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

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PRESERVING LGBTQ HISTORY

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

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

Gerard Koskovich

Searching for the history of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender history may seem a particularly queer conceit—and searching for meaningful places associated with efforts to document, preserve, interpret, and share that history may seem queerer still. After all, every individual has a past, so at first glance it may appear that every social group must have a shared heritage. For those who benefit from a position of power

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and respect, that heritage can take the form of historical knowledge elaborated over the course of centuries and conveyed via institutions of state and culture such as schools, museums, and monuments. Those marginalized by hierarchies of class, race, language, or immigrant status are often ignored in such settings, yet they have managed to convey their heritage through more informal means, with elders telling their children or grandchildren stories of earlier times that succeeding generations pass along as a vital family inheritance.

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

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

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

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

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

The Prehistory of Queer History

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

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

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

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

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



when the topic was not addressed in public or family settings. Before the emergence of print media produced by and for LGBTQ people in the United States, stories of the queer past no doubt circulated confidentially between individuals and within local queer social networks.⁶ For those who gained access to such networks, conversations among the members could include individuals who experienced same-sex desires or whose sense of gender did not match social expectations recounting their own memories, as well as recollections shared by others whose stories extended further back in time. Such folk interest in queer history is difficult to trace before the late nineteenth century, both because evidence is scarce and because the shifting meanings, forms, and interrelations of gender, same-sex desire, and homosexual acts over a longer period make the task increasingly complex.



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

⁶ On the shift from oral and confidential networks of communication to wider and more public communication via print media, see Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s–1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

One telling incident of oral transmission of memory from around 1900 appears in *The Stone Wall*, the autobiography of Ruth Fuller Field (1864–1935), published in 1930 under the pseudonym Mary Casal (Figure 1).⁷ The author describes her introduction to a circle of lesbian friends in Brooklyn, including a somewhat older but much more worldly woman whose short hair is “tinged with gray” and who tells stories of her many same-sex affairs over the years. Hearing these memories had a powerful effect on Field: “How much suffering would have been saved me and what a different life I would have led if I had known earlier that we are not all created after one pattern....”⁸ The knowledge of the past produced by contacts of the sort Field experienced most often would have been personal, fragmentary, and fragile—subject not only to the variations inevitable in stories told and retold but also to the vagaries of memory embodied in stories passed from one individual to another and gradually lost.

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

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

⁸ Casal, *The Stone Wall*, 178–180. The woman is referred to in *The Stone Wall* only as “the Philosopher” or “Phil.” Darling, “A Critical Introduction,” 91–92, identifies her as Vittoria Cremers, an early follower of Theosophy. Darling does not give Cremers’s date of birth, but various authors indicate 1859 or 1860, based on records indicating Cremers was 26 when she married in 1886. See, for instance, Richard Kaczynski, *Perdurabo: The Life of Aleister Crowley* (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2012), 221. Neither Field nor Darling provide a date for Field’s first encounter with Cremers, but it was before the death in 1906 of Johnstone Bennett, another member of the group whom Field met at the same time; for Bennett’s death, see Darling, “A Critical Introduction,” 87.



homosexuality among noted figures of the past.⁹ One example is *Human Sexuality: A Medico-Literary Treatise on the History and Pathology of the Sex Instinct for the Use of Physicians and Jurists* (1912) by J. Richardson Parke (1858–1938), a physician of dubious background whose practice was located near Washington Square Park in Philadelphia (Figure 2).¹⁰ Borrowing from earlier English, French, and German writers, his comments on the past range from “Sexual Depravity in Early Rome” through “Sexual Inversion Among Artists” to the “‘Freda Ward’ Case” (a lesbian murder case in Memphis, twenty years before the book was published).¹¹ Obscenity laws putatively restricted the sale of such publications to the professional class, yet as Parke acknowledges in his preface, they nonetheless found their way into the hands of avid laypeople.¹² By the 1920s and 1930s, a handful of popular books also offered details about the history of homosexuality and nonnormative gender.¹³

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

Autobiography of an Androgyne (1918) and *The Female-Impersonators* (1922), that look back to queer life in New York City in the 1890s, both written by the pseudonymous Earl Lind (ca. 1874–?), also known as Ralph Werther and Jennie June, a feminine-identified man whom some might now see as a precursor to contemporary transwomen.¹⁵ Published by specialized small presses, Field's and Lind's books received limited circulation, yet knowledge of their existence reached those on the lookout for such titles.¹⁶ Long after publication, new readers continued discovering them through copies passed hand to hand or sold in shadowy zones of the used book market.

