Sikk |
| | Fun Lounge | 2340 North Mannheim Road, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Gay Activists Alliance | 31 West Woodruff, Chicago, IL | | Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Gay Horizons | 3225 North Sheffield Avenue, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny; Koskovich |
| | Gay Horizons | 2440 North Lincoln Avenue, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Gay Horizons | 3519-1/2 North Halsted Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Gay Horizons | 2475 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Gay Horizons | 920 West Oakdale Avenue, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|---|------------------|--|
| Illinois (cont'd) | Gerber/Hart Library | 6500 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL | | Koskovich |
| | Gold Coast | 1130 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL | | Johnson |
| | Gold Coast | 2265 North Lincoln, Chicago, IL | | Johnson |
| | Gold Coast | 501 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL | Demolished | Burk; Herczeg-Konecny; Johnson |
| | Haig | 800 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Harrison Hotel | Harrison Street at Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Henry Gerber House | Old Town Triangle neighborhood, Chicago, IL | NHL 6/19/2015 | Batza; Dubrow; Gieseking; Graves and Watson; Harris; Herczeg-Konecny; Hutchins; Koskovich; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate (Introduction); Springate and de la Vega; Stein |
| | Hollywood Bowl | 1300 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Horizons Community Services | 961 West Montana Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Howard Brown Health Center | 4025 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, IL | | Batza |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|---|--|---|
| Illinois (cont'd) | Hull House | 800 South Halsted, Chicago, IL | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 6/23/1965 | Baim; Dubrow; Ferentinos; Rupp; Springate (Archeology); Springate (Introduction) |
| | Jackson Park | 6401 South Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, IL | Jackson Park Historic Landscape District and Midway Plaisance NRHP 12/15/1972 | Baim; Roscoe |
| | James Kiernan House | Chicago, IL | | Batza |
| | Jeanette Howard Foster Residence | Pleasant Avenue, Beverly neighborhood, Chicago, IL | | Kokskovich |
| | Jeffrey Pub | 7041 South Jeffrey Boulevard, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Joe's Deluxe | 5524 South State Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Joe's Deluxe Club | 6323 South Parkway, Chicago, IL | Demolished | Harris |
| | Joliet Prison | 1127-1299 Collins Street, Joliet, IL | | Stein |
| | Lakeview (LGBTQ Community) | Chicago, IL | Portions within Lakeview Historic District, 9/15/1977; boundary increase 5/16/1986 | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Lakeview Historic District | Chicago, IL | NRHP 9/15/1977; boundary increase 5/16/1986 | Dubrow |
| | Leather Archives and Museum | 6418 North Greenview Avenue, Chicago, IL | | Burk; Herczeg- Konecny; Rupp |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-------------------|---|--|--|--|
| Illinois (cont'd) | Lincoln Street Bath | 1019 North Wolcott Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | <i>Lincoln the Lawyer/Young Lincoln</i> | Carle Park, Urbana, IL | NHL 3/10/2004 | Baim |
| | Lorraine Hansberry House | 5330 South Calumet Avenue, Chicago, IL | Demolished | Harris; Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Lorraine Hansberry House | Woodlawn neighborhood, Chicago, IL | | Harris; Herczeg-Konecny; Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Lost and Found | 3058 West Irving Park Road, Chicago, IL | | Johnson |
| | Man's Country | 5017 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL | | Baim; Batza; Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Midway Plaisance | South Side, Chicago, IL | Jackson Park Historic Landscape District and Midway Plaisance NRHP 12/15/1972 | Baim |
| | Midway Studios | 6016 South Ingleside Avenue, Chicago, IL | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/21/1965 | Baim |
| | Museum of Contemporary Art | 220 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago, IL | | Burk |
| | Near North Side (LGBTQ Community) | Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | North Halsted Street (LGBTQ Community) | Chicago, IL | | Dubrow; Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Palmolive Building | 919 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL | NRHP 8/21/2003 | Stein |
| | Pearl Hart House | North Pine Grove Avenue, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---|-------------------------|
| Illinois (cont'd) | Pekin Theater | 2700 South State Street, Chicago, IL | Demolished | Harris |
| | Pershing Ballroom | 6400 Cottage Grove, Chicago, IL | Demolished | Harris; Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Pershing Hotel | 6400 Cottage Grove, Chicago, IL | Demolished | Harris |
| | Plantation Café | 35th Street and Calumet, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Pleasure Inn | 505 East 31st Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Prudential Building | 130 East Randolph Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Racine Avenue Police Station | 731 North Racine Avenue, Chicago, IL | Demolished | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Roselle Inn | 1251 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Second Unitarian Universalist Church | 656 West Barry Avenue, Chicago, IL | | Bourn |
| | Soldiers' and Sailors' Home | 1707 North Twelfth Street, Quincy, IL | | Stryker |
| | Soldiers' Monument | Oregon, IL | Contributing to Oregon Commercial Historic District, NRHP 8/16/2006 | Baim |
| | Southern Illinois Penitentiary | 711 East Kaskaskia Street, Menard, IL | | Stein |
| | Stateville Penetentiary | Crest Hill, IL | | Stein |
| | Stevens Hotel | 720 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL | | Baim |
| | Tiny and Ruby's Gay Spot | 2711 South Wentworth Avenue, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|--------------------------|--|--|--|---|
| Illinois (cont'd) | Towertown (LGBTQ Community) | Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Twelve-Thirty Club | 1230 Clybourn Avenue, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Washington Square Park | 901 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL | NRHP 5/20/1991 | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Watertown State Hospital | 100 Hillcrest Road, East Moline, IL | | Stryker |
| | Women & Children First | 5233 North Clark Street, Chicago, IL | | Giesecking; Herczeg-Konecny; Johnson |
| | Women's Court | 1121 South State Street, Chicago, IL | | Herczeg-Konecny |
| | Wrigley Field | 1060 West Addison Street, Chicago, IL | | Schweighofer |
| Indiana | Betty K's | Seventeenth and Central, Indianapolis, IN | Demolished | Baim |
| | Bloomington Radicalesbians | 415 East Smith Avenue, Bloomington, IN | Demolished | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Greg's/Our Place | 231 East Sixteenth Street, Indianapolis, IN | | Schweighofer |
| | Kinsey House | Bloomington, IN | Contributing property to the Vinegar Hill Historic District, NRHP 6/17/2005 | Baim; Hutchins; Meyer and Sikk |
| | Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction | Morrison Hall (previously Swain Hall East, Wylie Hall, and Jordan Hall), Indiana University, Bloomington, IN | | Baim; Batza; Burk; Giesecking; Herczeg-Konecny; Koskovich; Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Wolf Lake | Hammond, IN | | Stein |
| Iowa | Brown Street Park (Happy Hollow Park) | 800 Brown Street, Iowa City, IA | | Baim |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|---|---|---|
| Iowa (cont'd) | Grace & Rubies | 209 North Linn Street, Iowa City, IA | | Baim |
| | Iowa City (LGBTQ Community) | Iowa City, IA | | Baim |
| | Iowa City Women's Press | South Gilbert Street, Iowa City, IA | | Baim |
| | Iowa Memorial Union | 125 North Madison Street, Iowa City, IA | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | University of Iowa | Iowa City, IA | | Hutchins; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| Kansas | Menninger Clinic and Sanatorium | 5800 SW Sixth Street, Topeka, KS | | Batza |
| | Our Fantasy Club | 3201 South Hillside Street, Wichita, KS | | Schweighofer |
| | US Disciplinary Barracks | 1301 North Warehouse Road, Fort Leavenworth, KS | Partially demolished | Stein; Stryker |
| Louisiana | Barksdale Air Force Base | Near Bossier, LA | | Stein |
| | Café Lafitte in Exile | 901 Bourbon Street, New Orleans, LA | Within the Vieux Carre Historic District, NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/21/1965 | Johnson; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Club My-O-My | Lake Ponchartrain, on the Jefferson-Orleans parish line | Demolished | Stryker |
| | Erickson Educational Foundation | Run out of Erickson's home, near the Hundred Oaks neighborhood, Baton Rouge, LA | | Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker |
| | Faubourg Marigny (LGBTQ Community) | New Orleans, LA | | Harris |
| | | | | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|--|---------------------------------|
| Louisiana (cont'd) | Faubourg Marigny Art and Books (FAB) | 600 Frenchmen Street, New Orleans, LA | | Hanhardt |
| | French Quarter (LGBTQ Community) | New Orleans, LA | Vieux Carre Historic District NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/21/1965 | Hanhardt; Stryker |
| | Reed Erickson House | Near the Hundred Oaks neighborhood, Baton Rouge, LA | | Springate (Civil Rights); Stein |
| | Storyville (LGBTQ Community) | New Orleans, LA | | Harris; Stryker |
| | UpStairs Lounge | 141 Chartres Street, New Orleans, LA | | Baim; Bourn; Johnson; Stein |
| | Vicksburg National Military Park | Delta, LA | Established 2/21/1899; NPS; NRHP 10/15/1966 | Stryker |
| | Women's Center | Lower Garden district, New Orleans, LA | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Wonder Club | Lake Ponchartrain, on the Jefferson-Orelans parish line | | Stryker |
