

**Maryland**  
**LGBTQ**  
**Historic Context**  
**Study**

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**For Preservation Maryland  
and Maryland Historical Trust**

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Maryland is a state of varied landscapes and varied populations, encompassing a rich and diverse history. The land that now comprises the state has witnessed twelve thousand years of human habitation; one of the earliest settlement efforts of the English in North America; the founding of the United States and subsequent battles over the meanings of American freedom; hundreds of years of immigration, industrialization, and urbanization; and the consequences of being located in one of the most populated and most powerful regions of the country. And throughout this history, we find evidence of same-sex love and desire and of gender variance. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) perspectives have been underrepresented in Maryland's historical narrative, yet they nevertheless comprise an important part of that larger story.

Maryland's population, according to a U.S. Census Bureau estimate from July 2018, is over 6 million (6,042,718), of which just over half (50.9 percent) is white (non-Latinx); 30.8 percent is African American, 10.1 percent is Latinx, 6.8 percent is Asian American, and 2.8 percent is mixed race.<sup>1</sup> In January 2019, the Williams Institute at UCLA School of Law reported that 198,000 Marylanders, or 4.2 percent of the state's population, self-identified as LGBT (the category of Queer was not included in the question). These numbers make Maryland twenty-second on a list of U.S. states and the

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<sup>1</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, "QuickFacts: Maryland," July 1, 2018, <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/md>.

District of Columbia with the highest percentages of LGBTQ residents.<sup>2</sup> The institute has also calculated geographic breakdowns of the state's LGBTQ population, but these are based on older data. According to statistics from 2010, the Maryland counties with the highest percentage of same-sex households were Baltimore County, Prince George's County, and Montgomery County, respectively.<sup>3</sup>

Yet, despite its long history and significant LGBTQ population, as of 2019, Maryland had no properties on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) listed for their relevance to LGBTQ history.<sup>4</sup> Efforts are afoot to address this oversight, however. In 2018, the Maryland Historical Trust awarded a non-capital historic preservation grant to Preservation Maryland, a statewide private nonprofit organization, to complete a historic context study of LGBTQ history within the state, placing Maryland at the forefront of states documenting their LGBTQ history in this manner. At the time of this grant, Kentucky was the only other state to have completed a historic context study in this area of history, although numerous United States cities had also done so.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law, "LGBT Demographic Data Interactive," January 2019, <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/visualization/lgbt-stats/>. Interestingly, the District of Columbia was listed first on this list.

<sup>3</sup> Gary J. Gates and Abigail M. Cooke, "Maryland: Census Snapshot 2010" (Los Angeles: Williams Institute, University of California, Los Angeles, School of Law, 2010), [https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Census2010Snapshot\\_Maryland\\_v2.pdf](https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Census2010Snapshot_Maryland_v2.pdf). Note that this statistic is for same-sex households, whereas the previous numbers cited were for individuals. The use of same-sex household excludes single gays and lesbians, bisexual people partnered with opposite-sex partners, and straight-identified or single transgender people.

<sup>4</sup> While numerous NRHP properties in Maryland do have LGBTQ associations, none are currently documented as such. The list of LGBTQ-associated sites that follows this report indicates existing designations for each listed property.

<sup>5</sup> Catherine Fosl, Daniel J. Vivian, and Jonathan Coleman, "Kentucky LGBTQ Historic Context Narrative" (Louisville, KY: University of Louisville, Anne Braden Institute for Social Justice Research, 2016); Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson, "Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco" (San Francisco: City and County of San Francisco, March 2016), [http://default.sfplanning.org/Preservation/lgbt\\_HCS/FinalLGBTQ\\_HCS\\_March2016.pdf](http://default.sfplanning.org/Preservation/lgbt_HCS/FinalLGBTQ_HCS_March2016.pdf); Jay Shockley et al., "Historic Context Statement for LGBT History in New York City" (New York: New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, 2018), <https://parks.ny.gov/shpo/documents/FinalNYCLGBTContextStatement.pdf>; GPA Consulting, "San Diego Citywide



This report is the result of these efforts by Preservation Maryland and the Maryland Historical Trust. It discusses issues particular to the preservation of LGBTQ historic resources; provides an overview of the history of gender variance and of same-sex love and desire, told from a Maryland perspective; identifies themes of Maryland LGBTQ history; and provides a list of identified sites in Maryland related to LGBTQ history.

## **Parameters of This Study**

This historic context study considers the geographic area that now comprises the state of Maryland, from the beginning of the seventeenth century (roughly thirty years before English colonization) to the first decade of the twenty-first century (ending roughly in 2016). Its focus is the history of same-sex love and desire and of gender variance. The report provides a synopsis of scholarly work done to date rather than conducting extensive new research into historical documents. Thus, the bulk of this report outlines what is already known about the LGBTQ historic context, while pointing readers toward further information by way of the footnotes.<sup>6</sup>

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LGBTQ Historic Context Statement,” 3rd Draft (San Diego: City of San Diego Department of City Planning, 2016), [https://www.sandiego.gov/sites/default/files/san\\_diego\\_lgbtq\\_historic\\_context\\_august2016\\_draft.pdf](https://www.sandiego.gov/sites/default/files/san_diego_lgbtq_historic_context_august2016_draft.pdf); GPA Consulting, “SurveyLA: Historic Context Statement for Los Angeles” (Los Angeles: City of Los Angeles, Department of City Planning, 2014), <http://www.preservation.lacity.org/files/LGBT%20Historic%20Context%209-14.pdf>. A Historic Resource Statement for the District of Columbia is also currently in progress.

<sup>6</sup> For more information on accessing LGBTQ archival collections, see Benjamin Egerman, “Looking for LGBTQ+ History on Your Campus or Other Small Archives” (Baltimore: Preservation Maryland, February 2019), <https://www.preservationmaryland.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/looking-for-lgbtq-history-on-your-campus-benjamin-egerman-preservation-maryland-2019-web.pdf>; Mo Speller, “Archives and Sources for LGBTQ+ History in Baltimore,” Morris Speller, n.d., <https://mospells.github.io/lgbtqbaltimore/>; University of Maryland Special Collections & University Archives, “LGBTQ Resources in Special Collections and University Archives,” July 6, 2017, <https://hornbakelibrary.wordpress.com/2017/07/06/lgbtq-resources-in-special-collections-and-university-archives/>; “Rainbow History Project,” 2020, <https://www.rainbowhistory.org/>; Kevin Rector, “Smithsonian Accepts Archival Material from Baltimore’s LGBT Community Center,” *Baltimore Sun*, August 19, 2014, <https://www.baltimoresun.com/features/bs-md-gm-smithsonian-20140819-story.html>.

The list of Maryland sites with LGBTQ associations that appears as an appendix to this report represents an exception to rest of the report’s reliance on secondary sources. The list of sites is the result of research compiled and conducted by Preservation Maryland staff person Benjamin Egerman. Egerman kept track of suggestions from project stakeholders and from the public, conducted further research, and used it to assemble the site list for this study. In addition, as the narrative of the report developed, he investigated sites in Maryland that might represent the trends, events, and people described. While the site list represents known properties related to LGBTQ history, it is not exhaustive, since its creation did not involve a comprehensive review of primary sources and oral history.

This report uses the phrase “LGBTQ history” as a shorthand for the topic of this report. This usage requires a bit of explanation, which is provided in the next chapter. For now, suffice it to say that this document takes an expansive view of the subject. Particularly for the period before the twentieth century and for historical figures whose significance is not directly related to LGBTQ identities, the parameters for inclusion in this study do not necessarily rely on specific evidence of same-sex sexual experience or transgender identity. Such evidence is exceedingly rare, and the very requirement of such evidence is rooted in contemporary concepts that did not carry the same weight in previous eras. Instead, this study includes those events, people, and places that resonate with our current understandings of LGBTQ experiences, that seem to exist on the spectra of same-sex love and desire and of gender variance. In particular, I have utilized two questions in making determinations of what stories to include. One is: Does this event, person, or place stand out as somehow out of the ordinary (some might say “queer”) in that they do not fit solidly into the sex and gender norms of their time? The

other question is: Would this story, if it reached an isolated young person struggling with their own sexual or gender identity, provide consolation to them that they are not alone, but instead part of a long line of people who have faced some of the same challenges they are currently facing? When the answer to either question was yes, I chose to include the story.<sup>7</sup>

## Methodology

The Maryland LGBTQ Historic Context Study has roots in an earlier project conducted by the National Park Service (NPS) between 2015 and 2018. A joint effort by the Northeast and National Capital Regions of the park service, this earlier effort identified sites of potential national significance in LGBTQ history within a thirteen-state area and the District of Columbia, including Maryland.<sup>8</sup> This research, also conducted by Susan Ferentinos, included outreach to the Maryland Historical Trust, Preservation Maryland, and Baltimore Heritage, to identify any LGBTQ-related

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<sup>7</sup> On the relevance of LGBTQ history to LGBTQ youth and the dangers they face, see Mark Meinke, “Why LGBTQ Historic Sites Matter,” in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, ed. Megan Springate, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), 1.7-1.11, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>; Susan Ferentinos, “Ways of Interpreting Queer Pasts,” *Public Historian* 41, no. 2 (May 2019): 32–34, <https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2019.41.2.19>; The issue of definitions, evidence, and labels has garnered considerable attention among LGBTQ historians. Thoughtful treatments of the subject include Megan E. Springate, “Introduction to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative Theme Study,” in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, ed. Megan E. Springate, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), 2:25-2:28, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>; Paul Gabriel, “Why Grapple with Queer When You Can Fondle It? Embracing Our Erotic Intelligence,” in *Gender, Sexuality and Museums: A Routledge Reader*, ed. Amy K. Levin (New York: Routledge, 2010), 71–79; Victoria Bissell Brown, “Queer or Not: What Jane Addams Teaches Us about Not Knowing,” in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads*, ed. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 63–75. Defining who might themselves have been what we now call LGBTQ, however, is different than determining who is relevant to LGBTQ individuals in their search for roots and ancestors. I have chosen to consider relevance as well as evidence in this report, a decision I discuss in more detail in the next chapter.