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

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

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

¹⁶ Herring, "Introduction," xviii, notes that the books by Earl Lind/Ralph Werther/Jennie June were offered by a "small-scale, specialized scientific press 'by mail only.'" He adds that the titles received no reviews and soon vanished from sight; see page x. Both volumes were, however, reprinted in 1975 by the Arno Press (New York City) in the *Homosexuality: Lesbians and Gay Men in Society, History, and Literature Series*, edited by Jonathan Katz and others. *The Stone Wall* also had a traceable afterlife. For example, the first nationally circulated lesbian periodical in the United States, published a retrospective review three decades after the book appeared. See Gene Damon (pseudonym of Barbara Grier), "Books: *The Stonewall: An Autobiography*," *The Ladder* 4, no. 8 (May 1960): 18–19. The title also was reprinted in the 1975 Arno Press series.

greatness. The phenomenon even found its way into at least one novel of the period: in Blair Niles's *Strange Brother* (1931), the young white protagonist, Mark Thornton, has moved to New York City to live as a homosexual.¹⁷ An older friend had sent Mark a copy of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* before Mark left his small hometown. In New York he discovers English sex reformer and homosexual emancipationist Edward Carpenter's *Love's Coming of Age* (1902) "by chance in a second-hand book shop on Fifty-Ninth Street."¹⁸ When another friend asks him to ship some books to a doctor, he encounters a volume of English sexologist Havelock Ellis's *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1900–1905), where he reads about "the history of abnormal love" and learns that it "had existed always, everywhere...everywhere from the beginning."¹⁹ Finding self-affirmation in his discoveries and inspired by Alain Locke's influential anthology *The New Negro* (1925), Mark even dreams of editing a book of historic texts defending "manly love."²⁰

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

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

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

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

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





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

Webster Cory (pseudonym of Edward Sagarin, 1913–1986) notes in his 1951 book *The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach*, scouring the historical record for heroes “is characteristic of any minority having an inferior social status”; he adds that homosexual men and women in particular were “anxious to find in literature justification and clues to happiness....”²¹

A well-documented example is offered by Jeannette Howard Foster (1895–1981). In the mid-teens of the twentieth century, when she was an undergraduate at Rockford College (now Rockford University) in

Rockford, Illinois, she began a lifelong search for books referring to romantic and erotic relationships between women, including women portrayed as bisexual or favoring men's clothing.²² By the 1920s she was

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

²² Jeannette H. Foster, *Sex Variant Women in Literature: A Historical and Quantitative Study* (New York: Vantage Press, 1956); in the unpaginated “Foreword,” the author dates the start of her bibliographical search to learning about a student expelled for lesbianism when she was in college.

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

Homophile Organizers and History Enthusiasts

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

For further detail on the incident, see Joanne Ellen Passet, *Sex Variant Woman: The Life of Jeannette Howard Foster* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2008), 44–45.

²³ On the scope of Foster's research, see Passet, *Sex Variant Woman*, especially pages 121 and 129. As an adult building her collection and researching lesbian literature, Foster spent two periods living with her parents in the home where she had grown up: in 1922–1923 while studying for her master's degree and in 1933–1934 as a doctoral student; see Passet, *Sex Variant Woman*, 16, 68–75, 114–117. Located on Pleasant Avenue in the Beverly neighborhood of Chicago, Illinois, the house is extant, although a comparison with the 1906 photograph reproduced in Passet, *Sex Variant Woman*, 16, shows that it has undergone extensive modifications, notably with an addition including a garage constructed on one side of the house in 2016.

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

²⁵ For example, Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 37–38, notes Foster's influence on the bibliographical efforts of Marion Zimmer Bradley. For an instance from the subsequent generation of lesbian scholars, see note 47 below.



founded in 1950, which focused on the concerns of homosexual men; One Incorporated, founded in 1952, which primarily concentrated on men but also took an interest in women's issues; and the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), founded in 1955, which brought together lesbian women.²⁶ Both One Incorporated and the Mattachine Society were initially based in Los Angeles, with Mattachine moving to San Francisco late in 1956; DOB was headquartered in San Francisco from the start. All three published long-running periodicals that usually appeared monthly: *The Mattachine Review* (1955–1966); *One* (1953–1967, with a brief reappearance in 1972); and *The Ladder* (1956–1972).²⁷ In addition, One Incorporated later launched a scholarly publication, *One Institute Quarterly: Homophile Studies* (1961–1970).

