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LGBTQ AMERICA

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

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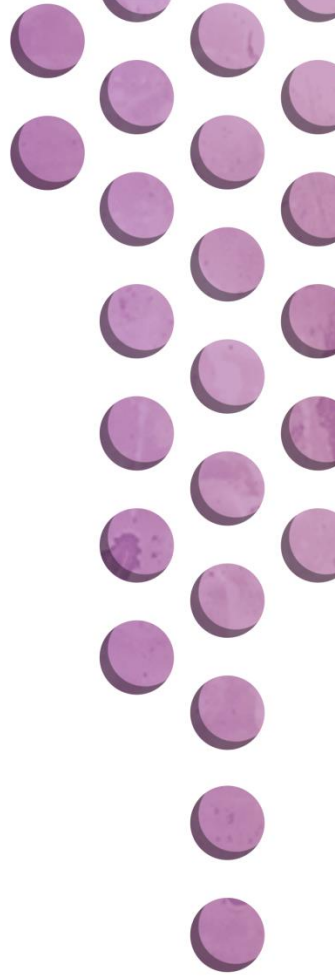
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LEGACY

People engage with history in many ways, not just through reading books and reports. The chapters in this section are designed as resources for NPS interpreters, museum staff, teachers, professors, parents, and others who do applied history work and who wish to incorporate LGBTQ history and heritage into their programs, lessons, exhibits, and courses.

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Megan E. Springate and
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The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and the National Historic Landmarks (NHL) program are two of the many ways that historic places can be identified, remembered, and preserved. Both of these programs are overseen by the National Park Service (NPS), and to be added to these lists properties (sites, buildings, structures, objects,

districts) must meet certain criteria.¹ This chapter provides an introduction to the NRHP and NHL programs as well as a discussion about evaluating and listing LGBTQ places that will be of use both to those interested in nominating properties as well as those in the various State Historic Preservation Offices, Tribal Historic Preservation Offices, and Federal Historic Preservation Officers who will be evaluating LGBTQ nominations. It does not replace registration requirements or any of the official guidance published by the NPS on nominating places to these programs.²

The Effects of Designation and Listing

Many people have misconceptions about the implications of designating a property as an NHL or having it listed on the NRHP.

What the NHL and NRHP Do

The NHL program and the NRHP are preservation tools that help recognize and preserve significant places and stories. It is important to understand how these tools work, that is, the effects of NHL designation and NRHP listing.

The NHL program was established to identify potential historic units for inclusion in the National Park System; although still a part of its mandate, the scope of the program has since evolved. The NRHP was created as a reaction to urban renewal and Federal projects in the 1960s and to expand the Federal government's role in historic preservation.³

¹ The term "property" is used when referring collectively to sites, buildings, structures, and objects, and is also used to refer generically to sites, buildings, structures, or objects. Other ways of recognizing historic places include site preservation, local or state historic markers, walking tours, public talks, museum and historical society exhibits, preservation of archival materials and artifacts, and publications.

² Information on the NPS website and bulletins published by the NPS contain much more extensive and complete information, and should be referred to when writing nominations or nomination amendments. <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/index.htm>.

³ For a full history of the National Historic Landmarks Program see Barry Mackintosh's *The Historic Sites Survey and National Historic Landmarks Program: A History*, available online at <https://www.nps.gov/nhl/learn/pubs/NHLHistoricSitesSurvey.pdf>. For a history of both programs within the larger historic preservation movement see John H. Sprinkle, Jr., *Crafting Preservation*

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Designation as an NHL ensures that stories of nationally important historic events, places, or persons are recognized and preserved for the benefit of all citizens. Designation may also provide the property's historic character with a measure of protection against any adverse effect by a project initiated by the Federal government; nominations serve as preservation planning documents. Additionally, NHLs may be eligible for grants, tax credits, and other opportunities to maintain a property's historic character.

Listing in the NRHP provides formal recognition of a property's historical, architectural, or archeological significance. There are many benefits that come with listing:

- Becoming part of the NRHP Archives, a public, searchable database that provides a wealth of research information;⁴
- Encouraging preservation of historic resources by documenting a property's historic significance;
- Providing opportunities for specific preservation incentives, such as:
 - Federal preservation grants for planning and rehabilitation
 - Federal investment tax credits
 - Preservation easements to nonprofit organizations;
- International Building Code fire and life safety code alternatives;
- Possible state tax benefits and grant opportunities; and
- Involvement by the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation when a Federally funded project may affect a historic property.⁵

Criteria: The National Register of Historic Places and American Historic Preservation (New York: Routledge, 2014).