| Maine | Brick House Historic District | 478 River Road, Newcastle, ME | NRHP 2/13/2009 | Dubrow |
| | Maine College of Art | Portland, ME | | Koskovich |
| | Moss Acre | Castine, ME | | Dubrow |
| | Ogunquit (LGBTQ Community) | Ogunquit, ME | | Gieseking; Schweighofer |
| | Perkins Homestead | 478 River Road, Newcastle, ME | NRHP as the Brick House Historic District 2/13/2009; NRHP/NHL 8/25/2014 | Dubrow |
| | Portsmouth Naval Prison | Seavey Island, Kittery, ME | | Stein |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-----------------------|--|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| Maine (cont'd) | State Street Bridge over Kenduskeag Stream | Bangor, Maine | | Springgate and de la Vega; Stein |
| Maryland | 31st Street Bookstore | 425 East Thirty-First Street, Baltimore, MD | | Rupp |
| | Diana Press | 12 West Twenty-Fifth Street, Baltimore, MD | Demolished | Hanhardt |
| | Food and Drug Administration (FDA) | 5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, MD | | Batza; Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Johns Hopkins Hospital | 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, MD | NRHP 2/24/1975 | Stryker |
| | Johns Hopkins University | Baltimore, MD | | Baim |
| | National Institutes of Health | 9000 Rockville Pike, Bethesda, MD | | Gieseking; Meyer and Sikk |
| | New Ways Ministry | 4012 Twenty-Ninth Street, Mount Rainier, MD | | Bourn |
| | Primus Institute | Royal Oak, Talbot County, MD | Demolished | Baim; Meyer and Sikk |
| | Quest Bar | 3607 Fleet Street, Baltimore, MD | | Hanhardt |
| | Quixote Center | 7307 Baltimore Avenue, College Park, MD | | Bourn |
| | Saint John's United Methodist Church | 2640 Saint Paul Street, Baltimore, MD | | Bourn |
| | Torch | 411 East Thirty-Second Street, Baltimore, MD | | Baim |
| Massachusetts | Adrienne Rich-Michelle Cliff House | Montague, Massachusetts | | Dubrow |
| | Atlantic House | 4-6 Masonic Place, Provincetown, MA | In the Provincetown Historic District, NRHP 8/30/1989 | Johnson; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-------------------------------|---|--|---|--|
| Massachusetts (cont'd) | Beauport, the Sleeper-McCann House | 75 Eastern Point Boulevard, Gloucester, MA | NRHP and NHL 5/27/2003 | Dubrow; Ferentinos; Springgate (Archeology) |
| | Bisexual Resource Center | 29 Stanhope Street, Boston, MA | | Hutchins; Rupp; Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Boston Harbor Islands National Recreation Area | Boston, MA | NPS 1996 | Stein |
| | Bromfield Street Educational Foundation | 20-30 Bromfield Street, Boston, MA | | Stein |
| | Cambridge City Hall | 795 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA | NRHP 4/3/1982, amended 3/12/1990 | Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Charles Street Jail | 215 Charles Street, Boston, MA | NRHP 4/23/1980 | Stein |
| | Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections | University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, 285 Old Westport Road, North Dartmouth, MA | | Stein |
| | Codman House (The Grange) | 34 Codman Road, Lincoln, MA | NRHP 4/18/1974 | Ferentinos |
| | Combat Zone (LGBTQ Community) | Boston, MA | | Stryker |
| | Concord Academy | 166 Main Street, Concord, MA | | Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| Curry Student Center | Northeastern University, 360 Huntington Avenue, Boston, MA | | Bourn | |
| Deborah Sampson Gannett House | East Street, Sharon, MA | | Stryker | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|---------------------------|--|--------------------------------------|--|----------------|
| Massachusetts (cont'd) | Dickinson Homestead | 280 Main Street, Amherst, MA | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/29/1962; contributing property to the Dickinson Historic District, NRHP 8/16/1977 | Baim |
| | Episcopal Divinity School | 99 Brattle Street, Cambridge, MA | | Bourn |
| | Fenway Community Health Center (now Fenway Health) | 16 Haviland Street, Boston, MA | | Batza |
| | First Church of Jamaica Plain | 6 Eliot Street, Jamaica Plain, MA | NRHP 7/15/1988; contributing resource to the Monument Square Historic District, NRHP 10/11/1990 | Schweighofer |
| | Fred Holland Day House | 93 Day Street, Norwood, MA | NRHP 4/18/1977 | Burk |
| | Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders | 30 Winters Street, Boston, MA | | Stein |
| | <i>Gay Community News</i> | 22 Bromfield Street, Boston, MA | | Johnson; Stein |
| | Gibson House Museum | 137 Beacon Street, Boston, MA | NRHP/NHL 8/7/2001; within the Back Bay Historic District, NRHP 8/14/1973 | Dubrow |
| | Harvard Memorial Church | 1 Harvard Yard, Cambridge, MA | | Bourn |
| | Harvard University | Cambridge, MA | | Hutchins |
| Herbie's Ramrod Room | 12 Carver Street, Boston, MA | | Stein | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Massachusetts (cont'd) | Homophile Health Services | 112 Arlington Street, Boston, MA | | Batza |
| | Human Rights Campaign Store | 209-211 Commercial Street, Provincetown, MA | | Hanhardt |
| | Indian Hollow Campground | Chesterfield, MA | | Hutchins |
| | Jordan Field | 65 North Harvard Avenue, Boston MA | | Schweighofer |
| | Katerine Bates and Katerine Coman Residence | Near Weston Road, Wellesley, MA | | Baim; Rupp |
| | Massachusetts Reformatory for Women | 99 Loring Drive, Framingham, MA | | Stein |
| | Massachusetts State House | 24 Beacon Street, Boston, MA | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/19/1960; contributing resource to the Beacon Hill Historic District, NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/19/1960 | Springate (Civil Rights); Stein |
| | Northampton (LGBTQ community) | Northampton, MA | | Dubrow; Giesecking; Hanhardt; Hutchins |
| | Old Cambridge Baptist Church | 1151 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA | NRHP 4/13/1982 | Baim; Bourn |
| | Plimoth Plantation | Plymouth, MA | | Meyer and Sikk |
| | Plymouth Colony | Plymouth, MA | | Meyer and Sikk |
| Provincetown (LGBTQ community) | Provincetown, MA | Includes the Provincetown Historic District, NRHP 8/30/1989 | Baim; Dubrow; Giesecking; Hanhardt; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer; Springate (Archeology) | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-----------------------------------|--|---|--------------------|---|
| Massachusetts (cont'd) | Provincetown Historic District | Provincetown, MA | NRHP 08/30/1989 | Dubrow; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer; Stryker |
| | Rita Hester Residence | Allston, MA | | Rupp |
| | Sharon Lim-Hing Home | Somerville, MA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Smith College | Northampton, MA | | Baim |
| | Snell Library, Northeastern University | 360 Huntington Avenue, Boston, MA | | Hutchins |
| | Taunton Green Historic District | Taunton, MA | NRHP 3/1/1985 | Roscoe |
| | Town Clerk's Office | Brookline, MA | | Hutchins |
| | Twelve Carver | 12 Carver Street, Boston, MA | | Stein |
| | Union United Methodist Church | 485 Columbus Avenue, Boston, MA | | Bourn |
| | Unitarian Universalist Association | 25 Beacon Street, Boston, MA | | Bourn |
| | Wellesley College | Wellesley, MA | | Rupp |
| | Women's Center | 595 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA | | Harris; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| Michigan | Ann Arbor City Hall | 301 East Huron Street, Ann Arbor, MI | | Springate (Civil Rights); Stein |
| | Blue Tempo | Lake Street, Saugatuck, MI | | Schweighofer |
| | Camp Trans | Outside the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival | | Baim; Springate (Intersectionality); Stryker |
| | Club Heaven | 19106 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, MI | | Hanhardt |
| | Detroit Chinese Welfare Council Building | 3153 Cass Avenue, Detroit, MI | | Sueyoshi |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------|--|---|--------------------|---|
| Michigan (cont'd) | Douglas (LGBTQ Community) | Douglas, MI | | Schweighofer |
| | Fort Shelby Hotel | 525 West Lafayette Boulevard, Detroit, MI | NRHP 11/25/1983 | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Golden Star Restaurant | 22828 Woodward Avenue, Ferndale, MI | | Sueyoshi |
| | Labadie Collection | Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, University of Michigan, 913 South University Avenue, Ann Arbor, MI | | Koskovich |
| | Michigan Womyn's Music Festival | Near Hart, Michigan | | Baim; Dubrow; Springate (Intersectionality); Stryker |
| | Michigan Womyn's Music Festival | Hesperia, MI | | Baim; Dubrow; Giesecking; Rupp; Springate (Intersectionality) |
| | Palais | 655 Beaubien Street, Detroit, MI | | Hanhardt |
| | Saugatuck (LGBTQ community) | Saugatuck, MI | | Baim; Giesecking; Schweighofer; Springate (Archeology) |
| | Saugatuck-Douglas Museum | 735 Park Street, Saugatuck, MI | | Schweighofer |
| | Sweetheart Bar | 3928 Third Street, Detroit, MI | Demolished | Hanhardt |
| | Transgender Services, University of Michigan | 2025 Traverwood Drive, Ann Arbor, MI | | Stryker |
| University of Michigan | Ann Arbor, MI | | Koskovich | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------|--|---|-------------------|--------------|
| Minnesota | American Indian Center | 1530 East Franklin Avenue, Minneapolis, MN | | Roscoe |
| | Andersen Library, University of Minnesota | 222 Twenty-First Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN | | Hutchins |
| | David Irwin and Dick Hewetson Residence | Grand Avenue near Dale Street, St. Paul, MN | | Koskovich |
| | DSI | 2419 Nicollet Avenue, Minneapolis, MN | | Johnson |
| | Gay 90's | 408 Hennepin Avenue, Minneapolis, MN | | Roscoe |
| | Jean-Nickolaus Tretter Collection in Jay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Studies | University of Minnesota | | Ferentinos |
| | Kirmser's | 382 North Wabasha Street, St. Paul, MN | | Johnson |
| | Minneapolis AIDS Project | 1400 Park Avenue, Minneapolis, MN | | Hutchins |
| | Minnesota Historical Society | Minnesota History Center, 345 W. Kellogg Boulevard, St. Paul, MN | | Ferentinos |
