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GBTG MERICA A THEME STUDY OF LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, RANSGENDER, and QUEER HISTORY

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THEMES

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

SEX, LOVE, AND RELATIONSHIPS

Tracy Baim

Parks. Bathhouses. Bars. Piers. Private homes. The YMCA. Tearooms. Hotels. Motels. Teepees. Igloos. Bungalows. Softball fields. Department stores. Campgrounds. Picket lines. Lover's lanes. Forest preserves. Prisons. Tattoo parlors. Brothels. Barracks. Music festivals. Personal ads. Websites. Gyms. Smartphones. Street corners. These are some of the places where LGBTQ people have found each other.

Long-term relationships. Chosen family. One-night stands. Hook ups. Friends-with-benefits. Anonymous. Monogamous. Polyamorous. Open. Dating. Committed. Married. Single. Celibate. Companion. Sperm donor. Adoptive parent(s). Surrogate mother. Single parent. Co-parent. These are some of the types of families and relationships that LGBTQ people have.

The history of sex, love, and relationships among the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, two spirit, and otherwise sexual and gender minority communities in the United States is as varied and complex as that of their mainstream peers. And yet, LGBTQ people are defined primarily by their sexuality and gender expression. It is in terms of these identities that "we mark ourselves as different from the dominant society—

and are marked by others as a deviant and marginalized social group."¹ Because of this, many historians have consciously and unconsciously chosen to elide, erase, or ignore the lives and experiences of sexual and gender minorities even when evidence of them was present. This means that to write about LGBTQ sex, love, and relationships, we need to refocus our lens to see what has been obscured. We also have to be very clear about how LGBTQ define these terms, and be aware that these definitions may differ or may even not apply for every lesbian, gay man, bisexual, transgender, or queer person.

We do know that same-sex love and gender nonconformity have been with us throughout US history and during pre-European contact and colonial times. But how those have been defined and documented has shifted considerably in recent decades, causing modern-day historians to struggle with labeling people who mostly shunned such labels, or who had different or more secret ways to define themselves. We also must be alert for the many code words that LGBTQ people used among themselves, as well as the epithets that others used against them: "confirmed bachelor," "Friend of Dorothy," "freak," "batting for the other side," "third sex." Author Larry Kramer in his novel *The American People* uses the phrase "hushmarked" to define the hidden world of homosexual American colonists and pioneers.² It is as good a word to start with as any.

Kramer and others have rightfully pointed out the lunacy of the contortions some historians have gone through to avoid giving their subjects a hint of what British Lord Alfred Douglas called "the love that dare not speak its name."³ They in effect are rewriting history by leaving out important aspects of their subjects' lives, or outright denying key facts. They try to mask things in historical "context" by explaining away grown

³ Lord Alfred Douglas, "Two Loves" (poem), *The Chameleon* 1, no. 1 (December 1894), accessed April 15, 2016,



¹ Susan Stryker and Jim Van Buskirk, *Gay by the Bay: A History of Queer Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1996), 5.

² Larry Kramer, The American People, Volume 1: Search for My Heart, A Novel (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015).



men sleeping together in the same bed for years, as with Abraham Lincoln and Joshua Speed who shared a home in Springfield, Illinois before Lincoln became President.⁵ They dismiss as gossip the intimate nature of First

Figure 1: Emily Dickinson House, Amherst, Massachusetts, 2008. Photo by Daderot. $\!\!\!^4$

Lady Eleanor Roosevelt's long relationship with journalist Lorena Hickok; the two traveled extensively together, but did not cohabit.⁶ They also dismiss the relationships of women living decades under the same roof

⁴ License: Public Domain.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Emily_Dickinson_Museum,_Amherst,_MA_-_front.JPG

⁵ See, for example, C. A. Tripp, The Intimate World of Abraham Lincoln (New York: Free Press, 2005). ⁶ For example, Lorena Hickok and Eleanor Roosevelt spent a night together at the Mayflower Hotel, 1127 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC. The Mayflower Hotel was listed on the NRHP on November 14, 1983. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover is reported to have met his long-time male companion, FBI Associate Director Clyde Tolson, at the Mayflower almost every workday for almost forty years. Upon Hoover's death, Tolson inherited his estate, including Hoover's home in the Forest Hills neighborhood of Washington, DC. See Richard M. Cohen, "FBI's Clyde A. Tolson, 74, Dies," Washington Post, April 15, 1975, C6. While Tolson and Hoover were acknowledged to be very close, historians debate whether Hoover had sexual relationships with men. See, for example, Anthony Summers, Official and Confidential: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover (New York: Pocket Books, 1993); Richard Hack, Puppetmaster: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover (Beverly Hills, CA: New Millennium Press, 2004). For a nuanced discussion about the role of gossip in considering Hoover's sexuality (and historical sexualities more broadly) see Claire Bond Potter, "Queer Hoover: Sex, Lies, and Political History," Journal of the History of Sexuality 15, no. 3 (September 2006): 355-381. For similar discussions in other contexts, see Victoria Bissell Brown, "Queer or Not: What Jane Addams Teaches Us about Not Knowing," in Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads, eds. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 63-75; and Judith M. Bennett, "Lesbian-Like' and the Social History of Lesbianisms," Journal of the History of Sexuality 9, no. 1/2 (January-April 2000): 1-24.

and sharing everything together, as with Jane Addams and Mary Rozet Smith at Hull House in Chicago, Illinois.⁷

In some cases, the subjects themselves did not want the scrutiny of history on their relationships. Men thought to be homosexual could be put to death, subjected to corporal punishment, or in the very least, ostracized and shunned from society. Lesbians in some places may not have been publicly prosecuted (same-sex relationships between women were not necessarily a state crime or considered a crime against nature), but lesbians, gender nonconforming people, and bisexuals did endure extralegal punishment, including rape, to set them "straight." The social stigma associated with same-sex love and gender nonconforming behavior led to thick closet doors throughout much of the history of the United States. In some cases, letters, photos, and other physical evidence were destroyed. Poet Emily Dickinson never married, but letters from her to her sister-in-law Susan Huntington Dickinson are clearly romantic, passionate, and erotic (even though portions of the letters have been literally cut out, and there have been suggestions that editors of her writings changed some of her pronoun use from female to male; Figure 1). Susan's letters were destroyed upon Emily's death-perhaps by her husband, Emily's brother, Austin-and so the full story of their relationship can never be known.8 In other cases, relationships were straight-washed or not mentioned, and people even married opposite-sex people (a type of marriage of convenience known as lavender marriages) to conform to a strict moral code enforced by family, neighbors, police, and the courts.9

⁹ There are also terms for those who have married homosexuals or who accompany them on "dates" to hide their homosexuality: women with gay men have been known as "beards;" men with lesbians have been known as "purses." Not all LGBTQ opposite-sex marriages are marriages of convenience; many are for love, companionship, to raise children, for financial security, or for any of a myriad of



⁷ Hull House is located at 800 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965.

⁸ Ellen Louise Hart and Martha Nell Smith, eds., Open Me Carefully: Emily Dickinson's Intimate Letters to Susan Huntington Dickinson (Ashfield, MA: Paris Press, 1998); Alix North, "Emily Dickinson 1830-1886," Isle of Lesbos website, accessed April 16, 2016,

http://www.sappho.com/poetry/e_dickin.html. The home where Emily Dickinson lived and worked, the Dickinson Homestead, is located at 280 Main Street, Amherst, Massachusetts. It was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962. It, and The Evergreens—the home next door that belonged to Susan and Austin Dickinson—comprise the Dickinson Historic District, listed on the NRHP on August 16, 1977.

Actor Rock Hudson, leading man and heartthrob of postwar America was one of many semi-closeted gay men, bisexuals, and lesbians in Hollywood (insiders knew who was gay, but the general public did not). In 1955, Hudson married his agent's secretary, Phyllis Gates, just as *Confidential* magazine threatened to publicly expose Hudson's homosexuality. They divorced three years later. When Hudson revealed in July of 1985 that he had AIDS, he was the first public figure to do so; he died less than three months later. His disclosure sparked an immediate national discussion about AIDS and HIV—something that had, until then, been missing.¹⁰

This chapter looks at LGBTQ sex, love, and relationships—both hidden and not—in the United States since its formal founding in the 1700s, but there is evidence of same-sex love and intimacy, as well as what we now understand as transgender or differently-gendered people among the Native Americans, among the colonists and pioneers, among immigrants, and among Africans trafficked through slavery. If we want to fully incorporate LGBTQ people into the history of the United States, we cannot reinforce the mistaken notion that they sprang fully glittered from Greenwich Village at the Stonewall Inn in June 1969.¹¹

Defining "Sex," "Love," and "Relationships"

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, sex, love, and relationships have many different meanings and expressions in LGBTQ lives—just as they do for non-LGBTQ people. The difference has been

other reasons. Bisexuals who marry someone of the opposite sex are often "read" as straight, despite their bisexual identity.

¹⁰ David Bret, *Rock Hudson* (London: Robson, 2004); Jeff Yarbrough, "Rock Hudson: On Camera and Off, The Tragic News That He Is The Most Famous Victim of An Infamous Disease, AIDS, Unveils the Hidden Life of a Longtime Hollywood Hero," *People Magazine*, August 12, 1985, accessed April 16, 2016, http://www.people.com/people/archive/article/0,,20091477,00.html. From 1962 until his death, Rock Hudson lived in "The Castle," his home in the Beverly Hills neighborhood of Los Angeles, California. See Paula Martinac, "Rock Hudson's 'Castle'" *The Queerest Places: A Guide to LGBT Historic Sites* (blog), January 8, 2009, https://queerestplaces.com/2009/01/08/rock-hudsons-castle. ¹¹ Stonewall, the site of the Stonewall Riots in June 1969, is located at and around 51-53 Christopher Street, New York City, New York. It was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and declared the Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.

largely how those sexual intimacies and desires, loves, and relationships have been policed and fought for.

Historian David Halperin argues not only that the category of homosexuality is a social and cultural construction of the modern period, but that the distinction between homo- and hetero-sexuality is also recent: "If contemporary gay or lesbian identity seems to hover in suspense between these different and discontinuous discourses of sodomy, gender inversion, and same-sex love, the same can be said even more emphatically about homosexual identity as we attempt to trace it back in time."¹² This modern emergence of homosexuality as a category, he argues, limits our understanding of homosexual relationships by taking attention away from aspects of these relationships—like power dynamics, monogamy (or not), and gender identity—that are not related to the fact that the partners are of the same-sex.¹³ In other words, relationships are much more nuanced in how they play out in people's lives.

There has long been a debate about just how many people might be included under the LGBTQ rainbow. The definitions can be just as fluid as a person's sexuality, changing over the course of decades, and is very much dependent on self-reporting. It helps to at least get a sense of the numbers for any discussion of sexuality. Unfortunately, the counting of bisexuals and transgender individuals has only recently begun. In 1993, the authors of Sex *in America* gave three primary reasons why the LGBTQ community is hard to define and track, even by today's standards.¹⁴ First, some people change their behaviors during their lifetime; second, there is "no one set of sexual desires or self-identification that uniquely defines homosexuality. Is it sexual desire for a person of the same gender, is it thinking of yourself as homosexual, or is it some combination of these behaviors that make a person a homosexual?" A third reason, they wrote, "is that homosexual behavior is not easily measured...Even though the

¹² David M. Halperin, *How to Do the History of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 10, 106.

¹³ Halperin, How to Do the History, 106.

¹⁴ Robert T. Michael et al., Sex in America: A Definitive Survey (Boston: Little Brown, 1994).

recent struggles of gay men and lesbians to gain acceptance have had an effect...the history of persecution has a lasting effect both on what people are willing to say about their sexual behavior and on what they actually do."¹⁵

Sexologist Alfred Kinsey also emphasized "that there is no single measure of homosexuality and that it is impossible to divide the world into two distinct classes homosexual and heterosexual" (Figure 2).¹⁷ He reported that 37



Figure 2: The Kinsey House, Bloomington, Indiana. Photo by Nyttend, 2011. $^{\rm 16}$

percent of the white men he interviewed had had at least one sexual experience with another man; of these, 10 percent had only homosexual experience for any three-year period of their lives between the ages of sixteen and fifty-five. Four percent of those who had at least one sexual experience with another man had homosexual encounters exclusively from adolescence onward. Among women, Kinsey said 13 percent had at least one homosexual experience to orgasm. Kinsey's number of exclusive homosexuals was 4 percent.¹⁸

Historian John D'Emilio wrote that the "publication of the Kinsey reports of male and female sexual behavior, in 1948 and 1953, offered scientific evidence conducive to a reevaluation of conventional moral

¹⁵ Michael et al., Sex in America, 172-173.

¹⁶ License: Public Domain.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:First_Street_1320, Kinsey_House, Vinegar_Hill_HD.jpg ¹⁷ Michael et al., Sex *in America*, 173.

¹⁸ Michael et al., Sex in America, 173.

attitudes... Of all of Kinsey's statistics, none challenged conventional wisdom as much as his data on homosexuality."19 Kinsev wrote that "Persons with homosexual histories are to be found in every age group, in every social level, in every conceivable occupation, in cities and on farms, and in the most remote areas of the country."20

The authors of Sex in America did their own national survey sample of adults eighteen to fifty-nine, focusing on three aspects of homosexuality: "being sexually attracted to persons of the same gender, having sex with persons of the same gender, and identifying oneself as a homosexual." They found that 5.5 percent of women thought having sex with a woman was appealing, 4 percent were sexually attracted to women, and less than 2 percent had sex with a woman in the past year. About 4 percent had sex with another woman after age eighteen. For men, 6 percent were attracted to other men, 2 percent had sex with a man in the past year and a little over 5 percent said they had homosexual sex at least once after age eighteen. When asked about sexuality, 1.4 percent of women said they thought of themselves as homosexual or bisexual, and 2.8 percent of men.²¹ A recent study of changes in American adults' reported same-sex experiences and attitudes found that, by 2014, the number of US adults who had at least one same-sex partner since the age of 18 had increased to 8.7 percent of women and 8.2 percent of men. Those reporting having both homosexual and heterosexual relationships in 2014 had risen to 7.7 percent. These increases were accompanied by increasing acceptance of same-sex sexuality: "By 2014, 49% of American adults believed that

²¹ Michael et al., Sex in America, 174-176.



¹⁹ D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, 25-33.

