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BE PROUD:
THE RECOGNITION AND PRESERVATION OF LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL,
TRANSGENDER, AND QUEER CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

By

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

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Of the more than 80,000 listings on the National Register of Historic Places, only three are properties listed for their significance to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer cultural heritage. It has only been in the last two decades that the National Park Service has begun to recognize sites of great social and historical importance attributed to this community. The LGBTQ community of the United States will be the focus of this thesis, as they are under-represented in the preservation of American cultural heritage. Using journal articles, books, National Register listings, magazine articles, and internet sites of LGBTQ organizations, this thesis' aim is to gather the information necessary to support the recognition of LGBTQ sites and material culture. The recognition and preservation of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) cultural heritage in New York City and San Francisco, as well as the three currently-listed LGBTQ sites on the National Register will also be examined and explored. The places for the display and care of the material culture of the LGBTQ community will be discussed, as well as the need for a national museum. Lastly, the thesis will explore LGBTQ cultural preservation efforts in U.S. cities other than New York City and San Francisco. The conclusion will suggest preservation efforts which seem to be working best and how the United States could expand its recognition of LGBTQ cultural heritage.

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Introduction

In the years following the Stonewall Riots of 1969, numerous Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer organizations have made efforts to collect, preserve, and exhibit parts of their cultural heritage. However, only in the last two decades has the National Park Service recognized sites of great social and historical importance with significance attributed to historical events and the lives of significant people to the LGBTQ community. Still, only three sites, among the more than 87,000 listings on the United States National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), have been recognized for their contribution to the cultural heritage of the LGBTQ community in the United States: the Stonewall Inn located in New York City, New York (Listed: June 28, 1999, National Historic Landmark: February 16, 2000), the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in Washington, DC (November 2, 2011), and the Cherry Grove Community House and Theatre on Fire Island, New York (June 4, 2013).¹

Aside from the existing three sites on the National Register, no other sites have been formally recognized as significant in the effort to preserve the cultural heritage of the LGBTQ people of the United States. Thus far, preservation efforts have been undertaken by non-profit and private organizations such as the Lesbian Herstory Archives, founded in New York City, New York in 1972, just three years after the Stonewall Riots. As stated on its website, “The Lesbian Herstory Archives exists to gather and preserve records of Lesbian lives and activities so that future generations will

¹ David W. Dunlap, “Stonewall, Gay Bar That Made History, Is Made A Landmark,” *New York Times*, June 26, 1999, accessed November 22, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/1999/06/26/nyregion/stonewall-gay-bar-that-made-history-is-made-a-landmark.html>. *The number of sites listed in the article stated 70,000 sites, as of October 2013 that number is over 85,000.

have ready access to materials relevant to their lives.”² Also in New York City, The National History Archive can be found within the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community Center, which “works to preserve [LGBTQ] communities’ heritage, making it accessible through regular exhibits, publication and scholarly research activities.”³ The ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives, located in Los Angeles, is another non-profit archive that works to “preserve and make accessible LGBTQ historical materials while promoting new scholarship on, and public awareness of, queer histories.”⁴ The ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives has been a partner with the University of Southern California Libraries since 2010, and operates a gallery and museum.

In addition to the non-profit and private organizations mentioned above, state governments in California and New York have both contributed to, and hindered, LGBTQ preservation efforts. The state government of California and the city government of San Francisco have made efforts to preserve and recognize sites of LGBTQ significance. For example, San Francisco has worked to designate buildings such as the Castro Camera and Harvey Milk Residence (San Francisco Landmark #227.)⁵ By contrast, the New York Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC) in New York City has yet to formally recognize any site for its LGBTQ significance. While the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation has worked to have LGBTQ sites recognized by the LPC by submitting proposals to the New York State Historic

² “Statement of Purpose,” Lesbian Herstory Archives, accessed November 27, 2013, <http://www.lesbianherstoryarchives.org/history.html#mission>.

³ “About the Archive,” The National Archive of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History, Accessed September 30, 2013, <http://www.gaycenter.org/community/archive>.

⁴ “About Us,” National LGBT Museum, accessed August 30, 2013, http://nationallgbtmuseum.org/#/who_we_are/aboutUs.

⁵ “San Francisco Landmarks,” NoeHill, accessed September 25, 2013, <http://www.noehill.com/sf/landmarks/sf227.asp>

Preservation Office for state recognition, the city has yet to designate a building or other site for its importance to LGBTQ heritage.

While there have been artifact/material culture exhibitions with LGBTQ themes, such as the AIDS memorial quilt on the National Mall and exhibitions at the GLBT Museum and Historical Society of San Francisco, there has yet to be a nationally-recognized LGBTQ museum or institution. Recognizing this trend, there is a proposal for a National LGBT[Q] Museum, proposed by the Velvet Foundation a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization. Tim Gold, a former Smithsonian researcher, and his husband, Mitchell Gold, have been working on this proposal since 2007. As there is no current physical structure, information about the museum can be found on its website, where the institution is described as a place where “LGBT[Q] people can explore their heritage.”⁶ The proposed museum’s information, also mentions that it recognizes the existence of other LGBTQ museums/archives/places of LGBTQ material culture throughout the country, but states that none have a national focus and ongoing exhibition programs. The need for LGBTQ representation in mainstream museums is a major concern, and this museum plans to bring to light the lack of visibility of LGBTQ material culture by making it accessible to the museum-going public.

This thesis will address the sites and culture of the LGBTQ community in the United States that have been largely overlooked by city, state, and national preservation efforts by providing a cultural heritage perspective on the issues of LGBTQ preservation and recognition. It will also draw upon New York City and San Francisco as case study cities, given their important role in 20th and 21st centuries LGBTQ history and culture.

⁶ “About Us,” National LGBT Museum.

By following the example of LGBTQ organizations in their role of collecting and preserving their cultural heritage, referencing the decisions of the previously-mentioned case study cities and their respective governments, and noting the very recently-listed and the scarcity of LGBTQ sites on the National Register; this thesis aims to demonstrate the lack of preservation of the cultural heritage of the LGBTQ community within the United States on a national level, and in some cases, the state level. If the United States is to embrace all citizens and cultures and formally recognize their significance in the history of this country within national museums and institutions, why is the LGBTQ community ignored?

Definition of Terms

Throughout this thesis I will be using the acronym LGBTQ, along with other terminology used to identify people or groups of people within the LGBTQ community. The words each letter represents are defined as follows:

Lesbian- This term will be used to refer to women who “women who love women apart from any need for men.”⁷

Gay- Generally this term is masculine in connotation, but can be synonymous with *homosexual*.⁸

Bisexual- This term will be used to refer to a person who “desires member(s) of any gender” as defined by Susan Stryker, distinguished transgender historian and the author of *Transgender History*.⁹

⁷ Paul Gabriel, “Why Grapple With Queer When You Can Fondle It? Embracing Our Erotic Intelligence,” in *Gender, Sexuality, and Museums*, ed. Amy K. Levin. (New York: Routledge, 2010), 71.

⁸ Ibid, 71.

Transgender- Stryker defines the term as “movement away from an initially-assigned gender position.”¹⁰ The term will be used to refer to individuals who do not dress according to, outwardly project, or live as the gender assigned at birth and do not subscribe to the cultural norms of their assigned gender.

Queer- This term has been defined a number of different ways throughout history; queer began as a derogatory term meant to mean strange or not the norm.¹¹ It has also been used as a synonym for homosexual. For the purpose of this thesis, I will use the post-Stonewall reclamation of the term as it relates to referring to a person or persons’ self-description/identification. This term will be applied to people and or communities that wish to “[challenge] heteronormativity and traditional gender roles.”¹² Queer can be used to describe any person or persons that identify in any way other than heterosexual.

Gender- This term refers to the socially-constructed roles and “represented masculinity, femininity, and the behaviors commonly associated with them.”¹³

Sex- Throughout this thesis, this term will be defined as the physical or biological manifestation of male or female reproductive organs and traits. This refers to “chromosomes, genes, genitals, hormones, and other physical markers.”¹⁴

Sexuality- What a person finds erotic and how they take pleasure in their bodies.¹⁵

⁹ Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 16.

¹⁰ Ibid., 19.

¹¹ Linda Hirshman, *Victory: The Triumphant Gay Revolution* (New York: HarperCollins, 2012), 41.

¹² Amy K. Levin, *Gender, Sexuality, and Museums: Routledge Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 51.

¹³ Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002), 3.

¹⁴ Meyerowitz, 3.

For the purpose of this thesis, I will refer to the LGBTQ community as a cohesive unit, rather than the individual identities defined above.

¹⁵ Stryker, 16.

Chapter 1: A Brief Overview of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History

It is important to know the history of the LGBTQ community to better understand what was, and is, significant to LGBTQ people. Where LGBTQ people congregated, and who the important figures were, help to inform preservationists as to which areas of LGBTQ cultural heritage are in need of preservation. This chapter will provide the necessary overview of significant events and people within LGBTQ history and their significance to LGBTQ cultural heritage, specifically those events and people located in New York City, New York and San Francisco, California.

The first gay rights organization to form in the United States was founded by Henry Gerber in Chicago, Illinois in 1924.¹⁶ Inspired by the rights of homosexuals in Germany, Gerber returned to the United States and founded the Society for Human Rights at his personal residence. The state of Illinois granted the organization nonprofit corporate status, and the went on to create the first American newsletter for homosexuals. Unfortunately, the organization was forced to disband shortly after its founding when police arrested all the board members for distributing the newsletter.¹⁷ The board members were released from jail after three days, while having no charges filed against them.¹⁸

¹⁶ George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 144-145

¹⁷ Chuck Stewart, *Gay and Lesbian Issues: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2003), 3

¹⁸ "Henry Gerber," Jonathan Katz, Public Broadcasting Service: Out of the Past, accessed March 26, 2014, <http://www.pbs.org/outofthepast/past/p3/gerber.html>.

The 1950's brought the founding of gay rights activist Harry Hay's Mattachine Society in Los Angeles, California. The organization functioned as a secret society, so its members could not be terminated from their place of employment. The society aimed to unify homosexuals and to educate people about gay issues, in addition to assimilating homosexuals into mainstream society.¹⁹ In 1953, the Mattachine Society created ONE, Inc. so that they could begin publication of a newsletter. Mattachine Society Los Angeles and ONE, Inc. ultimately merged into one organization, which now exists as the ONE Institute and Archives at the University of Southern California.²⁰ The Mattachine Society New York was founded in 1955, with other cities creating chapters soon after.²¹ Daughters of Bilitis, the first lesbian organization in the United States, was also founded in 1955, by Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon; whose contribution to LGBTQ cultural heritage will be further discussed in Chapter Three.

Another important LGBTQ-related event occurred in the 1950's: the Senate's report "Employment of Homosexuals and Other Sex Perverts in Government" resulted in the termination of over 500 individuals from government jobs and the discharge of over 4,000 men and women from the military.²² Following this report, on April 27, 1953, President Eisenhower signed Executive Order 10450, banning homosexuals from working for the federal government.²³ One such individual terminated from government employment was Harvard-educated Dr. Franklin Kameny, who will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

¹⁹ Stewart, *Gay and Lesbian Issues: A Reference*, 5. "Timeline: Milestones in the American Gay Rights Movement." Public Broadcasting Service. Accessed March 10, 2014. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/timeline/stonewall/>.

²⁰ Stewart, *Gay and Lesbian Issues*, 7.

²¹ Ibid.

²² "Timeline: Milestones in the American Gay Rights Movement."

²³ Ibid.

The 1960's saw LGBTQ activism become more militant. The first "Annual Reminder" march took place at Independence Hall in Philadelphia on July 4, 1965.²⁴ These annual reminders were inspired by the picket marches organized by Dr. Kameny in Washington DC and were suggested by Craig Rodwell after he participated in one of Kameny's marches. The marches occurred annually until 1969 and were meant to "call public attention to the lack of civil rights for LGBT[Q] people."²⁵ Influential LGBTQ individuals Frank Kameny, Craig Rodwell, and Barbara Gittings were in attendance for every march.

On April 21, 1966, the "sip in" at Julius' Bar in New York City drew attention to the discrimination of homosexual patrons. The "sip-in" and the Julius' Bar site are further discussed in Chapter Two. In what is often overlooked as a significant event in Transgender history, and in the larger context of the militant actions taken by members of the LGBTQ community, the Compton's Cafeteria Riot in San Francisco was yet another significant event to occur in 1966 (to be discussed further in chapter three).

