

National Park Service
Department of the Interior

Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science

2016

National Park Service
CENTENNIAL

LGBTQ AMERICA

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

Edited by Megan E. Springate



Published online 2016

www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm

LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History is a publication of the [National Park Foundation](#) and the [National Park Service](#).

We are very grateful for the generous support of the [Gill Foundation](#), which has made this publication possible.

The views and conclusions contained in the essays are those of the authors and should not be interpreted as representing the opinions or policies of the U.S. Government. Mention of trade names or commercial products does not constitute their endorsement by the U.S. Government.

© 2016 National Park Foundation
Washington, DC

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reprinted or reproduced without permission from the publishers.

Links (URLs) to websites referenced in this document were accurate at the time of publication.

INTRODUCTION

The chapters in the Introduction section give context to the rest of the theme study. This is the context for the contexts, as it were. This section gives background on the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative and provides a broad social history of LGBTQ in America. The ideas in this introductory section will resonate throughout the rest of the theme study.

02 INTRODUCTION TO THE LGBTQ HERITAGE INITIATIVE THEME STUDY

Megan E. Springate

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

– Adrienne Rich¹

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

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

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

The Initiative

Among its many programs, the NPS manages both the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and National Historic Landmarks (NHL). These programs recognize those places across the United States and its territories and possessions that have significance to our history; they are “America’s Memory Keepers.” Both of these programs are place-based; buildings or structures or archeological sites must still exist with some level of integrity; to paraphrase Gertrude Stein, there needs to be a “there” there.² The NRHP recognizes historical significance at local, state, and national levels while the NHL program acknowledges exceptional national significance. The NRHP and NHL programs are not designed to be memorial or intangible heritage programs, and many other ways of commemorating truly lost history and heritage exist.³

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

³ Other means include oral histories, archives, walking tours, signage through municipal or other heritage programs, online exhibits, etc. See also Jessie McClurg, *Alternative Forms of Historic Designation: A Study of Neighborhood Conservation Districts in the United States* (Minneapolis, MN: Neighborhood Partnerships for Community Research, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, 2012); National Park Service, National Heritage Areas website, accessed October 27, 2015, <http://www.nps.gov/heritageareas>; James Michael Buckley and Donna Graves, “Using the Past in the Present: Contemporary Neighborhood Planning and Preservation of Diverse Social and Cultural Histories,” paper presented at the Society for American City and Regional Planning History, Los Angeles, California, November 2015.

In recent years, the NPS has acknowledged that the important histories and stories of many Americans are underrepresented in the NRHP and NHL programs.⁴ This lack of representation (and the fact that the NPS is now working to address it) is the result of historical and structural forces in American history and historiography that have foregrounded the elite and powerful in celebrations of the predominantly white men who are popularly perceived as the driving forces behind the exploration, settlement, expansion, and military and political success of the United States.⁵ This focus influenced nominations submitted to the NRHP and NHL programs and therefore the types of properties that are represented. It was not until the new social history that began in the 1960s became more widespread in both academia and cultural resource management that historians began to focus on the rich, complex, and important histories of “those of little note”: non-male, non-citizen, non-wealthy, non-Protestant, non-heterosexual, and non-white (and various combinations of these identities). In the last generation or so, this shift in historical focus has resulted in an increase in NRHP and NHL properties representing a broader diversity in American history and heritage, but that increase has been relatively slow.

In late 1999, the US Congress passed the National Park System New Area Study Act of 2000, which instructed the Secretary of the Interior to direct a series of special resource studies, including one focusing on civil rights sites on a multistate level. The resulting Civil Rights Framework was completed in 2002 (rev. 2008) and called for projects addressing the underrepresentation of certain groups in the NRHP and NHL programs, including a specific call for work on LGBTQ heritage (Figure 1).⁶ In 2010, NPS staff member Dr. Turkiya L. Lowe contacted State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs) across the country regarding lesbian, gay,

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

⁵ See, for example, Howard Zinn, *A People’s History of the United States* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980).