<sup>8</sup> States included in this study were Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia, and West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia. The study excluded the five boroughs of New York City, because another historic preservation project—NYC LGBT Sites—was already considering this location. For more about the New York City effort, see NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, “About,” n.d., <https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/about/>.

properties they were aware of. This project also involved a review of existing National Historic Landmarks in the study area to determine if any had additional associations related to LGBTQ history and review of a compilation of LGBTQ-related properties already identified by the National Park Service in the course of its LGBTQ Heritage Initiative.<sup>9</sup>

While this NPS effort was in its final months, in fall 2018, the University of Maryland School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation, with support from Preservation Maryland, convened a graduate-level preservation studio to explore the issues associated with preserving LGBTQ heritage. Under the guidance of Professor Jeremy C. Wells, Ph.D., the students developed a preservation toolkit to assist people in preserving LGBTQ heritage, using Baltimore City as a case study, with particular discussion and documentation of “The Hippo,” an LGBTQ bar that operated from 1972 to 2015 at the intersection of Charles and Eager streets (Site 082).<sup>10</sup>

This earlier research by the NPS, Baltimore Heritage, Inc., and the University of Maryland students provided the foundation for the Maryland LGBTQ Historic Context Study. Additional work for this project included a deeper review of the scholarly literature; identification of additional LGBTQ-related sites in Maryland to include those with local- and state-level significance as well as national; and a series of public events soliciting information and feedback from local preservationists and members of LGBTQ

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<sup>9</sup> This compilation included sites that were mentioned in the NPS LGBTQ Heritage Theme Study of 2016. See Megan E. Springate, ed., *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History* (Washington, DC: National Park Foundation and National Park Service, 2016), v. 2, Appendix A, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>; For information on the National Park Service LGBTQ Initiative, see Division of Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science, “LGBTQ Heritage Initiative,” National Park Service, n.d., <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqheritage.htm>.

<sup>10</sup> Katherine Boyle et al., “A Place to Start: A Toolkit for Documenting LGBTQ Heritage in Baltimore City (and Beyond)” (College Park: University of Maryland School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation, 2018), <http://drum.lib.umd.edu/handle/1903/21809>.

communities. The first of these public gatherings was held in Baltimore in November 2018 to introduce the project and the larger topic of LGBTQ historic preservation. After the submission of the first draft of this report, five follow-up events were held throughout the state—in Annapolis, Baltimore, Frederick, Salisbury, and Takoma Park—in June 2019. In addition to publicizing the project and seeking information about local sites to include, these events also allowed an opportunity to gather feedback on the themes section of the report. After revising the study based on this input, the second draft was peer reviewed by staff at the Maryland Historical Trust and the Montgomery County Historic Preservation Office, and by scholars Jeffrey Harris, Jay Shockley, Megan Springate, and Jeremy Wells.<sup>11</sup>

While the report was under revision, Benjamin Egerman continued to work on the list of LGBTQ-associated sites. As part of this effort, he created a digital map of identified places, using the HistoryPin platform. The map, located at <https://www.historypin.org/en/lgbtq-america/lgbtq-maryland/>, allows individuals to add information about LGBTQ-related sites, enabling both an ongoing public engagement aspect of the project and an ongoing source of information.

As of early 2020, there are no book-length scholarly studies of Maryland LGBTQ History. However, two recent dissertations consider LGBTQ history in Baltimore. “As Proud of Our Gayness as We Are of Our Blackness’: The Political and Social Development of the African-American LGBTQ Community in Baltimore and Washington, D.C., 1975-1991,” by Johnny L. Bailey, proved an invaluable resource for

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<sup>11</sup> Jeffrey Harris is a Virginia-based consultant specializing in diversity issues within historic preservation; Jay Shockley is a co-founder of the NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project and former senior historian at the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission. Megan Springate is the national coordinator for the Nineteenth Amendment Centennial Commemoration for the National Park Service and formerly coordinated the agency’s LGBTQ Heritage Initiative. Jeremy Wells is assistant professor of historic preservation at the University of Maryland, College Park. Affiliations were current as of spring 2020.

the latter part of the historical overview chapter of this report. Eric Gonzaba's dissertation, "Because the Night: Nightlife and Remaking the Gay Male World, 1970-2000," explores the ways "nightlife culture shaped the urban gay communities of Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, and Baltimore beginning in the 1970s. It analyzes the ways gay citizens in the urban Mid-Atlantic confronted internal bigotry, exclusion, and violence at nightlife establishments and the diverse ways oppressed queers (often people of color) resisted these forms of discrimination."<sup>12</sup> Sadly, for the purposes of the Maryland LGBTQ Historic Context Study, access to this dissertation is restricted while Gonzaba turns his research into a published book. Nevertheless, future LGBTQ historic preservation work in Maryland related to the late-twentieth century will benefit from Gonzaba's research.<sup>13</sup>

In the absence of Maryland-specific monographs related to LGBTQ history, information was gleaned from a variety of sources. Books on non-LGBTQ Maryland history, particularly Suzanne Ellery Chappelle and Jean Burrell Russo's *Maryland: A History*, provided a state-specific framework in which to understand the large body of scholarship on the history of same-sex love and desire and of gender variance in the United States generally, which is cited throughout this report. Those seeking a synthesis of LGBTQ history from a national perspective will benefit from reading Michael

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<sup>12</sup> Quotation is taken from the dissertation's abstract in the Proquest Dissertations & Theses Global database. Eric Nolan Gonzaba, "Because the Night: Nightlife and Remaking the Gay Male World, 1970-2000" (Ph.D. Dissertation, George Mason University, 2019).

<sup>13</sup> Another forthcoming book, while not specifically about LGBTQ history, promises to shed new light on the topic. See, Mary Rizzo, *Come and Be Shocked: Baltimore beyond John Waters and The Wire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020), due out in August 2020.

Bronski's *Queer History of the United States* or Leila Rupp's *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America*.<sup>14</sup>

The result of these various research and outreach efforts is this final version of the Maryland LGBTQ Historic Context Study, which provides information and historical context to assist with planning, designation, and memorialization of sites significant to the history of same-sex desire and gender variance within the state of Maryland.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Suzanne Ellery Chapelle and Jean Burrell Russo, *Maryland: A History*, 2nd edition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018); Michael Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2011); Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

<sup>15</sup> For examples of other methodological approaches to LGBTQ Historic Context Studies, see Springate, "Introduction to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative Theme Study," 2:22-2:29; Fosl, Vivian, and Coleman, "Kentucky LGBTQ Historic Context Narrative," 7-14; Graves and Watson, "Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco," 319-23; Shockley et al., "Historic Context Statement for LGBT History in New York City," 9-12; GPA Consulting, "SurveyLA," 3-4; GPA Consulting, 3-6. The authors of the Kentucky study reflect on the effectiveness of their methodology, as well as the challenges of capturing rural LGBTQ history, in Catherine Fosl and Daniel J. Vivian, "Investigating Kentucky's LGBTQ Heritage: Subaltern Stories from the Bluegrass State," *The Public Historian* 41, no. 2 (May 2019): 218-44, <https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2019.41.2.218>.

## CHAPTER TWO: ISSUES TO BE AWARE OF WHEN APPROACHING LGBTQ HISTORIC PRESERVATION

LGBTQ experiences are latecomers to the mainstream historical narrative. A significant body of LGBTQ historical scholarship only began to accrue in the 1990s, although outside of traditional academic channels, grassroots efforts to capture the queer past predate the scholarly world's acceptance of LGBTQ history as a legitimate area of inquiry.<sup>16</sup> The incorporation of LGBTQ history into museum interpretation and historic preservation followed even later.<sup>17</sup>

The first property listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) for LGBTQ significance was Stonewall in New York City, site of the 1969 Stonewall Uprising, which served as an important catalyst for LGBTQ political organizing. It was

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<sup>16</sup> On early grassroots LGBTQ historical efforts, see Lara Kelland, *Clio's Foot Soldiers: Twentieth-Century U.S. Social Movements and Collective Memory* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2018), 101–28; Gerard Koskovich, "The History of Queer History: One Hundred Years of the Search for Shared Heritage," in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, ed. Megan E. Springate, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>. For reviews of scholarly literature on LGBTQ history, see Regina G. Kunzel, "The Power of Queer History," *American Historical Review* 123, no. 5 (December 1, 2018): 1560–82, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ahr/rhy202>; John D'Emilio, "Rethinking Queer History: Or, Richard Nixon, Queer Liberationist?," in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads*, ed. Jill Austin and Jennifer Brier (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 95–107; Leila J. Rupp, "What's Queer Got to Do with It?," *Reviews in American History* 38, no. 2 (June 2010): 189–98.