²⁰ Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1948), 625, 627. Alfred Kinsey designed his family's home in Bloomington, Indiana and lived in the house from 1927 until 1956 when he died. His wife Clara lived in the home until she died in 1982. The home is a contributing element of the Vinegar Hill Historic District, listed on the NRHP on June 17, 2005. The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction is currently located in Morrison Hall, University of Indiana, 1165 East Third Street, Bloomington, Indiana.

same-sex sexual activity was 'not wrong at all,' up from 11% in 1973 and 13% in 1990." $^{\rm 22}$

The National LGBTO Task Force and National Black Justice Coalition conducted the first analysis of black lesbian and gay households using the 2000 national census, finding that 14 percent of all same-sex couples were African American. Though it was unsurprising that most couples were located in the South where more black people live, the data showed that a majority of these couples lived in smaller towns in the rural South.²³ Using 2010 data, Williams Institute researcher Gary Gates estimated that 390,000 out of nearly one million same-sex couples are married, and that 93 percent of US counties have self-reported same-sex couples. The geographic breakout shows 35 percent live in the South, 20 percent in the Midwest, 19 percent in the Northeast, 17 percent in the Pacific, and 8 percent in the mountain states. Based on ethnic breakdown, 63 percent of those are white, 15 percent African American, 18 percent Latino/a, and Asian/Pacific Islander 2 percent.²⁴ "The analyses suggest that there are more than 8 million adults in the US who are LGB, comprising 3.5% of the adult population. This is split nearly evenly between lesbian/gay and bisexual identified individuals, 1.7% and 1.8%, respectively. There are also nearly 700,000 transgender individuals in the US. Given these findings, it seems reasonable to assert that approximately 9 million Americans identify as LGBT."25

Some researchers have assumed that the distinction between casual and deep relationships in LGBTQ communities is how long they last. In a study of the lesbian community in Buffalo, New York, researchers found

²² Jean M. Twenge, Ryne A. Sherman, and Brooke E. Wells, "Changes in American Adults' Reported Same-Sex Sexual Experiences and Attitudes, 1973-2014," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* doi:10.1007/s10508-016-0769-4.

²³ A. Dang and S. Frazer, Black Same-Sex Households in the United States: A Report from the 2000 Census (New York: National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Policy Institute and the National Black Justice Coalition, 2004).

²⁴ Gary J. Gates and Taylor N. T. Brown, *Marriage and Same-sex Couples after Obergefell* (Los Angeles: The Williams Institute, November 2015), <u>http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/research/census-lgbt-demographics-studies/marriage-and-same-sex-couples-after-obergefell</u>.

²⁵ Gary J. Gates, *How Many People are Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender*? (Los Angeles: The Williams Institute, April 2011), <u>http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Gates-How-Many-People-LGBT-Apr-2011.pdf.</u>

that this was not the case: "We have come to understand ... that this judgment derives from a heterosexual mode. Which assumes that we will all have one serious relationship—marriage—in a lifetime, or if we are lucky, two. Such an approach does not take into account that some lesbians tend to have longer relationships and others shorter, yet both groups tend to judge their relationships as equally important. ... This variation in the longevity of lesbian relationships has led us to designate the important relationships in people's lives as 'committed' rather than 'long-term.'²⁶ This distinction is important when one looks at the laws, stigma, and other factors that have historically worked against the success of long-term LGBTQ relationships.

The Documentation

What evidence we do have about LGBTQ sex, love, and relationships in early Native American, colonial, and American history into the early twentieth century comes largely as negative discourse—from Christian Europeans' accounts of what they perceived as Native American sexual deviancy, from court and medical records, and from sensational newspaper coverage.²⁷

Many Native American nations recognize complex and nuanced sexual and gender categories that are not easily understood by Western categories of male/female or heterosexual/bisexual/homosexual. What follows is just one example: on December 7, 1775, Franciscan Father Pedro Font was one of 240 colonists led by Juan Bautista de Anza from what is now Arizona, through Mexico, and north through California, settling in what is now San Francisco. On describing the Quechan (Yuma) that the group encountered, Font wrote the following: "Among the women I saw some men dressed like women, with whom they go about regularly, never

²⁷ For detailed discussion about Native American two spirit people and the colonial encounter, see Roscoe (this volume); for a broader legal context, see Stein (this volume); and for more about LGBTQ "deviance" in a medical context, see Batza (this volume).



²⁶ Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community (New York: Routledge, 1993), 280, 301. Republished by Penguin Books, 1994.

joining the men. The commander called them *amaricados*, perhaps because the Yumas call effeminate men *maricas*. I asked who these men were, and they replied that they were not men like the rest... From this I inferred they must be hermaphrodites, but from what I learned later I understood that they were sodomites, dedicated to nefarious practices."²⁸ This judgment of the Quechan two-spirit people is one repeated throughout documents of colonial encounters. In some cases, this judgment led to violence and murder.²⁹

On the east coast, in a seventeenth-century European settlement in Virginia, Thomas/Thomasine Hall was charged with cross-dressing (in this case, a man wearing women's clothing). The court in Jamestown ruled that Hall was both a man and a woman, and required them to dress in both men's and women's clothing.³⁰ During the Civil War, we know of several women who dressed in men's clothing in order to serve in the Union and Confederate armies. In the decades to follow, other women would dress as men to obtain work.³¹ Missing from these negative sources are the everyday lives and loves of sexual and gender minorities in our past. And

²⁸ Herbert E. Bolton, trans., Anza's California Expeditions, Volume IV, Font's Complete Diary of the Second Anza Expedition Translated from the Original Spanish...(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), 105. The Quechan lived and continue to live along the lower Colorado River in what is now Arizona and California. The second expedition of de Anza founded both the Presidio of San Francisco and the Mission San Francisco de Asis (Mission Dolores). The Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail (a unit of the NPS) was designated in 1990. The Presidio of San Francisco is part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, California. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966, designated an NHL on June 13, 1962, and incorporated into the NPS system on October 1, 1994. The Mission San Francisco de Asis (Mission Dolores) at 320 Dolores Street, San Francisco, California was listed on the NRHP on March 16, 1972.

 ²⁹ See Roscoe (this volume); Tracy Brown, "Abominable Sin' in Colonial New Mexico: Spanish and Pueblo Perceptions of Same-Sex Sexuality," in Thomas A. Foster, ed., Long Before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in Early America, (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 51-80.
 ³⁰ Kathleen Brown, "Changed...into the Fashion of Man': The Politics of Sexual Difference in a Seventeenth-Century Anglo-American Settlement," Journal of the History of Sexuality 6 (1995): 171-193. Jamestown was designated a National Historic Site (a unit of the NPS) on December 18, 1940 and added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966.

³¹ For Civil War examples, see DeAnne Blanton, "Women Soldiers of the Civil War," *Prologue Magazine* 25, no. 1 (Spring 1993), <u>http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1993/spring/women-in-the-civil-war-1.html</u> and Rachel Nuwer, "Women Fought in the Civil War Disguised As Men (And So Do Today's Re-enactors)," *Smithsonian Magazine*, April 29, 2014,

http://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/modern-day-female-civil-war-re-enactors-honor-women-who-fought-men-north-and-south-180951249.

this is where much of history occurred, hidden from prying eyes. Or, in some cases, hidden in plain sight, especially in letters between lovers.³²

It was not until the late nineteenth century that ideas of homosexuality and sexual inversion as identities became increasingly incorporated into how Americans thought of each other and themselves. In this era of classification and taxonomy, scientists coined Latinate words to identify individuals through their sexual practices: heterosexual, homosexual, sadomasochist, polygamous, and other terms (the term "lesbian" had been used to refer to female homosexuals even earlier, and the debate over "what is a lesbian?" continues).³³ "The word 'homosexual' itself was not coined until the late nineteenth century, and it is admittedly difficult to conceptualize Americans *being* something without having a word for it."³⁴

In colonial America, though there is evidence that there was homoerotic or homosexual activity, there is no indication that these people thought of or described themselves as homosexual.³⁵ While much of the evidence of these early relationships come from court cases and medical records, not all people engaging in same-sex relationships are represented in these documents: "Throughout the American colonial period and well into the early years of the Republic, the penalty for sodomy was death, so it is not surprising that men who sought other men as sexual partners did not advertise their activities, and left behind little evidence which might be used against them in a court of law. But evidence—however obscured—*does* exist. The problem arises with

³⁵ John D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 10.



³² Many people have looked at nineteenth-century photographs of men, seeing homosexual desire and relationship in the physical closeness. While some of these may certainly show men who were in intimate relationships with each other, it was not uncommon in the nineteenth century for men—straight and otherwise—to be physically close, intertwined, and lounging next to each other. See, for example, David Deitcher, *Dear Friends: American Photographs of Men Together, 1840-1918* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001).

³³ See for example, Rachel Hope Cleves, "Lesbian Histories and Futures: A Dispatch From 'Gay American History@40,'" *Notches (Re)marks on the History of Sexuality* (blog), May 18, 2016, <u>http://notchesblog.com/2016/05/18/the-question-of-lesbian-identity-a-dispatch-from-gay-american-history-40</u>.

³⁴ William Benemann, Male-Male Intimacy in Early America: Beyond Romantic Friendships (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2006), ix.

interpretation."³⁶ Historian Rachel Hope Cleves describes the relationship between New Englanders Charity Bryant and Sylvia Drake as a "marriage."³⁷ Then there is what to make of the lengthy correspondence between Rebecca Primus and Addie Brown, African American women who referred to each other as "beloved sister" and "loving friend."³⁸ Archivist William Benemann focuses on male-male sexual relationships in early America, which he places in three categories: romantic friendships between white men of similar age and social class which usually ended with the marriage of one or both men to women; romantic mentorship, when there was a large age gap between partners; and "erotic employment" between men of very unequal social status, where one was employed by the other, for example as valet or paid companion, which also had a sexual component.³⁹

For enslaved African men, on the other hand, the same-sex desires of their owners and masters were enacted upon them as a means of exerting power and control over black male bodies that at the time were viewed with both desire and horror—both beastly, and hypersexual.⁴⁰ While some slave owners or masters might have considered a relationship to be mutual, enslaved men were in no position to resist or refuse. Violence for refusal included beatings, death, and separation from family.⁴¹ Often forcibly living apart from their families and working in sex-segregated

http://blackfeminism.library.ucsb.edu/ah_lesbian.html. ³⁹ Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America*, xvi.

³⁶ Benemann, Male-Male Intimacy in Early America, x.

³⁷ Rachel Hope Cleves, *Charity and Sylvia: A Same-Sex Marriage in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

³⁸ Farah Jasmine Griffin, Beloved Sisters and Loving Friends: Letters from Rebecca Primus of Royal Oak, Maryland, and Addie Brown of Hartford, Connecticut, 1854-1868 (New York: Random House, 2001); Karen V. Hansen, "No Kisses is Like Youres'; An Erotic Friendship between Two African American Women during the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in *Lesbian Subjects: A Feminist Studies Reader*, ed. Martha Vicinus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 178-208. After the Civil War, Primus was sent to Royal Oak, Maryland by the Hartford (Connecticut) Freedmen's Aid Society to help educate former slaves. The school she founded, known as the Primus Institute, is no longer extant. Travis Dunn, "Scholars Describe Historic Role of Primus Institute, School's Founder: School Started by a Freedmen's Aid Society," *Star-Democrat* (Easton, Maryland), February 28, 2001, 1A, 13A. For more on black lesbians in US history, see Sherri L. Barnes, "A Multidisciplinary Bibliography, The Arts and Humanities: Lesbian Subjectivities: Theorizing, Critiquing, Personalizing," Black American Feminisms website, last modified February 20, 2015,

⁴⁰ Thomas A. Foster, "The Sexual Abuse of Black Men under American Slavery," *Journal of the History* of Sexuality 20, no. 3 (September 2011): 448-449.

⁴¹ Foster, "The Sexual Abuse of Black Men," 452-454.

environments, enslaved men formed strong homosocial bonds with each other for companionship, survival, and resistance against their enslavers.⁴² As Historian Maurice O. Wallace argues, the New World [white] American man was invented "not merely by a desperate repudiation of the feminine ... but equally ... by the homosocial counter-construction of black male savagery. At no point in the history of the New World, that is, has race *not* constituted a defining feature of our national manhood."⁴³

The shame associated with the historical legacy of interracial male rape combined with stigma against homosexuality threatened the lives and careers of many African American men. "Artistic" gay men such as Harlem Renaissance writers Claude McKay and Alain Locke, or the selfemployed black historian Carter G. Woodson, might be politely overlooked by Negro Society. But an arrest for public sex could not be ignored. Augustus Dill, mentored by W. E. B. Du Bois, was considered a threat to Du Bois and to the NAACP newspaper, *The Crisis.* Some civil rights leaders and pacifists feared the participation of Bayard Rustin, advisor to A. Philip Randolph, A. J. Muste, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., because it made their movements vulnerable to harassment by Hoover's FBI.⁴⁴

Leading by example

Certainly, homosexuality, bisexuality, and gender nonconformity were not limited to the lesser-knowns of history. In fact, the desire to fit in, and excel, is a frequent trait among outsiders of all kinds, whether immigrants, homosexuals, bisexuals, or the transgender community. They have something to "prove," that they are "normal." As a result, rights leaders frequently enforce the politics of respectability, shunning those members

⁴⁴ Bayard Rustin lived in an apartment in the Penn South Complex in West Chelsea, New York City from 1962 until his death in 1987. This occupancy included the year before the 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom in Washington, DC. The Bayard Rustin Residence was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016.



⁴² Sergio Lussana, "'No Band of Brothers Could Be More Loving': Enslaved Male Homosociality, Friendship, and Resistance in the Antebellum American South," *Journal of Social History* 46, no. 4 (2013): 872–895.

⁴³ Maurice O. Wallace, Constructing the Black Masculine Identity and Ideality in African-American Men's Literature and Culture (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 2.

who are too "out" or "flamboyant" while embracing those whose lives and beliefs support what they consider to be the best ideals of American citizenship.

So who are those early LGBTQ people in the United States, those "founding fathers," the pioneer leaders, the women who fought for suffrage, the people who fought against slavery, the women who founded higher educational institutions and social justice services, the leaders in the Revolutionary War and Civil War?