⁶ National Park Service, *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2008), iii. In addition to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, there are also the Latino/Latina Heritage Initiative, the Women’s History Initiative, and the Asian American-Pacific Islander Heritage Initiative, see National Park Service, *Your Story is America’s Story*.

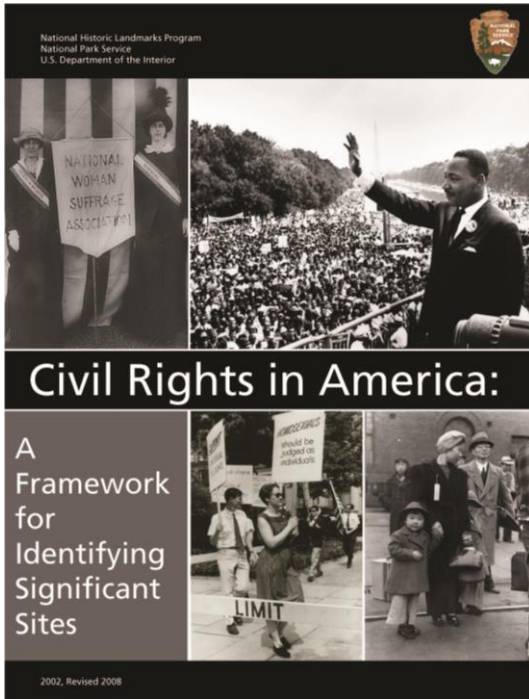


Figure 1: Cover of the NPS Civil Rights framework, *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites*.

bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) places that might be eligible for inclusion on the NRHP or as NHLs. Dr. Lowe received several replies; the project stalled when she took on different responsibilities within the NPS.

Beginning in 2012, I began working with Dr. Barbara Little at the NPS, communicating with LGBTQ community members and preservationists to identify places across the country with LGBTQ history and heritage. Plotting these places on a map, it quickly

became clear that the map was a powerful, yet intuitive, tool demonstrating both the broad geographic breadth of LGBTQ history in the United States (a history not confined to the “Gay Meccas” of New York City and San Francisco) and the “gaps” where additional research and community outreach was needed. The map has become a main product and tool of the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, providing people a way to see themselves and their communities represented, as well as a starting point for LGBTQ researchers.⁷

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

⁷ National Park Service website, “Places with LGBTQ Heritage,”

<http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageinitiatives/LGBTHistory/places.html>

⁸ The Gill Foundation provides grants to further LGBTQ civil rights in the United States, see

<http://gillfoundation.org>.

end of May 2014, Secretary of the Interior Sally Jewell stood outside Stonewall in New York City and announced the initiative,⁹ and on June 10, 2014 a panel of over twenty LGBTQ scholars convened in Washington, DC, to kick off the initiative, define its goals, and discuss the direction and content of its core product: the theme study.¹⁰ Theme studies provide an historic context that allows the identification of significant properties in the context of the NRHP and NHL programs, provide important background information for other research efforts, and can be used to educate the public both directly and by shaping interpretation at historic sites.