The earlier informal knowledge of queer history produced by individual effort and disseminated through social networks reached a nascent public readership via these new periodicals, with homosexual history buffs contributing articles on a fairly regular basis.²⁸ As John D'Emilio notes,

²⁶ A fairly extensive scholarly literature has been produced on the politics and organizational strategies of the homophile period. For a founding study in the field, see John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). For monographs on individual organizations, see Gallo, *Different Daughters*, which focuses on the Daughters of Bilitis; James T. Sears, *Behind the Mask of Mattachine: The Hal Call Chronicles and the Early Movement for Homosexual Emancipation* (Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press, 2006); and C. Todd White, *Pre-Gay L.A.: A Social History of the Movement for Homosexual Rights* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), which focuses on One Incorporated.

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

²⁸ The homophile movement's use of history has yet to receive in-depth scholarly attention; the discussion here is based largely on the author's review of the organizations' periodicals. Also note that the first documented homosexual advocacy group in the United States was the Society for Human Rights in Chicago in 1924–1925. It published two newsletter issues, but no copies are known to survive; a few paragraphs of content preserved in French translation make no mention of historical topics. See Clarens, "Friendship and Freedom," *L'Amité*, no. 1 (April 1925): 13, posted at Séminaire

“Through bibliographies, books reviews, and essays on history and literature, the publications filled an informational void and became valuable tools for self-education.”²⁹ He adds that such articles reflected the groups’ effort “to legitimate homosexuality as a significant and pervasive component of human experience....”³⁰ Despite their attention to evidence of the past, however, homophile history enthusiasts expressed virtually no interest in historic preservation, likely because publicly marking places meaningful to queer memory would have attracted traumatizing reactions in an era when LGBTQ territories remained clandestine, policed, and contested.³¹

A survey of the first five years of the three main homophile magazines suggests the extent to which history held an important place in the movement. The *Mattachine Review*, for instance, ran approximately twenty substantial articles with a historical focus during its first five years. These included brief biographies of figures from the past such as the Roman emperor Hadrian; lengthy reviews of popular books such as G. Rattray Taylor’s *Sex in History* (1954); a two-part series on what the author characterized as homosexuality among Native Americans, drawing on observations from European explorers and colonists; the tale of Civil War hero Jennie Hodges, presented as a woman who passed as a man to serve in the Union Army; and a ten-year retrospective of the *Mattachine*

Gay, accessed May 28, 2015, http://semgai.free.fr/doc_et_pdf/L_amitie.pdf. The article also is available in reprint in Lucien Mirande, *Inversions 1924–1925, L’Amitié 1925: Deux revues homosexuelles françaises* (Lille, France: GayKitschCamp, 2006), 228–229. The Society for Human Rights operated out of the rooming house where Henry Gerber lived in the Old Town Triangle neighborhood of Chicago, Illinois. It was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015; see Diana Novak Jones, “Old Town Site of Nation’s First Gay Rights Group Designated National Landmark,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, June 19, 2015, accessed January 29, 2016, <http://chicago.suntimes.com/news/7/71/705597/old-town-site-nations-first-gay-rights-group-designated-national-landmark>.

²⁹ D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 110.

³⁰ D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 111.

³¹ The only article mentioning recognition of an LGBTQ historic site recorded in my survey of national homophile journals suggests how fraught the topic could be: An article reprinted from the Canadian weekly *Macleans* describes London celebrations in 1954 marking the centenary of Oscar Wilde’s birth. It recounts the unveiling of a plaque at Wilde’s former home identifying him as a “dramatist and wit,” yet disparages homosexuality as a “crime or disease” and as a “dreadful cult.” For the author of the article, Wilde merits a historic site as a great writer, yet still deserves nothing but scorn as a homosexual. See Beverly Baxter, “London Letter: Has Oscar Wilde’s Crime Been Redeemed?” *Mattachine Review* 1, no. 4 (July–August 1955): 22–25.



Society's own history.³² The magazine also published a multipart bibliography with more than one thousand listings for fiction and nonfiction books dealing with homosexuality, including out-of-print titles dating back decades.³³

The Ladder also played its part in bringing alternative homosexual histories into print, publishing approximately twelve substantial history-related articles in its first five years. Mostly dealing with literary and cultural history, the articles included a succinct biography of British novelist Radclyffe Hall (1886–1943), a survey of cross-dressing by women, a synopsis of films with lesbian themes produced from the early 1930s on, and a discussion of lesbianism and the law from ancient Rome to twentieth-century America.³⁴ In addition, the magazine contributed to lesbian bibliography by publishing a standing “Lesbiana” column of capsule book reviews, primarily recent fiction, but also fiction from the first half of the twentieth century and occasionally nonfiction titles touching in some way on lesbian history. Initially written by Marion Zimmer Bradley (1930–1999), the column ran unsigned before being taken over by Barbara Grier (1933–2011) under the pseudonym Gene Damon in September 1957.³⁵