⁴ National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, accessed June 13, 2016, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/research/>.

⁵ Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, accessed June 13, 2016, <http://www.achp.gov/index.html>.

What the NHL and NRHP Do Not Do

Designation of a property as an NHL does not give ownership of the property to the Federal government in general or to the NPS in particular; nor does it require that the public have access. NHLs are owned by private individuals; by all levels of government (federal, state, and local); by tribal entities; by non-profit organizations; and by corporations.

Similarly, NRHP listing places no obligations on private property owners. There are no restrictions on the use, treatment, transfer, or disposition of private property. Listing does not lead to public acquisition or require public access. A property will not be listed or designated if, for individual properties, the private property owner objects; or for districts, if a majority of private property owners object. Listing on the NRHP does not automatically invoke local historic district zoning or local landmark designation.

Theme Studies

Theme studies can be thought of as tools to encourage the preservation of places of value to communities nationwide and our collective history. A theme study like this one provides the necessary historic context so that significance may be evaluated for properties that are related to a specific area of American history.⁶ Theme studies are thematically, geographically, and temporally linked and describe the patterns, themes, or trends in history by which a specific property is understood. In other words, historic contexts provide a basis for judging a property's significance and eligibility under the relevant NRHP or NHL criteria, may provide important background information for other research efforts, and can be used to educate the public about the nation's heritage through interpretive and educational programs. Theme studies exist for a

⁶ A theme study is a research document that can be used to help identify potential new NHLs and properties that may be eligible for listing on the NRHP as well as potential new units of the NPS.

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Figure 1: The Hattie McDaniel House, Los Angeles, California. Photo by Waltarrrrr, 2008.⁷

broad range of themes in American history, including American Latinos, Japanese Americans in World War II, and Cold War defensive sites.⁸ Consulting with other, associated theme studies may be helpful if you are looking to nominate places with intersectional histories like the Hattie McDaniel House in Los Angeles (Figure 1),⁹ Fort Okanogan in Washington,¹⁰ or the Topaz War Relocation Center in Utah.¹¹ Mention of

⁷ License: CC BY-NC-ND 2.0. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/waltarrrrr/2941948949>.

⁸ National Park System Advisory Board, *American Latinos and the Making of the United States: A Theme Study* (Washington, DC: National Park System Advisory Board, 2013); Barbara Wyatt, ed., *Japanese Americans in World War II: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Washington, DC: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, 2012); and John S. Salmon, *Protecting America: Cold War Defensive Sites, A National Historic Landmark Theme Study* (draft) (Washington, DC: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, 2011).

⁹ In the early 1940s, Oscar-winning African-American actress Hattie McDaniel moved into this residence in the Sugar Hill neighborhood of Los Angeles. When white residents filed a lawsuit against McDaniel and other black residents of the neighborhood, where property deeds explicitly forbade sale to “non-Caucasians,” McDaniel organized her neighbors and they fought back. In 1945, a judge ruled in the defendants’ favor, and McDaniel was able to stay in her home. McDaniel had intimate relationships with both men and women. She was the first African American to win an Oscar, awarded for her role as Mammy in *Gone with the Wind*. She lived in this home until her death in 1952.

¹⁰ In 1811, Kutenai two-spirit *itiquattek* Quanon Kamek Klaulha (Sitting-on-the-Water-Grizzly) led a group of Europeans from Fort Astoria in what is now Oregon into the American interior. They founded Fort Okanogan at the confluence of the Columbia and Okanogan Rivers that became an important

LGBTQ struggles for civil rights were included in the NPS publication *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites*.¹²

Using This Theme Study

Many theme studies use already-listed NHL and NRHP places to illustrate how properties associated with a particular theme can meet the various NHL and NRHP requirements. Because there are only ten NRHP and NHL properties listed for their association with LGBTQ history and heritage, this approach is not effective. Instead, this theme study models the different ways that LGBTQ history can be told using places and provides general information about linking those histories to the NRHP and NHL programs. While chapters in the theme study focus on various aspects of LGBTQ history, many places are repeatedly mentioned throughout. Use the index to search across the whole document; the list of places mentioned in the theme study, found in the Appendices, can also be helpful. Note that the places listed in this theme study are not the only places with LGBTQ history across the country; there are many, many more. This should not be considered a definitive list of important LGBTQ places but should be treated as a baseline.