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

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

¹⁰ Members of the scholars' roundtable were: Dr. Katie Batza, Assistant Professor of Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies, University of Kansas; Dr. Eliza Byard, Executive Director, Gay, Lesbian & Straight Education Network (GLSEN); Ms. Paloma Bolasny, Historian, NPS Cultural Resources Office of Outreach and Coordinator, Cultural Resources Diversity Internship Program; Dr. Drew Bourn, Historian and Archivist, Stanford University; Dr. Nan Alamilla Boyd, Professor of Women and Gender Studies, San Francisco State University; Dr. Julio Capó, Jr., Assistant Professor, Department of History and the Commonwealth Honors College, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; Dr. John D'Emilio, Professor (retired) of Gender & Women's Studies and History, University of Illinois at Chicago; Dr. Petra L. Doan, Professor of Urban and Regional Planning, Florida State University; Dr. Jen Jack Giesekeing, Postdoctoral Fellow in New Media & Data Visualization in the Digital and Computational Studies Initiative, Bowdoin College (now Assistant Professor of Public Humanities in American Studies, Trinity College, CT); Dr. Christina B. Hanhardt, Associate Professor, Department of American Studies, University of Maryland at College Park; Dr. Jamie Jacobs, NPS Historian, Historic American Buildings Survey and National Historic Landmarks Program; Mr. Gerard Koskovich, Historian, San Francisco, CA; Dr. Barbara Little, Program Manager, NPS Cultural Resources Office of Outreach; Dr. Alexandra Lord, Branch Chief, NPS National Historic Landmarks Program (now Chair and Curator, Medicine and Science Division, National Museum of American History, DC); Ms. Paula Martinac, Writer and Editor, NC; Mr. Mark Meinke, Community Preservationist and Historian, VA; Dr. La Shonda Mims, Lecturer, Towson University; Mr. Stephen Morris, Chief, NPS Office of International Affairs; Dr. Pat O'Brien, Cultural Resource Specialist, NPS Intermountain Region Desert Southwest Ecosystems Studies Unit; Dr. Will Roscoe, Community Organizer and Historian, San Francisco, CA; Ms. Megan Springate, PhD candidate, University of Maryland at College Park and Prime Consultant to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative; Ms. Shayne Watson, Architectural Historian, Oakland, CA. This scholars' round table was chaired by Dr. Stephen Pitti, Director, Ethnicity, Race, and Migration Program and Professor, American Studies and History, Yale University and Chair of the National Historic Landmarks Committee of the National Park System Advisory Board.

to acknowledge the importance of groups like Queer Nation who influenced the trajectory of both LGBTQ and national histories in part through their reclaiming of the word, as well as to have the initiative be explicitly inclusive of those who, for personal or political reasons, do not feel represented by lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender identifiers.¹¹ Since early 2014, the four goals of the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative have been:

- To increase the number of listings of LGBTQ-associated properties in the National Register of Historic Places, including amendments to current listings;
- To identify, document, and nominate LGBTQ-associated National Historic Landmarks, including amendments to current designations;
- To engage scholars and community members who work to identify, research, and tell the stories of LGBTQ associated properties and to preserve and nominate properties for appropriate levels of recognition; and
- To encourage national park units, National Heritage Areas, and other affiliated areas to interpret associated LGBTQ stories.

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

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

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

LGBTQ Places Currently Listed on the NRHP and NHL

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

- Stonewall, New York City, New York (listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; designated as Stonewall National Monument—an NPS unit—on June 24, 2016). On June 28, 1969, in what was a continuation of a long pattern of harassment of LGBTQ bars, police once again raided the Stonewall Inn. Frustrated, patrons fought back against the police, spilling out into the street and nearby Christopher Park. The Stonewall Rebellion (also known as Stonewall Riots, and Stonewall) continued through July 3, 1969. While not the first example of resistance by LGBTQ people in the face of police harassment, Stonewall is recognized as a turning point in the modern LGBTQ rights movement. Pride celebrations are held in June every year in commemoration of Stonewall.¹³
- Henry Gerber House, Chicago, Illinois (designated an NHL on June 19, 2015). From his home, Henry Gerber co-founded and ran the Society for Human Rights, the first gay rights society in the United States. The organization lasted from 1924 to 1925, and was suspended after an episode of police harassment. Afterwards,

¹³ The Stonewall nomination encompasses the Stonewall Inn at 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York as well as the surrounding streets and park. David Carter, Andrew Scott Dolkart, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, National Historic Landmark Nomination: Stonewall (Waterford, NY: New York Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, 1999).