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

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

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

³⁵ See Gallo, *Different Daughters*, 36–37. The first installment of “Lesbiana” ran in *The Ladder* 1, no. 6 (March 1957): 12. It included reviews of a 1955 edition of the collected works of Pierre Louÿs, the French poet whose *Songs of Bilitis* (1894; English translation 1926) inspired the name of the Daughters of Bilitis; Radclyffe Hall’s *The Well of Loneliness* (1928); and a new edition of a “long out-of-print classic,” Colette’s *Claudine at School* (1900; English translation 1930). “Lesbiana” continued appearing regularly through the end of the run. For reprints of the columns from the final six years of

The History of Queer History: One Hundred Years of the Search for Shared Heritage

The third national homophile group, One Incorporated, merits particular notice for working to develop alternative understandings of homosexuality into a structured field of study with history as a key component. Much like the Mattachine Society and the DOB, the organization started out with a periodical that included substantial articles dealing in whole or part with history—approximately seventeen in the first five years of *One* magazine.³⁶ In 1956, the leaders of the organization went beyond publishing the occasional



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

history article: they moved to elaborate a systematic approach to thinking and teaching about homosexuality by establishing the One Institute for Homophile Studies. The Institute described itself as “an adult education facility offering courses of undergraduate and graduate levels. Classes in history, literature and social studies centered upon homosexuality and its relation to world cultures, religion, law, morals, psychology, medicine, and

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

³⁶ In the case of *One*, the count is less clear than for the *Mattachine Review* and *The Ladder* for two reasons: the run on microfilm from the New York Public Library consulted by the author lacks scattered issues, so an article or two may be missing; in addition, the editors of the publication tended to run think-piece essays that draw only in passing on historical evidence and arguments, so determining which to count as substantial history articles is a somewhat subjective matter.

the arts” (Figure 4).³⁷ Among the instructors from the beginning was Harry Hay (1912–2002), a founder of the Mattachine Society who had devoted himself in particular to the ethnohistory of homosexuality and gender variation in American Indian cultures.³⁸

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

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

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

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

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

Both course lectures and student papers from this enterprise provided content for the institute's scholarly journal, *One Institute Quarterly: Homophile Studies*. The full run includes approximately twenty-two substantial history articles. Taken together, they provide a sweeping view of ancient, Renaissance, early modern, and nineteenth-century histories, along with considerations of Asian history and ethnohistory. The contributors drew largely on published primary and secondary sources in English, generally emphasizing intellectual and cultural history. The historical articles mostly discuss male homosexuality, with lesbian and transgender topics more often featured in essays employing sociological, medical, and psychological frameworks.⁴¹ With no trained historians involved and no access to outside fellowships or significant funding, archival research evidently was beyond the means of the institute's early participants.⁴² The organization lasted well beyond the period of the homophile movement, ultimately receiving state accreditation in 1981 to issue graduate degrees; it ceased operation as a teaching institution in 1994.⁴³

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

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

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



Community Archivists, Independent Scholars, and Academic Pioneers

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

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

⁴⁴ The scholarly literature on the gay liberation and lesbian-feminist movements is considerable. For a recent overview, see Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), chap. 3–4.

⁴⁵ Susan Ferentinos notes the link between identity politics and interest in community history in this period; see her book *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 22.

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

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

The History of Queer History: One Hundred Years of the Search for Shared Heritage

- The founding of the first organizations devoted primarily or entirely to documenting, researching, interpreting, and disseminating this history.
- The contributions of a growing number of independent scholars.
- The emergence of the first historians to address the subject of homosexuality in the setting of university humanities departments.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

⁵² See Tim Retzlaff, “Edward Weber, Retired Labadie Collection Curator at U of M, Dies at 83,” *Pride Source*, April 20, 2006, accessed June 1, 2015, <http://www.pridesource.com/article.html?article=18419>. Also see Rubin, *Deviations*, 15–16. The Labadie Collection is housed in the Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library at 913 South University Avenue on the University of Michigan campus in Ann Arbor. From the construction of the library in 1920 until 1970, the collection was located in the original building, now known as the North Building; in 1970, Ed Weber oversaw the move to its current home in the Special Collections Library in the then-new South Building. See Julie Herrada, curator, Joseph A. Labadie Collection, e-mail to the author, June 19, 2015.