| | Minnesota State Capitol | 75 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, St. Paul, MN | NRHP 2/23/1972 | Stein |
| | Quatrefoil Library | 1220 East Lake Street, Minneapolis, MN | | Koskovich |
| | Target Center | 600 First Avenue North, Minneapolis, MN | | Schweighofer |
| Town House | 1415 University Avenue West, St. Paul, MN | | Hanhardt | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-------------------------------|--|--|---|--------------------------|
| Minnesota (cont'd) | University Baptist Church | 1219 University Avenue SE, Minneapolis, MN | | Bourn |
| | University of Minnesota | 100 Church Street SE, Minneapolis, MN | | Bourn; Hutchins |
| | University of Minnesota Hospital | 505 East Harvard Street, Minneapolis, MN | | Stryker |
| Mississippi | Keeslery Air Force Base | Biloxi, MS | | Baim |
| | Roadside Park No. 75 | US Highway 45, MS | | Hanhardt |
| | Vicksburg National Military Park | Vicksburg, MS | Established 2/21/1899; NPS; NRHP 10/15/1966 | Stryker |
| Missouri | Bunceton City Hall | 103 East Main Street, Bunceton, MO | | Stein |
| | Central West End (LGBTQ Community) | St. Louis, MO | | Dubrow |
| | Gay and Lesbian Archive of Mid-America | 800 East Fifty-First Street, Kansas City, MO | | Giesecking |
| | Hotel Muehlebach | Twelfth and Baltimore, Kansas City, MO | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Jewel Box Lounge | 3219 Troost Avenue, Kansas City, MO | | Burk; Rupp |
| | Masters and Johnson Institute | 4910 Forest Park Boulevard, St. Louis, MO | | Batza |
| | Metropolitan Community Church | Central West End neighborhood, St. Louis, MO | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | More or Les | 4125 South Grand Avenue, St. Louis, MO | | Stein |
| | Naiad Press | Weatherby Lake, MO | | Hanhardt |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------------|--|--|---|---------------------------------------|
| Missouri (cont'd) | Reproductive Biology Research Foundation | 4910 Forest Park Boulevard, St. Louis, MO | | Batza |
| | Sanctuary | 601 McKinley Avenue, Kirkwood, MO | | Bourn |
| | <i>Thomas Hart Benton</i> | Lafayette Park, St. Louis, MO | | Springgate and de la Vega |
| | Washington University Medical Center | South Euclid and Forest Park Avenue, St. Louis, MO | | Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| Montana | Chief Plenty Coups (Alek-Chea-Ahoosh) Home | Pryor, MT | NRHP 10/6/1970; NHL 1/20/1999 | Roscoe; Stryker |
| | Flathead Post | Highway 200, one mile east of Thompson Falls, MT | | Roscoe |
| | Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument | 7756 Battlefield Tour Road, Crow Agency, MT | NRHP 10/15/1966; NPS 3/22/1946 | Rupp |
| | Rosebud Battlefield Site | Busby, MT | NRHP 8/21/1972; NHL 8/19/2008 | Roscoe; Springgate (Archeology) |
| Nebraska | Brandon Teena House | Route 105, Humboldt, NE | | Baim; Rupp; Stein; Stryker |
| | Lincoln Memorial Park Cemetery | 6800 South Fourteenth Street, Lincoln, NE | | Stein |
| | Richardson County Courthouse | 1700 Stone Street, Falls City, NE | NRHP 7/5/1990 | Stryker |
| | University of Nebraska Lincoln | Lincoln, NE | | Koskovich |
| | Willa Cather Childhood Home | 241 North Cedar, Red Cloud, NE | NRHP 4/16/1969; NHL 11/11/1971 | Dubrow |
| Nevada | 5 Star Saloon | 132 West Street, Reno, NV | | Auer |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------|---------|
| Nevada (cont'd) | Bad Dolly's | 535 East Fourth Street, Reno, NV | | Auer |
| | Belle Livingstone's Cowshed | 2295 South Virginia Street, Reno, NV | | Auer |
| | Black Derby | 1410 East Fourth Street, Reno, NV | | Auer |
| | Club 99 | 1099 South Virginia Street, Reno, NV | | Auer |
| | Club Baths | 1020 West Second Street, Reno, NV | | Auer |
| | Dave's VIP | 3001 West Fourth Street, Reno, NV | | Auer |
| | Fruit Loop (LGBTQ Community) | Las Vegas, NV | | Dubrow |
| | Harrah's Casino | 219 North Center Street, Reno, NV | | Auer |
| | Jeff's Gym | 1020 West Second Street, Reno, NV | | Auer |
| | Le Café | 4817 Paradise Road, Las Vegas, NV | | Stein |
| | Paul's Lounge | 132 West Street, Reno, NV | | Auer |
| | Reflections | 3001 West Fourth Street, Reno, NV | | Auer |
| | Reno Bar | 424 East Fourth Street, Reno, NV | | Auer |
| | Rita LaPorte Residence | 154 Stanford Way, Sparks, NV | Demolished | Auer |
| | Riverside Hotel | 17 South Virginia Street, Reno, NV | | Auer |
| Ten99 Club | 1099 South Virginia Street, Reno, NV | | Auer | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------------|--|---|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Nevada (cont'd) | University of Nevada Las Vegas | Las Vegas, NV | | Auer |
| | University of Nevada Reno | Reno, NV | | Auer |
| | Washoe County Fairgrounds | 1001 Wells Avenue, Reno, NV | | Auer; Schweighofer |
| | Westside Hotel | 3001 West Fourth Street, Reno, NV | | Auer |
| New Hampshire | Episcopal Diocese House | 63 Green Street, Concord, NH | | Bourn |
| | Strawberry Banke | Portsmouth, NH | NRHP 6/20/1975 | Stryker |
| | Whittemore Center Arena | University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH | | Bourn |
| New Jersey | All Saints Episcopal Parish | 707 Washington Street, Hoboken, NJ | | Bourn |
| | Asbury Park (LGBTQ Community) | Asbury Park, NJ | | Schweighofer |
| | Elizabeth Cady Stanton House | Tenafly, NJ | NRHP/NHL 5/15/1975 | Civil Rights (Springate) |
| | Helen Zia Residence | Jersey City, NJ | | Sueyoshi |
| | Lambertville (LGBTQ Community) | Lambertville, NJ | | Dubrow |
| | Murphy's Tavern | 135 Mulberry Street, Newark, NJ | Demolished | Stein |
| | New Jersey State Prison | 300 Second Cass Street, Trenton, NJ | | Stein |
| | New Jersey State Reformatory for Women | 30 Route 513, Clinton, NJ | | Stein |
| | Prudential Center | Newark, NJ | | Schweighofer |
| Rutgers University | New Brunswick, New Jersey | | Hutchins | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|--------------------------------|--|--|---|--|
| New Jersey (cont'd) | Sara Baker and Ida Wiley Home | Skillman, NJ | | Batza |
| | Steuben House | River Edge, NJ | NRHP 12/18/1970 | Baim |
| | Val's | New York Avenue, Atlantic City, NJ | | Stein |
| | Walt Whitman House | 330 Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard (formerly Mickle Street), Camden, NJ | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/29/1962 | Baim; Dubrow; Hutchins; Meinke; Rupp |
| New Mexico | Fort Wingate Historic District | Near Gallup, NM | NRHP District 5/26/1978 | Roscoe; Rupp |
| | Georgia O'Keeffe Home and Studio | Abiquiu, NM | NHL 8/5/1998 | Springate (Archeology) |
| | Ghost Ranch Education and Retreat Center | 280 Private Drive 1708, Abiquiu, NM | National Natural Landscape 1976 | Bourn; Dubrow |
| | Harmony Hammond Home and Studio | Galisteo, NM | | Burk |
| | Harwood Museum of Art | 238 Ledoux Street, Taos, NM | | Burk |
| | Hawikuh | Cibola County, NM | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 10/9/1960. Contributing to the Zuni-Cibola Complex NHL, 12/2/1974 | Roscoe |
| | New Mexico State Records Center and Archives | 404 Montezuma Avenue, Santa Fe, NM | | Koskovich |
| | Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian | 704 Camino Lejo, Santa Fe, NM | NRHP 12/18/1990 | Roscoe |
| New York | 101 Ranch | 101 West 139th Street, New York City, NY | Demolished | Harris |
| | 112 Greene Street Workshop | SoHo neighborhood, New York City | | Burk |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|
| New York (cont'd) | 171 West 12th Street | 171 West 12th Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | 267 House | 267 West 136th Street, New York City, NY | Demolished | Harris |
| | A Different Light | 548 Hudson Street, New York City, NY | | Johnson |
| | A Different Light | 151 West 19th Street, New York City, NY | | Johnson |
| | A.I.R. Gallery | 98 Wooster Street, New York City, NY | | Burk |
| | Algonquin Hotel | 59-61 West 44th Street, New York City, NY | | Baim; Schweighofer |
| | Ana Maria Simo Home | East Village, New York City | | Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker |
| | Ansonia Hotel | 2101-2119 Broadway at West 73rd Street, New York City, NY | NRHP 1/10/1980 | Dubrow; Johnson |
| | Anti-Violence Project | 647 Hudson Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Apollo Theater | 253 West 125th Street, New York City, NY | NRHP 11/17/1983 | Baim; Burk; Harris; Schweighofer; Shockley |
| | Ariston Baths | 1732 Broadway, New York City, NY | | Baim; Johnson; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Arthur Laurents - Tom Hatcher House | St. Luke's Place, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Asian American Writer's Workshop | 16 West 32nd Street, Suite 10A, New York City, NY | | Sueyoshi |
| | Astor Bar | Broadway between 44th and 45th Streets, New York City, NY | Demolished | Estes |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|--|--|--|--|
| New York (cont'd) | Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice | 116 East 16th Street, New York City, NY | | Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Attic | 669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Audre Lorde and Frances Clayton House | Staten Island, NY | | Baim; Burk; Dubrow; Harris; Rupp; Shockley |
| | Azurest North | Sag Harbor, NY | | Harris |
| | Badlands | 388-390 West Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Bar | 669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Bayard Rustin High School | 351 West 18th Street, New York City, NY | | Hutchins |
| | Bayard Rustin Residence | Chelsea neighborhood, New York City, NY | NRHP 3/8/2016 | Baim; Bourn; Dubrow; Harris; Meinke; Springgate (Civil Rights); Springgate (Intersectionality); Springgate (Introduction); Springgate and de la Vega |
| | Beit Simchat Torah | 57 Bethune Street, New York City, NY | Part of the Westbeth Artists Community, NRHP 12/8/2009 | Bourn; Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Beit Simchat Torah | 130 West 30th Street, New York City, NY | | Bourn; Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Bellevue Hospital | New York City, NY | | Springate (Introduction) |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|--|--|---|------------------------------------|