Nomination Concepts

In order to successfully nominate a place to the NRHP or as an NHL, it is important to understand some key concepts. These include property

location of commerce in the Pacific Northwest through the mid-nineteenth century. Located under the waters of the Lake Pateros reservoir since 1967, Fort Okanogan was added to the NRHP on June 4, 1973. Fort Astoria in Astoria, Oregon, was added to the NRHP on October 15, 1966, and designated an NHL on November 5, 1961.

¹¹ In 1942, Jiro Onuma, a first generation Japanese immigrant who lived in the Oakland and San Francisco area, was sent to the Topaz War Relocation Center (also known as the Central Utah Relocation Center) in Millard County, Utah. This was part of the mass internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. Onuma was a gay man. The Topaz War Relocation Center was added to the NRHP on January 2, 1974, and designated an NHL on March 29, 2007.

¹² National Park Service, *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (Washington, DC: National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service, 2002, rev. 2008). For more about intersectionality, see Springate's chapter (this volume).

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type, significance, evaluation criteria, integrity, and the NPS Thematic Framework.

LGBTQ communities, like other minority groups, have historically been found in marginal and ephemeral places. For LGBTQ communities, this has meant places like the Meatpacking District in New York City (literally an area of slaughter houses and warehouses) or the Tenderloin in San Francisco (known as a place of transience and vice). It has meant that organizations met and formed community where they could: gay and bisexual men cruised public places like parks to find each other; organizations met in people's homes and church basements, frequently changing location. It has meant that groups and organizations in the community, even when well-established, did not have permanent spaces as a result of bad landlords, rising rents, and redevelopment. It means that, when considering places for NRHP listing or NHL designation that places are not overlooked because they are marginal or ephemeral.

Property Type

There are five different kinds of property types that can be considered for NRHP listing or NHL designation. These are: buildings, structures, sites, districts, and objects. When preparing a nomination, you must indicate what type of property you are nominating.¹³

Buildings are created primarily to shelter any form of human activity. For example, they include houses, commercial establishments, churches, hotels, courthouses, and jails. A *building* associated with LGBTQ history

¹³ For a more in-depth discussion of property types, see National Register Bulletin 16A, *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 15).

listed on the NRHP is the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in Washington, DC.¹⁴ A *building* associated primarily with LGBTQ history designated an NHL is the Henry Gerber House in the Old Town Triangle neighborhood of Chicago, Illinois.¹⁵



Figure 2: Christopher Park, the location of protests following the Stonewall Riots, New York City.¹⁶

Structures are functional resources usually built for purposes other than creating human shelter. For example, they include bridges, railroads, roadways, grain elevators, dams, fortifications, and bandstands. There are currently no NRHP or NHL *structures* designated specifically for their association with LGBTQ heritage. Examples of

structures that are associated with LGBTQ history are Pier 45 in New York City and the State Street Bridge over Kenduskeag Stream, in Bangor, Maine.¹⁷

¹⁴ The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence was added to the NRHP on November 2, 2011. When Kameny moved into the house in 1962 it quickly became a meeting place, archives, and the headquarters of the Mattachine Society of Washington, DC. During his years here, Kameny organized the first regional gay conference, planned a picket against the American Psychiatric Association for including gay and lesbian as psychiatric conditions; ran for Congress as an openly gay man, and was generally instrumental in spear-heading the new militancy in the gay rights movement.

¹⁵ The Henry Gerber House was designated an NHL on June 19, 2015. From his boarding house room at this location, Henry Gerber co-founded and ran the Society for Human Rights, the first gay rights society in the United States. The organization lasted from 1924 to 1925, and was suspended after an episode of police harassment. Afterwards, Gerber continued to work for LGBTQ rights, and influenced homophile activists of the 1950s and 1960s, including Harry Hay, one of the founders of the Mattachine Society.