<sup>17</sup> For an overview of LGBTQ public history, see Lara Kelland, "Public History and Queer Memory," in *The Routledge History of Queer America*, ed. Don Romesburg (New York: Routledge, 2018), 371–79; Ferentinos, "Ways of Interpreting Queer Pasts," 19–21.



added to the National Register in 1999, and parts of the designated area now comprise Stonewall National Monument, established in 2016, the first unit of the National Park Service dedicated to LGBTQ history. More importantly to the overall effort, however, the second property listed on the NRHP for LGBTQ significance—the home of gay activist Frank Kameny in Washington, D.C.—was not added for another twelve years. The third site—the Cherry Grove Community House and Theatre in New York—was added in 2013, making a grand total of three sites with primary significance in LGBTQ history listed in the first forty-seven years of the NRHP. In 2016, preservationist Mark Meinke estimated that only five one-hundredths of one percent (.005) of the more than 90,000 properties listed on the NRHP were recognized for primary significance in LGBTQ history.<sup>18</sup>

Of course, the NRHP is only one tool for preserving historically significant places. There are also National Register sites, beyond those listed above, that have LGBTQ historical associations mentioned in their nominations but are not designated primarily for that reason.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, the point remains the same: there is a lot of work left to

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<sup>18</sup> David Carter et al., “Stonewall, New York, New York,” National Historic Landmark Nomination (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2000), <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75319963>; Mark Meinke, “Frank Kameny Residence, Washington, DC,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2011), <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/117692243>; the nomination for the Cherry Grove Community House and Theater has not yet been digitized; Meinke, “Why LGBTQ Historic Sites Matter,” 1:7.

<sup>19</sup> My thanks to National Park Service historian Megan Springate for compiling the following list of examples of NRHP nominations prepared prior to 2016 that also mention LGBTQ history: Trinity Lutheran Church of Manhattan, NY, September 16, 2009, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75319998>; Andersonville Commercial Historic District, Chicago, IL, March 9, 2010, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/28892266>; Plymouth Congregational Church, Lawrence, KS, September 2, 2009, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123862697>; National Mall, Washington, DC, Boundary Increase December 6, 2016, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/16000805>; First Congregational Church, Colorado Springs, CO, October 31, 2002, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/84130227>; Westbeth, New York, NY, Dec 8, 2009, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75320069>; Roger Brown Home and Studio, Chicago, IL, February 22, 2011, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/28892523>; Alpine County Courthouse, Markleeville, CA, September 30, 2004, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123858381>; Richard P. Doolan Residence and Storefronts, San Francisco, CA, May 11, 2011, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123861087>; 1964-1965 New York World’s Fair New York State Pavilion, Flushing, NY, November 20, 2009, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75321054>; First Methodist Protestant Church of Seattle, WA, May 14, 1993, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75612508>; Park Slope Jewish Center, Park Slope, NY, January 11, 2002, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75318357>; Allentown Historic District, Buffalo, NY,

do in order to ensure that LGBTQ experiences are represented in the historic landscape at levels comparable to other areas of U.S. history. Happily, that effort is underway. In 2016, the National Park Service released a theme study designed to offer a range of guidance on LGBTQ history and its preservation.<sup>20</sup> The Maryland LGBTQ Historic Context Study builds on that theme study, offering more focused information on LGBTQ history and historic properties in Maryland. We begin with a discussion of some of the specific issues to consider when approaching LGBTQ historic preservation. These issues include changing language and definitions; lack of evidence; lack of integrity (or often, even extant sites); preservation options beyond designation; preserving sites of difficult history; and the interplay of LGBTQ behavior with historical significance.

## Changing Language and Definitions

There is an established literature on language used to describe those who reside outside of sexual and gender norms.<sup>21</sup> Briefly, the acronym LGBTQ represents concepts that did not exist prior to the twentieth century, and since that time these concepts have evolved substantially, meaning that—technically speaking—LGBTQ identities as we now understand them have only existed for about thirty years. To be clear, people have

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April 21, 1980; Boundary Increase, February 14, 2012, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75317534>; Carson McCullers House, South Nyack, NY, July 14, 2006, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75321466>; Dubuque YMCA, Dubuque, IA, January 31, 2002, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75338796>; Ohio Reformatory for Women, Marysville, OH, August 11, 2006, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/71986356>; Hotel Alma, Portland, OR, September 9, 2009, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crystal\\_Hotel\\_\(Portland,\\_Oregon\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crystal_Hotel_(Portland,_Oregon)); DC Workhouse, Lorton, VA; February 16, 2006, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/41680473>; Beacon Hill Historic District, Boston, MA, October 15, 1966, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/63793855>.

<sup>20</sup> Springate, *LGBTQ America*, 2016.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, Susan Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 5–7, 25–26, 153–54; Richard Sandell, *Museums, Moralities and Human Rights* (New York: Routledge, 2017), xiii–xiv; Gabriel, “Why Grapple with Queer?,” 71–72; Susan Ferentinos, “Lifting Our Skirts: Sharing the Sexual Past with Visitors,” Digital Content, May 2014 Issue, *Public History Commons: The Public Historian* (blog), July 1, 2014, <http://ncph.org/history-at-work/lifting-our-skirts/>; Brown, “Queer or Not”; Frank D. Vagnone, “A Note from Franklin D. Vagnone, Executive Director,” *Historic House Trust Newsletter*, Fall 2010.

interacted sexually with other people of the same sex throughout recorded history; others have lived outside the boundaries of their ascribed gender. What is new (and, most likely, temporary) is the way we *understand* these behaviors.

How same-sex desire and gender variance is understood varies by culture, and it has also varied from one historical era to another. The specifics of this changing understanding, within the North American context, will be covered in more detail in the Historical Overview chapter of this report, but broadly speaking, Americans before the twentieth century were unfamiliar with the concept of sexual identity. Desire was not a defining, immutable characteristic; both homosexuality and heterosexuality are medical constructs that developed in late-nineteenth-century Europe and became firmly entrenched in the United States by about 1900. Same-sex desire as a behavior was present—and was largely viewed as troubling—but engaging in that behavior did not mean you were a certain *type of person* until the twentieth century. Furthermore, originally the concepts of homosexual identity and transgender identity were conflated. Someone who was assigned female and who desired other women sexually was understood to have an inverted gender. American cultural understanding did not allow for sexual identity and gender identity as two separate concepts until the mid-twentieth century, and the wide usage of the term “transgender” was not adopted until the late twentieth century. Bisexuality—the attraction to more than one gender—was vexing for just about everyone, and more often than not, this sexual identity was simply lumped into the same categories of deviance as homosexuality and gender variance, or it was ignored entirely.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Jennifer Terry, *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Joanne Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the*

Changing historical constructions of gender and sexuality mean that people in the past understood their desires in ways that are wholly different from how we might understand ours today. A seventeenth-century white man in colonial Maryland may have desired other men and acted on that desire regularly, but he would not necessarily have seen that as being inconsistent with marriage to a woman. Elite men in Anglo society were largely immune from punishment for sexual indiscretions, regardless of the letter of the law, and marriage was considered more of an economic transaction than a declaration of love.<sup>23</sup> Likewise, someone raised as a woman in the nineteenth century may have adopted a male identity and spent decades living as a man, but there's a good chance that this person understood that decision as personal choice, rather than an indication that they were, in fact, inherently male-gendered.<sup>24</sup>

It is for these reasons that this report takes an inclusive approach in defining LGBTQ historic resources in Maryland. We can find motivations, actions, and desires in the past that resonate with our contemporary understanding of what LGBTQ means, but we will not find pre-twentieth-century Americans adhering precisely to our twenty-first-century understandings of sexuality and gender.

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*United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002); Siobhan B. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); Jonathan Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (New York: Dutton and Company, 1995); Hanne Blank, *Straight: The Surprisingly Short History of Heterosexuality* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2012). It is worth noting, however, that Thomas Foster argues that this connection between behavior and "personhood," although constructed differently, actually did begin in North America as early as the eighteenth century; see Thomas A. Foster, *Sex and the Eighteenth-Century Man: Massachusetts and the History of Sexuality in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006).

<sup>23</sup> Clare A. Lyons, "Mapping an Atlantic Sexual Culture: Homoeroticism in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," *William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (January 1, 2003): 119–54; Richard Godbeer, "'The Cry of Sodom': Discourse, Intercourse, and Desire in Colonial New England," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (April 1, 1995): 259–86; John M. Murrin, "'Things Fearful to Name': Bestiality in Colonial America," *Pennsylvania History* 65 (January 1, 1998): 16–18; John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*, 3rd edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 15–38.