| New York (cont'd) | Berenice Abbott - Elizabeth McClausland Residence | Commerce Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Billy Strayhorn - Aaron Bridgers Residence | Hamilton Heights neighborhood, New York City, NY | Within the Hamilton Heights Historic District, NRHP 9/30/1983 | Harris; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Black Rabbit | 183 Bleecker Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Black Rabbit | 111 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Blackwell Island Lighthouse | Roosevelt Island, New York City, NY | NRHP 4/16/1972 | Stein |
| | Blue's | 264 West 43rd Street, New York City, NY | | González and Hernández; Hanhardt |
| | Bob Mizer Residence | Brooklyn, NY | | Stein |
| | Bobst Library | New York University | | Koskovich |
| | Book Cellar | 237 East 56th Street, New York City, NY | | Johnson |
| | Boutillier Residence | Brooklyn, NY | | Stein |
| | Bowery (LGBTQ Community) | New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Buffalo Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Archives | 1300 Elmwood Avenue, Buffalo, NY | | Giesecking |
| | Caffe Cino | 31 Cornelia Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Carnegie Hall | 881 Seventh Avenue, New York City, NY | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/29/1962 | Harris |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|--|---|---|--|
| New York (cont'd) | Carrington House | Cherry Grove, Fire Island, NY | NRHP 1/8/2014 | Hanhardt; Schweighofer; Springate (Introduction); Springate and de la Vega |
| | Casa Susanna | Hunter, NY | | Stryker |
| | Castle Williams | Governor's Island, NY | Part of Governor's Island, NRHP/NHL 2/4/1985; Governor's Island National Monument 1/19/2001 | Meyer and Sikk |
| | Cathedral of St. John the Divine | Amsterdam Avenue between West 110th and West 113th Streets, New York City, NY | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Central Park | Central Park, New York City, NY | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 5/23/1963 | Burk; Giesecking; Hanhardt; Shockley |
| | Chelsea (LGBTQ community) | New York City, NY | | Giesecking; Hanhardt |
| | Cherry Grove (LGBTQ community) | Fire Island, NY | | Baim; Giesecking; Hanhardt; Schweighofer; Springate (Archeology); Springate (Introduction) |
| | Cherry Grove Community House & Theater | 180 Bayview Walk, Cherry Grove, Fire Island, NY | NRHP 6/4/2013 | Dubrow; Hanhardt; Schweighofer; Springate (Introduction) |
| | Cherry Lane Theater | 38 Commerce Street, New York City, NY | | Hutchins; Shockley |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------|---|---|--|
| New York (cont'd) | Childs | 300 West 59th Street, New York City, NY | | Johnson |
| | Choo Choo's Pier | 392-393 West Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Christine Jorgensen Family Home | Throgs Neck neighborhood, Bronx, NY | | Stryker |
| | Christine Jorgensen Family Home | 100 block of Pennsylvania Avenue, Massapequa, Long Island, NY | | Stryker |
| | Christopher Park | Christopher Street, New York City, NY | | Giesecking; Hanhardt; Springate and de la Vega |
| | Church of St. Paul the Apostle | 405 West 59th Street, New York City, NY | | Bourn |
| | Church of the Beloved Disciple | 348 West 14th Street, New York City, NY | | Bourn |
| | Church of the Holy Apostles | 296 Ninth Avenue, New York City, NY | NRHP 4/26/1972 | Bourn; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Claude McKay Residence | 180 West 135th Street, New York City, NY | NRHP and NHL 12/8/1976 | Baim; Burk; Harris |
| | Clear Comfort, the Alice Austen House | 2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island, NY | NRHP 7/28/1970; NHL 4/19/1993 | Burk; Dubrow; Ferentinos; Rupp; Shockley |
| | Clit Club | 859-877 Washington Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Coleman House Hotel | 645-647 Broadway, New York City, NY | | Shockley |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|--|--|--|------------------------|
| New York (cont'd) | Columbia Hall (Paresis Hall) | 32 Cooper Square, New York City, NY | | Johnson; Stryker |
| | Columbia Hall | 392 Bowery, New York City, New York | | Johnson |
| | Columbia University | New York City, NY | | Koskovich; Shockley |
| | Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence | 55 Hester Street, New York City, NY | | Sueyoshi |
| | Congregation Beit Simchat Torah | 57 Bethune Street, New York City, NY | NRHP 12/8/2009 | Shockley |
| | Continental Baths and Health Club | 2101-2119 Broadway at West 73rd Street, New York City, NY | NRHP 1/10/1980 | Dubrow; Johnson |
| | Cornell University | Ithaca, NY | | Baim; Koskovich |
| | Cory Book Service | 58 Walker Street, New York City, NY | | Johnson |
| | Covici-Friede | 79 West 45th Street, New York City, New York | Demolished | Stein |
| | Cunningham Dance Studio | 55 Bethune Street, New York City, New York | NRHP 5/15/1975 and 12/8/2009 | Shockley |
| | Cycle | 835 Washington Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Daily News Building | 220 East 42nd Street, New York City, NY | NRHP 11/14/1982; NHL 7/29/1989 | Stein |
| | Daly's 63rd Street Theatre | 22 West 63rd Street, New York City, NY | Demolished | Stein |
| | Dark Tower | 108-110 West 136th Street, New York City, NY | Demolished | Harris |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|---|---|--|--|
| New York (cont'd) | Den | 835 Washington Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Djuna Barnes House | Patchin Place, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Downtown United Presbyterian Church | 121 North Fitzhugh Street, Rochester, NY | NRHP 3/12/1992 | Bourn |
| | Duchess | 101 Seventh Avenue South, New York City, NY | | Hanhardt |
| | Dugout | 185 Christopher Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Dunbar Apartments | Along West 149th and West 150th Streets between Frederick Douglass and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. Boulevards, Harlem, New York City, NY | NRHP 3/29/1979 | Harris |
| | E.A. Custer Bookstore | 107 East 59th Street, New York City, NY | Demolished | Koskovich |
| | East Village (LGBTQ Community) | Part of Greenwich Village, New York City, NY | | Burk; Hanhardt; Shockley |
| | Edmond's Cellar | Fifth Avenue and 132nd Street, New York City, NY | | Harris |
| | Edna St. Vincent Millay Residence | Bedford Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Eleanor Roosevelt National Historical Site (Val-Kill) | State Route 9G, Hyde Park, NY | NRHP 3/20/1980; NHL and NPS 5/27/1977 | Dubrow; Hutchins; Rupp; Shockley; Springate (Archeology); Springate (Civil Rights) |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|---|--|--|--|
| New York (cont'd) | Eleanor Roosevelt Residence | East 11th Street, Greenwich Village, New York City, NY | | Dubrow; Shockley; Springate (Intersectionality) |
| | Elisabeth Irwin-Katharine Anthony House | Bank Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Elizabeth Cady Stanton House | 32 Washington Street, Seneca Falls, NY | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 6/23/1965; NPS (Women's Rights National Historical Park) 8/29/1980 | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy House | 300 block, Bryant Street, Buffalo, NY | | Koskovich |
| | Ellis Island | Upper New York Bay, NY and NJ | NRHP 10/15/1966; NPS as the Statue of Liberty National Monument, 10/15/1965 | Batza; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Elsie de Wolfe - Elisabeth Marbury House | Near Union Square, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Emma Goldman Residence | East Village, New York City | | Baim; Dubrow; Stein |
| | Empire State Pride Agenda | 647 Hudson Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Ernie's Restaurant | 76 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Esther Lape - Elizabeth Read Residence | East 11th Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley; Springate (Intersectionality) |
| | Ethel Waters Residence | Crown Heights neighborhood, Brooklyn, NY | | Harris |
| Eve Addams' Tearoom | 129 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY | | Dubrow; Shockley | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------------------|--|---|---|--|
| New York (cont'd) | Everard Baths | 28 West 28th Street, New York City, NY | | Dubrow; Johnson; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein |
| | Firebrand Books | 141 The Commons, Ithaca, NY | | Hanhardt; Sueyoshi |
| | Fire Island Pines (LGBTQ Community) | Fire Island, NY | | Baim; Dubrow; Giesecking; Hanhardt; Springate (Archeology) |
| | Florent Restaurant | 69 Gansevoort Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Fun Makers Social Club | Harlem, New York City, NY | | Harris |
| | Furnald Hall | Columbia University, Broadway and 116th Street, New York City, NY | | Hutchins; Stein |
| | Galante | 109 Wilkerson Street, Buffalo, NY | Demolished | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Gansevoort Market Historic District | New York City, NY | NRHP 5/30/2007 | Dubrow; Hanhardt |
| | Gay Activist Alliance Firehouse | 99 Wooster Street, New York City, NY | In the SoHo Cast Iron Historic District, NRHP and NHL 6/29/1978 | Koskovich; Rupp; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein |
| | Gay Community Center | 130 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Gay Liberation Front of Rochester | 201 Todd Union, University of Rochester, River Station, Rochester, NY | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| <i>Gay Liberation Monument</i> | Christopher Park, New York City, NY | | Giesecking; Springate and de la Vega | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------------|--|--|---|--|
| New York (cont'd) | Gay Men of African Descent | 540 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, NY | | Harris |
| | Gay Men's Health Crisis | 318 West 22nd Street, New York City, NY | | Batza; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Gloria's | Near Third Avenue and 40th Street, New York City, NY | | Stein |
| | Governor's Island | New York City, NY | NRHP/NHL 2/4/1985; Governor's Island National Monument 1/19/2001 | Meyer and Sikk |