¹⁶ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:ChristopherPark3358.jpg>.

¹⁷ Neither of these structures have been evaluated for inclusion on the NRHP or NHL designation; they are included here as examples only. Since the 1970s, Pier 45 has been an important meeting place and place of community for drag queens, transgender youth, and other members of New York City's African-American ballroom community and culture (Mariah Lopez, Strategic Transgender Alliance for Radical Reform in correspondence with the author, 2014). On July 7, 1984, Charlie Howard and companion Roy Ogden were walking near the State Street Bridge when they were assaulted by three teenage boys. When Charlie fell, they threw him over the bridge railing into Kenduskeag Stream, where he drowned. This attack and death led to the founding of the Maine Lesbian Gay Political Alliance, now called EqualityMaine. Judy Harrison, "Events to Mark 1984 Slaying of Gay Man in Bangor," *Bangor*

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Sites are the locations of significant events, prehistoric or historic occupation or activity, or a place where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archeological value. For example, they include archeological sites, battlefields, and landscapes like gardens and



Figure 4: *The Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain*, President's Park, Washington, DC. Butt and Millet, who lived together and may have been romantically involved, perished when the *Titanic* sank in April 1912. Photo by Tim Evanson, 2012.²⁰



Figure 3: *Gay Liberation* (1980) by artist George Segal is located in Christopher Park, part of the Stonewall National Monument. It is the first piece of public art dedicated to LGBTQ rights. Photo by Raphael Isla, 2013.¹⁸

cemeteries.

Stonewall is a *site*

associated specifically with LGBTQ heritage that is listed on the NRHP, designated an NHL, and has been designated a National Monument (Figure 2).¹⁹

Objects are resources that are primarily artistic in nature or are relatively small in scale or simply constructed. Neither buildings nor structures, they are associated with a specific setting or environment. For example, objects include monuments, memorials, statuary, and fountains. A commemorative property is

Daily News (Bangor, ME), July 6, 2009, <http://bangordailynews.com/2009/07/06/politics/events-to-mark-1984-slaying-of-gay-man-in-bangor/>.

¹⁸ License: CC BY-SA 4.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gay_Liberation_Monument.jpg.

¹⁹ The Stonewall site includes 51-53 Christopher Street, Christopher Park, Christopher Street, Grove Street, Gay Street, Waverly Place, Greenwich Avenue, Sixth Avenue, and West Tenth Avenue between Sixth and Seventh Avenues South. It was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and designated a national monument on June 24, 2016. This was the location of the Stonewall Riots, an event considered a turning point in the modern LGBTQ rights movement, when patrons fought back and protested in the streets in response to what had been a "routine" police raid at the bar.

²⁰ License: CC BY-SA 2.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Butt-Millet_Memorial_Fountain_-_Presidents_Park_-_Washington_DC_-_2012-05-16.jpg. See also National Park Service, Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain, <https://www.nps.gov/whho/learn/historyculture/butt-millet-memorial-fountain.htm>. President's Park was added to the NRHP on May 6, 1980.



Figure 5: Statue of Thomas Hart Benton by sculptor Harriet Hosmer. Located in Lafayette Park, St. Louis, Missouri, the statue was commissioned in 1860 and completed in 1862. Photo by Whitebox, 2007.²¹

eligible under Criteria Consideration F/Criteria Exception 7 if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has imparted it with its own national significance. If the resource is part of a historic district it does not need to meet this exception. There are currently no NRHP or NHL objects designated specifically for their association with LGBTQ heritage. Examples of *objects* that are associated with LGBTQ history include *Gay Liberation* in New York City, New York; the *Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain* in Washington, DC; and the statue of Thomas Hart Benton in St. Louis, Missouri (Figures 3 to 5).²²

Districts consist of a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, or objects that are

united by their history or aesthetically by planned or physical development. For example, they include neighborhoods, business districts, residential areas, farms, large forts, and estates. There are currently no NRHP or NHL *districts* designated specifically for their association with LGBTQ heritage. Examples of *districts* that are associated with LGBTQ history include the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District in San Francisco, California, and the

²¹ License: CC BY-SA 3.0.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:ThomasHartBentonStatueByHarrietHosmer.jpg>

²² None of these objects have been evaluated for inclusion on the NRHP or NHL lists; they are included here as examples only. The statue of Thomas Hart Benton, Missouri's first senator, is located in Lafayette Park, St. Louis, Missouri. The first public monument in the state, it was completed in 1862 by artist Harriet Hosmer, who had a decades-long relationship with another woman. St. Louis LGBT History Project, 1860 Hosmer Statue, accessed April 9, 2016, <http://www.stlouislgbthistory.com/timeline/1800s/1860-hosmer-statue.html>.