Figure 3: Reenactors at Valley Forge National Historical Park give a sense of the conditions there the winter that von Steuben trained the troops. Photo by Valley Forge National Historical Park.⁴⁵

Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben (1730–1794) stands out as one of the more documented examples of a homosexual in charge. He was a major general in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, and he is widely viewed as a key tactician who led to the success of the war. Arriving at Valley Forge early in 1778, he imposed order both on the camp and on

⁴⁵ License: Public Domain.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Valley_Forge_National_Historical_Park_VAF03927.jpg

the soldiers, drilling them in fighting together as a unit (Figure 3). He was also General George Washington's chief of staff near the end of the war. And under today's definitions, von Steuben would be considered homosexual because he had documentable relationships with men including his aides, Captains Benjamin Walker and William North; he left his estate to both men.⁴⁶

President Abraham Lincoln's sexuality is hotly debated. Awkward around women, Lincoln had several intense relationships with men. While some of these were likely chaste, there are suggestions of sexual intimacy between Lincoln and at least two of these men: Joshua Fry Speed and later, Lincoln's bodyguard, Captain David Derickson. Before his presidency, Lincoln shared a home and bed with Joshua Fry Speed in Springfield, Illinois from 1837 through 1841. The nature of the relationship between Lincoln and Speed has been debated. In 1926, Lincoln biographer Carl Sandburg described both Lincoln and Speed as each having "a streak of lavender" and "spots soft as May violets"—euphemisms for effeminacy and homosexual behavior.⁴⁷ Speed himself said, "No two men were ever so intimate."⁴⁸ During his presidency, Lincoln was known to share a bed with his bodyguard, Captain David Derickson, when Mrs. Lincoln was out of town. Contemporary reports describe the Captain wearing the

⁴⁸ C. A. Tripp, The Intimate World of Abraham Lincoln (New York: Free Press, 2005), xx.



⁴⁶ Randy Shilts, Conduct Unbecoming: Gays and Lesbians in the US Military (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2005), 7-10; William E. Benemann, Male-Male Intimacy in Early America; William B. Skelton, North, William, American National Biography Online; Paul Douglas Lockhart, The Drillmaster of Valley Forge: The Baron de Steuben and the Making of the American Army (New York: HarperCollins, 2008). There are many places associated with von Steuben–including the Revolutionary War battlefields where he fought–on the NRHP and designated as NHLs. Some of these include: Valley Forge National Historical Park near King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966, designated an NHL Historic District on January 20, 1961, and designated a National Historical Park (an NPS unit) on July 4, 1976; Mount Gulian in Fishkill, New York (listed on the NRHP on November 19, 1982) which served as von Steuben's headquarters at the end of the Revolutionary War and was the place where he was instrumental in founding the Society of the Cincinnati; and the Steuben House in River Edge, New Jersey (listed on the NRHP on December 18, 1970), which served as General George Washington's headquarters for several days in 1780, and following the war, was given to von Steuben who occupied it from 1783 through 1788. For more information on von Steuben's sexuality see Estes (this volume).

⁴⁷ Carl Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years, vol. 1 (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1926), 166-167; for a discussion, see Jonathan Ned Katz, Love Stories: Sex Between Men Before Homosexuality (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 3-25.

Sex, Love, and Relationships

President's nightshirts.⁴⁹ While many historians have explained these men sleeping together as "innocent" and a result of a lack of mattresses (which may have explained Speed and Lincoln as Lincoln was establishing his law practice, but certainly not after that, and was certainly no obstacle for a sitting president), other researchers like C. A. Tripp find Lincoln most comfortable in homosexual relationships.⁵⁰



One lover of men, Walt Whitman (1819–1892) had a profound impact on the cultural landscape of this new country. A journalist and poet, Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* was once called obscene because it featured sensuality between

Figure 4: Walt Whitman's room at his Camden, New Jersey residence. Photo from the Wellcome Library collections.⁵¹

men, as with these two lines: "Wherever he goes men and women accept and desire him / They desire he should like them, touch them, speak to them, stay with them" (Figure 4).⁵² Among the men that Whitman was reportedly intimate with were Peter Doyle, a bus conductor, and author Oscar Wilde. Doyle and Whitman met in the mid-1860s, and were

⁵¹ License: CCBY 4.0. <u>http://wellcomeimages.org/indexplus/image/L0010042.html</u>

⁴⁹ Tripp, *The Intimate World of Abraham Lincoln*; Mark Segal, "Abraham Lincoln: A Life in the Closet?" *Washington Blade*, October 25, 2011, accessed April 16, 2016,

http://www.washingtonblade.com/2011/10/25/abraham-lincoln-a-life-in-the-closet. ⁵⁰ Tripp, The Intimate World of Abraham Lincoln.

⁵² From the poem, "Song of Myself." Whitman edited and revised *Leaves of Grass* extensively over his lifetime. The final, "deathbed" (1892) version of "Song of Myself" that contains the quoted lines is available online at <u>http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/174745</u>, accessed April 15, 2016. The final version of *Leaves of Grass* was written during the last days of Whitman's life in his home at 330 Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard (formerly Mickle Street), Canden, New Jersey. It was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 29, 1962. During the Civil War, Whitman, along with Dr. Mary Walker, nursed the injured at the Old Patent Office, now the National Portrait Gallery, at Ninth and F Streets NW, Washington, DC. It was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on January 12, 1965.

inseparable for many years; Wilde met Whitman in 1882 and later reported that the two had kissed.⁵³

Among key women of the early United States, there are many stories of lasting relationships, of "Boston marriages," and of lifelong bonds. Boston marriages were frequently used to describe relationships between women living together without the financial support of a man, during the 1800s and early 1900s. These "female friendships" were mostly ignored or tolerated through much of the nineteenth century as we have seen in the relationship between Emily Dickinson and her sister-in-law, but in the second half of the century, the category of "lesbian" (then also called the female sexual invert) was formulated by the medical profession and then moved into popular discourse.⁵⁴ This changed how society viewed intimate relationships between women; they "took on an entirely different meaning.... They now had a set of concepts and questions (which were uncomfortable to many of them) by which they had to scrutinize feelings that would have been as natural and even admirable in earlier days."55 In response, women could claim that their attachments to other women were not like "real lesbians"; they could repress their sexuality; they could live in the closet, leading a double life-lesbian in private and heterosexual in public; or she could accept the definitions of sexologists and define herself as a lesbian.56

The rise of women's colleges contributed to these relationships, as white women had more access to education, independent living, and employment choices. At the time, marriage and a professional career were seen to be incompatible; this meant that women who preferred to live with other women could pursue academics and careers and have the social

⁵⁶ Faderman, Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers, 3.



⁵³ Justin Kaplan, *Walt Whitman: A Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 311-312; Rictor Norton, "Walt Whitman, Prophet of Gay Liberation," *Gay History and Literature,* November 18, 1999, updated June 20, 2008, <u>http://rictornorton.co.uk/whitman.htm</u>; John Stokes, *Oscar Wilde: Myths, Miracles and Imitations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 194 note 7.

⁵⁴ Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Penguin, 1992). First published by Columbia University Press (1991) and republished (2011). See also Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

⁵⁵ Faderman, Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers, 2.

license to therefore live with other women.⁵⁷ Historian Lillian Faderman notes the disproportionate number of women who attended women's colleges who never married. "Perhaps the most important element in encouraging young college women in their escape from domesticity was a new form of what had been termed romantic friendship which came to be called in college life 'smashes,' 'crushes,' and 'spoons.'"⁵⁸ In the 1920s, sociologist Katharine Bement Davis studied 2,200 females, with 50.4 percent admitting to intense emotional relations with women, and half of those were "either accompanied by sex or recognized as sexual in character." The women viewed these as rare, however, reporting their expectations to eventually marry men.⁵⁹

Two prominent women who had long-term relationships with other women are Jane Addams, founder of the Hull House Settlement in Chicago and a Nobel Peace Prize winner, and M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania. There are many other examples of powerful women in relationships with each other; surely there were also many examples of less prominent women in same-sex relationships whose stories have not yet been uncovered.

Jane Addams' first romantic partner was Ellen Starr, who she met when they were students at Rockford Female Seminary in Illinois. In 1889, they visited Toynbee Hall in England together, which served as the model for Hull House. When they returned, they bought a house in an immigrant neighborhood in Chicago and founded Hull House together. Later, Addams met Mary Rozet Smith, who contributed financial support for Hull House. They were together for four decades until Mary's death in 1934, and they "always slept in the same room in the same bed, and when they traveled Jane even wired ahead to be sure they would get a hotel room with a

17-19 🥢

⁵⁷ Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women,* 1850-1920 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

⁵⁸ Faderman, Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers, 19.

⁵⁹ Faderman, Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers, 63.

double bed." Addams wrote to Smith in 1899: "Miss you dreadfully and am yours 'til death."⁶⁰

After attending Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, M. Carey Thomas was denied a graduate education at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Undeterred, she and her "devoted companion" Mamie Gwinn moved to Europe, and in 1882 Thomas received her PhD from the University of Zurich. On their return to the United States, they were hired to teach at Bryn Mawr. Thomas was soon appointed dean, and the women moved into an on-campus residence that became known as the Deanery (Figure 5). During this time, Mary Garrett, a prominent and wealthy suffragist and



Figure 5: M. Carey Thomas addresses students from the porch of the Deanery, 1905. Photo by Bryn Mawr College. 61

philanthropist, fell in love with Thomas. Garrett promised Bryn Mawr she would give the college a fortune if they would make Thomas the school's president. which they did in 1894. In 1904, Mamie Gwinn left Thomas for a married man and Mary Garrett moved in to the Deanery with Thomas, where she lived until her death in 1915.62

⁶⁰ Faderman, Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers, 25-26.
⁶¹ License: Public Domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:M._Carey_Thomas_on_Deanery_Porch.jpg

⁶² Faderman, Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers, 26. From 1885 until 1933, Thomas lived in "the Deanery"

or the Bryn Mawr College campus, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. The Deanery, formerly located at the end

Faderman also includes details of an intimate relationship between anarchist Emma Goldman and fellow anarchist and union organizer. Almeda Sperry. From surviving letters exchanged between the two during 1912, when Goldman lived in a tenement apartment in New York City's East Village, the relationship was largely one-sided. Sperry wrote several emotional letters to Goldman detailing her (mostly) unrequited love. One letter, however, makes it clear that their relationship did have a sexual component; Sperry writes: "If I had only had courage enuf to kill myself when you reached the climax then-then I would have known happiness, for at that moment I had complete possession of you."63 From her East Side tenement, which she lived in from 1903 to 1913, Goldman conducted much of her activist work, including publication of her Anarchist journal, Mother Earth. Emma Goldman was outspoken in her criticism of homophobia and prejudice against lesbians and gay men. German sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld described her as "the first and only woman, indeed the first and only American, to take up the defense of homosexual love before the general public." An American citizen, she was nevertheless deported to Russia with about 250 other radicals.64

Another high-powered female couple were Katherine Lee Bates and Katharine Coman. Bates (1859–1929) is best known for her anthem "America the Beautiful." Born in Fairmouth, Massachusetts, Bates lived with Katharine Coman, founder of the Wellesley College School of Economics department, for twenty-five years, until Coman died in 1915.⁶⁵

of what is now Canaday Drive on the Bryn Mawr campus, was demolished in 1968 for the construction of the Canaday Library.

⁶³ Sperry was married to a man, with whom she had an open relationship; Goldman's primary relationship was with anarchist Alexander Berkman. Emma Goldman, "Offener Brief an den Herausgeber der Jarbücher über Louis Michel, with a preface by Magnus Hirschfeld," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 23 (1923): 70. Translated from German by James Steakley. For the letters between Sperry and Goldman, see Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 34-35; "Almeda Sperry to Emma Goldman: 1912, The Letters," OutHistory website, accessed April 16, 2016, http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/sperry-to-goldman/letters. See also Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the USA: A Documentary History* (New York: Meridian, 1992).

⁶⁴ Sheryl, "East Village Tenement Housed 'the Most Dangerous Woman in America,'" *Off the Grid: The Blog of the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation*, November 29, 2011, accessed April 16, 2016, <u>http://gvshp.org/blog/2011/11/29/east-village-tenement-housed-the-most-dangerous-woman-in-america</u>.

⁶⁵ Their home was located just off Weston Road, north of Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts.

They were among the millions of people who visited the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago (also called the Chicago World's Fair), after which Bates continued west to Colorado Springs, Colorado for a summer teaching job. It was on this trip that she was inspired to write "America the Beautiful."⁶⁶

The 1893 Chicago World's Fair provided over twenty-seven million people a glimpse into other worlds, and afforded a certain freedom to a lot of homosexual and bisexual people who were working at or visiting the fair.⁶⁷ Prior to the fair, Chicago sculptor Lorado Taft and his students (many of them women, at a time when women sculptors working professionally was almost unheard of) worked on sculptures and architectural elements for the fair's horticultural and other buildings. Married twice to women, some authors note that Taft also engaged in homosexual relationships.⁶⁸ One of Taft's great works is his monumental *Fountain of Time* installed in Washington Park on Chicago's South Side (Figure 6).⁶⁹ Completed in 1920, the rear of the sculpture includes a selfportrait of Taft holding hands with one of his workmen "with whom he was intimate." ⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Washington Park was designed by Frederick Law Olmsted and Daniel H. Burnham. It was listed on the NRHP on August 20, 2004. Taft's Midway Studios were located at 6016 South Ingleside Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. They were added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on December 21, 1965. Taft was working out of this studio space during the creation and installation of the Fountain of Time. Several of Taft's sculptures are listed on the NRHP: *The Black Hawk Statue/Eternal Indian* in Lowden State Park near Oregon, Illinois was added to the NRHP on November 5, 2009; *Lincoln the Lawyer/Young Lincoln* in Carle Park, Urbana, Illinois was added to the NRHP on March 10, 2004; The *Crusader/Victor Lawson Monument* and *Eternal Silence/The Dexter Graves Monument* are both contributing elements to Chicago's Graceland Cemetery Historic District, listed on the NRHP on January 18, 2001; The Soldiers' Monument is a contributing element to the Oregon Commercial Historic District in Oregon, Illinois, added to the NRHP on August 16, 2006; and the Columbus Fountain in Columbus Circle, Washington, DC, added to the NRHP on April 9, 1980.



⁶⁶ Marie J. Kuda, "Kudos: A Column of Books, Living History and Gallimaufry," *Windy City Times,* December 19, 2001, accessed April 15, 2016,

http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/kudos/27984.html.

⁶⁷ The World's Columbian Exposition, also known as the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, took up both Jackson Park and the Midway Plaisance in Chicago's South Side. The Jackson Park Historic Landscape District and Midway Plaisance were added to the NRHP on December 15, 1972.