Gerber continued to work for LGBTQ rights, and influenced homophile activists of the 1950s and 1960s, including Harry Hay, one of the founders of the Mattachine Society.¹⁴

- Dr. Franklin E. Kameny House, Washington, DC (listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011). Known as “the father of gay activism,” Dr. Franklin E. Kameny was one of the leaders of a newly militant activism in the gay civil rights movement of the 1960s, and was co-founder of the Mattachine Society in DC. From his home in Northwest Washington, DC, Kameny fought for civil rights in federal employment, criminal law, and security clearance cases, and for removing homosexuality from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual*.¹⁵
- Cherry Grove Community House & Theatre, Cherry Grove, Fire Island, New York (listed on the NRHP on June 4, 2013). The Cherry Grove Community House and Theatre played a significant role in shaping Cherry Grove into “America’s First Gay and Lesbian Town.” The Community House was the home of the Cherry Grove Property Owners Association, organized in 1944 to serve the needs of this beach colony. The theater was added to the building in 1948. The association influenced the community’s development, and actively facilitated the integration of LGBTQ residents into the town’s governing affairs. LGBTQ individuals and groups shaped Cherry Grove’s geography in a period in which that could not be said for any other city or town in the United States.¹⁶

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

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

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

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



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

about the relationship between Merrill and Jackson and how that relationship and their lives in Stonington, Connecticut affected Merrill's poetry.¹⁷

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

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

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

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

- Bayard Rustin Residence, New York City, New York (listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016). Bayard Rustin moved into this apartment in 1962 and lived here until his death in 1987. His residency included the time he spent

organizing the August 28, 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom in Washington, DC. He also helped to create and lead the A. Philip Randolph Institute, an important trade union organization, as well as various other human rights and advocacy organizations and causes in the United States and throughout the world. In 1977, Rustin's partner Walter Naegle, moved into the apartment with him.²¹

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

²² Julius is located at 159 West 10th Street, New York City, New York. Andrew S. Dolkart with Amada Davis, Ken Lustbader, and Jay Shockley, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form: Julius' (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016).

public protest, and assistance to the local LGBTQ community. They disbanded in 1976.²³

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

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

The Importance of Being Seen

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

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

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

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

everyone's past."²⁶ This includes the past of LGBTQ people, whose lives and experiences have in some cases, been actively erased (Figure 5).



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

The importance of being seen and included in the nation's "official" histories represented by NRHP and NHL listings cannot be overstated. Studies show that when positive portrayal of populations (including LGBTQ, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinas/Latinos) are excluded from popular narratives (like cultural sites, television shows, museum exhibits, and textbooks), members of those groups suffer lower self-esteem.²⁷ Seeing oneself as part of the story, as part of history, is

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁸ Hayden, *Power of Place*, 8.

²⁹ GLSEN, *Teaching Respect*.

³⁰ Rich, *Invisibility*, 200-201. This sentiment also applies to genders beyond male and female, including intersex, genderqueer, third- and fourth-genders, etc.

³¹ Being cis-gendered means that a person’s gender identity and expression matches the gender they were assigned at birth.

and silenced those whose bodies, histories, or ethical orientations refused dominant models.³²

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

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

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

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

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

to It.”³⁶ The Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence, a group that uses religious iconography and symbolism to critique and expose bigotry and hypocrisy is also an example of a more radical approach.

Several LGBTQ authors have addressed the cost of assimilationist respectability politics. Urvashi Vaid argues that this forgetting, this exclusion or leaving behind of those who do not “fit in” does not lead to actual advances in LGBTQ rights. True social transformation, she argues, is inclusive, and does not leave people out.³⁷ O’Neill writes that “anyone who values diversity of thought and tolerance of dissent should find the sweeping consensus on gay marriage terrifying.”³⁸

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

“Advances,” such as gay marriage and the increasing media visibility of well-heeled gays and lesbians threatens to obscure the continuing denigration and dismissal of queer existence....Given the new opportunities available to *some* gays and lesbians, the temptation is to forget—to forget the outrages and humiliations of gay and lesbian history and to ignore the ongoing suffering of those not borne up by the rising tide of gay normalization—is stronger than ever.³⁹

“Respectability, not flamboyance,” writes Melinda Chateauvert, “is the central theme of the recent focus on marriage equality, full military service, and an end to employment discrimination against gay men and lesbians.”⁴⁰

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

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

³⁸ O’Neill, *Gay Marriage*.