One of the most discussed and recognized events relating to LGBTQ history and cultural heritage was the Stonewall Riots of 1969. The riots brought immediate attention to what is today referred to as the modern LGBTQ rights movement, the riots brought together LGBTQ individuals, inspiring the creation of many more LGBTQ organizations throughout the United States.²⁶ Chapters Two and Four will discuss the significance of Stonewall to LGBTQ cultural heritage in more detail. Following the riots at Stonewall, the Christopher St. Liberation Day parade was organized and occurred on the one-year

²⁴ Martin Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Penguin Books, 1993), 112-113.

²⁵ "Timeline: Milestones in the American Gay Rights Movement."

²⁶ Stewart, *Gay and Lesbian Issues*, 13.

anniversary of the riots. The parade was also intended to replace the “annual reminders” that once took place at Independence Hall, Philadelphia. The parade inspired gay pride marches throughout the rest of the world.

The 1970’s were a progressive time for the LGBTQ community. An important LGBTQ individual of the time was Harvey Milk. Milk became a member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1977, making him one of the first openly-gay elected officials in the United States. He was soon murdered by a fellow board member, Dan White. White’s minimal sentence was the cause of the White Night Riots in 1979.²⁷ Milk’s influence and contribution to the cultural heritage of the LGBTQ community is further discussed in Chapter Three in conjunction with to the landmark designation of his residence and Castro Camera shop. The first National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights occurred on the tenth anniversary of the Stonewall riots, in June 1979. More than 75,000 people participated in this demonstration for equal civil rights protections.²⁸ This march strengthened the national lesbian and gay rights movement.²⁹

The 1980’s saw the rise of the AIDS crisis and the formation of organizations to educate people about the disease and what could be done to prevent it from spreading. AIDS organizations, like that of the National Gay Task Force, founded by the biologist Bruce Voeller who coined the term “acquired immune deficiency syndrome,” successfully changed the name of the disease to the less stigmatizing “AIDS” from its original “gay related immune defense disorder” (GRID).

²⁷ Ibid., 154.

²⁸ “Timeline: Milestones in the American Gay Rights Movement.”

²⁹ “Marches on Washington,” GLBTQ: An Encyclopedia of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Culture, last modified 2004, accessed March 23, 2014, http://www.glbtq.com/social-sciences/marches_washington.html.

The NAMES Project Foundation, the organization behind the AIDS Memorial Quilt was created in 1987 to honor the lives of individuals lost to HIV and AIDS. The original quilt was a single three-foot by six-foot panel (the average size of a human grave); today the quilt weighs over fifty-four tons.³⁰ When the quilt was first displayed on the National Mall, in 1987, it contained 1,920 panels.³¹ The quilt was declared an official American treasure in 2005 when the NAMES Project was awarded the “Save America’s Treasures” Federal Grant.³² The city landmark designation of the original NAMES Project Foundation building in San Francisco, California will be further discussed in Chapter Three.

In the nation’s most recent history, victims of LGBTQ-related hate crimes have garnered major media attention. Matthew Shepard’s 1998 murder in Laramie, Wyoming was the impetus for the 2009 Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act which “expands the 1969 U.S. Federal Hate Crime Law to include crimes motivated by a victim’s actual or perceived gender, sexual orientation, gender identity or disability.”³³ Sadly, acts of violence against LGBTQ people continue to occur, with many victims not surviving the attacks.

Same-sex marriage has been a serious on-going debate for the last several decades. Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, co-founders of the Daughters of Bilitis, and partners for over two decades, were married in San Francisco in 2004, although shortly

³⁰ “The NAMES Project Foundation: History of The NAMES Project Foundation,” The AIDS Memorial Quilt, last modified 2011, accessed March 23, 2014, <http://www.aidsquilt.org/about/the-names-project-foundation>.

³¹ “San Francisco Landmark #241,” Noe Hill, accessed February 15, 2014, <http://www.noehill.com/sf/landmarks/sf241.asp>.

³² “The NAMES Project Foundation: History of The NAMES Project Foundation,” The AIDS Memorial Quilt.

³³ “Timeline: Milestones in the American Gay Rights Movement.”

after their nuptials, the wedding was deemed invalid by the California Supreme Court. Four years later, shortly before Del Martin passed away, the couple was married again, thus becoming the first couple to wed in San Francisco after the state Supreme Court began recognizing the same-sex unions.³⁴

Review of Literature

Although modern presses have documented the social history of the LGBTQ community, scholarship has mainly concentrated on major LGBTQ events, such as the Stonewall Riots. Historians have also begun to write about homosexual life before the Stonewall Riots and the modern era of gay rights. This thesis adds to a growing body of scholarship on the important landmarks and cultural heritage of the LGBTQ community.

Noteworthy historian Martin Duberman's book *Stonewall* provided an insightful context for the events leading up to, during, and following the Stonewall Riots. The use of interviews from six diverse LGBTQ individuals who all shared the experience of LGBTQ life in New York City leading up to the Stonewall Riots reveals unique perspective of LGBTQ life in the city and how the riots inspired the creation of the Christopher Street Liberation Day March. Duberman's interviews with lesbian activist Yvonne Flowers, gay activist Jim Fouratt, early LGBTQ historian Foster Gunnison Jr., LGBTQ activist and current professor of English and Women's and Gender Studies at Pace University Karla Jay, transwoman and activist Sylvia Ray Rivera, and Craig Rodwell, activist and founder of the first LGBTQ bookstore The Oscar Wilde Bookshop (now closed), provided personal accounts from important LGBTQ figures that were

³⁴ "Remembering Del Martin," Lyon Martin Health Services, accessed March 6, 2014, <https://lyon-martin.org/about-us/the-lyon-martin-story/remembering-del-martin/>.

integral in both pre-Stonewall activism and the post-Stonewall gay rights movement. Several of these individuals have died since the 1993 publication of *Stonewall*: without Duberman's scholarship there would be a severe lack of first-hand accounts of LGBTQ life leading up to the Stonewall Riots.

Another important text for considering the cultural heritage of LGBTQ community is George Chauncey's *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World 1890-1940*, which provides understanding of life for gay men in pre-Stonewall New York. The book sheds light on a culture that was previously thought to live only in the shadows. It underscores how difficult it is for preservationists to identify LGBTQ sites of significance in the pre-Stonewall era because documentation of sites and homes is often scarce.

The Queerest Places by Paula Martinac proved to be useful in the preliminary identification of historic LGBTQ sites throughout the United States. This book, while published in 1997, could be used as a starting point for preservationists at the city, state, or national level. Martinac, a member of the LGBTQ community with an interest in preservation, groups sites by region, then lists each site by state, including a brief summary of its significance to LGBTQ cultural heritage. In addition to the book, there is a corresponding website, queerestplaces.com.

Susan Stryker's *Transgender History* not only helped to define multiple terms relating to this thesis, it also provided information on the Compton's Cafeteria Riot. It was while Stryker was researching at San Francisco's GLBT Historical Society that she found a flyer referencing the riot. From there she began conducting interviews and

scouring historical records to uncover the details of the riot. Stryker also created a documentary film, *Screaming Queens*, that showcases the first collective resistance of LGBTQ people in the United States through archival footage and interviews with people who recall the event.

In his recent book on Greenwich Village, *The Village: 400 Years of Beats and Bohemians, Radicals and Rogues*, John Strausbaugh covers roughly the four hundred year history of the neighborhood. Several chapters explore what life was like for gay men and other LGBTQ people in Greenwich Village in the years prior to the Stonewall Riots. Also documented are the details of the Stonewall Inn as a mafia-run establishment. The book recounts the details of the night of the riots, including descriptions from transgender activist Sylvia Ray Rivera.

Together, the above-listed books on LGBTQ history and culture have created a historical narrative and framework from which significant LGBTQ people, sites, and events can be uncovered. The scholarship of LGBTQ history has provided the names and dates necessary for preservationists to pinpoint potential landmarks associated with LGBTQ cultural heritage.

Chapter 2: New York City, New York

New York City is home to the first Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer National Historic Landmark, the Stonewall Inn, a site credited as the catalyst in the gay civil rights movement. In addition to the Stonewall Inn, the greater New York area is also home to the nation's most recently added LGBTQ site on the National Register, the Cherry Grove Community House and Theatre in Cherry Grove, NY in the Fire Island Pines. The nationally-recognized sites will be further discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis. However, even with two nationally-recognized sites in the area, New York City's Landmark's Preservation Commission has done little to highlight the cultural heritage of the LGBTQ community in New York City.

In an interview from August 2012, Andrew Berman, the Executive Director of the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation (GVSHP), stated that "In the entire City of New York, there is not a single site that the city has recognized because of its importance to LGBT[Q] history."³⁵ In June of 2013, the New York Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC) released a public document in the form of a pdf file that contained information on twenty sites related to significant LGBTQ history and individuals, some of which can be found in Historic Districts throughout the city.³⁶ However, not one of the landmarks or sites mentioned in the document is specifically designated, if at all, for its significance to the cultural heritage of LGBTQ peoples. For

³⁵ Duncan Osborne, "Landmarks Preservation Denies Bid to Save Spring Street Gay History Site," *Gay City News*, August 22, 2012, <http://gaycitynews.com/landmarks-preservation-denies-bid-to-save-spring-street-gay-history-site/> (accessed September 17, 2013).

³⁶ "Gay Pride Month 2013," New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, accessed June 2013, http://www.nyc.gov/html/lpc/downloads/pdf/LBGT_Pride_Month_2013_slideshow.pdf. A map of all New York City historic districts can be found at the Historic District Council's website: <http://hdc.org/hdc-across-nyc/manhattan/manhattan-landmarked>.

some of these sites, the fact that they are already located in a historic district could be the reason the city has not recognized them as individual landmarks. As Elisabeth de Bourbon, the Landmarks Preservation Commission's spokeswoman, said in a 2012 interview referring to Stonewall Inn, that because the bar is located within the Greenwich Village Historic District, the commission determined that it was already protected. She further stated that:

The primary goal of designation is to protect the bricks and mortar that embody the cultural significance. For us designation is not an honorific, it's a regulatory mechanism that allows the city to protect its historic resources.³⁷

De Bourbon's statement is exactly the reason the city of New York must designate their LGBTQ sites, so that the structural integrity of the original buildings remains altered as little as possible from what the building was when these significant events took place. While national and state designations are primarily honorific, it is the city's recognition of LGBTQ sites that can offer protection. These protections could prevent new development that could greatly alter or demolish the site because the LPC must approve any alterations, reconstructions, demolition, or new construction in advance.³⁸

I. Lost LGBTQ Sites:

Despite many organizations' best efforts and the pleas of political officials, such as New York state senator Tom Duane and New York City Council member Daniel Dromm, as well as members of LGBTQ political clubs, the city has lost several LGBTQ sites to new development, demolition, and lack of action by the Landmarks Preservation

³⁷ Kim Velsey. "Does New York City Need a Gay Rights Landmark?" *The New York Observer*. October 9, 2012. Accessed March 5, 2014. <http://observer.com/2012/10/a-soho-rowhouse-is-demolished-despite-its-role-in-gay-rights-history/#ixzz2sJWdGU6m>

³⁸ "Meaning of Landmark Designation." New York Landmarks Preservation Commission. Accessed March 6, 2014. <http://www.nyc.gov/html/lpc/html/faqs/designation.shtml>.

Commission.³⁹ Such is the fate of 186 Spring Street, a building once home to several important LGBTQ individuals over several years, such as Jim Owles, Arnie Kantrouitz, and Bruce Voeller, all of whom were residents at one point or another during the building's history. Owles, founder of Gay Activists Alliance, was president of the organization while he resided at 186 Spring Street, and the first openly-gay candidate to run for political office in New York City.⁴⁰ Owles was also involved in numerous other LGBTQ organizations, such as the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD) and the Gay and Lesbian Independent Democrats.

Arnie Kantrouitz also lived at 186 Spring Street and was involved with the Gay Activists Alliance, Gay Academic Union, and Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee; in 1985, he went on to become a co-founder of Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD).⁴¹ The organization's mission states that to:

[Amplify] the voice of the LGBT[Q] community by empowering real people to share their stories, holding the media accountable for the words and images they present, and helping grassroots organizations communicate effectively. By ensuring that the stories of LGBT[Q] people are heard through the media, GLAAD promotes understanding, increases acceptance and advances equality.⁴²

GLAAD is still important to the representation of LGBTQ people today. Had Kantrouitz not founded this organization, LGBTQ individuals would continue to be portrayed inaccurately on television programs and news reports, or possibly not portrayed at all.