⁶⁸ Baim, Out and Proud in Chicago, 18; Kathie Bergquist and Robert McDonald, A Field Guide to Gay & Lesbian Chicago (Chicago: Lake Claremont Press, 2006), 62.



Figure 6: Lorado Taft standing on his partially complete work, Fountain of Time, 1920. Photo by the Chicago Daily News.⁷¹

Gertrude Stein (1874–1946) and Alice B. Toklas (1877–1967), both born in the United States, were very public about their relationship both here and in France. They were quite an unusual pair for their era, or any era, and Stein documented their Paris years in the fictional book *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, written in her partner's voice.⁷²

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

⁷¹ License: Public Domain.

⁷² Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933). Gertrude Stein's birthplace and childhood home (1874-1877) is located in the Allegheny West Historic District on Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania's north side. It was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 1978. Stein's family moved to Oakland, California in 1880 where they lived on a ten-acre property surrounded by farms. When Stein returned to the area (now near the intersection of Thirteenth Avenue and Twenty-Fifth Street, Oakland) the rural landscape had been replaced by dozens of houses. In her 1937 book, *Everybody's Autobiography* (New York: Random House, 1937) she recounted the visit, lamenting that there was "no there there." On at least one trip to New York City, Stein and Toklas stayed at the Algonquin Hotel, 59-61 West 44th Street.

While there were certainly those in American history who would fit our modern definition of transgender,73 many women dressed as men for economic survival and safety. Ellen Craft escaped enslavement in Georgia by posing as a white man, accompanied by his "slave," her husband William.⁷⁴ "Stagecoach" Mary Fields was an African American woman who had been born a slave in Tennessee circa 1832. In 1894, she was ordered to leave the convent she worked in after a confrontation with a male employee. Then in her early sixties, she was able to find paid work dressed in male clothing driving a stagecoach for the US Mail-the first African American woman to do so. She guit driving the mail in 1901.75 In the early years of the twentieth century, Native American Ralph Kerwinieo (née Cora Anderson) lived and worked for thirteen years as a man. Exposed as a woman by his second wife, Kerwinieo was subsequently ordered by law to revert to wearing women's clothing. He responded, stating that "This world is made by man–for man alone....Do you blame me for wanting to be a man-free to live as a man in a man-made world? Do you blame me for hating to again resume a woman's clothes?" It was with this same feminist awareness that Kerwinieo described marrying his two wives, as a way to protect them from the male-dominated and sexist world.⁷⁶ Men tended to cross-dress for different reasons, including for entertainment value, as a way to express their varied gender expression, or as an indication of what would later be categorized as being transgender.77

⁷⁷ See, for example, Clare Sears, Arresting Dress.



⁷³ For an overview of cross-dressing in early San Francisco, see Clare Sears, Arresting Dress: Cross-Dressing, Law, and Fascination in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

⁷⁴ William Craft and Ellen Craft, *Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom, or, The Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery* (London: William Tweedle, 1860); Amani Marshall, "They Will Endeavor to Pass for Free: Enslaved Runaways Performances of Freedom in Antebellum South Carolina," *Slavery and Abolition* 31, no. 2 (June 2, 2010): 161-180.

⁷⁵ Faderman, Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers, 44; James A. Franks, Mary Fields: The Story of Black Mary (Santa Cruz, CA: Wild Goose Press, 2000).

⁷⁶ Faderman, Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers, 44; see also Holly Devor, FTM: Female-to-Male Transsexuals in Society (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).

In New York City, the 1920s and 1930s saw the growth of Harlem as a tourist destination, and a haven for black cultural entrepreneurs—among them, many gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender writers and



Figure 7: Detail of Manhattan: 7th Avenue-131st Street, showing Harlem's Ubangi Club where Gladys Bentley performed, 1934. Photo by P. L. Sperr, courtesy of the New York Public Library.

performers. Some authors of the Harlem Renaissance wrote fiction that closely mirrored the reality of their lives, giving a window into the world of gay marriages, drag balls, and an open sexuality. Jamaican-born bisexual writer Claude McKay was among those who wrote about the era, sometimes indicating the ambivalence about homosexuality in Harlem.⁷⁸ Bisexual blues phenomenon Gladys Bentley began her New York City career in the 1920s dressing in men's clothing (leading some to refer to her as a male impersonator) and reports marrying a woman in a New Jersey civil ceremony (Figure 7).⁷⁹ Bessie Smith, the "Empress of the Blues" also had women lovers, her mentor, "Ma Rainey" refers to female

⁷⁸ Lindsay Tuggle, "A Love So Fugitive and So Complete': Recovering the Queer Subtext of Claude McKay's Harlem Shadows, *The Space Between* 4, no. 1 (2008): 64.

⁷⁹ Eric Garber, "A Spectacle in Color: The Lesbian and Gay Subculture of Jazz Age Harlem," in *Hidden From History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, eds. George Chauncey, Jr., Martin Duberman, and Martha Vicinus (New York: Meridian, 1989), 318-331. Bentley performed at venues including the Ubangi Club in Harlem located at West 131st Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City and at the lesbian bar, Mona's Club 440 at 440 Broadway, San Francisco, California. The Ubangi Club was among those at the epicenter of the Harlem Renaissance. The building that housed it was demolished in early 2013. David W. Dunlap, "Icon of Harlem's Gay Night Life Gives Way to Wreckers," *New York Times*, March 10, 2013, accessed April 20, 2016,

http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/03/10/vestiges-of-harlem-nightlife-and-its-gay-side-give-way-to-wreckers.

lovers in several of her recorded songs.⁸⁰ Tolerance in Harlem "extended to such a degree that black lesbians in butch/femme couples married each other in large wedding ceremonies, replete with bridesmaids and attendants. Real marriage licenses were obtained by masculinizing a first name or having a gay male surrogate apply for a license for the lesbian couple. Those licenses were actually placed on file in the New York City Marriage Bureau."⁸¹

Fiction and poetry are often where LGBTQ people found their true stories, and their relief from social pressures. Fiction writers and poets from the late 1800s and early 1900s provided a lifeline, and many of those writers themselves were LGBTQ authors. Among these are Walt Whitman, Oscar Wilde, Alice Dunbar Nelson, Angelina Weld Grimké, Virginia Woolf, Radclyffe Hall, and Gertrude Stein. More recent authors have created works of genealogy and personal history, writing their own lifelines. For example, in *the bull-jean stories*, poet Sharon Bridgforth weaves a history out of her own desire to know the lives of her 1920s ancestors: "rural/southern working-class Black bulldaggas/who were aunty-momma-sister-friend/pillars of the church ... these are the stories they didn't tell me, the ones I needed most."⁸²

Although there were novels in the 1930s that dealt with lesbian relationships,⁸³ the advent of the "dime novel" allowed pulp fiction dealing with homosexuality to flourish in the 1950s and 1960s—much of it written by closeted gay and lesbian writers. Pulp lesbian novels were larger moneymakers than the gay male pulps because of the crossover audience of heterosexual men. These books featured lurid covers and titles, and usually ended with suicide or other untimely deaths for the LGBTQ

⁸³ These include We Too Are Drifting by Gale Wilhelm (New York: Random House, 1935), and Pity for Women by Helen Anderson (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, and Co., 1937). See Lori L. Lake, "Lesbian Fiction Herstory: After the Well of Loneliness," Lori L. Lake website, last updated April 1, 2005, accessed April 19, 2016, http://www.lorillake.com/AfterTheWell.html.



⁸⁰ Bessie Smith was among several African American LGBTQ performers at the Apollo Theater, 253 West 125th Street, New York City, New York. The Apollo Theater was listed on the NRHP on November 17, 1983. After her singing career, Ma Rainey moved to a home at 805 Fifth Avenue, Columbus, Georgia. It is open to the public as the Ma Rainey House and Blues Museum.

⁸¹ Faderman, Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers, 69-73.

⁸² Sharon Bridgforth, the bull-jean stories (Austin, TX: RedBone Press, 1998), xi.

characters. Death was also a theme in higher-brow literature and drama, such as Lillian Hellman's *The Children's Hour*. Despite this, they still stirred the passions of their readers looking for some validation of their feelings.⁸⁴

Gay men especially had a soft-core way to enjoy the male physique, as muscle magazines proliferated in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Strapping young men in skimpy swimsuits modeled for a wide range of publications, which had a significant number of gay male subscribers.85 Publishers went aggressively after the gay market, and some became publishing barons, including Clark Polak of Philadelphia's Drummer magazine and Chuck Renslow with his various magazines from Chicago, as photographed in his Kris Studios. These magazines provided a sexual release for their readers, and a connection to a "community" in faraway cities. Yet possession of these "pornographic materials" was a felony under most state laws. In 1960, Smith College professor Newton Arvin was arrested by the state of Massachusetts for having physique magazines and was forced to resign.86 Women could peruse Playboy for its soft-core images of scantily clad women. Gay male pulp fiction also had an audience, among both gay and bisexual men and straight women. These books included reprints of mainstream titles with gay content (such as Gore Vidal's The City and the Pillar and Myra Breckinridge), or original titles (like George Viereck's Men into Beasts).

⁸⁴ The first pulp novel to deal with homosexuality was *Men into Beasts* by George Sylvester Viereck (New York: Fawcett Publication, 1952). It was a nonfiction work that describes the brutalities of life in prison. Thirty gay pulps were published in 1965, and over a hundred in 1966. Susan Stryker, *Queer Pulp: Perverted Passions from the Golden Age of the Paperback* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2001). See also Michael Bronski, ed., *Pulp Fiction: Uncovering the Golden Age of Gay Male Pulps* (New York: St. Martin's, 2003); Stephanie Foote, "Deviant Classics: Pulps and the Making of Lesbian Print Culture," Signs: *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 31, no. 1 (2005); Katherine V. Forrest, *Lesbian Pulp Fiction: The Sexually Intrepid World of Lesbian Paperback Novels* 1950-1965 (Cleis Press, 2005).

⁸⁵ For a broader discussion of physique magazines, see Johnson (this volume).

⁸⁶ Barry Werth, *The Scarlet Professor: Newton Arvin: A Literary Life Shattered by Scandal* (New York: Nan A. Talese, 2001). Smith College is located in Northampton, Massachusetts. Arvin was a trustee of Yaddo, an artist colony in Saratoga Springs, New York. While there in 1946, he met Truman Capote and began a two-year relationship. Yaddo is located within the Union Avenue Historic District, listed on the NRHP on April 4, 1978. It was individually designated an NHL on March 11, 2013.

Breaking Free

By World War I, with few legal or "legitimate" places to congregate, gay men were regularly cruising the streets of certain neighborhoods like Riverside Drive in New York City, as well as parks like Lafayette Park in Washington, DC, and the Presidio in San Francisco, looking for sex, companionship, and community (Figure 8).⁸⁷ Public bathhouses and certain YMCAs also became areas where gay men gathered.⁸⁸ For African Americans during this time, drag balls became popular in Harlem.

⁸⁸ YMCAs with public LGBTQ histories include those in Boise, Harlem, and Newport. It was at the Boise YMCA, Tenth and Grove, Boise, Idaho that, in 1955, the "Boys of Boise" sex scandal broke. The Claude McKay Residence (Harlem YMCA) at 180 West 135th Street, New York City, New York was where, from at least 1932, young men- including Langston Hughes and Claude McKay-could find a place to stay. The Claude McKay Residence was listed on the NRHP and designated an NHL on December 8, 1976. In 1919, the Army-Navy YMCA at 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island was targeted for surveillance after reports of it being home to a network of homosexual Navy men and civilians. The Army-Navy YMCA was listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988. Many cities had bathhouses that catered to a gay clientele. For example: the Olympic Baths (now demolished) were open from 1977 to 1985 at 1405 H Street NW. Washington, DC: Men's Country Bathhouse at 5017 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois opened in 1972 and was the site of a lot of community medical outreach including HIV testing and information dissemination; the Ariston Hotel Bath in the basement of the Ariston Hotel at Broadway and 55th Street, New York City was the site of the first recorded police raid on a gay bathhouse in the United States in 1903; Mount Morris Turkish Baths at Madison Avenue and 125th Street opened in 1898 and survived the closures brought by the AIDS panic, closing in 2003; Club Portland Bath, 303 SW Twelfth Avenue, Portland, Oregon was open from 1987 through 2007. Bette Midler was rumored to have performed here during her bathhouse performance tour of the 1980s; Jeff's Gym/Club Baths operated from 1972 through 1986 at 700 West 1700 South, Salt Lake City, Utah: Topkapi was a short-lived bathhouse open from 1972 to 1973 at 6818 Richmond Highway. Alexandria, Virginia; the Club Turkish Baths opened at 130 Turk Street, San Francisco in the 1930s and operated under this name and the Bulldog Baths through 1983; vacant for the next thirty years, entrepreneurs have opened the Bulldog Baths Dog Resort in the building, naming their pet care enterprise to honor the historic bathhouse. While most bathhouses were for men, Osento, a women's bathhouse, operated out of what is now a private residence in the Mission neighborhood of San Francisco, California from 1980 through 2008.



⁸⁷ D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, 12. Lafayette Square in Washington, DC, has been a popular cruising spot since at least 1892, when several men were arrested for having sex in the park. The Presidio in San Francisco is located within Golden Gate National Recreation Area (a unit of the NPS); it was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 13, 1962. In the post-Stonewall era, Arlington Ridge Park in Arlington, Virginia was a popular place for gay men to meet at night. The park is known colloquially as lwo Jima Park because it is the site of the United States Marine Corps War Memorial/Iwo Jima Memorial. It has been the location of several crackdowns on gay men in the park, including the arrests of over sixty men in late 1971 that triggered a cold, January 1972 protest by the Gay Activist Alliance. Those charged with felony sodomy lost their jobs and security clearances. Arlington Ridge Park was listed on the NRHP on September 4, 2009. It is within the boundaries of the George Washington Memorial Parkway, an NPS unit. See Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge 2012), 102; "Gay Activists Alliance members protest US Park Police," LGBT History Archives @lgbt_history website, <u>http://lgbt-history-</u>

archive.tumblr.com/post/139108239762/gay-activists-alliance-members-protest-us-park. See also Barry Reay, New York Hustlers: Masculinity and Sex in Modern America (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).