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

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



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

Entrenched almost invisibly in how we remember ourselves, respectability politics have shaped and colored much of what has been remembered as LGBTQ history. For example, narratives of the Stonewall Riots often celebrate the defiance of gays (and sometimes lesbians) in the face of police harassment without mentioning that many of the bar's patrons, like Sylvia Ray Rivera and Marsha P. ("Pay It No Mind") Johnson, were people of color, hustlers, transgender people, and sex workers.⁴¹ Rivera and Johnson were "not respectable queers, nor were they poster-children for the modern image of 'gay' or

'transgender.' They were poor, gender-variant women of color, street-based sex workers, with confrontational, revolutionary politics and, in contrast to the often abstract and traditionally political activists... focused on the immediate concerns of the most oppressed gay populations."⁴² They were heavily involved throughout their lives advocating for LGBTQ rights and with the group, Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR), which offered a nightly refuge for LGBTQ street youth (Figure 6). This project, funded largely by the adults hustling, was a pioneering effort in providing outreach, resources, and safety for homeless transgender and queer youth.⁴³ This history of Stonewall is, more often than not, left out

⁴¹ Chateauvert, *Sex Workers*, 9.

⁴² Nothin, *Queens Against Society*, 6.

⁴³ For two or three years during the 1970s, Sylvia Rivera and Marsha Johnson rented a building at 213 East 2nd Street, New York City (now demolished). Known colloquially as STAR House, they ran it as a safe place for homeless, queer, and transgender kids to live: "Marsha and I just decided it was time to help each other and help our other kids. We fed people and clothed people. We kept the building going. We went out and hustled the streets. We paid the rent. We didn't want the kids out in the

and silenced out of a conviction that “heroes must be noble and virtuous, worthy of acceptance by straight America.”⁴⁴ Likewise, the importance of individuals like Chuck Renslow have been excluded from the dominant narrative of LGBTQ history, likely due to his identity as a leatherman. There is no question, however, that Renslow has played a significant role in LGBTQ history, both in Chicago and on a national stage. He has been deeply invested in Chicago’s gay community from the middle of the twentieth century as the owner of numerous businesses including bars and publications. He has also been heavily involved in politics, both in Chicago under mayors beginning with Richard J. Daley, and nationally, running as a delegate for Senator Ted Kennedy’s 1980 presidential run just three years after dancing with another man at an inaugural ball for Jimmy Carter in 1977. He was involved with Kinsey’s sex research, battled Anita Bryant, and fought censorship and entrapment.⁴⁵

Historians and community activists increasingly insist that more complete and diverse LGBTQ histories must be recorded and told, and they are doing the work.⁴⁶ One of the key philosophies underlying the theme study is that a full understanding of American LGBTQ history is only possible when the histories of the multiple communities that fall under the LGBTQ umbrella—and not just the “respectable” histories and not just the white, largely male, homosexual, middle-class, and urban histories—are included.

Structure of the Theme Study

Initially presented with a draft structure for the theme study that was organized chronologically (pre-Stonewall, Stonewall to AIDS, AIDS and

streets hustling.” See Sylvia Rivera, “‘I’m Glad I was in the Stonewall Riot’: An interview with Sylvia Rivera,” in *Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries*, 13.

⁴⁴ Chateauvert, *Sex Workers*, 9-10.

⁴⁵ Tracy Baim and Owen Keehnen, *Leatherman: The Legend of Chuck Renslow* (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Productions, 2011).