<sup>24</sup> Peter Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Peter Boag, "Go West Young Man, Go East Young Woman: Searching for the Trans in Western Gender History," *Western Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (Winter 2005): 477–97.

## Lack of Evidence

For many of the same reasons discussed above, preservationists beginning work in this area will soon discover that explicit evidence of same-sex sexual activity is extremely rare. Personal fulfillment and sexual gratification are goals of the modern age, which historians identify as beginning in the 1920s. Modernism emphasized the self over the group, and with this cultural shift, individual happiness rose in importance, becoming a goal on par with, say, adherence to group moral standards or maintaining a good reputation. In the era before the twentieth century, when personal fulfillment and sexual gratification carried less cultural weight, people were far less likely to explore such topics in their personal writings and letters.<sup>25</sup>

Furthermore, same-sex sexual activity was illegal from the period of European settlement until 1999 in Maryland (and as late as 2003 in some other parts of the United States), and people rarely hold onto evidence that could be used against them in a criminal trial. Similarly, homosexuality was officially considered a mental illness until 1973, when the American Psychiatric Association removed it from its *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. In Maryland, it was legal to fire someone or deny them housing for being gay until 2001 and for being transgender until 2014. The result of all this was a compelling incentive to hide one's LGBTQ longings and behavior,

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<sup>25</sup> Warren I. Susman, "'Personality' and the Making of Twentieth-Century Culture," in *New Directions in American Intellectual History*, ed. John Higham and Paul K. Conkin (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 212–26; Daniel Horowitz, *The Morality of Spending: Attitudes toward the Consumer Society in America, 1875-1940* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985); Stanley Coben, *Rebellion against Victorianism: The Impetus for Cultural Change in 1920s America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Lynn Dumenil, *The American Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995); Kevin White, *The First Sexual Revolution: Male Heterosexuality in Modern America* (New York: New York University Press, 1992); Elizabeth Lunbeck, *The Psychiatric Persuasion: Knowledge, Gender, and Power in Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

and this incentive led not only to a lack of personal narratives but also the frequent use of pseudonyms within LGBTQ organizations, in LGBTQ peer groups, and in print. Particularly frustrating for preservationists, fear of repercussions and violence also meant that physical addresses of LGBTQ organizations, meetings, and social events rarely appeared in print before the 1970s. LGBTQ-oriented businesses were also frequently the target of official harassment and random crime and so did not advertise themselves as such in mainstream publications. As a result, we are dependent on the LGBTQ press for such references, and LGBTQ publications that incorporated advertising did not become common until the 1970s.<sup>26</sup>

In practice, this lack of evidence means that preservationists must often expand their understandings of reliable source material when evaluating sites with LGBTQ associations. Explicit, written evidence is an unreasonable expectation when identifying and researching LGBTQ properties prior to the 1970s, when “outing oneself” (that is, publicly declaring oneself to be LGBTQ) became a political strategy and thus, increasingly common. Oral history serves as an important tool but often cannot be corroborated with the written record. Furthermore, in periods of oppression, LGBTQ individuals employed coded language and symbols to identify each other within a larger hostile culture, a practice sometimes referred to as “dropping hairpins.” They also depended on other members of their LGBTQ communities to help keep the secret of their sexual or gender variance from the larger society. These tendencies help explain why LGBTQ people often claim kinship with people from the past for whom there is

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<sup>26</sup> Aaron S Merki, Shannon Avery, and Anne Blackfield, “The Future of LGBT Civil Rights and Equality in Maryland,” *University of Baltimore Law Forum* 44, no. 1 (Fall 2013): 43–59; Melinda D. Kane, “Sodomy Laws in the United States,” in *Global Encyclopedia of Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender History* (Farmington Hills: Cengage Gale, 2019); Lillian Faderman, *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015), 279–97; Martin Meeker, *Contacts Desired: Gay and Lesbian Communications and Community, 1940s-1970s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Boyle et al., “A Place to Start,” 10–11.

little “evidence,” as the word is commonly used in the historical profession. Oral tradition, along with actions and language that contain covert references to LGBTQ code, potentially constitute their own form of evidence.<sup>27</sup>

The concepts of oral tradition and coded communication also have implications for arguments of historical significance. Put simply, a person from the past who has been claimed by LGBTQ people as an ancestor gains an association to LGBTQ history, whether or not there is evidence that this person in fact desired their own sex or identified with a gender other than the one society assigned them. Their association to LGBTQ history, in this case, comes from their adoption into LGBTQ culture. To illustrate, in the mid-twentieth century, one way gay men referred to each other was as a “friend of Dorothy,” a reference to Judy Garland’s character in the movie *The Wizard of Oz* (1939); the movie’s well-known song, “Somewhere Over the Rainbow,” remains uniquely popular in some LGBTQ subcultures; and the majority of the male characters in the fantasy part of the movie employed gestures and humor that were reminiscent of LGBTQ code of the era. For these reasons, *The Wizard of Oz* holds associations to LGBTQ history, whether or not that was the actual intention of the film’s creators. A person, event, or place takes on LGBTQ significance when LGBTQ people claim it as significant.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Nan Alamilla Boyd and Horacio N. Roque Ramirez, eds., *Bodies of Evidence: The Practice of Queer Oral History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Elise Chenier, “Hidden from Historians: Preserving Lesbian Oral History in Canada,” *Archivaria* 68 (Fall 2009): 247–69; Elise Chenier, “Privacy Anxieties: Ethics versus Activism in Archiving Lesbian Oral History Online,” *Radical History Review* 2015, no. 122 (May 2015): 129–41, <https://doi.org/10.1215/01636545-2849576>; Kunzel, “The Power of Queer History.”

<sup>28</sup> Christopher Reed, “We’re from Oz: Marking Ethnic and Sexual Identity in Chicago,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 21, no. 4 (August 2003): 430–34, <https://doi.org/10.1068/d372>; William Pawlett and Meena Dhanda, “The Shared Destiny of the Radically Other: A Reading of The Wizard of Oz,” *Film-Philosophy* 14, no. 2 (October 2010): 113–31, <https://doi.org/10.3366/film.2010.0046>.

The fact that a place holds significance to LGBTQ people is not necessarily the same as meeting the requirements for significance as outlined by the National Register of Historic Places or the Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties. Such decisions need to be made on an individual basis. But formal preservation designation is only one means of preserving the memory of a place and of interpreting the past for visitors. Although much of the Maryland LGBTQ Historic Context Study concerns itself with formal historic designation, it is an imperfect tool for capturing the full range of LGBTQ experiences. Thus, even when resonance with LGBTQ communities is not enough to justify formal historic designation on that basis, these associations might be included in the documentation and interpretation of a site, so that some of the more intangible aspects of LGBTQ subcultures might also be preserved for future generations.

### **Lack of Integrity (or Even Sites)**

Most preservation policy in the United States was put in place in an era before much energy was being extended to diversify our understanding of the past. The policies assume that the properties being preserved are fine works of architecture, representing the history of elite white men—because those were the properties preservationists were seeking to preserve at the time these policies were developed. Although in practice, preservationists have spent much of the last twenty-five years—since roughly the mid-1990s—ensuring that a greater range of American historical experience is represented in the total body of preserved sites, the guidelines for preservation designation remain



products of the time in which they were written and still carry the prejudices of earlier eras.<sup>29</sup>

One area in which this is particularly apparent is in the requirements for historical integrity, which specify that a site needs to maintain enough of its appearance from its period of significance to evoke that history. The National Park Service recognizes seven elements of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Each quality is considered when reviewing a nomination to the National Register, but as Megan E. Springate and Caridad de la Vega point out, each element is accorded different weight depending on the property's reason for significance. For example, a property nominated for its architectural significance would need a higher level of overall integrity than a property nominated for its significance to social history, although some level of integrity would be required in both cases.<sup>30</sup>

Much has been written about the issue of integrity within the field of historic preservation. Put simply, buildings with widely agreed-upon historical significance, owned by people with monetary resources, are far more likely to retain historical integrity than sites associated with underrepresented communities. If the National Register of Historic Places truly aims to represent all of U.S. history, the issues faced by

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<sup>29</sup> For a brief overview of preservation policy, see Virginia O. Benson and Richard Klein, *Historic Preservation for Professionals* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2008), 30–50; for a historical overview of the development of the National Register, see John H. Sprinkle, *Crafting Preservation Criteria: The National Register of Historic Places and American Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

<sup>30</sup> Megan E. Springate and Caridad de la Vega, “Nominating LGBTQ Places to the National Register of Historic Places and as National Historic Landmarks: An Introduction,” in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Foundation, 2016), 30:14-16; see also, Sprinkle, *Crafting Preservation Criteria*, 45–67.

marginalized communities in maintaining structures must be taken into consideration as part of the assessment of a property's historical integrity.<sup>31</sup>