Figure 8: Aerial view of the Presidio of San Francisco, 2008. Photo by Edward Betts.⁹⁰

Gatherings of lesbians and bisexual women who were part of faculties at all-women's colleges, settlement houses, and professional associations also flourished.⁸⁹

Despite changes in sexual mores during the 1920s, LGBTQ people still experienced repression. Future President Franklin Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, oversaw a purge in the US Navy from 1919 to 1921 in Newport, Rhode Island.⁹¹ A similar purge, in 1920 at Harvard University, was uncovered decades after it happened by a researcher for *The Harvard Crimson* newspaper. The school secretly put a dozen male students on trial and then "systematically and persistently tried to ruin their lives." Several of these students committed suicide.⁹²

The Second World War disrupted the lives of millions of American men and women. In the armed services, men and women who might have felt

⁸⁹ Examples of these places include Webster Hall, Wellesley College, Hull House, and the Charleston Museum. Webster Hall and Annex, 119-125 East 11th Street, New York City, New York, famous in the 1910s and 1920s for the lavish masquerade balls held there. By the 1920s, Webster Hall was hosting African American drag balls. Katherine Lee Bates, author of "America the Beautiful," attended Wellesley College and then later returned to teach there. It was at Wellesley that she met her partner of twenty-five years, Katherine Coman. Mary Rozet Smith was Jane Addams' partner both professionally at Hull House (800 South Halsted, Chicago, Illinois) and personally for over forty years. Hull House was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965. In 1920, Laura Bragg was the first female director of the Charleston Museum, since 1980 located at 360 Meeting Street, Charleston, South Carolina. Bragg lived with her partner, Belle Heyward, near the historic William Gibbes House in Charleston, South Carolina.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Presidio_of_San_Francisco_from_the_air_in_2008.jpg ⁹¹ The Old Army-Navy YMCA was located at 50 Washington Square, Newport, Rhode Island. It was listed on the NRHP on December 29, 1988.

⁹² William Wright, *Harvard's Secret Court: The Savage 1920 Purge of Campus Homosexuals* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2006).

"different" now found other people who also had different desires. Women moved into the wartime workforce as industrial "Rosie the Riveters," in the new women's military auxiliary forces, and in federal offices in Washington DC. "Even for those gay men who slipped by psychiatrists [trying to screen out homosexuals], the experience brought their sexuality into bold relief. ... The sex-segregated nature of the armed forces raised homosexuality closer to the surface for all military personnel."93 Big-city YMCAs were a special hotbed of same-sex sexual activity during World War II, and the Women's Army Corps "became the almost guintessential lesbian institution."94 Many people had their first same-sex liaisons as a direct result of the gender segregation of America's population during the war. "World War II was a transformative event in the history of modern queer communities and identities. It not only changed the personal lives of countless thousands of individual men and women, it also shifted the role of sexuality in American public life and altered the social geography of urban centers like San Francisco."95

Lesbians, bisexuals, and gay men during this period socialized (and often still do) very differently from one another. Lesbians tended to meet in private homes, both for privacy and safety, but also because women generally had less free money to spend going out, and so were unable to sustain large numbers of women-only commercial spaces.⁹⁶ Some women formed close-knit communities away from populated areas for a different kind of privacy and safety. One example of this is Druid Heights, a community of influential thinkers and writers founded among the redwoods of Mill Valley, California by poet Elsa Gidlow in 1954. Her 1923 book, *On a Grey Thread,* was the first book of explicitly lesbian poetry published in North America.⁹⁷ These types of private spaces have been described as particularly important during Prohibition, when the bar scene

⁹⁶ D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, 32-33; Kennedy and Davis, Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold.

⁹⁷ Elsa Gidlow, On a Grey Thread (Chicago: W. Ransom, 1923); Stryker and Van Buskirk, Gay by the Bay, 21-22. Druid Heights is part of Muir Woods National Monument, listed on the NRHP on January 9, 2008, and part of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area (an NPS unit).



⁹³ D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, 25.

⁹⁴ D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, 26-27. For more information on LGBTQ in the military, see Estes (this volume). For examples of YMCAs with documented LGBTQ activity, see note 79.

⁹⁵ Stryker and Van Buskirk, Gay by the Bay, 29.

was driven underground.⁹⁸ Men, particularly white men who have appeared "traditionally" masculine, have generally enjoyed the right to occupy public space. Though public cruising could lead to violence, arrest, and chance encounters with non-gay acquaintances, men of color and effeminate men were more at risk than a "straight-appearing" white man.⁹⁹ Gay bars were a place where men could drop "the pretension of heterosexuality" while socializing with friends and searching for sexual partners.¹⁰⁰

Professor and tattoo artist Samuel Steward kept a "Stud File"—"a whimsically annotated and cross-referenced 746-card card catalog in which Steward documented his sex life in its entirely from the year 1924 through 1974."¹⁰¹ One of his "studs" was author Thornton Wilder, who he would meet at the Stevens Hotel in Chicago. After detailing their encounters, Steward notes that "I became his Chicago piece, possibly his only physical contact in the city....[Besides] he could never forthrightly discuss anything sexual; for him the act itself was quite literally unspeakable. His Puritan reluctance was inhibiting to me as well."¹⁰²

Steward had "studs" in many cities, including New York City. He tended to avoid Greenwich Village which he characterized as being populated by "screaming," effeminate men—a "type" to which he was not attracted.¹⁰³ Instead, he traveled to Harlem, where he would visit his friend Alexander Gumby, a postal clerk who lived in a large studio apartment on Fifth Avenue between 131st and 132nd Streets. Gumby's literary salon events were popular with Harlem's artistic and theatrical elites. Steward

¹⁰³ Spring, Secret Historian, 23.

⁹⁸ Stryker and Van Buskirk, Gay by the Bay, 22-23.

⁹⁹ Transgender women, often mistaken for effeminate men, are also at high risk.

¹⁰⁰ D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, 32-33.

¹⁰¹ Justin Spring, Secret Historian: The Life and Times of Samuel Steward, Professor, Tattoo Artist, and Sexual Renegade (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010), xiii.

¹⁰² Spring, Secret Historian, 52. When it was built in 1927, the Stevens Hotel was the largest in the world. After the Stevens family lost their fortune in the Great Depression, the hotel was bought by the US Army to house soldiers, and then by the Hilton Family. It is now known as the Hilton Chicago, and is located at 720 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

described one of these as "an evening of 'reefer, bathtub gin, a game of truth, and assorted homosexual carryings-on."¹⁰⁴

In the 1940s, Otis Bigelow was part of "the silver-and-china queens," so named by playwright Arthur Laurents to describe wealthy homosexuals "who played squash and were raunchy after dinner."¹⁰⁵ They were a type of gay man "from way back that was always as right-wing as possible, out of a desperate desire to belong. And they haven't changed. It's like the gay couples who try to emulate heterosexual couples. Nothing could be more stupid. I mean that one is sort of the husband and the other is sort of the wife and they have to have fidelity and all this kind of nonsense—instead of seeing how lucky you are if you're two men and have freedom."¹⁰⁶ During these years, soldiers and sailors were often returning to or embarking from New York City, and "gay men pursued them with abandon. Tennessee Williams loved to cruise Times Square with Donald Windham in the forties."¹⁰⁷

The Purge

The burden of legal, medical, and familial scrutiny has been heavy, and sometimes too much to bear. These things absolutely had an effect on sex and relationships. There is higher documented substance abuse in the LGBTQ community, and lack of familial support and legal recognition has had a negative impact on relationships of all kinds.¹⁰⁸ Some people have stayed in violent relationships because resources for same-sex survivors of domestic violence were not geared to their needs. Some people have lived on the "down low," getting married to opposite-sex partners, having children, and living their gay life—or their transgender life—in secret on the

https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/lgbt/report/2012/03/09/11228/why-the-gay-and-transgender-population-experiences-higher-rates-of-substance-use.



¹⁰⁴ Spring, Secret Historian, 22.

¹⁰⁵ Arthur Laurents, Original Story: A Memoir of Broadway and Hollywood (New York: Knopf, 2000), 126.

 ¹⁰⁶ Charles Kaiser, The Gay Metropolis: 1940-1996 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 7. Republished as The Gay Metropolis: The Landmark History of Gay Life in America (New York: Grove Press, 2007).
 ¹⁰⁷ Kaiser, Gay Metropolis, 13.

¹⁰⁸ Jerome Hunt, "Why the Gay and Transgender Population Experiences Higher Rates of Substance Use," Center for American Progress website, March 9, 2012,

side. This was a high price to fit in, and meant that the potential cost of coming out was high, including domestic violence, divorce, loss of financial security, and loss of their children. The rates of suicide and attempted suicide are higher among lesbian, gay, and bisexual people than the general population, and higher still among transgender people.¹⁰⁹

Especially traumatic were the victims of people who struggled so much internally with their sexuality that they killed others rather than face their truth. This includes men who have attacked other men in gay bashings, as documented by filmmaker Arthur Dong in *Licensed to Kill*.¹¹⁰

In 1950, a short time after World War II ended, the US State Department began its purge of "sexual perverts." Over the course of several years, thousands of employees lost their jobs. Frank Kameny, who lost his government job, and Barbara Gittings were among those who began to fight federally sanctioned discrimination against homosexuals in federal jobs and the military. The threat of the "homosexual menace" was a theme in American politics throughout the McCarthy era; these purges were ironically instigated by J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, and Roy Cohn, who worked with Senator McCarthy. Both of these men have been identified as having same-sex relationships.¹¹¹ The forcing of gay men and

https://partners.nytimes.com/library/national/science/aids/080386sci-aids.html. The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in the northwest of Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011. Barbara Gittings was instrumental in organizing the Annual Reminders, picket lines from 1965 through 1969 at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to inform others that LGBTQ people did not share the same civil rights protections as other American citizens. Independence Hall is part of Independence National Historical Park, designated an NHL on October 15, 1966. Both Gittings and Kameny are buried in the "gay corner" of Congressional Cemetery, 1801 E Street SE, Washington, DC. The cemetery was listed on the NRHP on June 23, 1969 and designated an NHL on June 14, 2011. A Philadelphia state marker was recently approved for the location associated with the home that

¹⁰⁹ Reported rates of LGBTQ suicide and suicide attempts vary, but there is no argument that rates among LGBTQ individuals are higher than for their straight peers. Lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth are from two to four times as likely to have attempted suicide as their peers; almost 50 percent of transgender youth have seriously considered taking their own life; up to 25 percent of transgender youth have reported suicide attempts. See "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Health: LGBT Youth," Centers for Disease Control and Prevention website,

http://www.cdc.gov/lgbthealth/youth.htm; "Facts About Suicide," The Trevor Project website, http://www.thetrevorproject.org/pages/facts-about-suicide.

¹¹⁰ Licensed to Kill, directed by Arthur Dong (DeepFocus Productions, Inc., 1997)

¹¹¹ D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, 43; Anthony Summers, Official and Confidential: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover (New York: Putnam Publishing, 2003); Albin Krebs, "Roy Cohn, Aide to McCarthy and Fiery Lawyer, Dies at 59," New York Times, August 3, 1986,

women from the military took a large toll, and then as in more recent years, African American women were more likely to be identified as "homosexual."¹¹² Several bases performed witch hunts, resulting in people being forced to name other names, and a string of interconnected discharges, including at Keesler Air Force base in Biloxi, Mississippi; Lackland Air Force base in San Antonio, Texas; and Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio. Private industry was inspired by this government action—perhaps 20 percent of the labor force were forced to undergo loyalty security clearances.¹¹³

This widespread labeling of homosexuals as menaces, perverts, psychopaths, and national security risks, with articles and rumors planted by the FBI and circulated in the popular press, set the tone for the 1950s.¹¹⁴ Across the country, local police forces harassed and cracked down—often brutally—on LGBTQ communities. The crackdowns and raids often seemed unpredictable. While in public, men and women were arrested in bars and men arrested while in cruising areas, people were not immune from police harassment and vice squads raiding and arresting them in their own homes.¹¹⁵ This societal pressure and condemnation seeped into the psyche of homosexuals of this era, and caused many to internalize the homophobia. "Whether seen from the vantage point of religion, medicine, or the law, the homosexual or lesbian was a flawed

¹¹³ D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, 45-46.

¹¹⁵ D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, 49. Betty K's (now demolished), a gay bar at Seventeenth and Central in Indianapolis, Indiana was commonly raided by police in the mid-1960s for men dancing with other men. On September 8, 1954, Tommy's Place at 529 Broadway Street, San Francisco, California was the site of the first police raid on a lesbian bar in San Francisco; the Twenty-Second Street Beach in Miami, Florida was the site of several raids in the 1950s, including two high-profile ones in 1954 and 1956 (see Capó, this volume).



Barbara Gittings and her partner Kay Lahusen lived in during the 1960s, at Twenty-First and Locust Streets, Philadelphia.

¹¹² Until the abolition of the Pentagon's policy of "don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue," African Americans were disproportionately punished, "even if they are not gay or lesbian, apparently there are cases where men have accused women who refuse unwanted sexual advances of being lesbians, or because the women are successful and some men do not want to serve under them." See Jamilah King, "Black Women Win in Repeal of 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell': Studies show that soldiers of color were disproportionately impacted by the policy," *Colorlines*, December 22, 2010, https://www.colorlines.com/articles/black-women-win-repeal-dont-ask-dont-tell.

¹¹⁴ Estelle B. Freedman, "Uncontrolled Desires': The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920-1960," *Journal of American History* 74, no. 1 (June 1987).

individual, not a victim of injustice. For many, the gay world was reduced to a setting where they shared an affliction."¹¹⁶

This gay world was permeable, and with that permeability came risk: when found out, people risked violence, blackmail, and loss of job and family. For some men, anonymous sex was an answer, disconnecting desire from the possibility of a sustained relationship. Paid sex with hustlers, known as "trade" seemed preferable to the social stigma and police harassment. Getting caught meant scandal, and several high-profile sex scandals targeted gays (and in some cases, lesbians).

One of the worst scandals arose in Boise, Idaho in 1955, after an arrest of three men escalated quickly to include more than one hundred men and teen boys alleged to be part of a sex ring. Fifteen men were

eventually sentenced in the case, including for sex with another consenting adult, some with life sentences.¹¹⁸ In Florida, there was a campaign against homosexuals in the teaching profession, led by Senator Charley E. Johns. Officially the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee, the body which worked to remove LGBTQ teachers from the profession from 1956-1965 was nicknamed the Johns Committee, Dozens of professors and students at



Figure 9: James Baldwin, Marlon Brando, and Charlton Heston at the Civil Rights March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, August 1963. Photo by the US Information Agency, Press and Publications Service.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ D'Emilio, Sexual Politics, 53.