⁴⁶ See, for example, William Leap, ed., *Public Sex / Gay Space* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Patrick Moore, *Beyond Shame: Reclaiming the Abandoned History of Radical Gay Sexuality* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004); Love, *Feeling Backward*; Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press, 2008); Baim and Keehnen, *Leatherman*; Vaid, *Irresistible Revolution*; and Chateauvert, *Sex Workers*.

Activism), the scholars' panel quickly rejected this as reflecting only a very particular LGBTQ history: one predominantly white, male, middle-class, and urban. The current structure and content of the theme study reflects this critique. It is now organized into six sections: Introduction, Preserving LGBTQ History, Inclusive Stories, Themes, Places, and Legacy. Subject matter experts were commissioned to write chapters, and each chapter was peer reviewed by two additional subject matter experts.⁴⁷ A description of each section and the chapters in each are as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Legacy: People engage with history in many ways beyond just reading books and reports. This section begins with an introduction to nominating

LGBTQ places to the NRHP and to the NHL program. Chapters on interpreting LGBTQ history at historic sites and teaching LGBTQ history in the classroom complete this section. These chapters are designed to be resources for those writing and reviewing nominations. They can also be used by those who do applied history work and who wish to incorporate LGBTQ history and heritage into their programs, lessons, exhibits, and courses. This can include NPS interpreters, museum staff, teachers, professors, and parents.

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

Methodological Approaches

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



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

⁴⁸ License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/63894475@N00/335576385/>. This shop was located at 39 Baltimore Avenue, Rehoboth Beach, Delaware.

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

Telling LGBTQ History Using Place

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



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

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

⁴⁹ License: CC BY 2.0.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:LGBT_community_center_Northside.jpg. The community center was located at 4119 Hamilton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.

residences, neighborhood-level location information is given instead of street addresses in order to protect the privacy of occupants.

Commitment to Community

The LGBTQ Heritage Initiative has been largely a grassroots effort, with community support and contributions which have fueled the project and very often changed its trajectory. It is important that the products of the Initiative be as useful as possible for the communities they are meant to serve. These communities include heritage professionals, LGBTQ community members and activists, teachers, interpreters, and other members of the public. Authors of the theme study have been asked to write for a general public, and to avoid (or define) technical terms that are not commonly used. While most theme studies have focused solely on the NHL program, the LGBTQ theme study has a broader scope and incorporates information about the National Register of Historic Places so that individuals can think about nominating places important to their local and state communities, as well as those with national NRHP or NHL eligibility. A commitment to community also recognizes that under the LGBTQ umbrella are many communities, defined by many different overlapping and intersectional identities (ethnicity, geographic location, gender, socioeconomic status, etc.).⁵⁰ In order to provide the most complete context possible, the often very divergent histories of these many communities must be acknowledged and included.⁵¹

Multiple Voices

Gumbo ya-ya, or multiple voices talking at once, is an approach to “doing” intersectionality proposed by historian Elsa Barkley Brown.⁵² With many voices speaking at once, she argues, the whole becomes accessible.

⁵⁰ See Springate (Intersectionality; this volume) for a more in-depth discussion of this topic.

⁵¹ See, for example, Love, *Feeling Backward*; Vaid, *Irresistible Revolution*; and Susan Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015).

⁵² Elsa Barkley Brown, “What Has Happened Here”: The Politics of Difference in Women’s History and Feminist Politics,” *Feminist Studies* 18, no. 2 (1992): 295-312.