³⁹ Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation, "Press Conference to Save 186 Spring Street," YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MLJz3tnvyg> (accessed February 2, 2014).

⁴⁰ Osborne, "Landmarks Preservation Denies Bid to Save Spring Street Gay History Site."

⁴¹ *Arnie Kantrowitz Papers, 1958-1995*, New York Public Library: Manuscripts and Archives Division, compiled by Melanie A. Yolles (March 1997), 3.

[<http://legacy.www.nypl.org/research/chss/spe/rbk/faids/kantrowi.pdf>]

⁴² "GLAAD's Mission," GLAAD website, accessed February 4, 2013, <http://www.glaad.org/about>.

Bruce Voeller, who resided at 186 Spring Street for the longest duration of the LGBTQ activists, was the founder of the National Gay Task Force, now the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, a political organization that was influential in lobbying for gay rights and successfully initiated the first-ever meeting between the white house and gay and lesbian leaders.⁴³ Also at this meeting was Dr. Kameny, whose Washington, D.C. home is now one of the three listed LGBTQ properties on the National Register. This task force was responsible for the federal government no longer terminating gay or lesbians from federal positions. The task force also helped to have homosexuality removed from the list of mental illnesses.⁴⁴ Additionally, Voeller was regarded as an authority on homosexuality and AIDS research, as he coined the term “acquired immune deficiency syndrome.”⁴⁵ Voeller established the Mariposa Education and Research Foundation in 1978 with Karen DeCrow and Aryeh Neier to promote scholarship and dissemination of information relating to human sexuality. The foundation closed in 1995.⁴⁶ His Mariposa Foundation approached the Mildred Andrew Fund, which then commissioned the George Segal sculpture in 1979 to be located in Christopher Park, across the street from the Stonewall Inn (Figure 1).⁴⁷ The sculpture of four homosexuals commemorated the events of the 1969 Stonewall riots and was the first piece of public art that commemorated the struggles of LGBTQ people.⁴⁸ Segal’s *Gay Liberation* was finally placed in the park in 1992. Prior to installation, the neighborhood residents objected to the sculpture, arguing that it would encourage vandalism and take up space in

⁴³ Stewart, *Gay and Lesbian Issues*, 168–9.

⁴⁴ Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation, “Press Conference to Save 186 Spring Street.”

⁴⁵ Stewart, *Gay and Lesbian Issues*, 168–9.

⁴⁶ “A Salute to Mariposa,” Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, last modified 2014, accessed March 28, 2014, <http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/HSC/mariposa.html>.

⁴⁷ “George Segal’s *Gay Liberation*,” GLBTQ: An Encyclopedia of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Culture, accessed February 9, 2013, http://www.glbtq.com/arts/george_1s.html.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

the already limited area. Following the sculpture's unveiling in 1992, LGBTQ complaints mentioned that not enough people were consulted in the design of the sculpture, that the four figures were cast in a white patina, and that Segal himself identified as heterosexual so the commission should have gone to a LGBTQ artist.⁴⁹



Figure 1: George Segal's Gay Liberation Monument in Christopher Park
Photographed by Catherine Aust, March 1, 2014

The Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation contacted the State of New York, which then determined that 186 Spring Street met the National Register Criteria for Evaluation to be listed on the State and National Registers of Historic Places.⁵⁰ However, the Federal-style row house that once stood at 186 Spring Street was demolished in 2012 following the New York Landmarks Preservation Commission's refusal to landmark the building due to its "significantly altered architecture." The LPC's statement is questionable in nature, because that other properties in the city of New York have received landmark designation and are much more significantly altered than the

⁴⁹ Catherine Lord and Richard Meyer, *Art & Queer Culture*, (New York: Phaidon Press Inc, 2013), 30-31.

⁵⁰ Daniel McEneny to Andrew Berman, September 7, 2012,
http://www.gvshp.org/gvshp/preservation/186_spring/doc/shpo-eligibility-09-07-12.pdf.

1824 row house at 186 Spring Street.⁵¹ For example, a GVSPH blog post from June 19, 2013 compares the landmark designation of the Louis Armstrong House in Queens: despite having been significantly more altered from its original form than that of 186 Spring Street, the LPC determined the Louis Armstrong House had retained its historic significance, unlike 186 Spring Street.⁵² After years of proposals, the second phase of the South Village expansion was approved by the LPC as a historic district in December 2013. The third phase's designation is still not landmarked, although it is still being considered by the LPC.⁵³



Figure 2: 186 Spring Street (vacant lot)
Photographed by Catherine Aust, March 1, 2014

⁵¹ Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation, “Press Conference to Save 186 Spring Street.”

⁵² “Landmarks Preservation Commission Celebrates Gay Pride, Doesn’t Designate Gay Landmarks,” Andrew Berman, Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation: Off the Grid, June 19, 2013, accessed March 27, 2014, <http://gvshp.org/blog/2013/06/19/lpc-celebrates-gay-pride-month-still-hasnt-designated-a-gay-landmark/>.

⁵³ “Latest News: South Village landmarked! Largest landmark expansion in the Village since 1969,” last modified December 17, 2013, http://www.gvshp.org/_gvshp/preservation/south_village/south_village-12-17-13.htm.

II. Non-Designated LGBTQ Sites:

Similar preservation efforts have been made to recognize Julius' Bar in Greenwich Village, located at 159 West 10th Street at Waverly Place, and site of the 1966 "sip in." Members of the New York Mattachine Society entered the bar on April 21, 1966 knowing the policy of not serving homosexuals because of the state's prohibition against serving liquor to disorderly patrons (homosexuals being considered disorderly patrons).⁵⁴ Once the men were denied service, they sued the bar, which prompted an investigation by the New York City Human Rights Commission. The New York Mattachine Society won the case, making Julius's Bar an important pre-Stonewall LGBTQ site.

While Julius' Bar lies within the Greenwich Village Historic District, the bar itself is not formally recognized as an individual landmark, although the New York State Historic Preservation Office (NYSHPO) determined the bar "individually eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Preservation."⁵⁵ In a 2012 letter from the NYSHPO to Andrew Berman of the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation, Daniel McEneny states, "The building meets the criteria for listing in the area of social history for its association with the LGBT[Q] civil rights movement." This correspondence between McEneny and Berman informally verifies Julius' significance, however, there has been no formal nomination made for its listing on either the New York State Register of Historic Places or the National Register of Historic Places. Julius' is important to the cultural heritage of the LGBTQ community as it is the oldest gay bar

⁵⁴ "West Village's Julius' Bar Eligible for State and National Historic Registers," Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation, accessed December 22, 2013, <http://www.gvshp.org/gvshp/resources/julius.htm>.

⁵⁵ Daniel McEneny to Andrew Berman, December 17, 2012, <http://www.gvshp.org/gvshp/resources/doc/doc-julius-12-17-12.pdf>.

in New York (and the oldest bar in Greenwich Village, according to Julius' website), as well as the site of the 1966 "Sip-In" that resulted in the end of New York State's prohibition on serving alcohol to individuals known to be homosexual.⁵⁶



Figure 3: Julius' Bar, Greenwich Village
Photographed by Catherine Aust, March 1, 2014

III. Places of LGBTQ Material Culture: Museums, Galleries, and Archives

The places that house, preserve, and display the material culture of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer communities should also be recognized for their importance to the preservation of LGBTQ cultural heritage, as they are the places conserving, housing, and displaying objects significant to the LGBTQ community. Many nonprofit organizations have created gallery spaces, archives, and small museums to highlight what was not being represented in the major museums of New York and the United States. One of the most important LGBTQ archives in the country is the Lesbian Herstory Archives, now located in Park Slope, Brooklyn. Additionally, the Pop-Up

⁵⁶ "West Village's Julius' Bar Eligible for State and National Historic Registers," Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation.

Museum of Queer History, the Leslie Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art, the New York Public Library Gay and Lesbian Collection, and the National Archive of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History at the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, & Transgender Community Center, often referred to as The Center, should all be acknowledged for their contribution to the preservation of LGBTQ cultural heritage.

Lesbian Herstory Archives

The Lesbian Herstory Archives (LHA) was originally located in co-founder Joan Nestle's Upper West Side Manhattan apartment on 92nd Street, where it remained from 1975 to 1993.⁵⁷ It was in that year that the Archives coordinators decided the collection materials were so vast that a larger space was necessary. The LHA is now located in Park Slope, Brooklyn. While cultural history of the Archives' current building as a LGBTQ landmark does not fall within the National Register's 50-year designation for sites to be considered eligible for National Register listing, the building dates to 1908-1910 according to co-founder Deborah Edel. Additionally, the National Register Criteria Consideration G stipulates that properties with significance within the last fifty years can be listed.⁵⁸ The building's statement of significance, which accompanies its National Register Nomination, should "make a persuasive, direct case that the grounds –historic context- for evaluating a property's exceptional importance exist and that the property being nominated is, within that context, exceptional."⁵⁹ The Lesbian Herstory Archives could be argued as historically significant because it is the largest and oldest lesbian

⁵⁷ "A Brief History," Lesbian Herstory Archives, accessed November 27, 2013, <http://www.lesbianherstoryarchives.org/history.html>.

⁵⁸ Criteria Consideration G is further explained in chapter four of this thesis.

⁵⁹ "Justifying The Importance of Properties That Have Achieved Significance In The Past Fifty Years," National Register Bulletin, accessed February 7, 2013, http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb22/nrb22_IX.htm.

archive in the world.⁶⁰ It is also of exceptional importance, as it is the world's largest collection of materials by and about lesbians and their communities. The numerous, books, magazines, journals, photos, historical information, tapes, films, diaries, oral histories, graphics, and other memorabilia housed and preserved in the archive serve as repository where women and LGBTQ scholars can analyze and re-evaluate the lesbian experience from a perspective other than that of patriarchal historians.⁶¹

In addition to the Lesbian Herstory Archives building's date and the exceptional cultural importance of the archive, this building's significance could also be attributed to important figures in lesbian history and the greater cultural heritage of the LGBTQ communities, much like 186 Spring Street. Noteworthy lesbian Mabel Hampton was actively involved with the Lesbian Herstory Archives during her life (1902-1986), and donated her extensive collection of 1950's lesbian paperbacks. Hampton often spoke of her experiences with the Harlem drag balls and the Harlem Renaissance at the Archive's volunteer nights.⁶² Other significant lesbians associated with the Lesbian Herstory Archives include Judith Schwarz, a groundbreaking grassroots lesbian historian, and activist Georgia Brooks, who was responsible for launching the first Black Lesbian Studies group at the Archives.

⁶⁰ Stewart, *Gay and Lesbian Issues*, 241.

⁶¹ "Statement of Purpose," Lesbian Herstory Archives, accessed November 27, 2013, <http://www.lesbianherstoryarchives.org/history.html#mission>.

⁶² "A Brief History," Lesbian Herstory Archives.



Figure 4 Lesbian Herstory Archives
 From LHA Website, Picture dated September 1, 2005
<http://www.lesbianherstoryarchives.org/tourintro.html>

Pop-Up Museum of Queer History

The Pop-Up Museum of Queer History functions as an organization that creates “temporary installations dedicated to celebrating the rich, long, and largely unknown histories of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people.”⁶³ While the temporary nature of the installations does not allow for National Register or Landmark Designation, they do serve as a venue for the public to be exposed to works of queer artists, as well to learn about queer history from material culture, because national institutions are not providing these avenues. The organization has had “pop-up” shows in Brooklyn and SoHo, as well as in Philadelphia and Bloomington, Indiana. The Pop-Up museum has also partnered with other organizations, such as the Leslie Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art, and public spaces, such as the DUMBO (Down Under the Manhattan Bridge

⁶³ “What We Do,” The Pop-Up Museum of Queer History, accessed October 25, 2013, <http://www.queermuseum.com/about/>.