¹¹⁷ License: Public Domain.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Heston_Baldwin_Brando_Civil_Rights_March_1963.jpg ¹¹⁸ John Gerassi, *The Boys of Boise: Furor, Vice and Folly in an American City* (New York: MacMillan, 1966). The Boise YMCA is located at Tenth and Grove, Boise, Idaho.

public universities were caught up in the witch hunt, one of many "Lavender Scare" attacks of the era.¹¹⁹

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover was among the most public enemies of homosexuals during his time at the agency. His agents investigated organizations and individuals, and declassified FBI files can provide great insight into the pre-Stonewall homosexual world. One of Hoover's high-profile targets was African American gay author James Baldwin, especially after his 1962 and 1963 books, *Another Country* and *The Fire Next Time* and his attendance at the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (Figure 9).¹²⁰ "The bureau was never so obviously fixated on Baldwin's sexual tastes as when it undertook to determine whether or not *Another Country*'s homoeroticism and scenes of interracial sex transgressed general obscenity laws." "Isn't Baldwin a well-known pervert?" Hoover wrote in one memo.¹²¹

Liberation

The fledgling homosexual movement of the 1950s and 1960s, sometimes called the homophile movement, may have been relatively small, with activist Barbara Gittings putting the number at "scarcely 200" people across the entire country, but it was mighty. People banded together for safety and companionship, as well as to agitate and fight for their rights to same-sex desire, intimacy, and relationships.¹²² Harry Hay sparked the formation of the Mattachine Society in 1950 in Los Angeles,

¹²² Tracy Baim, Barbara Gittings: Gay Pioneer (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Productions, 2015), 47.



¹¹⁹ James A. Schnur, "Closet Crusaders: The Johns Committee and Homophobia, 1956-1965," in Carryin' on in the Lesbian and Gay South, ed. John Howard (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 132-163; Karen Graves, And They Were Wonderful Teachers: Florida's Purge of Gay and Lesbian Teachers (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009). For a broader discussion of the Lavender Scare, see David K. Johnson, The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

¹²⁰ James Baldwin, *Another Country* (New York: Dial Press, 1962); James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (New York: Dial Press, 1963).

¹²¹ Wallace, Constructing the Black Masculine, 138. Baldwin wrote Another Country while living in an apartment in New York City's Greenwich Village. He lived in the apartment from about 1957 through about 1963. The Greenwich Village Historic District was added to the NRHP on June 19, 1979.

which led soon to ONE, Inc. in San Francisco.¹²³ In 1955 in San Francisco, Del Martin and Phyllis Lyons joined with other lesbian couples in launching the Daughters of Bilitis, a lesbian group.¹²⁴ Their publication, *The Ladder*, was distributed nationally in a brown paper envelope.

While many of the people who participated in these new groups were there for safety and social reasons, some wanted to fight back against police harassment, bias from the medical and psychiatric professions, and discrimination in military and federal employment.¹²⁵ There were protests against police harassment in 1959 at Cooper's Donuts in Los Angeles,¹²⁶ at the Dewey's Lunch Counter in 1965 in Philadelphia for its treatment of young queers,¹²⁷ and in 1966 at Compton's Cafeteria in San Francisco¹²⁸ after police tried to arrest transgender women, most of them women of color, because they were listed as "male" on their identification. In Philadelphia, Annual Reminder Days (also known as Fourth of July

¹²³ Stuart Timmons, The Trouble with Harry Hay: Founder of the Modern Gay Movement (Boston: Alvson, 1990), Harry Hay is associated with several locations, including the Sri Ram Ashram Ranch outside Benson, Arizona where the first gathering of the Radical Faeries-of which Hay was a foundertook place in 1979. Hay was a founder of the Mattachine Society, which was founded and held early meetings in Hay's homes in the Hollywood Hills and Silver Lake neighborhoods of Los Angeles. In a stormy meeting of the Mattachine Society in 1953 at the First Universalist Church, at the corner of West Eighth Street and Crenshaw Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, Harry Hay and other "radicals" were removed from the leadership of the society, changing the course of the organization. ¹²⁴ Marcia M. Gallo, Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement (Emervyille, CA: Seal Press, 2007). In May 1960, the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) hosted the world's first conference on lesbians at the Hotel Whitcomb, 1231 Market Street, San Francisco, California. The Mattachine Society and the DOB both had offices from the 1950s through the 1960s in the Williams Building, 693 Mission Street, San Francisco, California. The longest-running chapter of the DOB ran from 1969 to 1999; they had their offices at the Old Cambridge Baptist Church, 1151 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts (listed on the NRHP on April 13, 1982). Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin lived together at their home in the Noe Valley neighborhood of San Francisco.

¹²⁷ Marc Stein, City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 245-246; Marc Stein, "The First Gay Sit-in Happened 40 Years Ago," History News Network, May 9, 2005, accessed April 15, 2016, <u>http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/11652</u>. Dewey's was located at 219 South Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

¹²⁵ The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in the northwest of Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011.

¹²⁶ Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 1. Cooper's Donuts was located between 527 and 555 South Main Street, Los Angeles, California. Novelist John Rechy witnessed the Cooper's Donuts riot; he went on to write *City of Night*, which broke many literary inhibitions about portraying the lives of gay hustlers. John Rechy's home is in El Paso, Texas.

¹²⁸ Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal, 2008); Screaming Queens: The Riot at Compton's Cafeteria, directed by Victor Silverman and Susan Stryker (San Francisco: Frameline, 2005).

demonstrations) took place every July 4 at Independence Hall from 1965 to 1969, the last one just days after the Stonewall rebellion in New York City.¹²⁹

The activists responsible for these public pushbacks against authority ranged from ragtag youth and transgender individuals to more conservative, slightly older gay men and lesbians, as well as concerned clergy. Some of the pioneers of this era that are remembered today include Frank Kameny, Barbara Gittings and her longtime partner Kay Lahusen, Reverend Troy Perry, Ada Bello, William B. Kelley, Randy Wicker, José Sarria, Sylvia Rivera, and Marsha P. Johnson.¹³⁰

The Burning Cauldron

The post-Stonewall movement witnessed a splintering of organizations inspired by the passions, priorities, and politics of their members. Sexuality and freedom from gender roles were common denominators of the early "lavender liberation" movement, but those could only loosely hold things together. There were many divisions along axes of race, class, gender, religion, and geography. Bisexuals have been ostracized from the community, and the transgender leadership was disrespected and ignored; Sylvia Rivera, who was at the Stonewall riot, was not allowed to speak at

¹³⁰ Places associated with these individuals include homes, places of protest, places of worship, places of activism and organization, and places of violence. Those not mentioned elsewhere in this chapter include: Ada Bellow, who was born in Cuba and immigrated to the United States, becoming active in LGBTQ rights in Philadelphia, including participation in the Annual Reminders at Independence Hall; William B. Kelley was a Chicago attorney active in LGBTQ rights from the late 1960s until his death in 2015; Randy Wicker, an activist since the late 1950s in Austin, Texas and New York City; José Sarria, a drag entertainer who used the Black Cat Club, 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California as a home base for his act and for his 1961 campaign for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors—the first gay person to run for public office; Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson were transgender women of color and active gay rights pioneers in New York City. As founders of the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries, they hustled on the streets so they could pay rent for an apartment where young queers could stay safely without having to turn their own tricks. Sylvia Rivera was at Stonewall in 1969. The body of Marsha P. Johnson was recovered from the Hudson River off Pier 45 in the 1990s. From at least the 1970s, Pier 45 has been a meeting place and refuge for members of New York City's African American ballroom community.



¹²⁹ Stein, City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves; Martin Duberman, Stonewall (New York: Dutton, 1993), 113. Independence Hall is part of Independence National Historical Park, designated an NHL on October 15, 1966. Stonewall was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999 and designated an NHL on February 16, 2000.

the first "gay pride" gathering in 1970, organized to mark the event. Men and women faced massive schisms, with women believing—often unfairly —that gay men were only involved to find their next sexual conquest. And while some wanted to rely on a "born this way" genetic disposition to sexuality, others saw freedom of sexual expression, gender identity, and household composition as an empowering spectrum of choices. Nature vs. nurture arguments continue to be debated today.¹³¹

Many new people were taking charge, in some cases shunning the older movement pioneers in favor of new ideas. Some wanted a singleissue focus on "gay rights," while others wanted multi-issue organizations to align with other causes. Black lesbian poet and activist Audre Lorde responded, "There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle, because we do not live single-issue lives."¹³²

Gay capitalism also flourished, as hundreds of new organizations, publications, businesses, and bars for gay people and owned by gay people (rather than heterosexual and/or Mafia owners) opened. Bar ownership in California and other states, marked a fundamental shift in law. Liquor licenses were at risk if regulators deemed an establishment a "homosexual hangout." The Tavern Guild, founded in San Francisco in the early 1960s, fought the state alcohol control board in court for the right of gays and lesbians to patronize bars and other establishments that served liquor. Another kind of battle occurred in Washington, DC, where alcohol could only be served in restaurants. To discourage people from "soliciting"—which the District's liquor board considered unseemly—Pier Nine installed phones at every table so that patrons could call one another

¹³¹ Tracy Baim, "In Defense of Cynthia Nixon: Why 'Born This Way' Doesn't Matter," *Huffpost Queer Voices*, January 23, 2012, <u>http://www.huffingtonpost.com/tracy-baim/cynthia-nixon-choice_b_1224241.html</u>.

¹³² Audre Lorde, "Learning from the 60s," in Sister Outsider: Essays & Speeches by Audre Lorde (Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press, 2007), 138.

without violating the liquor laws that prevented people from standing or walking with a drink.¹³³

The women's movement, in which lesbian-feminists were prominent in the 1970s, was ripped open in the last year of that decade by the "sex wars." Activists split over the causes of violence against women. Led by Andrea Dworkin (who called herself a "political lesbian") and law professor Catherine McKinnon (who did not disclose her sexual identity) a vocal group of feminists denounced rape and pornography. Other feminists agreed that rape, domestic violence, and sexual harassment were some of the tools patriarchy used to instill fear in all women, but thought that sex could be a source for women's liberation, as long as it was self-determined. ¹³⁴ Lesbians were front and center for a lot of these battles, on both sides of the debate.

The schism between pro-sex, anticensorship activists and more hardline lesbian feminists created animosities that still divide the movement. It also put some antipornography feminists in alliance with right-wing antifeminists. US Attorney General Edwin Meese, as ordered by President Ronald Reagan, created a commission on pornography that traveled the country seeking testimony on the topic, and eventually released a 1,960-page report in 1986.¹³⁵

With all this newfound and radical sexuality, many lesbians, bisexual women, and transgender people turned to "sexperts" for advice, including Susie "Sexpert" Bright and Pat Califia. Califia, who now identifies as a bisexual transgender man, started first as a writer of lesbian sex advice, and later explored more boundaries of sex, including gender identity, BDSM, and more. Bright, meanwhile, considers herself a "sex-positive

¹³⁵ Henry E. Hudson et al., *Attorney General's Commission on Pornography, Final Report* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1986).



¹³³ Gay DC Walking Tours: S. Capitol Street (Washington, DC: Rainbow History Project, 2003), <u>www.rainbowhistory.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/socapst-web.pdf</u>. Pier Nine (now demolished) was located at 1824 Half Street SW, Washington, DC.

¹³⁴ Andrea Dworkin, *Life and Death* (New York: Free Press, 1997), 71; Ellen Willis, "Lust Horizons: Is the Women's Movement Pro-Sex?" originally published in 1981, reprinted in Ellen Willis, *No More Nice Girls: Countercultural Essays* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1992).

feminist," writing numerous columns and books on sexuality. In 1984, Bright began working at *On Our Backs*, the first women-produced sex magazine, a takeoff on the more political *off our backs* feminist publication. Shortly thereafter, she became the editor.¹³⁶

These experts were necessary because the traditional advice columnists in mainstream newspapers were still quite biased against homosexuals and gender nonconformists, even though the American Psychiatric Association had removed homosexuality from its list of mental diseases in 1974.¹³⁷ The LGBTQ community often wrote letters to the editor and picketed advice columnist "Dear Abby" (Abigail Van Buren) because of her antigay views; her real life twin, Ann Landers—also an advice columnist—changed her views sooner. This was long before the inyour-face columns of Dan Savage, an openly gay man, were run in mainstream publications, giving advice not just to gay men, but to all readers, all kinks, fetishes, and types of sexuality.

The need to know more about their own sexuality and bodies also led to a groundbreaking book, 1971's *Our Bodies, Our Selves*, and in 2014, *Trans Bodies, Trans Selves*. 1977's *The Joy of Gay Sex*, by Dr. Charles Silverstein and Edmund White, a critical early book for men learning about their true selves, and later *The Joy of Lesbian Sex*, by Emily L. Sisley and Bertha Harris and *What Color is Your Handkerchief: A Lesbian S/M Sexuality Reader* by Samois added to the dialogue. *Loving Someone Gay*, by Don Clark, first published in 1977, also was a helpful guide to those outside the LGBTQ community.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Tracy Baim, "Gay Newspapers, An Overview," in *Gay Press, Gay Power: The Growth of LGBT Community Newspapers in America*, ed. Tracy Baim (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Books, 2012), 103; Melinda Chateauvert, Sex Workers Unite! A History of the Movement from Stonewall to SlutWalk (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014), 184-190; Susie Bright, "A Brief History of On Our Backs, 1984-1991," Susie Bright's Journal (blog), November 15, 2011,

http://susiebright.blogs.com/susie_brights_journal_/2011/11/a-brief-history-of-on-our-backs-1984-1991.html.

¹³⁷ Tracy Baim, ed., Gay Press, Gay Power: The Growth of LGBT Community Newspapers in America (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Books, 2012).

¹³⁸ Boston Women's Health Course Collective, *Our Bodies, Our Selves: A Course By and For Women* (Boston: New England Free Press, 1971); Laura Erickson-Schroth, *Trans Bodies, Trans Selves: A Resource for the Transgender Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Charles

This was a community growing in large numbers, and people needed a roadmap in trying to understand who they were. They were looking for nonjudgmental advice from people who lived similar lives, and in the 1970s, they finally found it. This can't be underestimated in its power to build self-esteem and healthier lives. Just as the Kinsey reports had educated a previous generation of Americans, these 1970s and 1980s publications provided the breadcrumbs critical in the pre-Internet age. Libraries were not always safe, movies were often biased, but publications by LGBTQ people about LGBTQ people were a lifeline.