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

Identity

A key issue faced by the theme study was ensuring that how people identified themselves in the past (and identify themselves in the present) is honored. The concept of identity itself is historically situated; our modern ideas of identity have their roots in specific historical processes including state formation, colonialism, capitalism, and individualism.⁵³ Identities are complex, personal and collective, created through experiences and imposed from without. They are about both being

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



different than or alienated from some people, and about belonging with, or the same as, others.⁵⁴ Hayden argues that place nurtures profound cultural belonging.⁵⁵ “Identity,” she writes, “is intimately tied to memory: both our personal memories (where we have come from and where we have dwelt) and the collective or social memories interconnected with the histories of our families, neighbors, fellow workers, and ... communities.”⁵⁶ This shared history can convey a sense of belonging and of civic identity.⁵⁷ Heather Love envisions the relationship between identity and the past and memory as a conversation: “Identity accounts not only for the shape of the past but also for the feelings that we continue to have about that past. It is in large part because we recognize figures, emotions, and images from the past as like ourselves that we feel their effects so powerfully.”⁵⁸ The power of place and memory in the formation and validation of identities make it important to ensure that the diversity of the LGBTQ communities are represented by place in the context of the theme study.

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



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

⁵⁴ Voss, *Ethnogenesis*, 13-14.

⁵⁵ Hayden, *Power of Place*.

⁵⁶ Hayden, *Power of Place*, 9.

⁵⁷ Hayden, *Power of Place*, 9-11.

⁵⁸ Love, *Feeling Backward*, 45.

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

individuals out of the past to validate contemporary LGBTQ identities, it is inappropriate to foist an identity on those who did not or could not identify themselves in the same way.⁶⁰ For example, a woman in the early twentieth century could not have identified herself as a lesbian (first used as a noun in 1925), just as someone before the late twentieth century would not have identified using the word transgender (first appearing in 1988). The word homosexual itself was not used until the turn of the twentieth century when it was introduced and defined by the psychological profession. Some people, regardless of time period, also lived their lives quietly, hidden, or closeted, not identifying publicly as anything other than heterosexual or avoiding discussion of their private lives (Figure 9). There may also be no “proof” if same-gender individuals were intimate with each other, and our only evidence may be rumor and willful silences when being out was dangerous:⁶¹

This hearsay evidence—inadmissible in court, unacceptable to some historians—is essential to the recuperation of queer histories. The age-old squelching of our words and desires can be replicated when we adhere to ill-suited and unbending standards of historical methodology.⁶²

To address those cases where people have not self-identified, theme study authors have been instructed to write about the relationships important in their subjects’ lives. While intimate behavior is often seen as a defining characteristic, many people knew they were (and are) gay, lesbian, bisexual, or queer before, or without ever, having sexual relationships. In addition, there may be no specific documentary evidence of intimate relationships.⁶³ One such example is Jane Addams, founder of

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

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

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

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

the Hull House settlement in Chicago.⁶⁴ Addams and her staff and volunteers did groundbreaking work from the late nineteenth century, helping immigrant and working-class communities at a time when there were very few, if any, public social services. Whether Addams identified as a homosexual is debated; what is clear, however, is that her relationships with Ellen Gates Starr and Mary Rozet Smith were primary in her life. There is no evidence of her relationships with men, and she never married.⁶⁵

Difficult Histories

Difficult LGBTQ histories include discussions about sex and sexuality,

as well as painful topics like violence. Although not explicit, the theme study does include places associated with LGBTQ sex and intimacy. Where the very definition of what it means to be lesbian, gay, queer, or bisexual is based on attraction and intimacy, sex cannot be ignored.

Places of public or illicit sex, like cruising grounds, bathhouses,



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

⁶⁴ Hull House is located at 800 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965.

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

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

and clubs are included throughout; when it was illegal to be intimate with someone of the same gender, communities was made and found at the margins (Figure 10).

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

Conclusion

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

⁶⁷ Love, *Feeling Backward*, 3.

⁶⁸ Love, *Feeling Backward*, 1, 45.

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

This theme study aims to connect the complex, multivocal histories of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer people to American history more broadly, and to places and landscapes in particular. These connections form the framework for identifying, protecting, and interpreting places with LGBTQ histories, and for (where appropriate) nominating properties to the NRHP and as NHLs. As a framework for this work, the completion of this theme study is only a beginning to increasing LGBTQ representation in NPS programs and American history more broadly.