Overpass) Archway in Brooklyn, to display their pop-up shows. The first Pop-Up installation was located in Bushwick, Brooklyn in 2011. Recently the Pop-Up Museum held a site-specific show on October 5, 2013 called “On the (Queer) Waterfront: Brooklyn Histories” in the DUMBO neighborhood in Brooklyn. This particular show coincided with LGBTQ History month, and had additional events highlighting queer history and culture, such as film nights and panel discussions.⁶⁴ Currently, the museum has partnered with the New York Public Library and Lambda Literary to create an exhibit showcasing the relationship between LGBTQ people and literature. The exhibit is scheduled to debut in September 2014 at the Jefferson Market Branch of the New York Public Library in Manhattan.⁶⁵

Leslie Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art

As mentioned above, one of the spaces used by the Pop-Up Queer Museum was the Leslie Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art, located at 26 Wooster Street in the SoHo neighborhood of Manhattan. This museum is historically significant because it is the “first dedicated LGBTQ art museum in the world with a mission to exhibit and preserve LGBTQ art, and foster the artists who create it.”⁶⁶ The namesakes of the museum, Charles Leslie and Fritz Lohman, started the museum in their loft in 1969 so that gay artists would have a space to showcase their work.⁶⁷ In 1987, the non-profit

⁶⁴ James Nichols, “‘On The (Queer Waterfront: Brooklyn Histories’: Pop-Up Museum of Queer History’s Hugh Ryan on New Exhibit, *Huffington Post*, October 8, 2013, accessed March 28, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/08/queer-waterfront-brooklyn-histories-_n_4064696.html.

⁶⁵ “Call for Proposals – Queer Book Dioramas!” Pop-Up Museum of Queer History, last modified January 22, 2014, accessed March 29, 2014, <http://www.queermuseum.com/call-for-proposals-queer-book-dioramas/>.

⁶⁶ “About Us,” Leslie Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art, accessed October 28, 2013, <http://www.leslielohman.org/about.html>.

⁶⁷ “History,” Leslie Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art, accessed October 28, 2013, <http://www.leslielohman.org/about/history.html>.

Leslie Lohman Gay Art Foundation was founded. The foundation was recognized for its efforts in collecting and exhibiting work when the New York State Board of Regents awarded a provisional charter of official museum status in 2011, thus making it the first and only gay art museum in the world.⁶⁸

The museum currently provides visitors with six to eight major exhibitions a year, as well as talks, discussions, and film screenings, among other LGBTQ culturally-educational events. The museum asks that visitors only donate what they wish in place of an admission fee. The museum is home to over 50,000 works, information on over 3,000 LGBTQ artists, and a library with over 2,000 volumes of publications on LGBTQ art. The museum also publishes a quarterly LGBTQ art journal called *The Archive*: once again, a non-profit organization has taken on the responsibility to display and preserve cultural heritage of a minority group that is not represented in city, state, or national museums. Places like the Leslie Lohman Museum are paving the way for a national LGBTQ museum and should be formally recognized by their cities and states for their successes.



Figure 5 Minimal signage for the Leslie Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art
Photographed by Catherine Aust, March 1, 2014

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Even with the Lesbian Herstory Archives, the Pop-Up Museum of Queer History, and the Leslie Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art, and National Historic Landmark Stonewall Inn all located in New York City, the preservation of sites associated with bisexuals and transgender peoples is noticeably missing in the city of New York. Locating sites related to bisexual and transgender peoples, such as those related to transgender activist Sylvia Rae Rivera and the drag queen that is often credited with starting the Stonewall Riots, Marsha P. Johnson, should be a priority in the preservation efforts to recognized LGBTQ sites to better represent all members of the LGTBQ community. When, and if, the city begins to work toward recognizing its LGBTQ history based on the suggestions of historic preservationists, historians, and others, the city should also work to acknowledge and protect sites relating to bisexuals and transgendered peoples.

While other U.S. cities, such as San Francisco and Los Angeles, work to recognize and preserve their LGBTQ cultural heritage, New York City LGBTQ sites are often not formally designated and continue to remain concealed from the urban landscape. If New York City hopes to continue to appeal to diverse communities, including that of LGBTQ communities will need to start recognizing those communities in their preservation efforts. With seemingly no support from the Landmarks Preservation Commission to officially recognize sites of LGBTQ significance throughout the city, New York may soon lose its appeal of an inclusive city because it refuses to recognize a community's cultural heritage that has contributed greatly to the historical significance of New York City as well as to the city's current appeal as a tourist and residential destination.

Chapter 3: San Francisco, California

San Francisco may not be home to the only Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer National Historic Landmark (the Stonewall Inn, located in New York City), but the city has done a much better job of preserving and identifying the cultural heritage of LGBTQ peoples at the local level. That being said, San Francisco has only designated three sites for their contributions to LGBTQ cultural heritage, though there is currently a project underway to document LGBTQ sites in the city funded by the San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee grant money.⁶⁹ With the help of non-profit organizations like the Friends of 1800, an “organization dedicated to preserving significant historical buildings, landmarks and the architectural heritage of San Francisco, with a special interest in the identification and recognition of issues and sites important to GLBT history and culture,” the city has been able to better identify sites of LGBTQ significance.⁷⁰

This chapter will explore several of the LGBTQ sites that have been recognized for their cultural and historical importance, the degree of civic recognition those sites are given, as well as why there is a lack of national recognition of LGBTQ sites in a city that has contributed greatly to the cultural heritage of the LGBTQ community. Additional attention will be paid to San Francisco’s archives, museums, and historical societies that have played major roles in the preservation of LGBTQ material culture.

⁶⁹ Matthew S. Bajko, “LGBT History Month: Project Looks to Survey SF’s LGBT Past,” *The Bay Area Reporter*, October 24, 2013, accessed November 11, 2013, <http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=69200>.

⁷⁰ “The Friends of 1800,” The Friends of 1800, accessed December 15, 2013, <http://www.friendsof1800.org/index.html>.

I. Local Designation of LGBTQ Sites

Castro Camera and the Harvey Milk Residence

One of the most noteworthy LGBTQ sites in San Francisco is Harvey Milk's camera shop located in the Castro neighborhood. Harvey Milk was one of the first openly gay people elected to public office in a major city in the United States. His informal title of "the mayor of Castro Street" was earned because his camera shop had become the main location for social and political activity among the gay community. He was elected to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1975 and was assassinated along with the mayor three years later at City Hall by Dan White, a former member of the city's Board of Supervisors.⁷¹ Directed by Gus Van Sant, the film *Milk* won Academy Awards in 2009 for the Best Performance by an Actor in a Leading Role (actor Sean Penn as Harvey Milk) and Best Writing, Original Screenplay (Dustin Lance Black).⁷² It was also nominated for Best Motion Picture of the Year.

Following the trial of Dan White, after which White was sentenced to only seven years for the murders of Milk and Mayor Moscone, the White Night riots erupted throughout the city. The riot occurred on May 21, 1979 and was the largest riot in San Francisco's history.⁷³ Citizens of San Francisco, primarily LGBTQ people, were calling to "Avenge Harvey Milk" and engaged in hand-to-hand combat with the police. The

⁷¹ Stewart, *Gay and Lesbian Issues*, 154.

⁷² "Milk," Internet Movie Database, accessed March 11, 2014, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1013753/awards?ref_=tt_awd.

⁷³ Ibid.

following morning, the city of San Francisco woke up to police cars set ablaze and all the windows of City Hall broken.⁷⁴

Today, Castro Camera and Harvey Milk Residence, as it is officially called, is San Francisco Landmark #227. Located at 573-575 Castro Street, the city landmark was designated on July 2, 2000 and according to the city's description, it has "nationwide significance as one of the most important buildings in the country to be associated with the modern gay and lesbian rights movement."⁷⁵ The building's architecture is also mentioned, but it is explicitly made secondary to the LGBTQ significance:

To a lesser degree, the building also has significance as a Victorian-era retail storefront building on Eureka Valley's main commercial street. It was built by Fernando Nelson, one of the most prolific builders in Eureka Valley and Noe Valley at the end of the 19th century.⁷⁶

The emphasis on the cultural significance of Castro Camera and Harvey Milk Residence is important because architectural significance is often the focus of the nomination of many historical buildings, even those with cultural significance. By emphasizing Castro Camera and Harvey Milk Residence's cultural significance over its architecture, the city is highlighting its LGBTQ heritage. In an appropriate example of adaptive reuse, two LGBTQ organizations, the Trevor Project and the Human Rights Campaign, moved into the space in 2011.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Linda Hirshman, *Victory*, 166.

⁷⁵ "San Francisco Landmark #227," NoeHill, accessed September 25, 2013, <http://www.noehill.com/sf/landmarks/sf227.asp>.

⁷⁶ Ibid

⁷⁷ Sally Kuchar, "The Trevor Project Moves Into Harvey Milk's Castro Camera Store," *Curbed: San Francisco*, May 23, 2011, accessed October 28, 2013, http://sf.curbed.com/archives/2011/05/23/the_trevor_project_moves_into_harvey_milks_castro_camera_store.php.



Figure 6: Castro Camera and Harvey Milk Residence,
from NoeHill SF Landmark Information Page (May 29, 2003)
<http://www.noehill.com/sf/landmarks/sf227.asp>

Twin Peaks Tavern

The Twin Peaks Tavern, located at the corner of Castro and Market Streets, is San Francisco's most recently designated LGBTQ landmark (#264). Designated for its contributions to modern Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender society and culture at the September 19, 2012 Historic Preservation Commission hearing, its landmark designation was approved by the Board of Supervisors in January of 2013.⁷⁸ In November of 2013, the site was awarded the California Governor's Historic Preservation

⁷⁸ "Proposed Individual Landmarks: Twin Peaks Tavern," San Francisco Planning Department, accessed February 25, 2014, http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=2907#twin%20peaks_tavern.

Award for excellence in historic preservation.⁷⁹ The tavern has been an integral part of LGBTQ life since lesbians MaryEllen Cunha and Margaret Ann Forster bought and refurbished the original 1935 bar in 1972.⁸⁰ One of the most striking aesthetic details of the bar was the large windows that allowed both patrons and passers-by an unobstructed view of the interior of the bar. The floor-to-ceiling, patron-revealing windows, which were no longer-blacked out once Cunha and Forster bought the property, made the Twin Peaks Tavern the first gay bar in the nation to have transparent windows facing the street.⁸¹ For an openly gay bar, this was unusual, and has been seen as a literal “coming out” for bar patrons in a time where police raids were common and an LGBTQ person could lose a lot just by being “out.” Decades later, in 1980, the tavern was used as a meeting place for the LGBTQ community and the San Francisco Police Department to discuss current issues and tensions between the two.⁸²

With the Twin Peaks Tavern designated for its significance to the LGBTQ community by the city of San Francisco, and further, recognized by the state of California for demonstrating excellence in historic preservation; the work and collaboration done to achieve this level of civic recognition should be used as a benchmark for the preservation of LGBTQ cultural heritage across the nation. The city also worked to landmark Twin Peaks Tavern because it recognized the need to have more culturally significant LGBTQ

⁷⁹ “Twin Peaks Tavern Landmark Designation Wins 2013 Governor’s Historic Preservation Award,” San Francisco Planning Department, November 22, 2013, accessed February 25, 2014, <http://www.sf-planning.org/index.aspx?page=2719&recordid=226&returnURL=/index.aspx>.

⁸⁰ San Francisco Planning, “Twin Peaks Tavern Designation Report,” September 24, 2012, page 12 http://www.sf-planning.org/ftp/files/Preservation/landmarks_designation/Adopted_TwinPeaksLM_Report.pdf.

⁸¹ Robin Wilkey, “Twin Peaks Tavern San Francisco To Become Official LGBT Landmark,” *Huffington Post*, November 19, 2012, accessed February 28, 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/11/19/twin-peaks-tavern-san-francisco_n_2160132.html.

⁸² San Francisco Planning, “Twin Peaks Tavern Designation Report,” page 17.

landmarks. Engaging and educating the public on the process of historic preservation creates more community support for landmark designation. Engaged members of the public also provide preservationists with more sources and information via oral histories collected for the landmark nomination of the Twin Peaks Tavern.