Ostracized by the larger community, disowned by families, discriminated against in employment, many LGBTQ individuals lived close to the margins of society, as many still do. They were (and are) unable to remain in one location for long, and this situation, in turn, impacted LGBTQ cultural institutions. They were often short lived, moved locations frequently, and failed to find their way into the permanent historical record. They were also commonly located in marginal areas, where building maintenance tends to be a low priority. The effect on historic preservation is three-fold. First, when dealing with LGBTQ history, longevity is not necessarily an indication of significance. For example, the Henry Gerber House in Chicago is a National Historic Landmark for its LGBTQ significance, even though the gay rights organization that Gerber founded in 1924, the Society for Human Rights, disbanded after only about seven months, due to police suppression. The flip side of this argument is also important: to find an LGBTQ site with a long period of significance (spanning multiple decades) is rather rare. In these cases, a site's longevity may be a factor toward establishing its significance.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Max Page, *Why Preservation Matters* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2009); Sprinkle, *Crafting Preservation Criteria*, 45–67; Jeremy C. Wells, “Are We ‘Ensnared in the System of Heritage’ Because We Don’t Want to Escape?,” *Archaeologies* 13, no. 1 (April 1, 2017): 26–47, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11759-017-9316-8>; Richard W. Longstreth, ed., *Sustainability & Historic Preservation: Toward a Holistic View* (Newark; Lanham, MD: University of Delaware Press; Co-published with Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 12–13; Gail Dubrow, “The Preservation of LGBTQ Heritage,” in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, ed. Megan Springate, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), 5:21-22, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>; Boyle et al., “A Place to Start,” 6–9.

<sup>32</sup> Springate and de la Vega, “LGBTQ America,” 30:7; Michelle McClellan and University of Michigan Public History Initiative, “Henry Gerber House, Chicago, Illinois,” National Historic Landmark Nomination (Draft) (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2014).

The second way that LGBTQ marginalization impacts historic preservation is that few sites with LGBTQ associations will be in pristine historical condition. Fifty years ago, it would have been downright fanciful to talk about LGBTQ places as being valued parts of the American historical landscape. Virtually no-one was thinking about preserving these places, and even if someone *was* thinking in that direction, maintaining buildings in a historically sensitive manner requires financial resources that are far less likely to be available within marginalized communities. Such circumstances should be taken into account when assessing integrity for the purposes of formal historic designation.<sup>33</sup>

Finally, because of the marginalized status of LGBTQ communities, their neighborhoods have been subject to redevelopment and gentrification, leading to the loss of whole swaths of the LGBTQ historical landscape. This reality may influence the level of significance attributed to surviving resources, just as rare examples of a particular style of architecture are deemed to be of greater significance than an individual example of a common style.<sup>34</sup>

Preservationists have grappled with issues of integrity for most of the history of the profession, widely considered to have been professionalized by the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966, and it has proven to be most challenging when seeking to designate sites related to marginalized communities. In practice, local municipal

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<sup>33</sup> Springate and de la Vega, “LGBTQ America,” 30:7; Wells, “Are We ‘Ensnared in the System of Heritage’ Because We Don’t Want to Escape?”; Page, *Why Preservation Matters*.

<sup>34</sup> Dubrow, “The Preservation of LGBTQ Heritage”; Page, *Why Preservation Matters*, 69–101; Petra L. Doan, “Why Question Planning Assumptions and Practices about Queer Spaces,” in *Queering Planning: Challenging Heteronormative Assumptions and Reframing Planning Practice*, ed. Petra L. Doan (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub, 2011), 1–18; Sabiyha Prince, *African Americans and Gentrification in Washington, D.C.: Race, Class and Social Justice in the Nation’s Capital* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014); David P. Leong, *Race & Place: How Urban Geography Shapes the Journey to Reconciliation* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Books, an imprint of InterVarsity Press, 2017).

preservation commissions and state historic preservation offices have taken these challenges into consideration when determining whether to accord historic designation to a particular site. However, as preservationist Jeremy C. Wells points out, the requirements for integrity are embedded in federal law, and so the tension between integrity and underrepresented history will continue until this law is changed. This reality, coupled with the general lack of evidence related to the history of same-sex desire and gender variance, means that formal historic designation will not always be the best approach to recognizing and preserving sites with LGBTQ historical associations.<sup>35</sup>

## **Preservation Options Beyond Designation**

The requirements for official historic designation do not always fit neatly with the realities of LGBTQ history. Sites may hold meaning for LGBTQ communities without meeting the formal criteria of significance required by the National Register. The values of the subculture (free sexual expression, say, or the political strategy of short-lived, theatrical “zaps” to raise awareness) are sometimes in conflict with the values embedded in a preservation system that privileges individualism, verifiable facts, and a traditional view of history.

For all these reasons, it may be helpful to remember that designation is not the only way to preserve a site of significance. Heritage conservationist Ned Kaufman has worked extensively on the preservation of sites that do not neatly qualify for historic designation, and his book *Race, Place, and Story* introduces an alternative way of

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<sup>35</sup> Sprinkle, *Crafting Preservation Criteria*, 46–67; Wells, “Are We ‘Ensnared in the System of Heritage’ Because We Don’t Want to Escape?”

thinking about historic sites that greatly expands the possibilities of capturing marginalized history in the built environment. Although Kaufman's main focus is race and class, his ideas apply equally well to LGBTQ history.<sup>36</sup>

Kaufman offers the concept of "story sites" as a way of considering and recognizing meaningful places that are not captured through traditional preservation methods. In his words:

Historic preservation protects man-made aspects of the cityscape, especially architecturally significant buildings. Largely unprotected are resources that are valuable for their ability to convey history, support community memory, and nurture people's attachment to place.... I propose the term "story sites" as broadly inclusive of historical sites, cultural sites, and sites of social value. All act as mnemonics, bringing socially valuable stories to mind: stories of history, tradition, and shared memory. The term "storyscape" might then be used to refer to the full panorama of such sites.<sup>37</sup>

Kaufman argues that story sites serve a public purpose by anchoring individual life stories and neighborhood identity; creating social and cultural capital; and raising general historical awareness. As such, he advocates for an inventory of such sites. Within the realm of LGBTQ history in Maryland, the digital component of this project, headed by Benjamin Egerman and discussed earlier in the methodology section of the Introduction, might be considered such an inventory. It captures a range of sites carrying LGBTQ significance, regardless of whether these sites remain historically intact or meet the National Register criteria of significance.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

<sup>37</sup> Kaufman, 38–39.

<sup>38</sup> Kaufman, 42–50; <https://www.historypin.org/en/lgbtq-america/lgbtq-maryland/>; for more on preserving sites with methods other than designation, see Boyle et al., "A Place to Start," 48–63.

Historical markers provide another means of preserving the LGBTQ associations of a site in situations where there is no longer enough integrity to qualify for historic designation. The Maryland Historical Marker Program does not require a site to be extant for a marker to be erected; however, it does use the same criteria for historical significance at the state level Maryland Inventory of Historic Property forms that the National Register uses.<sup>39</sup>

Walking tours and cell phone applications allow people to engage with the past in an immersive way, removed from government requirements. They potentially allow LGBTQ community groups to present their own interpretation of the queer historical landscape, unmediated by external review. This approach allows the culture and values of LGBTQ communities to take center stage. Within Maryland, Baltimore Heritage, Inc., in partnership with other community organizations, offers LGBTQ walking tours of the Mount Vernon (MIHP B-1393), Charles Village (Site 66), and Waverly (MIHP B-5229) neighborhoods so that participants can get a sense of the ways historical layers exist within the current landscape.<sup>40</sup>

Finally, intersections between art and historic preservation provide a means of preserving the memory of meaningful places outside of official government channels. Site-specific theater and *in situ* art installations allow the public to interact with places in new ways that are historically informed, but also infused by cultural meaning. For

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<sup>39</sup> Ferentinos, “Ways of Interpreting Queer Pasts,” 36–38; “Maryland’s Historical Markers,” Maryland Historical Trust, n.d., <https://mht.maryland.gov/historicalmarkers/Propose.aspx>.

<sup>40</sup> Ferentinos, “Ways of Interpreting Queer Pasts,” 38–39; Amanda Castro and Blanca Garcia-Barron, “Exhibition Review: Mount Vernon: Baltimore’s Historic LGBT Neighborhood,” *History in the Making* 9, no. 16 (2016), <https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/history-in-the-making/vol9/iss1/16>.

traditionally oppressed groups, artistic memorialization of place opens an opportunity for empathy building and respect for underrepresented experiences.<sup>41</sup>

## **Preserving Sites of Difficult History**

Returning now to the subject of official historic designation, members of the wider public often conflate historic designation with celebration, and this can present challenges for preserving a full range of sites related to LGBTQ history. On the one hand, queer populations eager to have their cultural contributions acknowledged and documented may bristle if sites related to their persecution are designated before sites of empowerment. On the other hand, properties that reference an important, but controversial aspect of the past—confrontational protest strategies in the face of the AIDS epidemic, for instance—may be indisputably significant to understanding the past, but their designation may become controversial if the public perceives designation as approval of the behavior represented.<sup>42</sup>

The need to preserve a range of places, telling a variety of stories becomes more apparent when we consider the number of NRHP sites related to colonial conquest, slavery, and war. Certainly, in these instances, designation does not equal celebration or approval. Nevertheless, preservationists may find public opposition to the idea of designating sites that have disturbing or controversial stories to tell. Clarity about the

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<sup>41</sup> Bernard A. Zuckerman Museum of Art, *John Q: Projects 2009-2013* (Kennesaw, GA: Kennesaw State University, 2014); Julia Brock, “Embodying the Archive (Part 1): Art Practice, Queer Politics, and Public History,” Blog, *History @ Work* (blog), April 5, 2013, <https://ncph.org/history-at-work/brock-johnq-intro/>; Julia Brock, “Embodying the Archive (Part 2): Lineages, Longings Migrations,” Blog, *History @ Work* (blog), April 12, 2013, <https://ncph.org/history-at-work/crichton-brock-intro/>; Ferentinos, “Ways of Interpreting Queer Pasts,” 30–32; Rebecca Bush and Tawny Paul, eds., *Art and Public History: Approaches, Opportunities, and Challenges* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).