| | Greenwich Village (LGBTQ Community) | New York City, NY | Part of the Greenwich Village Historic District, NRHP 6/19/1979 | Baim; Dubrow; Gieseking; González and Hernández; Hanhardt; Harris; Johnson; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Harlem (LGBTQ Community) | New York City, NY | | Baim; Burk; Gieseking; Harris; Schweighofer; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Harlem YMCA | 180 West 135th Street, New York City, NY | NRHP and NHL 12/8/1976 | Baim; Burk; Harris |
| | Harry Benjamin Office | 728 Park Avenue, New York City, NY | | Batza; Stryker |
| | Harry Benjamin Residence | Flatiron District, New York City, NY | | Stryker |
| | Harry Hansberry's Clam House | 133rd Street, Harlem, New York City, NY | Demolished | Harris; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer |
| Hart Island | New York City, NY | | Springate (Introduction) | |
| Harvey Milk High School | 2-10 Astor Place, New York City, NY | | Hutchins | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|-------------------------|--|--|--|
| New York (cont'd) | Hellfire | 669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, New York | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Heterodoxy Club | 137 MacDougal Street, New York City, New York | Demolished | Shockley |
| | Hotel Olga | 42 West 120th Street, New York City, NY | | Harris |
| | Howdy Club | 17 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY | Demolished | Estes; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Intermediate School 70 | 333 West 18th Street, New York City, NY | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Irwin High School | | In the Charlton-King-Vandam Historic District, NRHP 7/20/1973 | Shockley |
| | Ithaca College | 953 Danby Road, Ithaca, NY | | Bourn; Hutchins |
| | Jackie 60 | 859-877 Washington Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Jacob Riis Park | Queens, NY | Jacob Riis Beach Historic District, NRHP 6/17/1981; Gateway National Recreation Area, NPS 10/27/1972 | Hanhardt |
| | James Baldwin Residence | Horatio Street, Greenwich Village, New York City, NY | In the Greenwich Village Historic District, NRHP 6/19/1979 | Baim; Harris; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | James Baldwin House | Upper West Side, New York City, NY | | Harris; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | James Beard Foundation | 167 West 12th Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|--|---|---|--|
| New York (cont'd) | James M. Stuart Stadium | 900 Fulton Avenue, Hempstead, NY | | Schweighofer |
| | Jemima Wilkinson House | Jerusalem, NY | NRHP 8/24/1994 | Stryker |
| | Jewish Theological Seminary of America | 3080 Broadway, New York City, NY | | Bourn |
| | John V. Gridley House | 37 Charlton Street, New York City, NY | | Dubrow |
| | J's Hangout | 669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Judson Memorial Church | 55 Washington Square South, New York City, NY | NRHP 10/16/1974 | Shockley |
| | Julius | 159 West 10th Street, New York City, NY | NRHP 4/21/2016 | Hanhardt; Harris; Johnson; Rupp; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate (Introduction); Stein |
| | Juniper Ledge | Briarcliff Manor, NY | NRHP 5/4/2006 | Springate (Intersectionality) |
| | Keith Haring Residence | LaGuardia Place, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Kensico Dam | 1 Bronx River Parkway, Valhalla, NY | | Schweighofer |
| | Kitty Genovese Residence | 82-70 Austin Street, New York City | | Stein |
| | Lafayette Baths | 403-405 Lafayette Street, New York City, NY | Demolished | Dubrow; Johnson |
| | La Mama | 74 East 4th Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Lambda Legal | 120 Wall Street, New York City, NY | | Springate (Civil Rights) |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|--|--|---|---|
| New York (cont'd) | Langston Hughes House | East 127th Street, Harlem, New York City, NY | NRHP 10/29/1982 | Harris; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center (The Center) | 208 West 13th Street, New York City, NY | In the Greenwich Village Historic District, NRHP 6/19/1979 | Batza; Bourn; Burk; Hanhardt; Harris; Meyer and Sikk; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker |
| | Lesbian Herstory Archives | Apartment on 92nd Street, Upper West Side, New York City, NY | In the Park Slope Historic District NRHP 11/21/1980 | Giesecking; Koskovich; Rupp; Shockley |
| | Lesbian Herstory Archives | 484 14th Street, Park Slope, New York City, NY | In the Park Slope Historic District NRHP 11/21/1980 | Giesecking; Koskovich; Rupp; Shockley |
| | Leslie Feinberg - Minnie Bruce Pratt House | Syracuse, NY | | Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker |
| | Leslie-Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art | 26 Wooster Street, New York City, NY | | Burk |
| | Liberal Club | 137 MacDougal Street, New York City, New York | Demolished | Shockley |
| | Life Cafeteria | 116 Seventh Avenue South, New York City, NY | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Little Red School House | 196 Bleecker Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Locker Room | 400 West 14th Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Lorena Hickok Residence | Near the United Nations, New York City, NY | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Lorraine Hansberry Residence | Bleecker Street, Greenwich Village, New York City, NY | | Harris; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Lorraine Hansberry Residence | Waverly Place, New York City, NY | | Harris; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights) |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|--|--|---|---------------------------------------|
| New York (cont'd) | Louis' Luncheon | 116 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY | | Dubrow; Shockley |
| | Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater | 181-189 Second Avenue, New York City, NY | NRHP 8/19/1985 | Shockley |
| | Lower East Side (LGBTQ Community) | New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Lucky Cheng's | 24 First Avenue, New York City, NY | | Schweighofer |
| | Lucky's Rendezvous | 773 St. Nicholas Avenue and 148th Street, Harlem, NY | | Harris |
| | Lure | 405-409 West 13th Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Madison Square Garden | New York City, NY | | Schweighofer |
| | Manhattan House of Detention for Men | 125 White Street, New York City, NY | | Stein |
| | Marcus Garvey Park | 18 Mount Morris Park West, New York City, NY | Part of the Mount Morris Park Historic District, NRHP 2/6/1973; boundary increase 5/24/1996 | Harris |
| | Mardi Gras Boutique | 400 West 14th Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Stryker |
| | Marianne Moore Residence | 35 West 9th Street, New York City, NY | | Dubrow |
| | Marion Dickerman-Nan Cook Residence | 171 West 12th Street, New York City, NY | | Dubrow; Springate (Intersectionality) |
| | Mary Dreier and Frances Kellor Residence | Near the Museum of Modern Art, New York City, NY | | Rupp; Springate (Intersectionality) |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|--|--|--|--|
| New York (cont'd) | Meatpacking District (LGBTQ Community) | New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Dubrow; Hanhardt; Shockley; Springate and de la Vega |
| | Medico-Legal Journal | Apartment building on West 83rd Street near Central Park, New York City, NY | | Koskovich |
| | Mike's Bar | 400 West 14th Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Mineshaft | 835 Washington Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Miss Major-Jay Toole Building for Social Justice | 147 West 24th Street, New York City, NY | | Springate (Civil Rights); Stryker |
| | Molly Dewson-Polly Porter Residence | 171 West 12th Street, New York City, NY | | Dubrow |
| | MoMA PS1 | 22-25 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City, NY | | Burk |
| | Mona's | 135 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Moravian Church | 154 Lexington Avenue, New York City, NY | | Bourn |
| | Morse Building | 140-142 Nassau Street, New York City, NY | | Stein |
| | Morton Street Pier | Greenwich Village, New York City, NY | | Hanhardt |
| | Mother | 859-877 Washington Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Mount Gulian | Fishkill, NY | NRHP 11/19/1982 | Baim |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter | |
|----------------------|--|---|--|--|------------------------|
| New York (cont'd) | Mount Morris Turkish Baths | Two addresses, same location: 1944 Madison Avenue, New York City, NY; 28 East 125th Street, New York City, NY | | Baim; Harris; Johnson; Springgate (Civil Rights) | |
| | Murray Hall Residence | Greenwich Village, New York City, NY | | Batza; Rupp; Shockley | |
| | Music Box | 121 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley | |
| | New Museum of Contemporary Art | 235 Bowery, New York City, NY | | Burk | |
| | New St. Marks Baths | 6 St. Marks Place, New York City, NY | | Dubrow | |
| | New York Feminist Art Institute | 325 Spring Street, New York City, NY and 91 Franklin Street, New York City, New York | | Burk | |
| | New York Infirmary for Indigent Women and Children | East 7th Street near Tompkins Square Park | | Springgate (Intersectionality) | |
| | New York Public Library | New York City, NY | | Koskovich | |
| | New York State Capitol Building | Albany, NY | NRHP 2/18/1971; NHL 1/29/1979. Part of the Lafayette Park Historic District, NRHP 11/15/1978 | | Springgate (Civil War) |
| | New York State Reformatory for Women | 247 Harris Road, Bedford Hills, NY | | Stein | |
| | New York University | New York City, NY | | Koskovich | |
| Niggerati Manor | 267 West 136th Street, New York City, NY | Demolished | Harris | | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|--|--|--|--|
| New York (cont'd) | Octagon | 888 Main Street, Roosevelt Island, New York City, NY | NRHP 4/16/1972 | Stein |
| | OK Corral | 835 Washington Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | One World Café | 330 East 11th Street New York City, NY | | Burk |
| | One World Café | 59-61 East 4th Street, New York City, NY | | Burk |
| | Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookshop | 291 Mercer Street, New York City, NY | | Hanhardt; Johnson; Shockley |
| | Oscar Wilde Bookstore | 15 Christopher Street, New York City, NY | | Hanhardt; Johnson; Shockley |
| | Paul Cadmus - Jared French - Margaret Hoening - George Tooker House | St. Luke's Place, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Paramount Theater Building | 1501 Broadway, New York City, NY | | Johnson |
| | Park Slope (LGBTQ Community) | Brooklyn, NY | | Giesecking |
| | Paul Rudolph Apartments | Near the East River, Midtown, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Performance Space 122 (PS 122) | 150 First Avenue, New York City, NY | | Burk |
| | Peter Rabbit | 396-397 West Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Phoenix Theater | 181-189 Second Avenue, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Pier 45 | Foot of Christopher Street, New York City, NY | | Baim; Hanhardt; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Springate and de la Vega |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|---|---|---|---|
| New York (cont'd) | Plantation Club | Broadway and 50th Street, New York City, NY | | Harris |
| | Plaza Hotel | 768 Fifth Avenue, New York City, NY | NRHP 11/29/1978; NHL 6/24/1986 | Hanhardt |
| | Portofino | 206 Thompson Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Presbyterian Building | 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, NY | | Stein |
| | Pride Center of the Capital Region | 332 Hudson Avenue, Albany, NY | | Hanhardt |
| | Provincetown Playhouse | 139 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY | Mostly demolished | Shockley |
| | Pyramid Club | 101 Avenue A, New York City, NY | | Burk; Schweighofer; Shockley |
| | Radicalesbians of Cornell University | 24 Willard Straight Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Radio City Music Hall | 1260 Sixth Avenue, New York City, NY | NRHP 5/8/1978 | Schweighofer |
| | Ralph Martin's | 58 Elliott Street, Buffalo, NY | Demolished | Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Ramrod | 394-395 West Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Rectory of St. Veronica's Roman Catholic Church | 657 Washington Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Riis Beach | Jacob Riis Park, Jamaica Bay Unit, Gateway National Recreation Area, NY | NRHP 6/17/1981 | Giesecking |
| | Riverside Church | 490 Riverside Drive, New York City, NY | NRHP 12/12/2012 | Bourn |
| | Riverside Drive | New York City, NY | | Baim |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|--|---|--|---|
| New York (cont'd) | RockBar | 185 Christopher Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Rockland Palace | 280 West 115th Street, New York City, NY | Demolished | Harris; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer |
| | Roy Simmons Home | Bronx, NY | | Schweighofer |
| | Saint | 105 Second Avenue, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Saint Marks Baths | 6 St. Marks Place, New York City, NY | | Dubrow; Hanhardt |
| | Salsa Soul Sisters, Third World Wimmin Incorporated Collective | Private residence near Washington Square Park, Greenwich Village, New York City, NY | | Harris |
| | San Remo | 93 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Savoy Ballroom | 596 Lenox Avenue, New York City, NY | Demolished | Harris |
| | Sewer | 669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Shambhala Center | 118 West 22nd Street, New York City, NY | | Bourn |
| | Slide | 157 Bleecker Street, New York City, NY | | Johnson; Shockley |
| | Sloane House YMCA | 356 West 34th Street, New York City, NY | Demolished | Estes |
| | Smith House | Brooklyn Heights Historic District, Brooklyn, NY | NRHP 10/16/1966; NHL 1/12/1965 | Shockley |
| | Sneakers | 392-393 West Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|--|---|--|--|
| New York (cont'd) | SoHo (LGBTQ Community) | New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | South Village (LGBTQ Community) | Part of Greenwich Village, New York City, NY | | Dubrow; Shockley |
| | STAR House | 213 East 2nd Street, New York City, NY | Demolished | Springate (Introduction) |
| | STAR House | 640 East 12th Street, New York City, NY | Demolished | Stryker |
| | Starlite Lounge | 1213 McDonald Avenue, Brooklyn, NY | | Giesecking |
| | State University of New York Buffalo | Buffalo, NY | | Koskovich |
| | Statue of Liberty National Monument | New York Harbor, NY | NRHP 10/15/1966; NPS 10/15/1965 | Batza |
| | Steepletop, Edna St. Vincent Millay's Home | Austerlitz, NY | NRHP and NHL 11/11/1971. | Hutchins |
| | Stern College for Women | Yeshiva University, 245 Lexington Avenue, New York City, NY | | Bourn |
| | Stewart Cafeteria | 116 Seventh Avenue South, New York City, NY | | Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Stonewall | 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, NY | NRHP 6/28/1999; NHL 2/16/2000; Stonewall National Monument 6/24/2016 | Baim; Dubrow; Estes; Giesecking; González and Hernández; Graves and Watson; Hanhardt; Harris; Hutchins; Johnson; Meinke; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Schweighofer; Shockley; Springate (Archeology); Springate (Civil Rights); |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|--|--|---|---|
| New York (cont'd) | Stonewall (cont'd) | | | Springate (Intersectionality); Springate (Introduction); Springate and de la Vega; Stein; Stryker; Sueyoshi |
| | St. Patrick's Cathedral | | NRHP and NHL 12/8/1976 | Giesecking |
| | SUNY Buffalo | Buffalo, NY | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Susan B. Anthony House | 17 Madison Street, Rochester, NY | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 6/23/1965 | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Swing Rendezvous | 117 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Sylvia Rivera Law Project | 147 West 24th Street, New York City, NY | | Stryker |
| | Tempo Playhouse | St. Mark's Place, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Tenderloin (LGBTQ Community) | New York City, NY | | Johnson; Shockley; Stryker |
| | Three Ring Circus | 76 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Times Square (LGBTQ Community) | New York City, NY | | Baim; Hanhardt |
| | Todhunter School | | | Shockley |
| | Tony Pastor's Downtown | 130 West 3rd Street, New York City, NY | | Dubrow; Shockley |
| | Townsend Hall | Buffalo, NY | Demolished | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| Triangle | 669-685 Hudson Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|--|---|--|--|
| New York (cont'd) | Trinity Church | 74 Trinity Place, New York City, NY | NRHP and NHL 12/8/1976 | Batza; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Ubangi Club | 131st Street at Seventh Avenue, New York City, NY | Demolished | Baim; Burk; Harris; Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Union Square (LGBTQ Community) | New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | United Nations | 405 East 42nd Street, New York City, NY | | Stein |
| | United States Military Academy at West Point | New York Route 218, West Point, NY | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/19/1960 | Meyer and Sikk |
| | USTA Billie Jean King National Tennis Center | Flushing Meadow-Corona Park, Flushing, NY | | Schweighofer |
| | Villa Lewaro | North Broadway (US 9), Irvington, NY | NRHP/NHL 5/11/1976 | Harris |
| | Visual AIDS | 526 West 26th Street, New York City, NY | | Burk |
| | Walt Whitman House | Wallabout, Brooklyn, NY | | Shockley |
| | Warlock Shop | 300 Henry Street, Brooklyn Heights, New York City, NY | | Bourn |
| | Washington Square Bookshop | 135 MacDougal Street, New York City, NY | Demolished | Shockley |
| | Washington Square Park | New York City, NY | | Hanhardt; Shockley |
| | Webster Hall and Annex | 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, NY | | Baim; Dubrow; Harris; Meyer and Sikk; Schweighofer; Shockley; Springate (Civil Rights) |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------|--|--|--|--|
| New York (cont'd) | Weehawkin Street (LGBTQ Community) | New York City, NY | | Dubrow; Shockley |
| | Weinstein Hall | New York University, 5 University Place, New York City, NY | | González and Hernández; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Wesleyan Chapel | 126 Fall Street, Seneca Falls, NY | NRHP 8/29/1980; part of Women's Rights National Historical Park, NPS 12/28/1980 | Springate (Intersectionality); Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | West Beach Bar & Grill | 388-390 West Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | West Park Presbyterian Church | 165 West 86th Street, New York City, NY | | Bourn |
| | West Side Tennis Club | One Tennis Place, Forest Hills, Queens, NY | | Schweighofer |
| | West Side Piers (LGBTQ Community) | New York City, NY | | Hanhardt; Harris; Shockley |
| | West Village (LGBTQ Community) | Part of Greenwich Village, New York City, NY | | Burk; Gieseeking; Hanhardt |
| | Whitehall Street Induction Center | 39 Whitehall Street New York City, NY | | Stein |
| | Whitney Museum of Modern Art | 99 Gansevoort Street, New York City, NY | | Burk |
| | Wilbraham | 1 West 30th Street, New York City, NY | | Shockley |
| | Willa Cather-Edith Lewis Residence | 82 Washington Place West, New York City, NY | | Ferentinos; Shockley |
| | Willard Asylum for the Chronic Insane | Ovid, NY | NRHP 6/7/1975 | Batza; Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein; Stryker |
| | Winston Book Club | 250 Fulton Avenue, Hampstead, NY | | Johnson |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|----------------------------------|
| New York (cont'd) | Women's House of Detention | 10 Greenwich Avenue, New York City, NY | Demolished | Stein |
| | Women's Medical College of the New York Infirmary | 126 Second Avenue, New York City, NY | | Springgate (Intersectionality) |
| | World Trade Center | Lower Manhattan, New York City, NY | Demolished | González and Hernández |
| | WOW Café Theater | 333 East 11th Street, New York City, NY | | Hanhardt |
| | WOW Café Theater | 59-61 East 4th Street, New York City, NY | | Hanhardt |