Additional schisms have occurred in the LGBTQ movement along gender identity lines. There were high-profile battles between feminists and transgender activists in New York City in the early 1970s, and a decades-long battle with the definition of women and who could attend the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival.¹³⁹ While the transgender movement is enjoying an unparalleled visibility and acceptance in this century, there is still a lot of education to do within the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and feminist communities about issues of gender identity and transgender equality.

Lesbians, gays, bisexuals, queer, and transgender people are found in all ethnic and social groups. The forced segregation by race in the United States has meant that society's discrimination filtered down to the ways LGBTQ people interacted over generations. Many white gays did cross color lines to go to "black and tan" and other clubs catering to the primarily black community, but most gay bars were as racially segregated

¹³⁹ The Michigan Womyn's Music Festival (Michfest) was founded in 1976. In 1982, they moved to a 650-acre site near Hart, Michigan. The summer of 2015 was the last Michfest. Camp Trans was a response of transgender women to their exclusion from the festival; it was set up outside the festival from approximately 2006 through 2011.



Silverstein and Edmund White, The Joy of Gay Sex: An Intimate Guide for Gay Men to the Pleasures of a Gay Lifestyle (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977); Emily L. Sisley and Bertha Harris, The Joy of Lesbian Sex: A Tender and Liberated Guide to the Pleasures and Problems of a Lesbian Lifestyle (New York: Crown Publishers, 1977); Samois, What Color is Your Handkerchief: A Lesbian S/M Sexuality Reader (Berkeley, CA: Samois, 1979); Donald H. Clark, Loving Someone Gay (Millbrae, CA: Celestial Arts, 1977).

as straight ones.¹⁴⁰ Segregation has been enforced through "tradition" of who goes to what bars, but also through discriminatory identification policies.¹⁴¹ The Circus Disco in Los Angeles, opened in the 1970s, was one of the few bars that openly welcomed white, Latino, and African American patrons.¹⁴²

Before the Internet, phone apps, and personal ads, how did LGBTQ people meet in safe environments? Gay men, with more personal freedom and more leeway to occupy public spaces, have always had a wider set of options. There were visual clues that could be read in a glance on the streets including certain kinds of clothing and colored accessories. These accessories, like color-coded bandanas, could be used to distinguish "those in the know" from police who were trying to entrap bar patrons into agreeing to illegal sex, as well as indicating at a glance someone's interests.

While a lot of cruising happened on the streets and in cars (the direction the car was parked was one way to indicate sexual preference), gay bars were a major place where people met for sex or to find love. Pre-Stonewall, many gay bars were owned by the Mafia, which paid protection money to avoid police raids. With laws against homosexuals gathering, dancing, and even people wearing clothing "not appropriate" to their gender, bars needed protection. But payoffs did not guarantee anything,

¹⁴⁰ Jewel's Catch One at 4067 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, California was the nation's first black gay and lesbian disco. Opened in 1972/73, when it closed in 2015 it was the last black-owned LGBTQ club in Los Angeles. Nob Hill, 1101 Kenyon Street NW, Washington, DC, opened in 1953. When it closed in 2004, it was the oldest African American gay bar in the country. It served as an organizing center for DC's black gay community as well as a popular drag performance venue. Esta Noche, 2079 Sixteenth Street, San Francisco, California opened in 1981. A predominantly Latino bar in San Francisco's Mission neighborhood, it may have been the first of its kind. They closed in 2014. El Faro, the first Latino gay and lesbian club in the Adams Morgan neighborhood of Washington, DC, at 2411 Eighteenth Street NW, was a popular venue that was also the focus of homophobic attacks, including the murder of lesbian Ana Marie Morales in 1993. The bar closed in 1995.

¹⁴¹ The Lost and Found at 56 L Street SE, Washington, DC, was opened in 1971. Almost immediately they were picketed by the newly formed Committee for Open Gay Bars because of their identification policies designed to keep out African Americans, women, and people in drag. The bar closed in 1990. In 1984, members of Black and White Men Together, an interracial group for gay men, sued the owner of The Torch (opened in 1983 at 411 East Thirty-Second Street, Baltimore, Maryland) and another bar for racial discrimination. African American patrons were asked for multiple pieces of identification to enter the bar, while white patrons received less scrutiny. Black and White Men Together won the suit. ¹⁴² The Circus Disco was located at 6655 Santa Monica Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

and gay bars across the country experienced raids throughout the decades prior to Stonewall, and many LGBTQ establishments continued to be harassed and scrutinized by local police.

Gay bars were as diverse as straight bars. Some featured drag, others were seedy corner bars with covered windows, some were pool halls, some had back rooms for sex, and some were lesbian butch/femme haunts. In the 1970s and 1980s there were big discos with high-energy patrons, and in the 1990s, circuit parties were popular. As the visible LGBTO community grew much larger post-Stonewall, separation within the community meant a new kind of self-segregation was possible. The National Association of Black and White Men Together, Asians and Friends-Chicago, the Radical Fairies, Adodi African-American men's retreats, groups for "chubby chasers," the International Mr. Leather contest founded by Chuck Renslow and Dom Orejudos, the Miss Continental Contest founded by Jim Flint, and various "bear" and other communities have thrived. For lesbians, bars were key for a portion of the population, but there were also women's music festivals and later women's boat cruises, protest marches, plus sports, and especially parties in private homes. The transgender community was welcome in certain gay bars, but not all, so transgender-specific organizations formed, and there were separations within that community along various divisions, including cross-dressers, drag queens, transsexuals, male-to-female, female-to-male, gender nonconforming, femmes, butches, masculine-of-center, and more. The disabled rights community pushed for acceptance, with organizations. art, and literature, including groups and services for the hearing impaired and blind.

Another place where LGBTQ people of all kinds could feel free, in both the pre- and post-Stonewall eras, was resort communities, places colonized to be free away from the prying eyes of family and colleagues back home. These places include Cherry Grove on Fire Island, New York; Key West, Florida; Provincetown, Massachusetts; San Francisco and Guerneville, California; Saugatuck, Michigan; and Rehoboth Beach, Delaware (Figure 10). Some pioneering LGBTQ people even established their own communes.



Figure 10: PrideFest, Key West, Florida. Photo by Chuck Coker, 2010.143

Though some claim that lesbian communities are too poor to support women-owned businesses, there were towns where some lesbians lived almost separately from men, even gay men. From the 1970s through at least the late 1980s, lowa City, lowa was one such place. With publications such as the nationally distributed "*Ain't I A Woman?*", "*Better Homes & Dykes*" (a play on the other lowa-produced magazine), and *Common Lives/Lesbian Lives*, lesbians established a national voice in lesbian politics. The lowa City Women's Press, run as a lesbian collective, had its own series of publications, including manuals on carpentry and auto repair for women; it also printed books for Naiad Press.¹⁴⁴ Naiad was known mainly for its dozens of modern "pulp" lesbian fiction, but also for Pat Califia's early controversial and explicit 1980 book Sapphistry: The

¹⁴³ License: CCBY-ND 2.0. <u>https://www.flickr.com/photos/caveman_92223/4701107607</u>

¹⁴⁴ lowa City Women's Press, the publications collective of the Women's Liberation Front, operated out of what is now a private residence on South Gilbert Street, Iowa City, Iowa.

Book of Lesbian Sexuality.¹⁴⁵ From 1977 to 1981, the Gilbert Street building also housed the feminist bookstore, Plainswoman Books, and in 1978, after Grace & Rubies closed, a Womyn's Coffeehouse.¹⁴⁶ Iowa City had three lesbian softball teams, of varying talents, one sponsored by the Women's Resource and Action Center and another by the Emma Goldman Clinic for Women (one of the first abortion clinics to open after Roe v. Wade). Three annual potluck picnics at Brown Street Park, open to the community, monthly lesbian dances at the Wesley Church, too many political campaigns to count, and other events created an entire lesbian world, for a brief while.

In his 1978 book *Faggots*, Larry Kramer wrote about the sex orgies and cruising of those pre-AIDS years on the beaches outside New York City. His satire is ruthless, and in hindsight, many have viewed his book as a warning for the coming plague. "There are now 53,492 faggots on the Fire

Island Pines-Cherry Groves axis." Most will end up at The Meat Rack: "Not everyone was into leather. Jeans and work boots. Tshirts tucked into jeans' back pockets. Skin. Flesh....Everyone and everything ready."¹⁴⁸



Figure 11: Authors (L to R) Audre Lorde, Meridel Le Sueur, and Adrienne Rich at a writing workshop in Austin, Texas, 1980. Photo by K. Kendall.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ License: CC BY 2.0. <u>https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Audre_Lorde,_Meridel_Lesueur,_Adrienne_Rich_1980_%28</u> 820298895%29.jpg

17-46

¹⁴⁵ See Kayann Short, "Feminism Pressed, Practiced, and Preserved," October 2013, Boyer Lecture, Center for Women's Studies and Gender Research, Colorado State University, http://lib.colostate.edu/archives/feminist/boyerlecture.pdf.

 $^{^{\}rm 146}$ Grace & Rubies was a woman-owned social space that operated from 1976 to 1978 at 209 North Linn Street, Iowa City, Iowa.

¹⁴⁸ Larry Kramer, *Faggots* (New York: Random House, 1978), 323. Reissued by Grove Press in 2000.

Meanwhile Audre Lorde and a generation of lesbian writers were also telling their truths through poetry and fiction (Figure 11). Lorde "celebrates lesbian love, and specifically lesbian eroticism, in her influential essay 'The Uses of the Erotic,'" writes Lillian Faderman in *Chloe Plus Olivia*. She sees lesbian sexuality "as a source of great potential power for women."¹⁴⁹

A Plague Among Us

Given the newfound freedom of sexuality that was pervasive in the 1970s among many people, not just gay men, when a disease struck in the early 1980s that seemed to be targeting one group based on their "lifestyle," many did not want to believe it was happening. There was so little medical or scientific evidence in the beginning, it was easy to bury one's head in the sand and continue to push against constraints that had long been conquered. In the early 1980s, there were few people willing to confront the gay status quo, and those who did, like Kramer, were often ostracized by their own community.¹⁵⁰ Because the Centers for Disease Control identified gay men as the population most affected by HIV, many of the classifications and descriptions of symptoms for AIDS-defining illnesses were geared towards men. As a result, women went largely undiagnosed. "Women didn't get AIDS," said Barb Cardell, Chair of the Positive Women's Network, "they just died from it."¹⁵¹

What started as a few dozen diagnosed cases of what became known as HIV/AIDS in the early 1980s soon became tens of thousands and then millions of people around the globe. Because the medical establishment tied the disease to the sexual "lifestyle" of gay and bisexual men in the

¹⁴⁹ Lillian Faderman, Chloe Plus Olivia: An Anthology of Lesbian Literature from the 17th Century to the Present (New York: Viking/Penguin, 1994), 560. Audre Lorde, Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power (Brooklyn, NY: Out & Out Books, 1978); republished and more easily available in Audre Lorde, Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches (Trumansburg, NY: Crossing Press, 1984). From 1972 through 1987, Audre Lorde lived on Staten Island, New York with her partner, Frances Clayton.
¹⁵⁰ Tracy Baim, "AIDS: The Angry 'Heart' of Larry Kramer," *Windy City Times*, May 25, 2011, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=31922.
¹⁵¹ Kira Gressman and Noah Selzler, "The Evolution of HIV Stigma: An Interview with Barb Cardell, Positive Women's Network," Atlas: Boulder County AIDS Project website, August 8, 2013, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=31922.

United States, it took much longer for the political and medical communities to treat it seriously.

The equating of sex with death caused great trauma in the gay community. There were fights over what safe sex was and what safer sex was. Battles raged over use of condoms and educational materials about HIV/AIDS were censored because they were deemed pornographic. A major debate divided cities like San Francisco and New York over whether to close the bathhouses for health reasons. Some argued that the sex would occur regardless, and having safer-sex information and condoms available at the bathhouses would prevent the spread of the disease. The baths were closed down in San Francisco and in New York City, while other cities allowed the baths to remain open.¹⁵² People in the 1980s were sometimes dead within days or weeks of diagnosis. Some were shunned as lepers within their own community. Even in death, there was discrimination: early in the epidemic, many churches and funeral homes refused their services to those who died of AIDS-related complications.¹⁵³

But mostly, the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender communities responded by helping their own—not just by fighting back through ACT UP and other groups, but by providing services, delivering food, walking dogs, and helping people pay rent and funeral costs. When families of origin were ignoring their sons and daughters, the LGBTQ community stepped forward to help people with HIV, whether they were gay, bisexual, injection drug users, hemophiliacs, Haitians, or straight women. The LGBTQ community created a new template for how to fight a plague—with public pressure and private help.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ San Francisco General Hospital, 1001 Potrero Avenue, San Francisco, California had the first hospital units (Ward 5A or 5B) in the world dedicated to the treatment of AIDS; theirs became the international model for AIDS care. Brewer's Hotel, 3315 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania



¹⁵² Man's Country Bathhouse, 5017 North Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois, was one of the bathhouses that stayed open through the AIDS epidemic, providing safer sex information and HIV testing to community members. The Mount Morris bathhouse in Harlem likewise escaped being shut down by authorities.

¹⁵³ The Arthur J. Sullivan Funeral Home, 2254 Market Street, San Francisco, California, was one of the few funeral homes at the beginning of the epidemic that would take in bodies of those who died from AIDS.

In the United States, the African American gay and bisexual male and transgender female communities have been disproportionately affected by HIV and AIDS. Charles I. Nero, writing in a 1992 new edition of the late poet Essex Hemphill's *Ceremonies*, pointed to this devastation: "The silence about the extent to which AIDS has wreaked havoc on black communities calls to mind another holocaust in our history—the Middle Passage," where tens of millions of Africans suffered during the Atlantic slave trade.¹⁵⁵ In an eloquent poem for fallen gay writer Joseph Beam, "When My Brother Fell," Hemphill writes: "When my brother fell / I picked up his weapons / and never once questioned / whether I could carry / the weight and grief / the responsibility he shouldered."¹⁵⁶

The ravages and stigma of HIV/AIDS made it important for LGBTQ people to establish and build on their own families of choice. Legal contracts helped some avoid losses of home and possessions when a partner died, but the courts were often homophobic in rulings when it came to relationships. A high-profile case in Minnesota spurred a movement for more formal recognition of relationships, this time in the case of lesbian couple, Karen Thompson and Sharon Kowalski. Kowalski was severely disabled when her car was struck by a drunk driver in 1983, and her family fought Thompson for custody and won in lower courts. Kowalski's family prevented Thompson from visiting her. It took eight years of court battles following the car accident for Kowalski and Thompson to be reunited. During that time, Thompson toured the country warning people to get their legal paperwork in order, because without marriage, same-sex partners would continue to be treated unevenly in the

served as an unofficial AIDS hospice in the 1980s and 1990s. Popular with gays who wanted to keep drinking after the dance clubs closed. As people lost their housing because of discrimination against those with HIV/AIDS, the Brewer's Hotel opened their rooms to the sick so they could die with dignity and not on the street. Local nurses volunteered their time to visit the sick. For more information on AIDS/HIV, see Batza (this volume).