programs. As scholar Ann Cvetkovich notes, by gathering and interpreting LGBT historical materials outside traditional academic frameworks, such groups played a vital role in addressing “the traumatic loss of history that has accompanied sexual life and the formation of sexual publics, and they assert the role of memory and affect in compensating for institutional neglect. Like other archives of trauma, such as those that commemorate the Holocaust, slavery or war, they must enable the acknowledgment of a past that can be painful to remember, impossible to forget, and resistant to consciousness.”⁵³

The first such formally established organization in the United States was the Lesbian Herstory Archives (LHA), conceived in 1974 during discussions at a lesbian-feminist consciousness-raising group in Manhattan of which writer, activist, and self-defined “white Jewish fem lesbian” Joan Nestle was a member.⁵⁴ As the LHA notes in the history posted on its website, “At one meeting in 1974, Julia Stanley and Joan Nestle, who had come out before the gay liberation movement, talked about the precariousness of lesbian culture and how so much of our past culture was seen only through patriarchal eyes”; with others responding to the observation, “a new concept was born—a grassroots lesbian archives.”⁵⁵

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

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

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



In 1975, the institution installed its collections in the apartment on 92nd Street in the Upper West Side shared by Nestle and her then-partner, Deborah Edel (Figure 5). Volunteers, researchers, and visitors frequented the space for the next seventeen years, after which the institution relocated to its current location, a brownstone in the Park Slope neighborhood of Brooklyn.⁵⁶ Nestle's apartment also provided a home to Mabel Hampton (1902–1989), a working-class African American lesbian elder who had donated her own collection to LHA and was a mainstay among the volunteers. She lived there part-time starting in 1976 and full-time for the last three years of her life.⁵⁷ Hampton was one of a number of



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

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

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

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

The other major archives and library founded in the 1970s started as the Western Gay Archives, the name that Los Angeles homophile movement pioneer James Kepner gave his personal collection. In the first half of the 1970s, he began inviting researchers to his apartment one afternoon a week to use the materials he had amassed in the previous three decades. Kepner transformed his private collection into a formal nonprofit association and renamed it the Natalie Barney/Edward Carpenter Library of the National Gay Archives in 1979, at which time the collection moved to a Hollywood storefront where it was regularly open to the public.⁵⁹ In contrast to the lesbian-feminist orientation of the LHA with its emphasis on recuperating women's history, the Southern California institution adopted a comprehensive approach from the outset, looking to gather historical and contemporary materials reflecting in any way on homosexuality, bisexuality, and gender variation.⁶⁰ Through name changes, moves, and a merger with One Incorporated, the archives and library remained in the hands of a community-based organization until 2010, when the group donated the materials to the University of Southern California.⁶¹

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

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

⁵⁹ On the Western Gay Archives and its transformation into the National Gay Archives, see James Kepner, "An Accidental Institution: How and Why a Gay and Lesbian Archives?" in Carmichael, ed., *Daring to Find Our Names*, 179. Also see One Archives, "History"; this page gives 1971 as the year in the introduction and 1975 in the chronological timeline that follows. White, *Pre-Gay L.A.*, 78 and 202, gives the year as 1975. For a brief summary of Kepner's life, see "Biography," Finding Aid of the Jim Kepner Papers, Coll. 2011.002, One Archives (Los Angeles), posted at the Online Archive of California, accessed June 12, 2015, <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt8d5nf4c6/admin/#ref3>. The National Gay Archives storefront was located at 1654 North Hudson Avenue in Hollywood from 1979 to 1988 (now demolished); see One Archives, "History."

⁶⁰ Notably, Kepner reported that early purchases for his collection starting in 1942 included both nonfiction and fiction and books dealing with both gay and lesbian themes. See Kepner, "An Accidental Institution," 176.

⁶¹ See One Archives "History."



established around the United States throughout the 1980s, into the 1990s, and beyond.⁶² Some would grow out of community organizing efforts, as did the LHA. This group includes the Gerber/Hart Library and Archives in Chicago, founded in 1981, and the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society in San Francisco, founded in 1985.⁶³ Others would grow from private collections, as did the National Gay Archives. This group includes the Quatrefoil Library, created in 1983 in Minneapolis from the personal library that David Irwin (1920–2009) and Dick Hewetson started in the mid-1970s, and the Stonewall Library, created in 1987 in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, from a private collection launched in 1973 by Mark Silber.⁶⁴

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

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

⁶³ On the Gerber/Hart Library, see Michael McCaslin, "A Brief History of Gerber/Hart Library," *Illinois Libraries* 81, no. 4 (Fall 1999): 228–31; posted on Illinois Periodicals Online, accessed October 25, 2015, <http://www.lib.niu.edu/1999/iil9904228.html>; the article notes that Gerber-Hart's first location was in the offices of Gay Horizon at 3225 North Sheffield Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. On the Gay and Lesbian Historical Society (now known as the GLBT Historical Society), see Gerard Koskovich, "Displaying the Queer Past: Purposes, Publics, and Possibilities at the GLBT History Museum," *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking* 1, no. 2 (2014): 61–78; the article indicates that the society's collections initially were housed in the apartment of cofounder Willie Walker on Seventeenth Street near Sanchez Street in San Francisco's Castro District.