| | Yaddo | Saratoga Springs, NY | NHL 3/11/2013. In the Union Avenue Historic District, NRHP 4/4/1978 | Baim; Burk; Harris |
| | Zodiac | 835 Washington Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Shockley |
| | Zoo | 421-425 West 13th Street, New York City, NY | In the Gansevoort Market Historic District, NRHP 5/30/2007 | Hanhardt; Shockley |
| North Carolina | Asheville (LGBTQ Community) | Asheville, NC | | Giesecking; Schweighofer |
| | Beaufort County Detention Center | 210 North Market Street, Washington, NC | | Stein |
| | Black Mountain College | 375 Lake Eden Road, Black Mountain, NC | NRHP 10/5/1982 | Burk |
| | Chapel of the Cross | 304 East Franklin Street, Chapel Hill, NC | NRHP 2/1/1972 | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Pauli Murray Childhood Home | 906 Carroll Street, Durham, NC | | Harris; Springate (Civil Rights) |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|---------------------------------|--|---|---|---|
| Ohio | Case Western Reserve University School of Medicine | 2109 Adelbert Road, Cleveland, OH | | Stryker |
| | Club Baths | 1448 West Thirty-Second Street, Cleveland, OH | Demolished | Johnson |
| | Club Cleveland | 3219 Detroit Avenue, Cleveland, OH | | Johnson |
| | Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Greater Cincinnati | 4119 Hamilton Avenue, Cincinnati, OH | | Springgate (Introduction) |
| | German Village Historic District | Columbus, OH | NRHP 2/7/1991 | Dubrow |
| | German Village (LGBTQ Community) | Columbus, OH | Part of the German Village Historic District, NRHP 2/7/1991 | Dubrow |
| | Goggin Ice Center | 610 South Oak Street, Oxford, OH | | Schweighofer |
| | Kent State University | Kent, OH | | Koskovich |
| | McCorkle Aquatic Pavilion | 1847 Neil Avenue, Columbus, OH | | Schweighofer |
| | Natalie Clifford Barney Marker | East Second Street, Dayton, OH | | Dubrow; Ferentinos |
| | Ohio History Connection | | | Ferentinos |
| | Old Stone Church | Corner of North High and Perkins Streets, Akron, OH | | Springgate (Intersectionality); Stryker |
| | Old Towne East (LGBTQ Community) | Columbus, OH | | Hanhardt |
| Radicalesbians | Weinland Park neighborhood, Columbus, OH | | Springgate (Civil Rights) | |
| Wright-Patterson Air Force Base | Near Dayton, OH | | Baim | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|---------------------|---|--|--|-----------------------------------|
| Oklahoma | Bank of Oklahoma Center | 200 South Denver, Tulsa, OK | | Schweighofer |
| | Integrus Baptist Medical Center, Gender Identity Foundation | 3300 NW Expressway, Oklahoma City, OK | | Stryker |
| Oregon | Club Baths | 303 SW Twelfth Avenue, Portland, OR (rear entrance of the Hotel Alma building) | NRHP 9/9/2009 | Harris; Springgate (Introduction) |
| | Club Portland Bath | 303 SW Twelfth Avenue, Portland, OR (rear entrance of the Hotel Alma building) | NRHP 9/9/2009 | Baim; Springgate (Introduction) |
| | Dr. J. Allen Gilbert's Office | 601 SW Alder Street, Portland, OR | | Batza; Stryker |
| | Flossie's | 1201-1217 SW Stark Street, Portland, OR | NRHP 9/9/2009 | Springgate (Introduction) |
| | Fort Astoria | Astoria, OR | Contributing to Astoria Downtown Historic District; NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 11/5/1961 | Roscoe; Springgate and de la Vega |
| | Hotel Alma | 1201-1217 SW Stark Street, Portland, OR | NRHP 9/9/2009 | Harris; Springgate (Introduction) |
| | Oregon Health and Science University Hospital | 3181 SW Sam Jackson Park Road, Portland, OR | | Stryker |
| | Q Center | 4115 North Mississippi Avenue, Portland, OR | | Hanhardt |
| | Silverado | 1201-1217 SW Stark Street, Portland, OR | NRHP 9/9/2009 | Springgate (Introduction) |
| Pennsylvania | American Law Institute | 4025 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA | | Stein |
| | Anna Howard Shaw - Lucy Anthony House | Moylan, PA | | Springgate (Intersectionality) |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|------------|---|
| Pennsylvania (cont'd) | Arch Street Methodist Church | 55 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, PA | | Bourn |
| | Barbara Gittings - Kay Lahusen House | Twenty-First and Locust Streets, Philadelphia, PA | | Baim |
| | Bayard Rustin Childhood Home | West Chester, PA | | Rupp; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Billy Strayhorn Childhood Home | 7212 Tioga Street, Rear, Pittsburgh, PA | Demolished | Harris; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Brewer's Hotel | 3315 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA | | Baim; Batza |
| | Bryce Jordan Center | 127 Bryce Jordan Center, University Park, PA | | Schweighofer |
| | Bryn Mawr College | Bryn Mawr, PA | | Baim |
| | Congress Hotel | 1334 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA | | Stein |
| | Cove Shelter | Appalachian Trail near Duncannon, PA | | Stein |
| | Critical Path | 1233 Loust Street, Fifth Floor, Philadelphia, PA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers | 1425 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA | | Baim; Stein |
| | Deanery | Canaday Drive, Bryn Mawr, PA | Demolished | Baim |
| | Dewey's | 219 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, PA | | Baim; Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein; Stryker |
| | Dr. Joseph Wolpe's Office | Temple University Medical School, Henry Avenue, Philadelphia, PA | | Batza |
| | Dr. J. Richardson Parke House | Spruce Street, Philadelphia, PA | | Koskovich |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|--------------------------|---|---|--|---|
| Pennsylvania (cont'd) | Eastern State Penitentiary | 2027 Fairmount Avenue, Philadelphia, PA | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 6/23/1965 | Stein |
| | Edgar Clymer Residence | Northern Liberties-Fishtown neighborhood, Philadelphia, PA | | Stein |
| | Family Theater | 1311 Market Street, Philadelphia, PA | Demolished | Stein |
| | Flight 93 National Memorial | Stoystown, PA | NPS 9/24/2002 | Schweighofer |
| | Friends Meeting House | 320 Arch Street, Philadelphia, PA | NRHP 5/27/1971; NHL 6/23/2011 | Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Garden Court Apartments | Forty-Seventh and Pine Streets, Philadelphia, PA | | Stein |
| | Gayborhood (LGBTQ Community) | Philadelphia, PA | Part of the Washington Square West Historic District, NRHP 9/20/1984 | Dubrow; Giesecking; Springgate and de la Vega |
| | General Von Steuben's Headquarters | Valley Forge National Historical Park | NRHP and NHL 11/28/1972; NPS 7/4/1976 | Estes |
| | George Casey Residence | Broad and Stiles Streets, Philadelphia, PA | | Stein |
| | Germantown (Manheim) Cricket Club | 5140 Morris Street, Philadelphia, PA | NRHP and NHL 2/27/1987 | Schweighofer |
| | Gertrude Stein Childhood Home | North side of Pittsburgh, PA | In the Allegheny West Historic District, NRHP 11/2/1978 | Baim |
| | Giovanni's Room | 232 South Street, Philadelphia, PA | | Hanhardt; Johnson |
| Giovanni's Room | 345 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, PA | Within the Washington Square West Historic District, NRHP 9/20/1984 | Giesecking; Hanhardt; Johnson | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|--|---|
| Pennsylvania (cont'd) | Humoresque | 2036 Sansom Street, Philadelphia, PA | | Stein |
| | Independence Hall | 520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, PA | Part of Independence National Historical Park NHL District 10/15/1966; NPS 6/28/1948 | Baim; Dubrow; Ferentinos; Giesecking; Meyer and Sikk; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein |
| | Institute of Contemporary Art | 118 South Thirty-Sixth Street, Philadelphia, PA | | Burk; Giesecking |
| | Joseph Beam Residence | Rittenhouse Square neighborhood, Philadelphia, PA | | Harris |
| | Kiyoshi Kuromiya Home | Fitler Square neighborhood, Philadelphia, PA | | Sueyoshi |
| | Mary Grew - Margaret Burleigh House | 116 North Eleventh Street, Philadelphia, PA | Demolished | Meyer and Sikk |
| | Michaux State Forest | PA | | Baim; Stein |
| | Middle City Building | 34 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, PA | | Johnson; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein |
| | National Constitution Center | 525 Arch Street, Philadelphia, PA | | Ferentinos |
| | New Hope (LGBTQ Community) | New Hope, PA | | Dubrow |
| | Northern Liberties (LGBTQ Community) | Philadelphia, PA | Northern Liberties Historic District NRHP 10/31/1985 | Stryker |
| | Pennsylvania Prison Society | 245 North Broad Street, Philadelphia, PA | | Stein |
| Philadelphia Detention Center | 8201 State Road, Philadelphia, PA | | Stein | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|--------------------------|--|--|---|-----------------------------|
| Pennsylvania (cont'd) | Reconstructionist Rabbinical College | 1299 Church Road, Wyncote, PA | | Bourn |
| | Rittenhouse Square (LGBTQ Community) | Philadelphia, PA | | Johnson |
| | Robert Prado Residence | Center City, Philadelphia | | Stein |
| | Rosenbach Museum and Library | 2008-2010 Delancey Place, Philadelphia, PA | | Dubrow |
| | Royal Theater | 1522 South Street, Philadelphia, PA | NRHP 2/8/1980 | Burk |
| | Seamen's Church Institute | 211 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA | Demolished | Stein |
| | Thomas Eakins House | 1729 Mount Vernon Street, Philadelphia, PA | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/21/1965 | Burk |
| | University of Pennsylvania | Philadelphia, PA | | Koskovich |
| | Valley Forge National Historical Park | Valley Forge, PA | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL District 1/20/1961; NPS 7/4/1976 | Baim; Estes |
| | Walnut Street Prison | On Walnut Street, bounded by Locust and Sixth Streets, Philadelphia, PA | Demolished | Stryker |
| | Walter Lear Residence | Philadelphia, PA | | Batza |
| | Western Penitentiary | 3001 Beaver Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA | | Stein |
| | William Thompson Residence | Lower Merion, PA | | Stein |
| | William Way LGBT Community Center | 1315 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, PA | | Dubrow; Ferentinos |