Figure 7: Twin Peaks Tavern,
from San Francisco Planning Commission Landmark Designation Report (September 24, 2012)
http://www.sf-planning.org/ftp/files/Preservation/landmarks_designation/Adopted_TwinPeaksLM_Report.pdf

Jose Theater/NAMES Project Building

The home of the AIDS quilt, the NAMES Project building, located at 2362 Market Street, was designated as a San Francisco landmark on May 27, 2004.⁸³ As San Francisco Landmark #241, it is officially recognized as the Jose Theater/NAMES Project Building. Prior to the NAMES Project occupation of the building, the building existed as

⁸³ San Francisco Planning Commission, *City Ordinance No. 29-04*, Printed on May 19, 2004, http://ec2-50-17-237-182.compute-1.amazonaws.com/docs/landmarks_and_districts/LM241.pdf

the Jose Theatre from 1913 to 1919.⁸⁴ The NAMES Project, the organization that created the AIDS Memorial Quilt, occupied the building from 1986-2001.⁸⁵ The building served as the workshop space to assemble and maintain the quilt pieces, as well as a place to store the quilt while it was not on display elsewhere. The space also became a community center for people to talk about the family and friends they lost to the AIDS epidemic. People from all over the country and world made their way to 2362 Market Street to view the ever-expanding quilt.⁸⁶

In 1993, the building served as a visitor and volunteer center, as the quilt had outgrown the space and the workshop/storage was moved to another location in San Francisco, at 310 Brannan Street.⁸⁷ Sewing and panel viewing still occurred in the original building until 2001 when the NAMES Project and the AIDS Memorial Quilt relocated to Atlanta, using space provided to them by the Centers for Disease Control.⁸⁸ The NAMES Project now maintains an interactive digital exhibit for people to view the entire quilt, block by block, on their website.⁸⁹

The quilt has been shown in its entirety on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. several times, including first on October 11, 1987, and again 1988, 1992, and 1996. Only the 1,000 newest panels were displayed when the quilt returned to the National Mall on June 26, 2004, as the full size of the quilt was far too large to show in totality.⁹⁰ In 1996 the quilt was last shown in its entirety; it was viewed by over one million visitors and

⁸⁴ “San Francisco Landmark #241,” Noe Hill.

⁸⁵ Ibid

⁸⁶ Id.

⁸⁷ Id.

⁸⁸ Id.

⁸⁹ “AIDS Memorial Quilt,” Microsoft Corporation, last modified 2014, accessed March 27, 2014, <http://research.microsoft.com/en-us/um/redmond/projects/aidsquilt/>.

⁹⁰ “The AIDS Memorial Quilt: History of the Quilt,” The AIDS Memorial Quilt, last modified 2011, accessed March 23, 2014, <http://www.aidsquilt.org/about/the-aids-memorial-quilt>.

covered the entirety of the National Mall.⁹¹ In 2012, to mark the 25th anniversary of the quilt's creation, it was once again displayed on the National Mall, though the size had grown so large that it could not be displayed featuring all its panels.⁹² As Marita Sturkin, Professor of Media, Culture, and Communication at New York University, mentions in her book *Tangled Memories*, "Its message is that memory has purpose. As a site of cultural memory, the quilt creates a community united by sorrow and anger, yet always in tension with itself."⁹³ The quilt humanizes AIDS by not only naming those lost, but by allowing friends, lovers, family, and even strangers to create a panel and remind those not directly affected by AIDS that these victims were someone's brother, sister, or significant other, so that their deaths will not go unnoticed. The panels, and quilt as a whole, facilitate discussion among those viewing the quilt about what it was like to lose a loved one to AIDS, as well as educate the public about the details of AIDS and living with HIV. The collection of these personal stories is the beginning of the Archive Oral History Project. The project aims to be a resource for people looking to explore their heritage, and for scholars to research grieving practices or how cultural representation manifests in the panels.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Audrey Yoo, "The AIDS Quilt Returns to the National Mall," *Time Magazine*, June 29, 2013, accessed March 26, 2012, <http://newsfeed.time.com/2012/06/29/the-aids-quilt-returns-to-the-national-mall/>

⁹³ Marita Sturkin, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS Epidemic, and the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 219.

⁹⁴ "The AIDS Memorial Quilt: History of the Quilt," The AIDS Memorial Quilt.



Figure 8: Jose Theater / NAMES Project
from NoeHill SF Landmark Information Page (June 14, 2008)
<http://www.noehill.com/sf/landmarks/sf241.asp>

II. Non-Designated LGBTQ Sites

As is so often the case, there are more sites, including buildings, monuments, neighborhoods, and parks, than can and should be designated, whether it is at the city, state, or national level, depending on whom one asks. However, what are clearly missing in the sites that are designated in the city of San Francisco are the sites that directly relate to bisexual and transgender people.

Compton's Cafeteria Riot

On June 22, 2006, the Uptown Tenderloin Historic District's Sidewalk Plaque Project began commemorating the history of the Tenderloin neighborhood.⁹⁵ One site to

⁹⁵ Liz Highleyman, "Historic SF Riot Remembered," *The Bay Area Reporter*, June 29, 2006, accessed January 28, 2014, <http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=966>.

receive such a plaque was the site of the 1966 Compton's Cafeteria riots. The plaque was placed at the corner of Turk and Taylor Streets.



Figure 9: 46th Anniversary Plaque at the site of the Compton's Cafeteria Riot from 46th Anniversary of Compton's Cafeteria Riots

<http://www.advocate.com/politics/transgender/2012/08/23/watch-march-honor-46th-anniversary-compton-cafeteria-riots>

This riot was the first time direct action was taken by transgender people to demand equal treatment. This riot pre-dates the Stonewall riots by two years, but was unknown to scholars for years due to misplaced police records and a lack of oral and written accounts. Today, this riot is still often overlooked when sites and events of LGBTQ historic significance are recognized. The riot began, like many riots involving LGBTQ people in the 1960's and 1970's, with police harassment: when a local police officer took the arm of a transgender patron, she threw her coffee in his face.⁹⁶ From there, plates, silverware, and cups were thrown and the fighting moved into the streets. Over fifty patrons and police were involved; a police car was vandalized and a newspaper stand was burned to the ground, and yet no major paper covered the story and no police

⁹⁶ Susan Stryker, *Transgender History*, (Berkeley: University of California, 2008), 64.

records can be found.⁹⁷ For those reasons, it is often difficult to find sufficient documentation necessary for city, state, or national recognition or landmark designation. However, historical LGBTQ pamphlets make reference to the riot and transgender historian Susan Stryker made it her mission in 1995 to uncover the details by interviewing members of the community who were involved. As a result of the Compton's Cafeteria riot, health care and other social services were created and/or improved for transgender people.⁹⁸

If, as Susan Stryker says, the Compton's Cafeteria Riot was the first "queer uprising in the United States," why does it only have a plaque, placed on the 40th Anniversary of the riot, and not listed on some kind of historical register? Unfortunately, the San Francisco Public Library only has a picture of the site dating from 1982, after Compton's Cafeteria had closed. However, the neighborhood was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2009, after decades of effort and an exhaustive building survey. The historical blog, "Up from the Deep," states that the ground floor of the building was occupied by the adult bookstore Frenchy's K and T, which can be seen in the photograph from 1982. A side-by-side comparison of the 1982 photo and a Google Earth image of the corner today do not seem to reveal any drastic differences on the exterior. While a plaque is better than no recognition at all, this district is said to have four hundred historical buildings; why not work to have this building recognized for its history in the national LGBTQ civil rights movement?⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Stryker, *Transgender History*, 65.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 75-78.

⁹⁹ Randy Shaw, "Uptown Tenderloin Approved as National Historic District," *Beyond Chron*, February 17, 2009, accessed February 16, 2014, <http://www.beyondchron.org/news/index.php?itemid=6610>.

Daughters of Bilitis Original Location

Another important LGBTQ landmark in San Francisco is located at 693 Mission Street. It was here in 1955 that the United States' first lesbian organization, the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), was formed.¹⁰⁰ The DOB served primarily as a place for women to congregate and not feel worried about police raids that were frequent at bars and restaurants. It was at these meetings that women could meet others that shared their same sexual attraction, discuss homosexuality, and seek support and guidance.¹⁰¹ A year later, the organization's magazine *The Ladder*, became the nation's first lesbian periodical and continued to be published until the 1970's.¹⁰² It was in this original space that co-founders Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin, partners in love and in life, lived and worked to create "a women's organization for the purpose of promoting the integration of the homosexual into society."¹⁰³

In 2004, Ms. Lyon and Ms. Martin married in California, becoming the first lesbian couple to be married in the United States. Shortly following their nuptials, the California Supreme Court declared all same-sex marriages invalid.¹⁰⁴ However, four years later, in 2008, the couple married once again after fifty-five years together, once again making them the first legal gay union in the state of California.

¹⁰⁰ Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1997), 269.

¹⁰¹ Marcia M. Gallo, "Winds of Change: The Daughters of Bilitis and Lesbian Organizing," last modified 2005, accessed January 15, 2014, <http://www.gerberhart.org/dob.html>.

¹⁰² Stewart, *Gay and Lesbian Issues*, 150.

¹⁰³ Martinac, *The Queerest Places*, 270.

¹⁰⁴ William Grimes, "Del Martin, Lesbian Activist, Dies at 87," *New York Times*, August 27, 2008, accessed February 11, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/28/us/28martin.html>.

III. Places of LGBTQ Material Culture: Museums, Galleries, and Archives

Repositories for LGBTQ material culture are necessary to fully represent and recognize LGBTQ cultural heritage. Organizations and institutions that highlight important objects used or owned by significant LGBTQ activists or feature the work of LGBTQ artists are also significant to the preservation efforts of LGBTQ cultural heritage. The display of, and access to, LGBTQ material culture helps the public engage with and better understand LGBTQ history and cultural heritage. Further, places that house, preserve, and display LGBTQ material culture help to sustain access to these materials for future generations of scholarship and public engagement.

The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society and Museum

The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Historical Society (GLBTHS) is a 501(c)(3) educational nonprofit organization that “collects, preserves and interprets the history of GLBT people and the communities that support them.”¹⁰⁵ The organization, established in 1985, maintains both archives and a GLBT History Museum at separate locations.¹⁰⁶

The GLBT archives, located at 657 Mission Street, Suite 300, is open three days a week for members with appointments and two times a month for both members without an appointment and the general public. The collections policy is as follows:

The GLBTHS focuses its collections on gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender and queer life in the wider San Francisco Bay area and Northern California. Our collections document the tremendous diversity of GLBT life, its sexual, social,

¹⁰⁵ “About the GLBT Historical Society,” GLBT Historical Society, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.glbthistory.org/about/index.html>.

¹⁰⁶ “Museum Background,” GLBT History Museum, accessed February 15, 2014, http://www.glbthistory.org/museum/documents/MuseumBackground_2013-10-15.pdf

political, economic, cultural, religious and spiritual dimensions. It documents not only the lives of GLBT leaders, but ordinary people, organizations, and informal groups.¹⁰⁷

The GLBTHS collection consists of 500 personal papers such as unpublished letters, diaries, and scrapbooks relating to LGBTQ community organizations, businesses, and political campaigns. Additionally, the GLBT Historical Society contains non-manuscript collections, ephemera, periodicals, photographs, t-shirts, posters, oral histories, audio collections, and film and video. The GLBTHS collections also hold more traditional material culture such as historic textiles, fine art, and artifacts.¹⁰⁸ While the GLBTHS seems to have an extensive collection, they are still looking to fill certain gaps within their collections. According to the GLBTHS website, the areas the historical society are looking to enhance include “materials documenting GLBT life prior to the 1970’s, as well as GLBT people of color, lesbian and bisexual women of all social and cultural backgrounds, GLBT working class communities, and bisexual and transgender people of all time periods.”¹⁰⁹

The GLBT Museum is located at 4127 18th street, open six days a week, and has a small five-dollar admission charge for the general public and a reduced fee for in-state students, and free for all historical society members. When the museum was formally opened to the public in 2011, it became the first full-scale GLBT History Museum in the

¹⁰⁷ “Collections Policy Statement,” GLBT Historical Society, last modified November 2006, accessed February 26, 2014, <http://www.glbthistory.org/research/collectionstatement.html>.

¹⁰⁸ “About Our Collections,” GLBT Historical Society, accessed September 4, 2013, <http://www.glbthistory.org/research/index.html>.

¹⁰⁹ “Donating Materials,” GLBT Historical Society, accessed February 26, 2014, <http://www.glbthistory.org/research/index.html>.

United States.¹¹⁰ In addition to the generous donations and sponsorships by foundations and merchants, the museum also receives funding from the City of San Francisco.