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

*The History of Queer History: One Hundred Years of the Search for
Shared Heritage*

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



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

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

⁶⁶ See Dallas Denny, e-mails to the author May 25, 2015; June 11, 2015; and June 13, 2015; also see the catalog record for the holdings at the University of Michigan Library website, accessed June 11, 2015, <http://mirlyn.lib.umich.edu/Record/004366562>. According to Denny, the collection was located in her home on Chisholm Court in Tucker, Georgia, from 1991 until it was transferred to the University of Michigan.



History Project, started as a personal collection by José Gutierrez in Washington, DC, in 1993 and incorporated as a nonprofit in 2007.⁶⁷

The 1970s and 1980s also saw the emergence of independent scholars working individually and in collaboration to research the history of homosexuality and nonnormative gender expression.⁶⁸ These historians drew not only on a depth and range of published primary sources that surpassed those employed by the homophile movement, but also on the production of oral histories and sustained archival research, often gathering the materials directly from LGBT elders or working in association with the new community-based archives. As Susan Ferentinos notes, “The field of LGBT history owes a great debt to these mostly amateur community historians, for they saw the need to collect the history long before mainstream archives, and these early efforts form essential contributions to the historical collections of today. In a similar vein, many of the earliest books on LGBT history in the United States were written by historians (professionally trained or otherwise) who were unaffiliated with universities.”⁶⁹

A major independent scholar whose work emerged in this milieu is historian Jonathan Ned Katz, who conducted much of his early research at the Bobst Library at New York University in the years before LGBTQ community libraries and archives were founded.⁷⁰ “My work on gay history began with my play *Coming Out*, produced by the Gay Activists Alliance, NYC, in June 1972, and reproduced the following year,” Katz recalls. “There was also a Boston production, I guess in 1973. The play used documents of LGBT history for dramatic purposes. The attention the play

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

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

⁶⁹ Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 22.

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

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

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

⁷¹ Jonathan Ned Katz, e-mail to the author, May 7, 2015. Also see Jonathan Katz, *Coming Out! A Documentary Play About Gay Life and Liberation in the U.S.A.* (New York: Arno Press, 1975), which includes an introduction by the author recounting the productions of the play, along with a selection of reviews and news coverage, and Jonathan Ned Katz, “Recalling My Play ‘Coming Out!’ June 1972,” OutHistory.org, last modified September 3, 2013, accessed June 8, 2015.

http://outhistory.org/oldwiki/Jonathan_Ned_Katz,_Recalling_My_Play_%22Coming_Out!%22_June_1972. These sources note that *Coming Out!* was first presented at the Gay Activist Alliance Firehouse at 99 Wooster Street. The building now houses a watch store on the ground floor. It is located in the SoHo-Cast Iron Historic District, listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on June 29, 1978.

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

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



and long out-of-print titles and brought unpublished original scholarship into print.⁷⁴

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

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

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

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

⁷⁷ Gayle Rubin, “Blood Under the Bridge: Reflections on ‘Thinking Sex,’” in Rubin, *Deviations*, 198. Brenda Marston reports that such obstacles continued into the next decade: when she was a graduate student hoping to study lesbian history at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in the early 1980s, an adviser told her, “It will ruin your career.” See Brenda Marston, “Archivists, Activists, and Scholars: Creating a Queer History,” in Carmichael, ed., *Daring to Find Our Names*, 137.

opened the way for three more PhDs in the field in the 1980s, earned by John D'Emilio, Michael Lombardi, and George Chauncey.⁷⁸

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

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

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

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

⁸⁰ Rictor Norton, “The Homosexual Literary Tradition: An Interpretation,” PhD diss., Florida State University, Tallahassee, 1972; the dissertation formed the basis for Norton's book *The Homosexual Literary Tradition: An Interpretation* (New York: Revisionist Press, 1974). Norton notes that he spent much of his time as a grad student at FSU's Strozier Library, located on campus at 116 Honors Way, Tallahassee, Florida; Norton, e-mail to the author, June 4, 2015.

⁸¹ For a brief biography of Norton, a list of his publications, and links to many of his articles, see Gay History & Literature: Essays by Rictor Norton, updated August 22, 2015, accessed June 10, 2015, <http://rictornorton.co.uk>.