 ¹⁵⁵ Essex Hemphill, Ceremonies: Prose and Poetry (San Francisco: Cleis Press, 2000), xiii-xv.
 ¹⁵⁶ Hemphill, Ceremonies, 35.

court system.¹⁵⁷ This was a lesson for many of the people living with HIV/AIDS as well.

As certain LGBTQ communities gained more political clout, hate-crime cases received more mainstream media coverage. These also called attention to the relationships same-gender couples had, putting a face to the community. In one murder, two women were stalked while hiking, and in a hail of bullets, Rebecca Wight was killed, while her injured partner, Claudia Brenner, survived and went for help.¹⁵⁸ Their case, like the later murders of gender nonconforming Brandon Teena, college student Matthew Shepard, and the murders of many transgender people, especially transgender women of color in subsequent years showed America the darker side of bias and hate, sparking a broader conversation about hate crimes and anti-LGBTQ violence. Almost two dozen transgender people, predominantly transgender women of color, were murdered in 2015—more than in any other year.¹⁵⁹ In response, the Congressional

¹⁵⁹ Brandon Teena was murdered in the home he was staying at on Route 105, Humboldt, Nebraska on December 31, 1993. His murder led to the award-winning film, Boys Don't Cry. On October 6, 1998, Matthew Shepard was attacked and left to die on a fence at Pilot Peak and Snowy View Roads, just outside Laramie, Wyoming. His death spurred action towards hate crimes legislation. The twentythree transgender people murdered in the US in 2015 are: Papi Edwards, Louisville, KY, 1/9/15; Lamia Beard, Norfolk, VA, 1/17/15; Ty Underwood, Tyler, TX, 1/26/15; Yazmin Vash Payne, Van Nuys, CA, 1/31/15; Taja DeJesus, San Francisco, CA, 2/3/15; Penny Proud, New Orleans, LA, 2/10/15; Bri Golec, Akron, OH, 2/13/15; Kristina Grant Infiniti, Miami, FL, 2/15/15; Keyshia Blige, Aurora, IL, 3/7/15; Mya Hall, Baltimore, MD, 3/30/15; London Chanel, Philadelphia, PA, 5/18/15; Mercedes Williamson, Rocky Creek, AL, 6/2/15; Ashton O'Hara, Detroit, MI, 7/14/15; India Clarke, Tampa, FL, 7/21/15; KC Haggard, Fresno, CA, 7/23/15; Shade Schuler, Dallas, TX, 7/29/15; Amber Monroe, Detroit, MI, 8/8/15; Kandis Capri, Phoenix, AZ, 8/11/15; Elisha Walker, Johnston County, NC, 8/15/15; Tamara Dominguez, Kansas City, MO, 8/15/15; Kiesha Jenkins, Philadelphia, PA, 10/6/15; and Zella Ziona, Montgomery County, MD, 10/15/15. In 2016, by June 9, an additional eleven transgender people had been murdered in the US: Monica Loera, North Austin, TX, 1/22/16; Jasmine Sierra, Bakersfield, CA, 1/22/16; Kayden Clarke, Mesa, AZ, 2/4/16; Veronica Banks Cano, San Antonio, TX, 2/19/16; Maya Young, Philadelphia, PA, 2/20/16; Demarkis Stansberry, Baton Rouge, LA, 2/27/16; Kedarie/Kandicee Johnson, Burlington, IA, 3/2/16; Kourtney Yochum, Los Angeles, CA, 3/23/16: Shante Thompson, Houston, TX, 4/11/16: Kevonna Blakenev, Rockville, MD, 4/16/16: Reese Walker, Wichita, KS, 5/1/16; Mercedes Successful, Haines City, FL, 5/15/16; and Amos Beede, Burlington, VT, 5/29/16. See Samantha Michaels, "More Transgender People Have Been Killed in 2015 Than Any Other Year on Record," Mother Jones, November 20, 2015, accessed April 20, 2016, http://www.motherjones.com/mojo/2015/11/more-transgender-people-have-beenmurdered-2015-any-other-year-record; "#SAYHERNAME / Black Lives Matter event, October 17, 2015 @ 2:00 pm – 3:00 pm," Black Lives Matter website, http://blacklivesmatter.com/event/sayhername-

17-50

¹⁵⁷ Karen Thompson and Julie Andrzejewski, *Why Can't Sharon Kowalski Come Home?* (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1988).

¹⁵⁸ Rebecca Wight was of Iranian-Puerto Rican heritage; she met her partner Claudia Brenner while both were students at Virginia Tech. They were hiking the Appalachian Trail in the Michaux State Forest in Pennsylvania when the attack happened in May 1988.

LGBT Equality Caucus formed a nine-member, bipartisan group dedicated to transgender equality. Two of the members, Representative Mike Honda (D-California) and Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-Florida) have transgender family members.¹⁶⁰ In June 2016, forty-nine individuals, most of them Latino/a, were murdered in the Orlando, Florida LGBTQ club Pulse. This is the deadliest targeted murder of LGBTQ people after the 1973 UpStairs Lounge fire where thirty-two people died. It is also one of the deadliest instances of mass murder by gunfire in US history.¹⁶¹

What Makes a Family?

New definitions of family were formed in the 1970s, with lesbians who had children from heterosexual marriages re-forming new bonds with women and raising their children together. The increased availability of artificial insemination freed up even more women to create families of choice, and a "gayby" boom began in the 1980s. There were some high-profile custody cases where ex-husbands of lesbians, ex-wives of gay men, exes of transgender people, and in some cases even grandparents were given custody over LGBTQ birth parents. In 1974, after losing custody of her own children after coming out as a lesbian, Rosalie Davies created Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers (CALM). The organization provided free legal services to women in danger of losing custody of their children because of their sexuality.¹⁶² Occasionally men would use surrogates or adopt to have children, but because of legal restrictions on co-parent adoptions (meaning that children could not be legally adopted by both

black-lives-matter-event; and "List of Unlawfully Killed Transgender People," Wikipedia, last modified on June 9, 2016, <u>https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_unlawfully_killed_transgender_people</u>. ¹⁶⁰ Camila Domonoske, "Congressional LGBT Caucus Launches Task Force On Transgender Equality," *The Two-Way: Breaking News from National Public Radio*, November 18, 2015, accessed April 20, 2016, <u>http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2015/11/18/456495475/congress-lgbt-caucuslaunches-task-force-on-transgender-equality</u>.

¹⁶¹ Pulse, 1912 South Orange Avenue, Orlando, Florida, was hosting a Latino Night when the attack took place. the UpStairs Lounge was located at 141 Chartres Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
¹⁶² In 1982, the Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center began to grant open lesbians and single women access to banked and screened sperm. Previously, women had to obtain sperm from other sources; see Katie Batza, "From Sperm Runners to Sperm Banks: Lesbians, Assisted Conception, and the Fertility Industry, 1971-1983," *Journal of Women's History*, forthcoming. Custody Action for Lesbian Mothers operated out of 1425 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

parents), the real baby boom didn't occur for gay men until the 2000s when state laws began to change.¹⁶³

Thus, over the years, LGBTQ people have created different types of families: families of choice with no legal definitions through domestic partnerships in the 1990s, civil unions in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and now, as of June 2015, through full marriage equality throughout the United States.¹⁶⁴

While not all LGBTQ people believe that marriage equality was the right path to LGBTQ civil rights, when same-sex marriage became legal through the country, it affected hundreds of other laws. These laws, which used legal marriage in defining how and when they were to be enforced (or not) included: hospital visitation rights and medical decisions, income tax calculations, inheritance, immigration, health coverage, and employee and federal benefits including pensions, military and veteran benefits, and others.

Before it was legal, people subverted marriage laws to form their families. For example, in order to create a legal bond between them, civil rights activist Bayard Rustin adopted his lover, Walter Nagle, as his son.¹⁶⁵ Religious institutions have been performing same-sex marriages for decades—though they were not recognized by the civil authorities. Reverend Troy Perry, at the time a Pentecostal minister, is said to have performed his first official same-sex marriage in 1968 in his home; he later founded the Metropolitan Community Church.¹⁶⁶ In 1975, a Boulder

http://family.findlaw.com/marriage/developments-in-same-sex-marriage-law.html.

¹⁶⁶ Reverend Troy Perry's home was located in Huntington Park, part of greater Los Angeles, California. The first Metropolitan Community Church building was at West Twenty-Second Street and South Union, Los Angeles, California. The congregation moved into the building in March 1971; the church was



¹⁶³ "Legal Issues for Gay and Lesbian Adoption," FindLaw website, accessed April 30, 2016, http://family.findlaw.com/adoption/legal-issues-for-gay-and-lesbian-adoption.html.

¹⁶⁴ For a discussion of the legal landscape leading up to the United States Supreme Court decision making same-sex legal across the country, see Stein (this volume) and "Developments in Same-Sex Marriage Law," FindLaw website, accessed April 29, 2016,

¹⁶⁵ Robert Drayton, "The Personal Life of Bayard Rustin," *Out Magazine*, January 18, 2016, accessed May 1, 2016, <u>http://www.out.com/news-opinion/2013/08/28/bayard-rustin-walter-naegle-partner-gay-civil-rights-activist-march-washington</u>. The apartment shared by Rustin and Nagle in New York City was listed on the NRHP on March 8, 2016.

Sex, Love, and Relationships

City, Colorado clerk married same-sex couples before she was stopped by authorities; and a mass wedding was held by the Metropolitan Community Church at the 1987 National March on Washington for Gay and Lesbian Rights. These were just some of the acts of subversion that LGBTQ people did to engage in the very traditional institution of marriage.

In the end, it was the stories of individual LGBTQ couples in the media and in the state and circuit courts that changed the hearts and minds of the public, and most importantly of the United States Supreme Court. In both the Edie Windsor case in 2013, which took down a key portion of the Defense of Marriage Act, and the 2015 Jim Obergefell case, which resulted in full marriage equality in all states, the people challenging the law were the surviving partners in long-time committed partnerships where one partner died (Thea Spyer and John Arthur, respectively), and the other lived to fight in their name to get their relationships fully legal in the eyes of the court.

In the 5-4 Obergefell ruling, the majority opinion reads in some ways as a summary of same-gender sex, love, and relationships:

Well into the 20th century, many States condemned same-sex intimacy as immoral, and homosexuality was treated as an illness. Later in the century, cultural and political developments allowed same-sex couples to lead more open and public lives. Extensive public and private dialogue followed, along with shifts in public attitudes. Questions about the legal treatment of gays and lesbians soon reached the courts, where they could be discussed in the formal discourse of the law. In 2003, this Court overruled its 1986 decision in *Bowers v. Hardwick*, 478 U. S. 186, which upheld a Georgia law that criminalized certain homosexual acts, concluding laws making same-sex intimacy a crime 'demea[n] the lives of homosexual persons.' *Lawrence v. Texas*, 539 U. S. 558,

burned by an arsonist in January 1973. For more information on LGBTQ and religion, see Bourn (this volume).

575. In 2012, the federal Defense of Marriage Act was also struck down. *United States v. Windsor*, 570 U.S.

The court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment required states to issue licenses to same-sex couples. The ruling continues:

The first premise of this Court's relevant precedents is that the right to personal choice regarding marriage is inherent in the concept of individual autonomy. This abiding connection between marriage and liberty is why *Loving*¹⁶⁷ invalidated interracial marriage bans under the Due Process Clause. ...

A second principle in this Court's jurisprudence is that the right to marry is fundamental because it supports a two-person union unlike any other in its importance to the committed individuals. ... Same-sex couples have the same right as opposite-sex couples to enjoy intimate association, a right extending beyond mere freedom from laws making same-sex intimacy a criminal offense. ...

A third basis ... is that it safeguards children and families and thus draws meaning from related rights of childrearing, procreation, and education. ... Without the recognition, stability, and predictability marriage offers, children suffer the stigma of knowing their families are somehow lesser. They also suffer the significant material costs of being raised by unmarried parents, relegated to a more difficult and uncertain family life. The marriage laws at issue thus harm and humiliate the children of same-sex couples. ... This does not mean that the right to marry is less meaningful for those who do not or cannot have children. ...

Finally, this Court's cases and the Nation's traditions make clear that marriage is a keystone of the Nation's social order. ... States have contributed to the fundamental character of marriage by

¹⁶⁷ Loving v. Virginia, 388 US 1 (1967)



placing it at the center of many facets of the legal and social order. There is no difference between same- and opposite-sex couples with respect to this principle, yet same-sex couples are denied the constellation of benefits that the States have linked to marriage and are consigned to an instability many opposite-sex couples would find intolerable. It is demeaning to lock same-sex couples out of a central institution of the Nation's society, for they too may aspire to the transcendent purposes of marriage.

The success at the Supreme Court is not the end of the road for the LGBTQ fight for equality, just as Loving v. Virginia eased, but did not eliminate challenges for interracial couples or the African American civil rights movement. But it is a major victory—a victory that will hopefully contribute to the dismantling of societal homophobia, familial homophobia, and perhaps most importantly, the internalized homophobia that plagues people within the LGBTQ community.

Conclusion

Summarizing the sex, love, and relationships of any one community would not be possible even in one book, much less a chapter in one. But the LGBTQ community presents even more unique obstacles, because there are so many variations in each letter of that acronym—and even within each individual across their lifetime. There are definitions placed on people by society, and self-identities that can conflict with those labels. There are also multiple and shifting identities and definitions across the centuries.

For the LGBTQ community, the ability to self-identify individually, as families, and as communities has been key to self-preservation and survival. Who we love, how we love, and how we represent ourselves as lovers, partners, wives, husbands, family, and community are foundational to the understanding of just what the LGBTQ community was, is, and will become.