| | Women's Center | Cedar Park neighborhood, Philadelphia, PA | | Springate (Civil Rights) |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|----------------------------------|---|---|---|--|
| Pennsylvania (cont'd) | Woodlyn Hotel | 430 South Fortieth Street, Philadelphia, PA | Demolished | Stein |
| | Ye Olde Tobacconist | Pier 37 at Poplar Street, Philadelphia, PA | | Stein |
| Puerto Rico | Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo) | 3 Saldana Street, San Juan, PR | NRHP 5/1/2016 | González and Hernández; Springate (Introduction); Springate and de la Vega |
| | San Juan Unitarian Fellowship | 53 Sevilla Street, San Juan, PR | | González and Hernández |
| Rhode Island | Army-Navy YMCA | 50 Washington Square, Newport, RI | NRHP 12/29/1988 | Baim; Estes; Hanhardt; Springate (Civil Rights); Stein |
| | Great Swamp State Management Area | West Kingston, RI | | Roscoe |
| | Kwan Um School | 99 Pound Road, Cumberland, RI | | Bourn |
| South Carolina | 49 Club | 368 King Street, Charleston, SC | | Estes; Stein |
| | Benedict College | Columbia, SC | Benedict College Historic District, NRHP 4/20/1987 | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Charleston Museum | 360 Meeting Street, Charleston, SC | | Baim |
| | Dawn Pepita Simmons House | Charleston, SC | | Rupp |
| | Jack Dobbins House | Near Waterfront Park, Charleston, SC | | Estes; Stein |
| | Laura Bragg - Belle Heyward House | Charleston, SC | | Baim |
| | Redcliffe Plantation | 181 Redcliffe Road, Beech Island, SC | NRHP 5/8/1973 | Meyer and Sikk |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------------|---|--|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Tennessee | Alice Mitchell House | 215 Union Street, Memphis, TN | Demolished | Stein |
| | Broome's Variety Theater | 37 Jefferson Street, Memphis, TN | | Stein |
| | Gayoso House Hotel | 130 South Front Street, Memphis, TN | Demolished | Stein |
| | Memphis Gay and Lesbian Community Center | 892 South Cooper Street, Memphis, TN | | Batza |
| | Overton Hotel | 255 North Main Street, Memphis, TN | Demolished | Stein |
| | Shelby County Criminal Court | 201 Poplar Avenue, Memphis, TN | | Stein |
| | Western State Mental Hospital | 11100 Old Highway 64, Bolivar, TN | | Stein |
| Texas | American Airlines Center | 2500 Victory Avenue, Dallas, TX | | Schweighofer |
| | Asbel Smith Building | University of Texas Galveston Medical Branch, Galveston, TX | NRHP 10/28/1969 | Stryker |
| | Austin Latina/Latino Lesbian and Gay Organization (ALLGO) | 701 Tillery Street, Austin, TX | | González and Hernández |
| | Babe Didrikson Zaharias Museum | 1750 I-10 Frontage Road, Beaumont, TX | | Schweighofer |
| | Cathedral of Hope | 5910 Cedar Springs Road, Dallas, TX | | Bourn |
| | Club Foot | East of the Grayhound Bus Station, Fourth Street between Brazos Street and Congress Avenue, Austin, TX | Demolished | Burk |
| | College Park Center | 601 South Pecan Street, Arlington, TX | | Schweighofer |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|--------------------|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| Texas (cont'd) | Compaq Center | 3700 Southwest Freeway, Houston, TX | | Schweighofer |
| | Dallas Memorial Auditorium and Convention Center | Canton and Akard Streets, Dallas, TX | | Batza; Meyer and Sikk; Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Esperanza Peace & Justice Center | 922 San Pedro Avenue, San Antonio, TX | | González and Hernández |
| | Gloria Anzaldúa Historic Marker | Hidalgo County, TX | | Dubrow |
| | Herbert W. Gee Municipal Courthouse | 1400 Lubbock, Houston, TX | | Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Hilton Hotel | 6780 Southwest Freeway, Houston, TX | | Springgate (Civil Rights); Stryker |
| | Houston Astrodome | 8400 Kirby Drive, Houston, TX | NRHP 1/15/2014 | Schweighofer |
| | John Rechy House | El Paso, TX | | Baim; Springgate (Civil Rights) |
| | Lackland Air Force Base | San Antonio, TX | | Baim |
| | Lakewook Church Central Campus | 3700 Southwest Freeway, Houston, TX | | Schweighofer |
| | Montrose (LGBTQ Community) | Houston, TX | | Giesecking; Hanhardt |
| | Montrose Center | 401 Branard Street, Houston, TX | | Hanhardt |
| | Montrose Center | 803 Hawthorne Avenue, Houston, TX | | Hanhardt |
| | Montrose Center | 3400 Montrose Boulevard, Houston, TX | | Hanhardt |
| Phillys Frye House | Westbury neighborhood, Houston, TX | | Springgate (Civil Rights) | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|---------------------------|--|---|---|---|
| Texas (cont'd) | Summit | 3700 Southwest Freeway, Houston, TX | | Schweighofer |
| | Transgender Archives | 604 Pacific Street, Houston, TX | | Giesecking; Stryker |
| | Transgender Foundation of America | 604 Pacific Street, Houston, TX | | Stryker |
| | University of Texas Galveston Medical Branch | 301 University Boulevard, Galveston, TX | | Stryker |
| | Wyndham Garden Hotel | 2645 Lyndon B Johnson Freeway, Dallas, TX | | Bourn |
| Utah | Central Utah Relocation Center (Topaz War Relocation Center) | 10000 West 4500 North, Delta, UT | NRHP 1/2/1974; NHL 3/29/2007 | Springate (Civil Rights); Springate and de la Vega; Stein; Sueyoshi |
| | Club Baths | 700 West 1700 South, Salt Lake City, UT | | Baim |
| | East High School | 840 1300 E, Salt Lake City, UT | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Jeff's Gym | 700 West 1700 South, Salt Lake City, UT | | Baim |
| | South Valley Unitarian Universalist Society | 6876 South Highland Drive, Salt Lake City, UT | | Bourn |
| Vermont | Green Mountain National Forest | Near Rutland, VT | National Forest 4/25/1932 | Hutchins |
| Virginia | Arlington Ridge Park | Alexandria, VA | NRHP 11/4/2009; part of the George Washington Memorial Parkway (NPS Unit) | Baim |
| | Azurest South | 2900 Boisseau Street, Ettrick, VA | NRHP 12/30/1993 | Harris |
| | Best Western Old Colony Inn | 1101 North Washington Street, Alexandria, VA | | Hutchins |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|-----------------------|--|---|---|---------------------------------|
| Virginia (cont'd) | Block, The | Bounded by First, Franklin, Main, and Foushee Streets, Richmond, VA | | Gieseeking |
| | Castle Thunder Prison | Tobacco Row, Richmond, VA | Demolished | Estes |
| | District of Columbia's Women's Reformatory | Laurel Hill, VA | Part of the DC Workhouse and Reformatory Historic District, NRHP 2/16/2006 | Stein |
| | Glen Burnie House | 801 Amherst Street, Winchester, VA | NRHP 9/10/1979 | Dubrow |
| | Jamestown National Historic Site | Jamestown, VA | NRHP 10/15/1966; NPS 12/18/1940 | Baim; Meyer and Sikk; Stein |
| | Monroe Park | West Main Street, Richmond, VA | Contributing resource to the Monroe Park Historic District, NRHP 7/5/1984 | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Montpelier | Near Orange, VA | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 12/19/1960 | Harris |
| | Pentagon | Jefferson Davis Highway, Arlington, VA | NRHP 7/27/1989; NHL 10/5/1992 | Springate (Civil Rights); Stein |
| | Radisson Plaza Hotel at Mark Center | 5000 Seminary Road, Alexandria, VA | | Hutchins |
| | Tanglewood Tavern | Maidens, VA | NRHP 9/12/2002 | Springate (Archeology) |
| | Topkapi | 6818 Richmond Highway, Alexandria, VA | | Baim |
| | Williamsburg Historic District | Williamsburg, VA | NRHP 10/15/1966; NHL 10/9/1960 | Stryker |
| Workhouse Arts Center | 9601 Ox Road, Lorton, VA | | Stein | |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|------------|--|--|---|----------------------------------|
| Washington | Arlington Hotel | On First Avenue between University and Seneca Streets, Seattle, WA | Demolished | Stryker |
| | Capitol Hill (LGBTQ Community) | Seattle, WA | | Dubrow |
| | Double Header | 407 Second Avenue Ext S, Seattle, WA | | Dubrow; Springate (Civil Rights) |
| | Fort Okanogan | Okanogan County, WA | NRHP 6/4/1973; flooded | Roscoe; Springate and de la Vega |
| | Gay Community Center | 1726 Sixteenth Avenue East, Seattle, WA | | Stein |
| | Harvard-Belmont Historic District | Seattle, WA | NRHP 5/13/1982 | Dubrow |
| | KeyArena | 305 Harrison Street, Seattle, WA | | Schweighofer |
| | Lesbian Mothers National Defense Fund | Seattle, WA | | Stein |
| | Museum of History and Industry | Seattle, WA | | Ferentinos |
| | Panama Hotel | 605 South Main Street and 302 Sixth Avenue South, Seattle, WA | NRHP/NHL 3/20/2006 | Dubrow |
| | Pioneer Square (LGBTQ Community) | Seattle, WA | Part of the Pioneer Square-Skid Road Historic District, NRHP 6/22/1970; boundary increases 7/7/1978 and 6/16/1988 | Dubrow; Stryker |
| | Pioneer Square-Skid Road Historic District | Seattle, WA | NRHP 6/22/1970; boundary increases 7/7/1978 and 6/16/1988 | Dubrow; Stryker |

| | Name | Address | Status | Chapter |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| Washington (cont'd) | Salmon Bay Friends Meeting | 6532 Phinney Avenue North, Seattle, WA | | Bourn |
| | Tacoma Art Museum | 1701 Pacific Avenue, Tacoma, WA | | Burk |
| | Washinton State Penitentiary | 1313 North Thirteenth Avenue, Walla Walla, WA | | Stein |
| West Virginia | Federal Reformatory for Women | Route 3, south of Greenbrier River, Alderson, WV | | Stein |
| | Shamrock | 326 Princeton Avenue, Bluefield, WV | | Rupp |
| Wisconsin | Camp Trans | Monroe County, WI | | Giesecking; Rupp |
| | Madison Municipal Building | 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, Madison, WI | | Stein |
| | Miller Park | One Brewers Way, Milwaukee, WI | | Schweighofer |
| | Milwaukee LGBT Community Center | 315 West Court Street, Milwaukee, WI | | Hanhardt |
| | Pendarvis | 114 Shake Rag Street, Mineral Point, WI | NRHP 1/25/1971 | Dubrow |
| | University of Wisconsin Madison, History Department | Madison, WI | | Koskovich |
| | University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee | Milwaukee, WI | | Springate (Civil Rights) |
| Wyoming | Fort Laramie Three Mile Hog Ranch | Outside Fort Laramie, WY | NRHP 4/23/1975 | Harris |
| | Heart Mountain Relocation Center | 1539 Road 19, Powell, WY | NRHP 12/19/1985; NHL 9/20/2006 | Stein |
| | Matthew Shepard Beating Site | Near Pilot Peak and Snowy View Roads, Laramie, WY | | Baim; Meyer and Sikk; Rupp; Stein |

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