<sup>42</sup> Page, *Why Preservation Matters*, 129–61.

purpose of historic designation and the need to preserve the full range of history can assist in the effort to address community concerns.<sup>43</sup>

Likewise, it is understandable that, early in the effort to preserve sites of LGBTQ significance, constituents would lobby for those sites that represent the triumphs of LGBTQ communities in the face of extreme prejudice and daunting odds. The LGBTQ historic preservation toolkit created by University of Maryland students, for example, specifically set out to study “affirming” places. And there are certainly such sites available to designate—places where political victories were achieved; where LGBTQ people took action to help others like themselves; where LGBTQ communities came together to express their pride at following their truths in the face of opposition.<sup>44</sup>

Yet, if these are the *only* sites related to LGBTQ history that we preserve; we are censoring the full history. The LGBTQ past also has upsetting stories to tell—tales of purges from employment, of lobotomies, of violent attacks, of suicides, and of prejudice so pervasive that it forced an entire group of Americans to live in hiding. To ignore those parts of the past is to do a grave disservice to those who suffered under those realities. Furthermore, to acknowledge the missteps of the past and to preserve the memory of them as a lesson for the future can be a valuable step toward public reconciliation.<sup>45</sup> In the words of scholar Trevor Blank:

Is it possible, then, that the memorialization of a contentious site could help to redefine its stature in both the community and larger historical canon, thereby reducing negative connotations associated with its past? As the case of the Holocaust museum demonstrates, a sordid or contentious

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<sup>43</sup> Julia Rose, *Interpreting Difficult History at Museums and Historic Sites* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 6–19; Page, *Why Preservation Matters*, 129–61.

<sup>44</sup> Rose, *Interpreting Difficult History at Museums and Historic Sites*, 6; Boyle et al., “A Place to Start,” 61; Ferentinos, “Ways of Interpreting Queer Pasts,” 34–36.

<sup>45</sup> Rose, *Interpreting Difficult History at Museums and Historic Sites*, 6–19; Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 164–65.



past does not eliminate the need for preserving a site or educating the public on the components that made its contents historically noteworthy.<sup>46</sup>

## **The Interplay of LGBTQ Behavior and Historical Significance**

Sites related to LGBTQ history—the home of a gay liberation activist, for example—are obvious candidates for an LGBTQ preservation effort. But what about sites connected to LGBTQ people whose significance is not LGBTQ-related? An example might be Lucy Diggs Slowe (1883-1937), a vocal advocate for African American girls' education and the first Dean of Women at Howard University, who spent her childhood and early career in Baltimore (Site 156). Slowe's significance lies in her professional efforts in the field of education; yet, she also was partnered with a woman—playwright and educator Mary Burrill—for over thirty years. How, then, should we treat her LGBTQ associations in preservation documentation?<sup>47</sup>

In such cases, documenting LGBTQ associations still matters. As I have written elsewhere:

The historical record has done a thorough job of erasing aspects of the past that deviate from our standard narrative, and the result is that a great many Americans are unaware that sex and gender variance are part of the past as well as the present. LGBTQ people come of age receiving the subtle message that their predecessors are not worthy of remembrance. Given those unfortunate circumstances, it seems crucial to include information about these characteristics in historical documentation of all kinds, even when such an identity is not a key part of one's historical significance.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Trevor J. Blank, "Contesting the Contested: Preservation Politics, Collective Memory, and the First Institution for the Criminally Insane in America," *Material Culture* 41, no. 1 (2009): 51.

<sup>47</sup> Susan Ferentinos, "Lucy Diggs Slowe and Mary P. Burrill House, Washington, D.C.," National Historic Landmark Briefing Statement (Washington DC: Submitted to the National Park Service National Capital Regional Office, 2018).

<sup>48</sup> Susan Ferentinos, "Beyond the Bar: Types of Properties Related to LGBTQ History," *Change Over Time* 8, no. 2 (Fall 2018): 147, <https://doi.org/10.1353/cot.2018.0009>.

In addition, associations between LGBTQ experiences and historical significance may reveal themselves with some reflection. How did this person's experience as an outsider affect their life's work? How did those experiences give them a unique perspective on the world? In the case of Lucy Slowe, it is likely that her lack of romantic relationships with men made her acutely aware of the dangers of assuming girls would grow up to be financially supported by husbands (as was the prevailing attitude during her lifetime) and added to her motivation to ensure African American girls received an education.

Expanding preservation efforts to include underrepresented stories introduces issues that preservationists must take into consideration when making decisions about designation and other means of preserving the memories of place. If we are to be inclusive, we must also be sensitive to the specific circumstances faced by various groups and the effect of these circumstances on the built environment.

## **CHAPTER THREE: LGBTQ HISTORICAL OVERVIEW**

In this chapter, I offer an overview of the history of same-sex love and desire and of gender variance, with a particular focus on Maryland.

### **The Seventeenth Century**

At the dawn of the seventeenth century, roughly forty cultural groups resided within the geographic area that was to become the state of Maryland. Historians Suzanne Chapelle and Jean Russo describe the populations that inhabited the area as follows:

Nearly all were part of the Algonquian-speaking people who lived on land that extended from the Carolinas to Hudson's Bay in Canada. Lower Western Shore groups, such as the Choptico, the Mattawoman, and the Patuxent, belonged to a loose federation, with the Piscataway as the dominant group. The Piscataway chief acted as the federation's tayac, or head. On the Eastern Shore, the Nanticoke, numbering about 1,500, provided leadership for smaller groups, such as the Choptank, the Pocomoke, and the Wicomico. At the head of the Bay lived the powerful Susquehannock, members of the Iroquois nation. In all, Native Americans

numbered about eight thousand to ten thousand people when the first Europeans arrived.<sup>49</sup>

Very little is known about the gender and sexual practices of these specific Indigenous groups, and what evidence we do have about North American Indigenous cultures generally can be difficult for Westerners to understand, because prior to European contact these cultures had radically different concepts of sex and gender than Europeans did. These concepts also varied between Indigenous cultures, so that information gleaned about one group cannot be assumed to be true of others. This is particularly true for eastern nations. The sex and gender practices of people living on the plains and what is now the southwest United States have been studied in greater detail than eastern North American cultures, but we cannot extrapolate from those very different cultures and assume that eastern nations held the same beliefs. In addition, written sources describing these cultures comes from early European explorers and settlers, whose impressions are filtered through their own cultural biases and understandings of what was and was not acceptable behavior.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Chappelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 10; see also, Philip D. Curtin, “Human Biology of Populations in the Chesapeake Watershed,” in *Discovering the Chesapeake: The History of an Ecosystem*, ed. George Wescott Fisher, Grace Somers Brush, and Philip D. Curtin (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 131.9/24/2020 11:32:00 AM

<sup>50</sup> Examples of sex and gender practices of western North American nations include Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991); Ramón A. Gutiérrez, “Warfare, Homosexuality, and Gender Status among American Indian Men in the Southwest,” in *Long before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in Early America*, ed. Thomas A. Foster (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 19–31; Walter L. Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986); Will Roscoe, “Sexual and Gender Diversity in Native America and the Pacific Islands,” in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, ed. Megan E. Springate, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), Chapter 9, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>. The greater scholarly understanding of western North American nations is in part the result of Spanish colonizers writing much more about these topics than English settlers did. In addition, many of the Great Plains nations remained culturally distinct for longer than the Chesapeake Bay nations.