The GLBT Museum has a varied calendar of events each month, such as special exhibits, film screenings, and public education programs. Its main exhibit area is home to “Our Vast Queer Past: Celebrating San Francisco’s GLBT History.” There are twenty-one thematic sections within this exhibition. This exhibit aims to remind the visitor that the queer culture of San Francisco faced the same issues as any other group of people; that is, that they desire companionship, they struggle for respect within the greater society, and they value personal expression.¹¹¹

Beyond the main gallery space, there are two other gallery spaces as well as several online exhibitions. The major project for the historical society as a whole is a comprehensive study of queer historic sites. The San Francisco Historic Preservation Fund Committee provided a grant for the execution of the project, directed by architectural historian Shayne Watson and public historian Donna Graves. The primary focus is to document LGBTQ sites from the mid-19th century through the 1980’s.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ “Museum Background,” GLBT History Museum.

¹¹¹ “Main Gallery,” GLBT History Museum, accessed February 27, 2014, <http://www.glbthistory.org/museum/index.html>.

¹¹² Bajko, “LGBT History Month: Project Looks to Survey SF’s LGBT Past.”



Figure 10: Main Gallery of GLBT History Museum
from the GLBT History Museum Webpage
<http://www.glbthistory.org/museum/>

San Francisco Public Library

Another location in San Francisco that houses materials relating to LGBTQ cultural heritage is the San Francisco Public Library. The Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Archival Collections include manuscripts, pulp paperbacks, as well as audio/visual recordings.¹¹³ These collections are part of the James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center of the SF Public Library. The library works with the GLBT Historical Society to make archival materials from both collections available to anyone seeking to do research. The Center also sponsors temporary exhibits and public programs.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ "GLBT Archival Collections," San Francisco Public Library, last updated October 2008, accessed February 27, 2014, <http://sfpl.org/index.php?pg=2000003701>.

¹¹⁴ "James C. Hormel Gay & Lesbian Center," San Francisco Library, accessed February 27, 2014, <http://sfpl.org/index.php?pg=0200002401>.

While the city of San Francisco has done a better job of recognizing the cultural heritage of the LGBTQ community than the city of New York, there are still many LGBTQ sites deserving of government protections. Thanks to the efforts of LGBTQ historians and organizations, the city of San Francisco has become more aware of their vast amount of un-protected and undocumented LGBTQ cultural heritage. Current research is being done by Donna Graves and Shayne Watson, in collaboration with the GLBT Historical Society, to document LGBTQ historic places that the city has lost, as well as the best way to identify existing sites.¹¹⁵ This project is fully supported by the city and encourages the public to participate by sharing their memories and photos of sites as well as hosting public question and answer sessions. This kind of research, participation, and support is encouraging for the future of LGBTQ cultural heritage within the city of San Francisco, and will hopefully inspire other cities to engage LGBTQ organizations in similar projects.

¹¹⁵ Bajko, "LGBT History Month: Project Looks to Survey SF's LGBT Past."

Chapter 4: National Recognition of LGBTQ Sites

The National Park Service (NPS) has two programs to preserve and recognize historically significant properties, the National Historic Landmarks Program and the National Register of Historic Places. The National Historic Landmarks Program lists 2,540 properties, including buildings, sites, parks, structures, and districts, while there are over 87,500 listings in the National Register of Historic Places. The total number of properties listed on the National Register exceeds one and a half million when one adds the multiple properties that lie within a historic district to the number of individual properties.¹¹⁶ Of those one and a half million listings, only three properties are listed for their significance to LGBTQ cultural heritage. The first, Stonewall Inn located in New York City, New York, was listed in 2000, followed by the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in Washington, D.C. was listed in 2011, and the most recent site, Cherry Grove Community House and Theater located in the hamlet of Cherry Grove on Fire Island, New York, was listed in June of 2013.

I. National Park Service's Programs for Historic Preservation

The National Register of Historic Places is defined as:

The nation's official list of the Nation's historic places worthy of preservation. Authorized by the National Preservation Act of 1966, the National Park service's National Register of Historic Places is a part of a national program to coordinate and support public and private efforts to identify, evaluate, and protect America's historic and archeological resources.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ National Park Service, "Introduction to NPS Preservation Programs for LGBTQ Communities," National Park Service Webinar, October 30, 2013, http://www.nps.gov/training/video/Intro_NPS_Pres_Prg_LGBTQ.mp4.

¹¹⁷ "National Register of Historic Places: About US," National Park Service, accessed November 30, 2013, <http://www.nps.gov/nr/about.htm>.

A historic property nomination for National Register listing can be made by a State Historic Preservation Officer, a Federal Preservation Officer if the property being nominated is controlled by the United States Government, or by a Tribal Historic Preservation Officer if the property is on tribal lands. Additionally, nominations can be submitted to the State Historic Preservation Office by architectural historians, nonprofit organizations, and private property owners who wish to have their property listed on the National Register of Historic Places. To be listed on the National Register, a property must meet one or more of the Criteria for Evaluation. These criteria are as follows:

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

- A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B. That are associated with the lives of significant persons in or past; or
- C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- D. That have yielded or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory.¹¹⁸

The three currently listed LGBTQ sites fall under criteria A or B, or as in the case of the Franklin E. Kameny Residence, under both criteria A and B. Generally, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years are not eligible for the National Register. However, those properties can qualify if they are considered essential to a district or if they fall within one of seven Criteria Considerations, A-G. Criteria

¹¹⁸ National Park Service, "National Register Criteria for Evaluation," *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, accessed March 3, 2014, http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_2.htm.

Consideration G refers to a property achieving significance within the past 50 years of its exceptional importance. The sites most related to the scope of this thesis are sites of LGBTQ significance dating within the last 50 years.

In the 1998 revised edition of the NPS bulletin on the Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance within the Past Fifty Years, it is stated that the 50 year rule is arbitrary in that it was chosen as a relative amount of time needed to determine historic significance because that the “passage of time allows our perceptions to be influenced by education, the judgment of previous decades, and the dispassion of distance.”¹¹⁹ The bulletin goes on to say that “The National Register Criteria for Evaluation encourage nomination of recently significant properties if they are of exceptional importance to a community, a State, a region, or the Nation.”¹²⁰ One interpretation of the definition of “exceptional” is that the site may highlight the remarkable impact of a political or social event. In section II of the bulletin, it states that a case for nomination will be made stronger if the historic significance of the suggested property has been the object of scholarly evaluation.

Another NPS program is the National Historic Landmarks Program (NHL). This program is aimed at encouraging the preservation of historic properties. These landmarks are “nationally significant historic places [building, site, structure, or district] designated by the Secretary of the Interior because they possess exceptional value or quality in

¹¹⁹ National Park Service, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*, by Marcella Sherfy and W. Ray Luce, published 1979, revised 1990, section I, <http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb22/>.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States.”¹²¹ These places’ significance must also be attributed to an event, individual, architectural style, or archaeology relating to the nation’s history, thus meeting the National Register Criteria for Evaluation.

There are also historic marker programs intended to recognize sites of historic events that may no longer have any physical resources associated with that event. Historic markers tend to be more lenient when it comes to the historic integrity of the site. These programs are usually enacted through state programs with submissions coming from historical societies, local governments, and educational institutions.¹²²

II. Nationally Designated LGBTQ Sites

As of June 4, 2013, there were three sites listed on the National Register of Historic Places for their significance to LGBTQ cultural heritage. All three sites have been listed in recent memory: Stonewall Inn was the first, in 1999; the Frank Kameny Residence in Washington, DC was listed in 2011; the Cherry Grove Community House and Theater in Cherry Grove, New York was listed in 2013. Also of note is that all listed sites are on the East coast, neglecting the significant LGBTQ cultural heritage on the West coast and elsewhere throughout the United States.

Stonewall Inn

Arguably one of the most important LGBTQ sites, the Stonewall Inn, lies within the Greenwich Village Historic District in New York City, designated by the city of New

¹²¹ “National Historic Landmarks Program,” National Park Service, accessed March 2, 2014, <http://www.nps.gov/history/nhl/>.

¹²² “Example: State Designation Program,” National Park Service, accessed March 2, 2014, <http://www.nps.gov/history/nhl/tutorial/About/AboutExampleState.htm>.

York in 1969 and listed on the National Register in 1979.¹²³ What is interesting about the national designation of the Stonewall Inn is, as discussed in Chapter Two, the city of New York does not have any sites listed for their LGBTQ significance. Colloquially referenced as “Stonewall,” the Stonewall Inn was the location of 1969 riots involving the patrons of the mafia-owned gay bar and the police who raided the bar. Corruption was common within bars, and gay-bars were often subject to police raids. Typically, bar owners were “tipped off” that a raid would happen and the police would schedule them for the early evening, allowing the bars to get back to business at night when the crowds came.¹²⁴ Accounts of what was a standard raid are quite similar, and as Sylvia Rae Rivera describes in both Martin Duberman’s book *Stonewall* and John Strausbaugh’s *The Village*, Stonewall had a system. The bar staff would turn on the lights, turn off the jukebox, and divide the patrons into men, women, and other (drag queens and transgender individuals).¹²⁵ From there the police would arrest the staff and anyone who was not wearing at least three articles of clothing that matched the assigned sex on their personal identification card.¹²⁶ The rest of the bar’s patrons would be pushed out to the street.

Fed-up patrons chose to fight back during the police raid on Saturday June 28, 1969. Martin Duberman mentions in *Stonewall* that at the time of the riots, it was the

¹²³ National Park Service, “Stonewall National historic Landmark nomination,” January 1999, accessed December 10, 2013, 4.
http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/exhibitions/sw25/gifs/stonewall_national_historic_landmark_nomination.pdf.

¹²⁴ John Strausbaugh, *The Village: 400 Years of Beats and Bohemians, Radicals and Rogues* (New York: HarperCollins, 2013), 471.

¹²⁵ Ibid

¹²⁶ This was mandated by the state of New York.

most popular gay bar in Greenwich Village.¹²⁷ It is also remembered as a sleazy institution, but with few alternative choices: many young gay male hustlers and street queens, patrons not usually welcome at other gay establishments, found themselves at Stonewall. By 1969 its reputation was widely known, and older white gay men and lesbians rarely went there.¹²⁸ At nearly one-thirty a.m., the police raided a packed Stonewall, without the typical tip-off. Four plainclothes officers had been sent in earlier to case the bar, and soon four uniformed officers went in. Once the patrons were divided and the eight officers had barred the door, they realized the patrons were feistier than usual, and called for back-up. Once the patrons were escorted outside, they did not leave as they usually did. They gathered and watched as more police vehicles showed up and patrons not abiding by the three articles of clothing rule were individually escorted to police vehicles. When an officer pushed street queen Tammy Novak and yelled at her to keep moving, she told him to stop pushing her. When he continued, she threw a punch.¹²⁹

The other acknowledged turning point for the evening, mentioned by both Duberman and Strausbaugh, was when a lesbian in men's clothing fought with police for ten minutes before they could force her into a car. Retaliation escalated quickly and bystanders began throwing coins at the police; when the coins ran out, the beer bottles began to fly. The police took instigators back into the bar, handcuffing them to furniture while the events outside got increasingly more raucous. Eventually, more police arrived and moved the crowd back enough to get the officers and others out of the building and

¹²⁷ Martin Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Penguin Books, 1993), 182.

¹²⁸ Strausbaugh, *The Village*, 470.

¹²⁹ Duberman, *Stonewall*, 192.

into patrol cars. Once the crowd dispersed, Christopher Street looked like a battle ground, littered with broken glass and an uprooted parking meter.¹³⁰

Word of the riot spread quickly and the following night attracted an even bigger crowd to the streets outside of Stonewall.¹³¹ Thousands of people were chanting, holding hands, and kissing. The Tactical Police Force that had been called was greatly outnumbered, and when they tried to take action, they were met with resistance. Another well-known street queen, Marcia P. Johnson, climbed atop a lamppost and dropped a heavy bag onto the roof of a patrol car, shattering the windows.¹³² Another, more violent riot ensued that night, including police brutality and shots of tear gas being fired into the crowds.¹³³ The following three nights were much quieter, but then newspaper headlines of the weekend's riots were published and strengthened the fury of young homosexuals, resulting in another riot. This time, police openly swung their clubs, beating the young people until they were left on the ground bleeding from the head, making this the most "intense night of fighting yet."¹³⁴ This was also the last night of what is now referred to as the Stonewall Riots.

A year later, on June 28, 1970, the first Christopher Street Gay Liberation Day march took place. The parade was the brainchild of Craig Rodwell, an influential member of the gay rights movement both pre- and post-Stonewall. He began organizing and notifying all New York gay organizations about the parade plans in November

¹³⁰ Strausbaugh, *The Village*, 475-476.