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



history seminar at USC in 1976.⁸³ He later taught gay history at San Francisco State University, but did not obtain a permanent academic post; when he died of AIDS in 1990, he had been working for several years as a journalist and community educator on HIV.⁸⁴

The third American doctoral dissertation that discusses the history of homosexuality is the work of Ramón Gutiérrez, a graduate student in the History Department at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, from 1974 to 1980.⁸⁵ Although in part addressing the ethnohistory of American Indians that previously had attracted the attention of homophile organizers, Gutiérrez dropped their approach to same-sex desire and nonnormative gender expression as isolated phenomena; instead, he integrates them into his analysis of larger systems of sex, gender, marriage, and family in colonial New Mexico from the late seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century.⁸⁶ In contrast to Norton and Licata, Gutiérrez built an academic career and now holds an endowed chair in history at the University of Chicago.⁸⁷

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

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

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

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

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

⁸⁷ See the faculty homepage of Ramón A. Gutiérrez, University of Chicago website, accessed June 10, 2015, <https://history.uchicago.edu/directory/ram%C3%B3n-guti%C3%A9rrez>.

Madeline D. Davis, and Avra Michelson.⁸⁸ They jointly conceived an initiative to record oral histories of the Buffalo lesbian community, create an accessible archive of the interviews and supporting documents, and write a book based on the materials. With other collaborators over time, including Wanda Edwards (1955–1995), an African American graduate student, the project continued for fourteen years, capturing memories reflecting the diversity of gender expression, race, and urban territories among the city's working-class lesbians before 1970.⁸⁹ Kennedy and Davis ultimately produced a book drawn from the work of the project: *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (1993). Their introduction sums up the project in these words: "Uncovering our hidden history was a labor of love, and restoring this history to our community was a political responsibility."⁹⁰

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

⁸⁸ Kennedy was a professor of women's studies at the State University of New York; Buffalo; Davis was a librarian and lesbian activist who had returned to school to obtain a master's degree but did not pursue an academic career; Michelson had received a master's in American studies in 1976 but went on to work as an archivist. On Kennedy and Davis and on the Buffalo Women's Oral History Project in general, see Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993), xvi; and Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy, e-mail to the author, July 20, 2015. On Michelson's training and career, see Avra Michelson, "Description and Reference in the Age of Automation," *American Archivist* 50 (Spring 1987): 192. Kennedy lived in a rambling shingled house on a corner lot in the 300 block of Bryant Street in Buffalo at the time; see Kennedy, e-mail to the author, June 15, 2015. The structure is extant. Other sites associated with the project remain to be identified.

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

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

⁹¹ See Rubin, "Blood Under the Bridge," in Rubin, *Deviations*, 199–200; and John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, "Allan Bérubé and the Power of Community History," in D'Emilio and Freedman, eds., *My Desire for History*, 10–12. For the date the project was founded, see "San Francisco Gay History Project," typescript funding proposal (1978), 1; GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco), San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project Records (collection no. 1988-05), box 1, folder 1: "SFGHP Project Proposal 1978." Published sources based on the authors' recollections, by contrast, variously give the year as 1978 or 1979; see Rubin, *Deviations*, 362, note 57, and Escoffier, *American Homo*, 169. Note

member Allan Bérubé (1946–2007) in the Haight-Ashbury District (Figure 7) and occasionally sponsoring public presentations in community settings, the History Project remained active into the mid-1980s.⁹² John D’Emilio and Estelle Freedman, both of whom were members, recall that “remarkably, given the strong tendencies toward lesbian separatism in the 1970s, the project remained a mixed-sex group, although lesbians met separately as well as with the male participants. While almost entirely white, it also was a mixed-class group and one that defined itself as politically activist.”⁹³



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

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

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

⁹² Bérubé’s apartment was located on Lyon Street just south of the Panhandle of Golden Gate Park; see GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco), Allan Bérubé Papers (collection no. 1995-17), box 1, folder 7: “125 Lyon Street Apartment Papers.” The first public program sponsored by the project was a presentation of the slide show “Lesbian Masquerade” on June 21, 1979, at the Women’s Building of San Francisco, located at 3543 Eighteenth Street in the Mission District. See “Dear Friends,” promotional letter signed by Amber Hollibaugh and Allan Bérubé (June 1, 1979); GLBT Historical Society (San Francisco), San Francisco Lesbian and Gay History Project Papers (collection no. 1988-05), box 1, folder 2: “Publicity: Flyers, Articles, Events.”