The first contact between Europeans and the Indigenous cultures of what is now Maryland occurred in 1524 when Giovanni da Verrazzano, representing France, explored this part of North America. John Smith, representing England, explored again in 1608, and this expedition provides the first written description of the Indigenous people of this region. More regular contact began in the 1620s with the start of the European fur trade; however, permanent European settlement of the Maryland colony did not begin until 1634.<sup>51</sup>

Scholars have pieced together some information about the sexual and gender practices of the Iroquois in the period after European contact, and this scholarship may hold some relevance to the Susquehannock whose territory included part of what became the Maryland colony. The Susquehannock were Iroquois, but they were not part of the Five Nations, or Iroquois Confederacy, which occupied territory further north. In addition, scholarship on Iroquois sex and gender practices mostly relates to the colonial period, after contact with Europeans, who destabilized traditional political structures and alliances within Iroquois territory. There is also some contemporary debate among scholars as to how culturally similar the Susquehannock were to the Iroquois nations now known as the Haudenosaunee. Although they were part of the same language group, the Susquehannock warred with the northern Iroquois over access to resources in the post-contact era. Thus, what we know about the post-contact northern Iroquois

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<sup>51</sup> Chappelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 7; Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Jami Powell, “Repatriation and Constructs of Identity,” *Journal of Anthropological Research* 68, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 84, <https://doi.org/10.3998/jar.0521004.0068.202>; Celeste Marie Gagnon and Sara K. Becker, “Native Lives in Colonial Times: Insights from the Skeletal Remains of Susquehannocks, A.D. 1575–1675,” *Historical Archaeology*, March 2020.

may or may not shed insight into the culture of the Susquehannock in the land we now call Maryland.<sup>52</sup>

Among the post-contact northern Iroquois, conquest rituals could involve men of a conquered group engaging in sex acts with men of the conquering group and performing tasks traditionally performed by women. Iroquois cultures may also have recognized a third gender, less common than either male or female, that contained elements of these other two genders. The European colonizers referred to Indigenous Americans who did not fit into binary gender constructions as “berdache,” but in the twenty-first century, “Two Spirit” is the more common—and less objectionable—term.<sup>53</sup>

Africans first arrived in the Maryland colony in 1642, as captive laborers. In the early decades of colonization, African slavery existed alongside European indentured servitude, and thus the African population remained fairly low until the turn of the eighteenth century. Between 1607 and 1699, 33,200 enslaved Africans were transported to the colony, compared with 96,000 indentured servants brought from England. Nevertheless, the presence of Africans would have introduced additional sex and gender systems into the Maryland territory. Many of the northern and western African cultures

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<sup>52</sup> Gagnon and Becker, “Native Lives in Colonial Times”; Helen C. Rountree and Thomas E. Davidson, *Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 90–91; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Jami Powell, “Repatriation and Constructs of Identity.”

<sup>53</sup> Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Jami Powell, “Repatriation and Constructs of Identity”; Rountree and Davidson, *Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland*, 1–46; Gunlog Fur, “Weibe-Town and the Delawares-as-Women: Gender Crossing and Same-Sex Relations in Eighteenth-Century Northeastern Indian Culture,” in *Long before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in Early America*, ed. Thomas A. Foster (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 32–50; Thomas Foster, “Sexual Diversity in Early America,” in Leila J. Rupp and Susan K. Freeman, eds., *Understanding and Teaching U.S. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 124–26; Richard C. Trexler, *Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas* (Cambridge (UK): Polity Press, 1995); Walter Williams claims that the Iroquois did not have a third gender tradition; see Williams, *The Spirit and the Flesh*. Today, the surviving nations of the Iroquois are also known as Haudenosaunee.

from which most captives originated allowed space for same-sex sexual activity, and some also recognized gender categories beyond the binary European models.<sup>54</sup>

As an English colony, however, Maryland laws were based on English cultural standards, and English laws applied, including the Buggery Law of 1533, which made sodomy a capital offense. In the words of the law, those convicted of “the detestable & abominable vice of buggeri committed with mankind or beest... shall suffer suche peynes of dethe, and losses, and penalties of their goodes, cattals, dettes, londes, tenements, and heredytamentes, as felons benne accustomed to do accordynge to the order of the common lawes of this realme.” This law seems to have remained in force in Maryland until 1793, well after Maryland had severed its ties to England and become part of the United States. While surviving records from the colonial period are not comprehensive, it appears that one man in the Maryland colony, William Sewick, was indeed executed under this law, in 1681.<sup>55</sup>

Despite the official law of the land, however, it is likely that the Maryland colony experienced a sizable amount of same-sex sexual activity among its seventeenth-century settlers of European origin. Because the economy of the colony soon relied on tobacco farming, large numbers of indentured servants—the majority young, white, unmarried men from England—arrived in Maryland to work the land. In the early decades of European settlement, the sex ratio among colonists in the Chesapeake was one woman

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<sup>54</sup> Rupp, *Desired Past*, 24–27; Chapelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 24–25, 40; Sandra W. Perot, “The Dairymaid and the Prince: Race, Memory, and the Story of Benjamin Banneker’s Grandmother,” *Slavery & Abolition* 38, no. 3 (September 2017): 447, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0144039X.2017.1327094>.

<sup>55</sup> Chapelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 7; British Library, “The Buggery Act 1533,” n.d., <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-buggery-act-1533>; Jonathan Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac: A New Documentary in Which Is Contained, in Chronological Order, Evidence of the True and Fantastical History of Those Persons Now Called Lesbians and Gay Men* (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), 73; Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 30–31; Bernard Christian Steiner et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 7 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1889), <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000681270>. My thanks to John Liebertz at the Montgomery County Historic Preservation Office for alerting me to this primary source concerning Sewick’s execution.

for every four men; compared with two women for every three men in New England. For a few years, between 1634 and 1635, the ratio was even higher, with men outnumbering women six to one.<sup>56</sup>

Historians of the LGBTQ past know that same-sex or gender-imbalanced environments—frontier areas, ships, military institutions, prisons, same-sex colleges, convents, and seminaries, for example—are likely to yield historical evidence of sexual activity between members of the same sex. Yet, even with such documentation, the question of motivation remains. Was this same-sex activity an example of “situational homosexuality,” where individuals choose same-sex sexual partners because of an absence of opposite-sex options? Or were people with a preference for members of their own sex and a disinclination for the opposite sex drawn to same-sex environments that would provide them with greater opportunity for same-sex connections, while diminishing the mainstream pressure to interact romantically with the opposite sex? Most likely, a combination of factors contributed to the reality. Indeed, these very questions rely on assumptions about the immutability of sexual identity and the binary nature of sexual attraction that are themselves historically contingent. The presence of increased same-sex sexual activity in gender-imbalanced situations reminds us that contemporary ideas about the nature of sexual identity and behavior do not cover the full range of lived experience.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Chappelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 14; D’Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 9–11; Perot, “The Dairymaid and the Prince,” 449.

<sup>57</sup> Paul Baker and Jo Stanley, *Hello Sailor! The Hidden History of Gay Life at Sea* (London; New York: Longman, 2003), 1; Tina Gianoulis, “Situational Homosexuality,” *GLBTQ Social Sciences*, January 2005, 1–2; Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States*, 42–46; see also, Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000), 100–130; Joanne Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 79–91; Regina G. Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy: Prison and the Uneven History of Modern American Sexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).



Historians John D’Emilio and Estelle Freeman have argued that the Chesapeake region’s early gender imbalance led to a looser policing of sexual norms and most likely led to a certain level of acceptance of male-male sexual liaisons. This theory is supported by the small number of men in the Maryland colony who were criminally charged with sodomy. Historian Sandra Perot adds a corrective, however, arguing that white women’s sexuality, in fact, was heavily policed in seventeenth-century Maryland. In such a gender-imbalanced environment, Perot argues, restricting the sexual activity of white women increased the supply of potential wives for the elite men of the colony.<sup>58</sup>

For most of the seventeenth-century period of colonization, Maryland would have had a frontier feel about it. In the words of Chappelle and Russo:

Seventeenth-century Maryland lacked many elements that normally bind a society together. Kinship ties, family groups, and long-term friendships rarely existed in a population welcoming a steady influx of immigrants and suffering a high death rate. The colony had no villages and towns or markets and fairs, and few churches, to bring people together. Postal service, newspapers, social clubs, and other channels for exchanging views and concerns did not yet exist.<sup>59</sup>

In such circumstances, it is easy to imagine a certain dispensing with societal prescriptions.

The uneven sex ratio of the early Maryland colonial period likely also demanded a relaxing of traditional English gender norms, since there were not enough women to perform traditionally female domestic tasks and those women who were present in the colony would have needed to learn certain skills of survival that in more refined

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<sup>58</sup> D’Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 9–10; Perot, “The Dairymaid and the Prince,” 448; See also, William Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America: Beyond Romantic Friendships* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2006), 9–14.

<sup>59</sup> Chappelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 17.

circumstances could be reserved for men. One particularly intriguing story of relaxed gender norms involves Margaret Brent (c. 1600-1671) (Site 321).

Brent immigrated to the Maryland colony in 1638 with three of her adult siblings. She never married and served as the sole executor of Royal Governor Leonard Calvert's will upon his death in 1647. As part of these duties, she assumed power of attorney for Lord Baltimore, the owner of the colony's royal charter—a role that previously had been held by the governor. In this era, a woman taking on these roles was extraordinary, even in a colonial outpost. Nevertheless, in early 1648, the Maryland Assembly ruled that she could indeed assume this power. Brent followed up with an additional request that she be allowed to vote in Assembly, a petition that was denied.<sup>60</sup>

Although there is no evidence that Brent was romantically attracted to women or thought of herself as a man, her unmarried status, her choice to travel to the colony in its first five years of European settlement, her political role in the colony, and her claim of the right to vote in Assembly demonstrate a refusal to confine herself to the gender role assigned her. Although she did not assume a male identity, in many ways she did in fact “live as a man,” according to the tenets of the seventeenth-century English gender system. As such, Brent's life has relevance to the larger history of gender variance and reminds us that historical circumstances where cultural mores are not as strictly enforced create room for sexual and gender expressions that in stricter circumstances might be considered “deviant.”