¹³¹ Ibid, 477.

¹³² Duberman, *Stonewall*, 203-204.

¹³³ Strausbaugh, *The Village*, 477.

¹³⁴ Ibid, 479.

1969.¹³⁵ What started as a group of a few hundred individuals eventually became a group of more than a thousand; with people joining the march along the parade route and ending in Sheep Meadow in Central Park.¹³⁶ Today, the parade still takes place the last Sunday in June, only now it begins in Central Park and ends on Christopher Street.¹³⁷ This commemorative parade inspired the gay pride parades that now take place in cities across the United States and the world.

In June of 1999, thirty years after the riots, the Stonewall Inn was individually listed on the National Register for its significance to gay rights.¹³⁸ A few months later, on February 16, 2000, the Stonewall Inn was designated as a National Historic Landmark.¹³⁹ The National Landmark Nomination states that the site was listed on the National Register under Criteria A and Criteria Consideration G. The nomination also states that it “recognizes Stonewall for its significance in the area of gay rights, *a theme not addressed in the documentation for the Greenwich Village Historic District.*”¹⁴⁰ The nomination asserts that:

Although Stonewall occurred less than fifty years ago, the site meets the criteria for exceptional significance because its importance was widely recognized by scholars and citizens almost immediately, because it has been the subject of extensive scholarly research and interpretation, *because it represents an outstanding and clearly defined episode in the history of civil rights in America*, because its significance is recognized internationally, *and because it has had a*

¹³⁵ Duberman, *Stonewall*, 270.

¹³⁶ Strausbaugh, *The Village*, 481.

¹³⁷ “NYC Pride March,” Time Out New York, accessed March 4, 2014, <http://www.timeout.com/newyork/gay-lesbian/nyc-pride-march>.

¹³⁸ “The Stonewall Inn, National Historic Landmark,” National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior, accessed September 25, 2013, <http://www.nps.gov/diversity/stonewall.htm>.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Id.

*demonstrable effect of the lives of millions of Americans, as well as on American society in general.*¹⁴¹

Additionally, the NHL includes not only the area of the original Stonewall Inn, but also Christopher Park. According to the nomination, the park still retains its 1969 boundaries, and includes the 1936 statue of Philip Henry Sheridan and the 1992 George Segal sculpture, *Gay Liberation*.



Figure 11: The Stonewall Inn
Photograph by Catherine Aust, March 1, 2014

Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence

The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in Washington, DC was added to the National Register of Historic Places on November 2, 2011. Dr. Kameny was influential in the fight for LGBTQ civil rights. Kameny created and lead the Washington DC

¹⁴¹ National Park Service, "Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," September 23, 2011, accessed December 10, 2013, 7.
http://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/weekly_features/2011/KamenyResidence.pdf

chapter of the Mattachine Society. In the early 1960's he was responsible for the chapter's "radically aggressive statements and actions" evocative of the African American civil rights movement.¹⁴² It was his suggestion, as a result of the Mattachine Society's dissolution as a national organization in 1961, that the East Coast homophile organizations form some type of affiliation. The New York Daughters of Bilitis, combined with the Mattachine chapters of New York, Washington DC, and Philadelphia to form the East Coast Homophile Organization (ECHO) in 1963.¹⁴³ Kameny often organized picket lines and protests in Washington in front of the Pentagon, the Civil Service Commission, the State Department, and even the White House. He insisted that protesters dress in appropriate business attire because, "If we want to be employed by the Federal Government, we have to look employable to the Federal Government."¹⁴⁴ The slogan, "Gay is Good" is often regarded as the first milestone in the gay rights movement.¹⁴⁵ Kameny coined it after the African American civil rights slogan, "Black is Beautiful."¹⁴⁶

In addition to his work toward achieving equal employment rights for homosexuals within the federal government, Kameny also provided his house as a meeting place and headquarters for the Mattachine Society. He opened his residence to

¹⁴² Duberman, *Stonewall*, 100.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 102.

¹⁴⁴ Id., 111.

¹⁴⁵ David W. Dunlap, "Franklin Kameny, Gay Rights Pioneer, Dies at 86," *The New York Times*, October 12, 2011, accessed March 6, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/13/us/franklin-kameny-gay-rights-pioneer-dies-at-86.html>.

¹⁴⁶ Stewart, *Gay and Lesbian Issues*, 8-9.

any gay or lesbian activist who were visiting the area and eventually his house began to serve as an archive for his papers and articles written about his efforts.¹⁴⁷

The National Register of Historic Places Registration Forms state that the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence was also listed under National Register Criteria A and B, along with Criteria Consideration G, in the areas of social history, law, and politics/government; it goes on to highlight the dates in 1965 that include the first gay picket protest, the campaign against the American Psychiatric Association's classification of homosexuality as a mental illness, and the court cases involving the security clearance of government-employed homosexuals. Also mentioned is the significance of the creation of the "Gay is Good" slogan in 1968.¹⁴⁸ The nomination's "Criteria Consideration" notes that while the structure was built more than 50 years in the past, the property's period of significance reflected the more recent years, and that the residence should be "considered of exceptional significance for its association with the struggle for human rights to employment and freedom from all types of discrimination for sexual orientation." Also of note, at the time of nomination, this property was unique in that Dr. Kameny was not only still alive, but he still owned and resided on the property. Dr. Kameny died in October of 2011, a month before his residence was listed on the National Register of Historic Places.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ "National Register of Historic Places Program Weekly Highlight: Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence Washington DC," National Park Service, accessed September 25, 2013, http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/feature/weekly_features/11_11_04_Kameny_Residence.htm.

¹⁴⁸ National Park Service, "Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," 5.

¹⁴⁹ David W. Dunlap, "Franklin Kameny, Gay Rights Pioneer, Dies at 86."

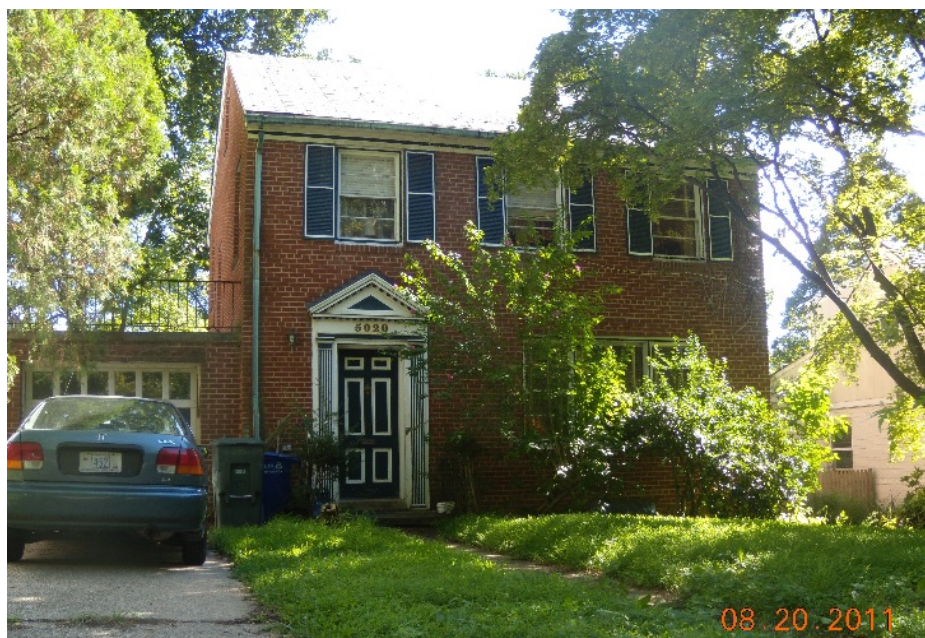


Figure 12: Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence
from National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (August 20, 2011)
http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/feature/weekly_features/2011/KamenyResidence.pdf

Cherry Grove Community House and Theatre

Most recently, on June 4, 2013, the Cherry Grove Community House and Theatre in Cherry Grove, New York was listed under Criteria A and Criteria Consideration G, with areas of significance in social history, performing arts, and community planning and development. Cherry Grove and the neighboring Fire Island Pines have long been LGBTQ summer vacation destinations.¹⁵⁰ The section of the nomination that describes the site's significance states that the site is "especially significant because it offers the rare opportunity to document an entire GLBT community in the pre-Stonewall era."¹⁵¹

The theater has been in continuous operation since 1948, producing LGBTQ-themed and LGBTQ-identified productions by LGBTQ people. This helped to heighten

¹⁵⁰ "Fire Island," GLBTQ: An Encyclopedia of Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Culture, accessed March 6, 2014, http://www.glbtq.com/social-sciences/fire_island.html.

¹⁵¹ National Park Service, "Cherry Grove Community House & Theatre National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," April 26, 2013, accessed December 13, 2013, continuation sheet, section 8, page 1. <http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/feature/places/pdfs/13000373.pdf>

visibility of homosexuals in the performing arts, and thus adding to the significance of the Cherry Grove Community House and Theatre.¹⁵² The inclusive community was strengthened when the Arts Project of Cherry Grove was formed around the end of WWII.¹⁵³ Cherry Grove became one of the first strictly gay- and lesbian-influenced areas in the United States decades before the events of Stonewall. LGBTQ life pre-Stonewall is often hard to document due to the lack of documentation, as homosexuality was a punishable offense. The Cherry Grove Community House and Theatre have provided crucial insight into gay and lesbian life in the pre-Stonewall era.

With members of the New York City theater world participating in the theater's summer *Follies* and bringing live theater to Fire Island, the Cherry Grove Theater began to play a larger role in the history of American theater as well. The National Register listing specifically mentions in its significance section that the *Follies of 1949* was a "first-of-its-kind to introduce the homosexual aesthetic of 'camp' to its audiences."¹⁵⁴ Theater programming was equal parts traditional community theater and flamboyant, camp and drags shows. Beginning in the 1950's, nearly all performances at the theater had gay tones conveyed primarily through double entendre, camp humor, and drag.¹⁵⁵ Even today, the drag shows of Cherry Grove are noteworthy "must-sees."¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² National Park Service, "Cherry Grove Community House & Theatre National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," continuation sheet: section 8, page 1-2

*gay is the term used in the document

¹⁵³ National Park Service, "Cherry Grove Community House & Theatre National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," continuation sheet: section 8, page 8.

¹⁵⁴ National Park Service, "Cherry Grove Community House & Theatre National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," continuation sheet: section 8 page 17.

¹⁵⁵ National Park Service, "Cherry Grove Community House & Theatre National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," continuation sheet: section 8 page 22.

¹⁵⁶ "Gay Fire Island: Summer Dreams in a Long Island Paradise," Jim Kelly for Fire Island Q News, accessed March 7, 2014, <http://fireislandqnews.com/sections/intro/intro.html>.



Figure 13: Interior of the Cherry Grove Community House & Theater from National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (April 26, 2013)
<http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/feature/places/pdfs/13000373.pdf>

III. LGBTQ Representation in Museums

The representation of LGBTQ material culture is notably lacking within the nation's museums. As mentioned in Chapters Two and Three, LGBTQ material culture is available for display and can be found in the care of LGBTQ organizations that would gladly loan their material culture for display in a National Museum. The United States celebrates its ethnic diversity through museum representation, such as the National Museum of the American Indian, the National Museum of American History, and the National Museum of African American History and Culture. I will pose this question once again, if the country is to embrace all citizens and cultures and recognize them within national museums and institutions, why is the LGBTQ community ignored?

National LGBTQ Museum

The Velvet Foundation, a non-profit organization, has developed a plan and proposal for a National LGBT[Q] Museum to be located in Washington DC so that the

“LGBT[Q] story can most effectively reach a national and international audience.”¹⁵⁷

The plan states that “[t]he Museum is dedicated to sharing the heritage of LGBT[Q] people, a story that unites millions of individuals but is rarely represented in mainstream museums.” The museum aims to be a place that stimulates conversation, leads to a better understanding of the LGBTQ experience, and “cultural unification.”¹⁵⁸ Most importantly, it will serve as place where “LGBT[Q] people can explore their heritage, embrace it, share it, take pride in it, and even question it – in terms of both the past and the future,” by presenting their heritage as part of the American experience and how it fits in with the very nature of America’s combination of diverse cultures. The principles that the Museum’s vision statement is drawn from are as follows:

- *Preservation.* Be a steward of a unique part of humanity’s history.
- *Scholarship.* Serve as a resource center for the study of LGBT history.
- *Cultural Unification.* Enable people to pursue mutual goals.
- *Education.* Assist teachers and students to explore LGBT heritage.
- *Social Responsibility.* Enhance the well-being of all human communities.
- *Inclusiveness.* Welcome all people to share in the LGBT experience.
- *National Outreach.* Reach beyond Washington, DC to engage new audiences.
- *Collaboration.* Partner with other institutions.
- *Innovation.* Cutting edge interpretive philosophy and exhibit techniques.¹⁵⁹

These principles work to engage members of the LGBTQ community to be active in the representation of their heritage, while also emphasizing that the cultural heritage of the LGBTQ community is just one facet that contributes to the national memory.

