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

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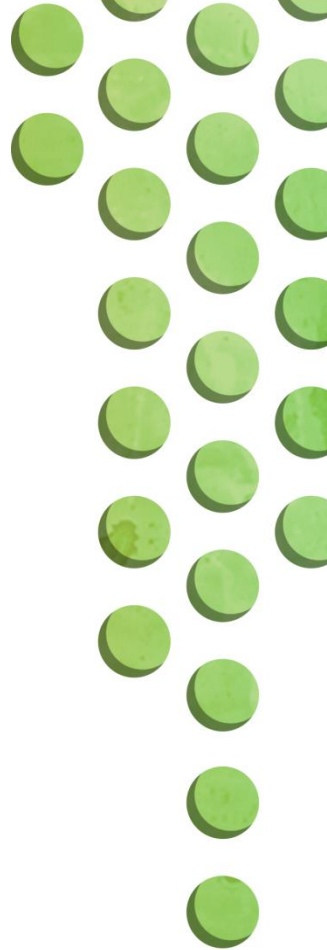
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THEMES

The chapters in this section take themes as their starting points. They explore different aspects of LGBTQ history and heritage, tying them to specific places across the country. They include examinations of LGBTQ community, civil rights, the law, health, art and artists, commerce, the military, sports and leisure, and sex, love, and relationships.

LGBTQ CIVIL RIGHTS IN AMERICA

Megan E. Springate

[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 Kealahou 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 Kealahou 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 teanitiki, 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 Bleecker Street, New York City, New York was a gay bar raided in 1900 by Anthony Comstock of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. The Ariston Baths, in the basement of the Ariston Hotel, 1732 Broadway, New York City, New York, were opened as early as 1897. This was the location of the first recorded police raid on a gay bathhouse in the United States, conducted in 1903. The Everard Turkish Bathhouse, 28 West 28th Street, New York City, New York opened in 1888 as a health/fitness spa for the general public, with an increasing gay clientele as bathhouses became safer places for gay men to congregate. The Everard was raided for lewd behavior, with nine arrests; in 1920, another raid resulted in fifteen arrests. It closed in 1985. The Gangway, at 841 Larkin Street, San Francisco, California, was the target of a same-sex raid in 1911, though 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 Canada, *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 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.

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.

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.

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.

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 Retzlaff, “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=90iigzZCEtQ>.

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, Giesekeing, 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 Baum, 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," Infotrieve Educational Experiences website, accessed October 14, 2015, <http://www.infotrieve.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 Hirambee 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 Hirambee 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.

insurance, and were excluded from funeral homes and cemeteries.¹⁵³ The federal government was either dismissive or, in the case of President Ronald Reagan, silent, about the disease—it was not until halfway through his second term that President Reagan publicly uttered the word “AIDS.”¹⁵⁴ Federal policy, influenced by conservative religious values, meant that abstinence-only HIV-prevention was promoted to the exclusion of proven approaches like sex education, needle exchange, and condom distribution through the worst years of the epidemic.¹⁵⁵

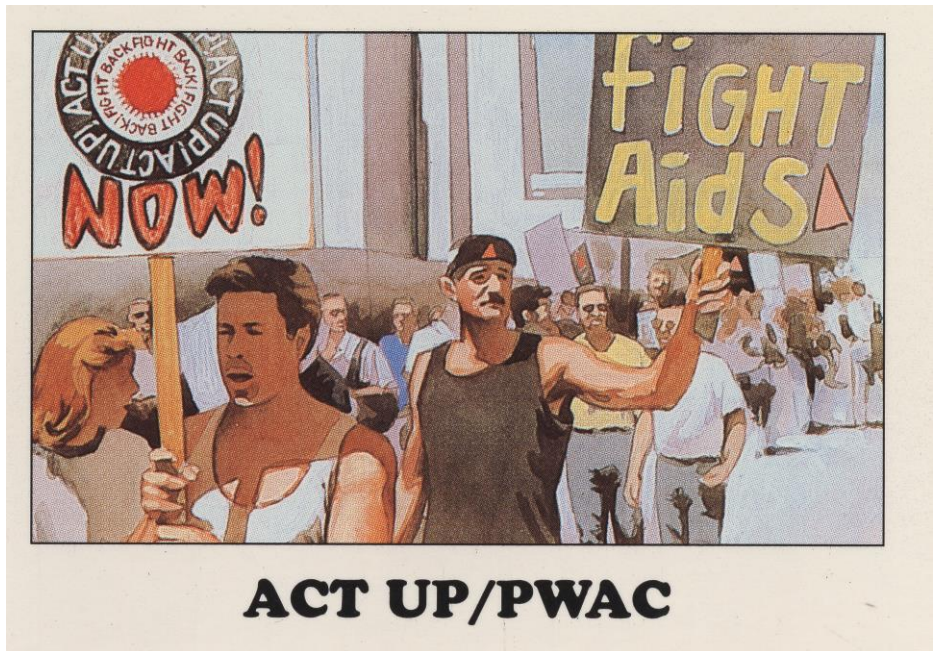


Figure 9: AIDS awareness card depicting ACT UP/PWAC (People With AIDS Coalition), 1993. Courtesy of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) Collection, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.

¹⁵³ The Arthur J. Sullivan Funeral Home at 2254 Market Street, San Francisco was one of the few funeral homes who would provide funeral services for those who died from AIDS. Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson, *Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco* (San Francisco: City and County of San Francisco, October 2015), 293-294.

¹⁵⁴ Herbert N. Foerstel, *Toxic Mix? A Handbook of Science and Politics* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2010), 99.

¹⁵⁵ Foerstel, *Toxic Mix*, 137.

On March 10, 1987, activist Larry Kramer (who in 1982 had helped form the Gay Men's Health Crisis) gave an impassioned speech at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Community Center (The Center) in New York City, addressing the lack of response by the government to the escalating AIDS crisis. Shortly thereafter, a group of people met at the Center and formed ACT UP, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power.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

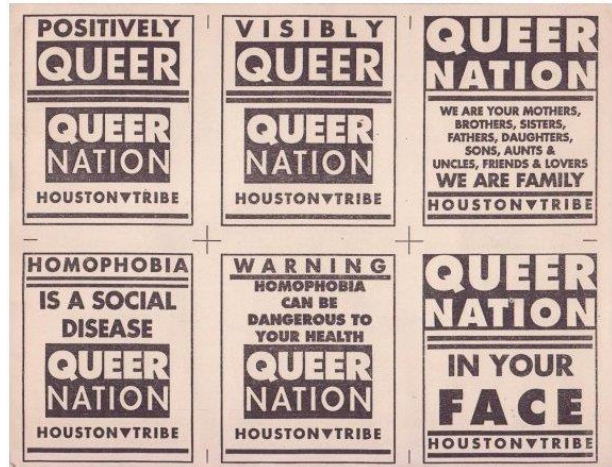


Figure 11: Promotional material used by Queer Nation Houston.¹⁷²

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,

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=tf0290000gc;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 his 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.actupnyc.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://dcbblackpride.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.lawweekly.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 Lammass 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/Q807stryker.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.

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 SRLP is to guarantee that everyone is free to self-determine, without facing harassment, discrimination, or violence, their gender identity and expression, regardless of race or

Despite increased visibility of transgender people and changing laws, transgender people are often targets of violence. Over twenty transgender people, mostly women of color, were murdered in the United States in 2015.²¹⁸ 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.

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>.