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Washington Square West Historic District in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Figure 6).²³

Significance

In the context of the NRHP and NHL programs, significance refers to a property's ability to illustrate or interpret the heritage of the United States. In addition, the property must retain a level of integrity of place (there has to be a "there there," to paraphrase Gertrude Stein) as well as historic fabric. While both NRHP and NHL properties must have value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States and a level of integrity, for the NHL the standard is of exceptional quality and a high level of historic integrity. The NRHP and NHL programs have detailed frameworks for evaluating a property's significance. These are laid out in the Evaluation Criteria and Integrity sections, below.

A property's period of significance refers to the span of time during which significant events and activities occurred. Most properties have a clearly definable period of significance, which can range from a single day to many years. The period of significance for the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence is 1962 to 1975, when Dr. Kameny was living in the house and active in significant historical events. The period of significance for



Figure 6: Street sign in Philadelphia's Gayborhood. Photo by Bruce Andersen, 2007.²⁴

²³ Neither of these districts have been evaluated for their NRHP significance regarding their LGBTQ history and heritage; they are included here as examples only. The Tenderloin has a long LGBTQ history. Compton's Cafeteria, location of an August 1966 riot against police harassment, is listed as a contributing resource to the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District, though the district nomination itself is not for the area's LGBTQ history. Compton's Cafeteria was located at 101 Taylor Street, San Francisco, California. The Uptown Tenderloin Historic District was listed on the NRHP on February 9, 2005. Philadelphia's LGBTQ community, known locally as "The Gayborhood" is bounded approximately by Walnut, Juniper, Pine, and Quince Streets. It is encompassed by the Washington Square West Historic District, though the district nomination does not mention the LGBTQ history of the area. The Washington Square West Historic District was listed on the NRHP on September 20, 1984.

²⁴ License: CC BY-SA 3.0. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:13th_Gayborhood.jpg.

Stonewall spans six days, from June 28 to July 3, 1969, encompassing the original riot and the protests that took place in the days after.

Evaluation Criteria

For a property to be considered eligible for listing on the NRHP or designation as an NHL, it must meet at least one of the criteria for inclusion provided by each program. Though similar, these evaluation criteria are slightly different for the NRHP and NHL programs. Criteria for Evaluation for listing on the NRHP are lettered A through D; for designating NHLs are numbered 1 through 6. Properties can be eligible for listing or designation under multiple criteria.²⁵

Most LGBTQ properties will be eligible under the following criteria: those associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of American history (Criterion 1/Criterion A) and association with the lives of people important in American history (Criterion 2/Criterion B). Some will be eligible for their architectural significance (Criterion 4/Criterion C). The significance of historic districts is evaluated using Criterion 5/Criterion C. The significance of archeological sites, including those at sites where structures remain standing, is evaluated under Criterion 6/Criterion D.

Ordinarily, cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, and properties that have achieved significance within the past fifty years are not eligible for listing or designation. Officials in the NRHP and NHL programs know that some properties that would normally be excluded from listing or designation are eligible under certain circumstances. The NRHP program calls these “Criteria Considerations;” the NHL program calls these “Criteria

²⁵ Researchers are directed to the appropriate bulletins for complete details on the criteria for evaluation for both the NRHP and NHL programs. See, for example, Bulletin 15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/>.

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Exceptions.” If you are nominating places to the NRHP or as NHLs and using Criteria Considerations or Criteria Exceptions, you must describe the circumstances that support them.