¹⁵⁷ “About Us,” National LGBT Museum, accessed August 30, 2013, http://nationallgbtmuseum.org/#/who_we_are/.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Id.

As previously mentioned, Tim Gold, a former Smithsonian researcher at the National Postal Museum and now CEO of the Velvet Foundation, and his husband Mitchell Gold have been working on the project's proposal since 2007.¹⁶⁰ They have been raising funds and collecting LGBTQ material culture for the last six years. Tim Gold has met with gay right activists, their families, and LGBTQ organizations to explain the project and to acquire items such as demonstration signs, film strips, and personal items from LGBTQ youth that were victims of homophobic violence. The 5,000-item collection contains a wide array of media.¹⁶¹ However, as is often the case with locating significant sites, locating significant pieces of material culture within the private homes of activists and their families is also a struggle. In 2008, a year following Gold and his husband's brainstorming, they partnered with the Velvet Foundation, and have since hired a museum design expert, a real estate broker to locate potential sites, and a lawyer to assist with fundraising.¹⁶²

For the article "The Quest to Build a National LGBT Museum," published in the online magazine *Slate*, Hugh Ryan interviewed adjunct professor of art history at Hunter College Anna Conlan, whose research focuses on queer museology. Conlan's opinion on the need for a national museum was that the LGBTQ community needs both the long-running, grass-roots organizations that focus on historic preservation as well as new organizations that are designed to follow a more standard presentation of the historical

¹⁶⁰ Hugh Ryan, "The Quest to Build a National LGBT Museum," *Slate Magazine*, October 18, 2013, accessed October 20, 2013 http://www.slate.com/blogs/outward/2013/10/18/national_lgbt_museum_coming_soon_to_the_national_museum.html.

¹⁶¹ Jonathan O'Connell, "Gay Couple Behind Effort to Open LGBT Museum in D.C.," *The Washington Post*, January 11, 2013, accessed October 20, 2013, http://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/museums/gay-couple-tim-and-mitchell-gold-behind-effort-to-open-lgbt-museum-in-dc/2013/01/10/f05b7eda-5922-11e2-88d0-c4cf65c3ad15_story.html.

¹⁶² Ibid.

perspective, such as national museums. A national museum, instead of an archive such as the Lesbian Herstory Archive, mentioned in Chapter Two, or the archives at the GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco, could, in theory, reach a wider audience.¹⁶³ Stressed in Ryan's article is the importance of representation that not just "wealthy, white, gay males" are making the decisions and telling the stories. The Velvet Foundation has created focus groups, such as the one for women that identify as lesbian and bisexual, with LGBTQ scholars in the hope of avoiding bias.¹⁶⁴

It is the hope of both the Golds and the Velvet Foundation that the museum's layout includes a mixed-use exhibition hall with a performing arts theater, a café, and a research center.¹⁶⁵ The core exhibit space will be used for the museum's *Here I Am* exhibition, meant to explain how a LGBTQ person interacts among their family, communities, and society, explained through the different perspectives of gender and sexuality.¹⁶⁶

Other United States Government Cultural Institutions

For the first time in 2011, the Library of Congress displayed papers significant to the gay right movement as part of a larger exhibit on the nation's constitutional history and civil rights protections.¹⁶⁷ The papers came from Frank Kameny's collection of over

¹⁶³ Hugh Ryan, "The Quest to Build a National LGBT Museum."

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Jonathan O'Connell, "Gay Couple Behind Effort to Open LGBT Museum in D.C."

¹⁶⁶ "The Core Exhibit," National LGBT Museum, accessed August 30, 2013,

http://nationallgbtmuseum.org/#/the_core_exhibit/.

¹⁶⁷ "APNewsBreak: Gay rights papers shown at US Library," The Kameny Papers, May 8, 2011, accessed March 10, 2014, <http://www.kamenypapers.org/index.htm>.

70,000 items including correspondences, testimonies, letters, and photographs.¹⁶⁸ This collection was donated to the Library of Congress' Manuscript Division in October 2006, with Kameny's collection of protest signs set to be donated to the Smithsonian.¹⁶⁹ As of April 7, 2012, the Artifact Walls displaying Kameny's protest signs closed. At the time they were displayed, four posters hung on the walls of the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.¹⁷⁰

In 2012, the National Archives awarded a \$133,577 grant to the University of Southern California, home to the ONE Archives.¹⁷¹ This grant fell under the Documenting Democracy: Access to Historical Records, "projects that promote the preservation and use of the nation's most valuable archival resources." The two-year grant provided the funds necessary to process over 200 collections related to LGBT[Q] movements, as well as eliminates the backlog of the ONE Archives.

It is clear that the federal government now recognizes the lack of national recognition and representation of LGBTQ cultural heritage at national institutions and within the national memory. Their recent efforts show attempts to make up for this lack of preservation. The National Park Service is making efforts to survey areas significant to LGBTQ cultural heritage, while also providing webinars, like the one I attended in October 2013, for preservationists, and the public alike, to educate people on the NRHP

¹⁶⁸ "Activist and Archivist: Library Acquires Papers of Gay-Rights Pioneer," The Library of Congress Information Bulletin, November 2006, accessed March 10, 2014, <http://www.loc.gov/loc/lcib/0611/kameny.html>.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ "Artifact Wall- Frank Kameny," Smithsonian National Museum of American History, accessed March 29, 2014, <http://americanhistory.si.edu/exhibitions/artifact-walls-frank-kameny>.

¹⁷¹ National Archives, "National Archives Awards \$2.9 Million in Grants for Documentary Editing and Archival Projects," May 24, 2012, accessed March 11, 2014, <http://www.archives.gov/press/press-releases/2012/nr12-121.html>.

listing process and benefits.¹⁷² As more significant LGBTQ individual landmarks become listed, the possibility for LGBTQ historic districts strengthens. Neighborhoods that have multiple historic properties and have had predominately LGBTQ residents and businesses throughout history could further be recognized as National Historic Districts.

The efforts made by the National Archives and the Library of Congress are a step in the right direction, but the preservation of LGBTQ material culture needs a more permanent institution to which to belong to. Cultural representation, especially that of the LGBTQ community, is important because cultural heritage is not only rooted in the past but also active in the present. Minority cultures need access to the art and material culture of their past, so that those objects might influence and shape their future. Minority cultures also need a place where the public can be engaged with and educated on the cultural heritage of an ignored community, one of the many diverse communities that makes up the United States of America.

¹⁷² National Park Service, "Introduction to NPS Preservation Programs for LGBTQ Communities," National Park Service Webinar, October 30, 2013, http://www.nps.gov/training/video/Intro_NPS_Pres_Prg_LGBTQ.mp4.

Conclusion

While there are many more sites related to inspiring, noteworthy, and historical figures and events from the LGBTQ community in New York City and San Francisco, the sites referenced in this thesis were chosen for their broader importance to the LGBTQ community and its cultural heritage, as well as to the national memory. Sites of major historical events, both still standing and those lost, properties that housed many LGBTQ individuals critical to the struggles of the community, as well as the places that house, protect, and preserve the material culture of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer people are all important components of the shared narrative American cultural heritage.

Additionally, New York and San Francisco are not the only American cities with a rich LGBTQ cultural heritage. It cannot go without saying that Washington DC, as our nation's capital, has played an important, but less discussed, role in the cultural heritage of the LGBTQ community. It is the home of the second LGBTQ National Register site, the home of activist Frank Kameny, and it is also the proposed location for the National LGBT museum, as discussed in Chapter Four. Chicago also shares in the importance for LGBTQ cultural heritage: it is where Henry Gerber founded his Society for Human Rights, the first gay rights organization in the country. For this reason, the University of Michigan is working with the National Park Service on the nomination of Gerber's residence; it was recognized as a city landmark in 2001.¹⁷³ Another city critical to LGBTQ cultural heritage is Los Angeles, home to the ONE Institute and Archives and

¹⁷³ Matthew S. Bajko, "LGBT Historic Sites Garner Park Service's Attention," *The Bay Area Reporter*, January 9, 2014, accessed January 14, 2014, <http://ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=69379>.

the location of the original chapter of the Mattachine Society. The city of Los Angeles began a survey of the city's LGBTQ history in 2007, much like the survey currently being done in San Francisco. Most recently, the city of Los Angeles received \$20,000 of federal funding from the state Office of Historic Preservation for this project and is expected to complete the survey in September 2014.¹⁷⁴

Another point of interest to be considered by both preservationists and members of the LGBTQ community are sites of atrocity. How should they be recognized? Should the nation only commemorate or memorialize these sites? However unhappy the history, it is important to not only the cultural heritage of LGBTQ people of the United States, but to all citizens. Remembering the past helps to remind communities of the progress that can or has been made. Sites of atrocity include the farm in Laramie, Wyoming where Matthew Shepard was fatally beaten in 1998, an event that became a catalyst in hate-crime legislation, and the Upstairs Lounge in New Orleans where a fire was set by an unknown arsonist in 1973 that killed thirty-two people. The Upstairs Lounge tragedy is rarely discussed, although it is the largest-known massacre of gay people in the United States.¹⁷⁵ The above-mentioned sites are important to the cultural heritage of the LGBTQ community and the overall American cultural heritage, and those that were lost deserve to be remembered.

As Chapters Two and Three discuss, some local governments in metropolitan areas, like those of Los Angeles and San Francisco, are beginning to embrace their LGBTQ cultural heritage and turning to LGBTQ groups to learn more about what those

¹⁷⁴ Bajko, "LGBT History Month: Project Looks to Survey SF's LGBT Past."

¹⁷⁵ Elizabeth Dias with Jim Downs, "The Horror Upstairs: The Largest Known Massacre of Gay People in the U.S. History Remains Unsolved and a Little Understood," *Time Magazine*, July 1, 2013, 46-50.

groups feel deserves recognition, while the City of New York has yet to designate a site for its LGBTQ significance. At the very least, a few cities are beginning to designate or install signage in reference to LGBTQ cultural heritage, such as the memorial plaque at the site of the Upstairs Lounge in New Orleans or Chicago's city landmark designation of Henry Gerber's residence.

The National Park Service's collaboration with the city governments of Los Angeles and San Francisco in California is an example of the progress necessary to adequately represent the LGBTQ community's cultural heritage through preservation efforts. Time will tell if more cities take the initiative to survey their LGBTQ cultural heritage and work with the LGBTQ community to document and recognize these sites as well as highlight material culture. The Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation has recently increased their efforts to encourage the Landmarks Preservation Commission's designation of LGBTQ sites. Programs that emphasize adaptive reuse of culturally-significant LGBTQ properties for modern LGBTQ community engagement, such as youth outreach, like that of the Human Rights Campaign and the Harvey Milk residence, could also work to preserve sites before they are lost to real estate development or fall into disrepair.

The sites mentioned in this thesis are merely the tip of the iceberg; so to speak, as these are the sites with the most widely publicized history and most discussed. Further collaboration with LGBTQ people and preservationists will bring to light the lesser known, yet still significant, places of LGBTQ cultural heritage, and in turn making them part of the collective national memory. Undocumented social history is always hard to use as a case for historic designation, and pre-Stonewall LGBTQ history is often hard to

uncover. Self-reporting by LGBTQ individuals was rare because it was not safe to seek out others identifying as LGBTQ, let alone documentation of sites of significance. The over-arching field of LGBTQ cultural heritage is still lacking equal representation of bisexual, transgender, and queer-identifying individuals. Much of the written history is focused on white males. In order for the preservation and recognition of LGBTQ cultural heritage to be truly representative of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgender people, and queers of the United States, efforts must be made to work with the LGBTQ community in finding sites of significance.

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