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

The History of Queer History: One Hundred Years of the Search for Shared Heritage

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

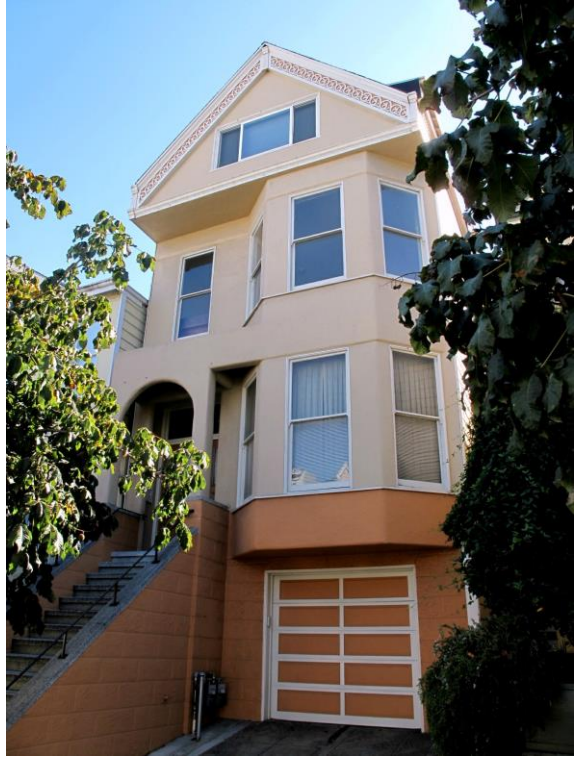


Figure 8: The collections of the GLBT Historical Society were housed in the apartment of co-founder Willie Walker in this building on Seventeenth Street in the Castro District in San Francisco from 1985 through 1990. Photo courtesy of photographer Gerard Koskovich, 2012.

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

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

⁹⁶ See Diana Kiyo Wakimoto, "Queer Community Archives in California Since 1950," PhD diss., Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia, 2012, 93–94. Also see Wyatt Buchanan,

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

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

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

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

⁹⁹ Gayle Rubin, e-mail to the author, February 2, 2016; and Rubin curriculum vitae, November 15, 2015, copy in possession of the author.

Coda: The Queer 1990s and Beyond

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

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

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

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



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

Drawing on the boom in dissertations as well as the ongoing research and writing of professors and independent scholars, the 1990s and 2000s also saw university presses and commercial publishers bring out a significant number of titles in the field of LGBTQ history. Reflecting insights from feminist studies, sexuality studies, ethnic studies, and queer studies, these publications often focus on the extent to which the forms and meanings of sexuality and gender change through time; on the intersectionality of experiences of sexuality, gender, race, immigration, and class; on questioning the concept of stable sexual and gender identities that form unitary communities; and on understanding same-sex desire, same-sex sexual activity, and nonnormative gender as aspects of systems of sex, gender, and power that structure society as a whole. In addition, the 1990s brought the first books from major commercial publishers addressing bisexual and transgender history: *Transgender Warriors: Making History from Joan of Arc to RuPaul* (1996) by transgender activist, journalist, and grassroots historian Leslie Feinberg (1949–2014), and *Vice Versa: Bisexuality and the Eroticism of Everyday Life* (1995) by Marjorie Garber, a professor of English at Harvard.¹⁰⁴

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

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

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

Beyond the academy, LGBTQ people continue looking for the self-affirmation offered by a shared heritage.¹⁰⁶ They are creating queer history projects and archives well beyond the metropolises customarily recognized as centers of LGBTQ culture.¹⁰⁷ In addition, they widely echo James Kepner's prescient warning of almost six decades ago that "ignoring the homosexual pieces in the puzzle" deprives society in general of vital knowledge. Academic historians, public historians, independent scholars, and activists today note that the LGBTQ past forms a meaningful part of history as a whole and emphasize that creating a heritage for LGBTQ people also means honoring a past that rightfully belongs in all its diversity to all Americans. Advocacy for inclusion of LGBTQ history in public

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

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

¹⁰⁶ For a striking example that echoes the search for heroes common to early LGBTQ folk historiography, see Sarah Prager, "Every LGBTQ+ Person Should Read This," *Huffington Post*, February 2, 2016, accessed February 29, 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/sarah-prager/every-lgbtq-person-should_b_8232316.html.

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



school curriculums is one setting where this approach is evident.¹⁰⁸ Another place where it is literally on display is exhibitions at LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ institutions such as libraries, historical societies, and museums.¹⁰⁹ And the field of historic preservation is now bringing the queer past to the attention of the wider public, a development forcefully demonstrated in the National Park Service's LGBTQ Heritage Initiative of which the present publication is a key component.

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

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