Several of the places listed on the NRHP and designated as NHLs for their association with LGBTQ history have invoked Criteria Consideration G/Criteria Exception 8 because they achieved their significance within the past fifty years. For example, Stonewall is designated an NHL under *Criterion 1 and Criteria Exception 8*. The significant events at the Stonewall Inn took place less than fifty years before its designation. However, the historical significance of the events is important enough to



Figure 7: Carrington House, Cherry Grove, New York. Photo courtesy the National Park Service.

warrant NHL designation. The Edificio Comunidad Orgullo Gay in San Juan, Puerto Rico, was listed on the NRHP under *Criterion A and Criteria Consideration G*. The importance of the place as the home of the organization that spearheaded the gay liberation movement in Puerto

Rico did not require the passage of fifty years to evaluate.²⁶ Researchers looking to nominate one of the many religious properties associated with LGBTQ history (i.e. as places of protest, refuge, and/or community) would address Criteria Exception 1/Criteria Consideration A.

²⁶ The Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico (Casa Orgullo), at 3 Saldaña Street, San Juan, Puerto Rico, was the home of the Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico. The group was founded in 1974, inspired by New York City's Stonewall Riots, and was Puerto Rico's first gay liberation organization. They occupied the building from 1975 to 1976. Casa Orgullo was listed on the NRHP on May 1, 2016.

The NHL program only recognizes exceptional, national significance. The NRHP program recognizes local and statewide significance, as well as national significance (Figure 7).²⁷ Part of the evaluation for both programs is to determine significance in relation to other resources. For NHLs the basis of comparison is other nationally prominent properties; for the NRHP, comparative properties may be located within a single city, town, or state. Examples of comparative properties must be included in your nomination to help reviewers evaluate significance.

Integrity

The NRHP and NHL programs are both place-based; there needs to be a place, a “there,” in order for properties to be considered. This sense of “there” is evaluated using the seven qualities of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Although considered separately, these seven qualities also influence each other. Integrity is always related to the period of significance of a property; in other words, to be listed on the NRHP with a period of significance from 1950 through 1970, a building should have design elements, setting, feeling, etc. from that period.

Location is where the historic property was built or where the significant events took place. To be listed on the NRHP or designated an NHL, properties have to be located within the United States and its possessions. To have integrity of location, they must be in their original place.

²⁷ The Carrington House, Cherry Grove, Fire Island, New York, was listed on the NRHP for its association with the early establishment of Cherry Grove, New York, as a gay enclave, a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history at the local level. It was also listed on the NRHP for its architectural significance. The Carrington House was therefore listed as having local significance under Criteria A and C. It was added to the NRHP on January 8, 2014. The Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico was listed on the NRHP for its statewide significance under Criterion A. It was added to the NRHP on May 1, 2016. The Bayard Rustin Residence in the Chelsea neighborhood in New York City was listed on the NRHP for its association with a person nationally significant in our past. Throughout his life, Rustin impacted many campaigns for social and economic justice, including pacifism, civil rights, economic injustice, and human rights, including organizing and leading the 1963 March for Jobs and Freedom in Washington, DC. The Bayard Rustin Residence was therefore listed under NRHP Criterion B. It was added to the NRHP on March 8, 2016.

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Design refers to the historic structure and style of a property, including how space was organized, proportion, how it was built (technology), and materials. To have integrity of design means these elements from the period of significance are still present.

Setting refers to the physical environment of a historic property. Integrity of setting means that the physical context of the property remains relatively unchanged. It also refers to how the property is positioned on the landscape and its relationship to surrounding physical features.

Materials are the physical elements of a historic property. Integrity of materials means that a property's construction materials (including those associated with landscape features) and placement are consistent with the period of significance.

Workmanship is the physical evidence of craftsmanship associated with the period of significance. This quality is particularly important for architecturally significant properties.

Feeling is how the property expresses the aesthetic or historic sense of the period of significance. Integrity of feeling comes from the presence of physical features that, taken together, convey historic character.

Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. A property has integrity of association if it is the place where the event occurred and can still convey that historic relationship to an observer. If association is merely speculative a property is not eligible for listing or designation. Mere association with historic events also disqualifies a property from consideration.

All seven qualities of integrity must be addressed in nominations to the NRHP and NHL, though not all carry the same weight in evaluating significance. This varies from property to property, depending on other

aspects of the evaluation of significance. Some aspects of integrity are weighted more heavily depending on the evaluation criteria used. For example, the integrity of workmanship is more important when evaluating a property for architectural significance (Criterion C/Criterion 4) than for significance associated with important events (Criterion A/Criterion 1). The integrity of the only property of its type, or the only surviving property of its type, will also be evaluated differently than the integrity of a property type where multiple examples exist.

The absence or loss of integrity of a building, structure, site, or other historic property aboveground does not mean that the place is no longer eligible for listing on the NRHP or designation as an NHL. In many cases, evidence of the historic property remains belowground as archeological deposits. This can be significant on its own or can complement the evaluation of significance of standing structures. Archeological integrity is directly related to the potential for the property to contain historically significant information. In general, this requires intact archeological deposits – those that have not been disturbed through grading, extensive animal disturbance, additional construction, or other impacts. Intact deposits retain the patterning of artifacts and/or features (both above and belowground) that represent past uses and activities. Few properties exhibit wholly undisturbed archeological deposits; therefore, the evaluation of archeological integrity varies from property to property.

NPS Thematic Framework

The *NPS Thematic Framework for History and Prehistory* outlines eight major themes and ideas in American history that serve as a road map to identifying, describing, and analyzing the multiple layers of history that are present within each place.²⁸ These concepts are best thought of as an interconnected system of social and cultural forces.

²⁸ The National Park Service's Revised Thematic Framework, *History in the National Park Service: Themes and Concepts*, National Historic Landmarks Program, accessed June 13, 2016, <https://www.nps.gov/nhl/learn/thematicframework.htm>.

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The eight themes and examples of topics that are encompassed by each are:

1. **Peopling Places:** examining human population movement and change, family formation, community formation, colonization, health and disease, and different concepts of gender, family, and the sexual division of labor;
2. **Creating Social Institutions and Movements:** the diverse formal and informal structures like schools or voluntary associations through which people express their values and live their lives, including clubs and organizations, religious institutions, and recreational activities;
3. **Expressing Cultural Values:** expressions of culture as people's beliefs about themselves and the world they inhabit including educational and intellectual currents, the visual and performing arts, literature, mass media, architecture and landscape architecture, popular culture, and traditional culture;
4. **Shaping the Political Landscape:** tribal, local, state, and federal political and governmental institutions that create public policy and those groups that seek to shape both policies and institutions, military institutions and activities, and political ideas, cultures, and theories;
5. **Developing the American Economy:** reflects the ways Americans have worked, including slavery, servitude, volunteer, and paid labor, as well as economic endeavors like extraction, transportation and communication, agriculture, production, exchange and trade, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. It includes workers and work culture, labor organizations and protests, government policies and practices, and economic theory;
6. **Expanding Science and Technology:** encompasses experimentation and invention, technological applications, scientific thought and theory, and the effects on lifestyle and health;

7. Transforming the Environment: the variable and changing relationships between people and their environment and how the interplay between human activity and the environment is reflected in particular places; and
8. Changing Role of the United States in the World Community: diplomacy, trade, cultural exchange, security and defense, expansionism, imperialism, including immigration and emigration, and interactions among indigenous peoples, between the United States government and native peoples, and between the United States and other countries.

Individual places may represent multiple themes. For example, the Black Cat Club in San Francisco would fall under the themes of creating social institutions and of movements (as a community bar), expressing cultural values (the home of José Sarria’s drag show), shaping the political landscape (as the launching place of José Sarria’s political campaign and the owner’s repeated fights against legal harassment), and developing the American economy (as a long-running business).²⁹

Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of concepts important in nominating properties to the NRHP and NHL, including the NPS Thematic Framework, criteria for evaluating integrity, and establishing a period of significance.³⁰ This information, as well as the historic contexts presented in the rest of this theme study, set the stage for the successful nomination, evaluation, and preservation of historic properties associated with LGBTQ history.

²⁹ The Black Cat Club at 710 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California, was one of the most popular bars in the city from the late 1940s until it closed in 1964. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, it was the home base of drag entertainer José Sarria. He rallied his audiences against police repression, and used the bar to launch his 1961 campaign for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors – the first time an openly gay person ran for elected office. Sol Stouman, the straight owner of the Black Cat, fought repeated court battles from the 1950s onward in an effort to keep the bar open during the Lavender Scare. The building is a contributing resource to the Jackson Square Historic District, listed on the NRHP on November 18, 1971.

³⁰ For details, see the National Register bulletins cited in footnote 1.