Religious pluralism was another facet of colonial Maryland, and this too may have contributed to a slightly more relaxed approach to the policing of others.

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<sup>60</sup> Kacy Rohn, “The Maryland Women's Suffrage Movement (Draft),” Historic Context Statement (Crownsville: Maryland Historical Trust, 2017), 5–6. The foundation of the home where Brent petitioned the colony government is located at the St. John's Site Museum at 47645 Margaret Brent Way, St. Mary's City.

Established as a proprietary colony in the possession of the Catholic Calvert family, Maryland in its early years drew many Catholic settlers, though within a few decades the majority of whites in Maryland were Anglican. The colony's Toleration Act of 1649 established the right of Christians to practice their religion and made it a crime to disparage another's religion. The law was the first use of the phrase "free exercise of religion" in the American colonies, and this concept later became the basis for the U.S. Constitution's First Amendment. The Toleration Act provided protection for both Catholics and Protestants within the colony and established Maryland's reputation as a place of religious plurality. However, the law very specifically did not protect spiritual practices rooted in belief systems other than Christianity, such as those of Indigenous Americans or Africans.<sup>61</sup>

Numerous elements of early colonial life in Maryland—the mixing of cultures, the uneven sex ratio and subsequent relaxing of European gender norms, the frontier quality of European settlements, and religious plurality—suggest that this may have been a time and a place with some room for variant sexual and gender practices. However, the seventeenth century also saw the beginnings of a formalized racial hierarchy in Maryland, which both provided more legal rights to European Americans than to other ethnicities and likely enabled European Americans to exercise a greater range of behavior before being subject to punishment.

Despite the fact that indentured servitude was the dominant labor system in Maryland until the 1690s, the colony enacted a series of laws in the 1660s allowing and establishing the parameters of chattel slavery and restricting the rights of Africans and

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<sup>61</sup> John R. Vile, "Maryland Toleration Act of 1649," in *First Amendment Encyclopedia* (Free Speech Center, Middle Tennessee State University, n.d.), <https://www.mtsu.edu/first-amendment/article/868/maryland-toleration-act-of-1649>; George Dargo, "Religious Toleration and Its Limits in Early America," *Northern Illinois University Law Review* 16 (1995): 341.

African Americans. Most notably, a 1663 law declared that all Africans entering the colony would be enslaved for life and that their children would inherit their parents' enslaved status.<sup>62</sup>

The mid-to-late seventeenth century was also marked by ongoing skirmishes and land disputes between Europeans and Indigenous nations, as well as between different Indigenous nations as they fought for access to diminishing resources brought about by the English invasion. War and reduced circumstances led to the death of many Indigenous Americans, while many others chose to migrate out of Maryland to establish themselves in less disputed territory. Still others moved to reservations established by the colony.<sup>63</sup> In the words of scholars Helen Rountree and Thomas Davidson, discussing the Eastern Shore specifically:

By 1698 what can be called the reservation period of Maryland Eastern Shore Indian history had begun. All of the major tribes now had a clearly dependent status with respect to Maryland's provincial government and were settled on government-created reservations with well-defined boundaries.<sup>64</sup>

Maryland's early colonial era was thus a place of both cultural mixing and cultural subjugation. This social flux likely led to some added freedom with regard to sexual and gender practices, as people dealt with new cultural influences and new physical circumstances. Yet, this same period also saw the introduction of European-influenced cultural practices and laws that greatly restricted the movement and autonomy of Africans and Indigenous Americans and likely subjected their sexual and gender expressions to surveillance and forced adherence to European belief systems.

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<sup>62</sup> Chapelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 19; Perot, "The Dairymaid and the Prince," 447–49.

<sup>63</sup> Rountree and Davidson, *Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland*, 84–123.

<sup>64</sup> Rountree and Davidson, 121.

## The Eighteenth Century

By the dawn of the eighteenth century, the majority of white Marylanders were native-born instead of immigrants and lived in traditional family groups, although among whites, men still outnumbered women. Significant numbers of Indigenous Americans had been killed or had migrated away from the area of European settlement, and those who remained were confined to reservations established by the colonial government. In contrast, the African and African American population was growing at unprecedented rates.<sup>65</sup>

One of the biggest changes to take place in Maryland during the colonial period was the emergence of chattel slavery as the dominant labor system, with the number of people held in lifetime slavery exceeding the number of indentured servants by the turn of the eighteenth century. The number of permanently enslaved people in Maryland nearly tripled in the thirteen years between 1697 and 1710, increasing from three thousand to eight thousand. By 1710, enslaved people comprised approximately 18 percent of the population.<sup>66</sup>

The arrival of large numbers of Africans to the colony might have made African sexual and gender practices more evident to the European Americans in power. However, because of the economic, political, and religious dominance of European Americans, Western understandings of gender and same-sex desire prevailed. Having been forced into a system of slavery, Africans' autonomy in Maryland was greatly constricted. As a method of enforcing the slavery system, enslavers routinely punished

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<sup>65</sup> Chapelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 25.

<sup>66</sup> Chapelle and Russo, 25.

people for practicing their African cultural traditions. Another strategy for dominance and the “breaking” of those who were enslaved was a campaign of systematic sexual violence. Although we know far more about the rape of enslaved girls and women, enslaved boys and men were also victims of this brutal system. Enslaved men were both raped by male enslavers and forced to rape other enslaved people. In such circumstances, questions of desire and questions of dominance become so disturbingly intertwined that issues of consent in any sexual activity become muddled, all the more so from a vantage point two hundred years later.<sup>67</sup>

At the mid-eighteenth century, the colony remained overwhelmingly rural, with only 2 percent of its population living in towns. Annapolis was the largest settlement in the colony, with a population of about one thousand. The town of Baltimore was established in 1729, but by 1752 it contained only twenty-five homes, two taverns, and a church. In 1744, Maryland expanded its territory available for white settlement when it bought land rights for the area between the Potomac and Susquehanna Rivers from Indigenous nations. After this, new populations of Europeans—primarily immigrants from Germany, Ireland, and Scotland—moved into western Maryland.<sup>68</sup>

By the 1750s, the gender imbalance had mostly evened out among the European American population of Maryland, except on the western frontier of the colony. Among bound laborers—primarily enslaved but including some indentured servants—70 percent were men, suggesting that same-sex sexual activity remained a relatively common option among this group. The Indigenous population in Maryland had continued to decline, though their exact numbers are difficult to determine. One 1756

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<sup>67</sup> Rupp, *Desired Past*, 24–27; Thomas A. Foster, “The Sexual Abuse of Black Men under American Slavery,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 30, no. 3 (September 2011): 445–64; Chapelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 40.

<sup>68</sup> Chapelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 31–34; Matthew A. Crenson, *Baltimore: A Political History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017), 9–16.

estimate put their number at 140; a 1761 estimate put it at 120. Indigenous groups had been confined to reservations since the late seventeenth century, but by 1761, no reservations remained on the Western Shore. Thus, the 120 estimated Indigenous people in Maryland were likely comprised of Choptanks and Nanticokes living on reservations on the Eastern Shore. Maryland had no legal classification for Indigenous people living outside of reservations, so those individuals or family groups who had managed to avoid life on reservations would not have been classified as Indigenous, but as either white or colored in colonial records.<sup>69</sup>

By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Maryland was part of a transnational exchange of goods and ideas enabled by the ships that regularly traveled between Europe, Africa, the Caribbean, and North America, often referred to by historians as “the Atlantic World.” In the words of historian Joanne Meyerowitz, “these transnational flows involved people, capital, goods, and knowledge; they took place through migrations, trade, conquest, and communications; and they included the spread and reworking of religion, science, popular culture, art, public policies, and social movements.”<sup>70</sup>

The cultural exchange had two significant impacts on the history of same-sex love and desire in the North American English colonies. First, the Atlantic exchange of ideas brought news of European cultural trends to the American colonies. By the mid-eighteenth century, Europeans were becoming aware of small groups of men in large cities—London, Paris, Amsterdam—who behaved effeminately and much preferred the company of each other to the company of women. This information in turn crossed the

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<sup>69</sup> Chapelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 40–41; Curtin, “Human Biology of Populations in the Chesapeake Watershed,” 139–40; Rountree and Davidson, *Eastern Shore Indians of Virginia and Maryland*, 157–65.

<sup>70</sup> Joanne Meyerowitz, “Transnational Sex and U.S. History,” *American Historical Review* 114, no. 5 (December 1, 2009): 1273, <https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr.114.5.1273>.

Atlantic and arrived in North American port cities where it was disseminated throughout the colonies. Historian Clare Lyons details an array of examples to argue that colonial North Americans, like their European counterparts, incorporated this news of what might now be called gay subcultures into their understandings of sexual categories. At the same time, eighteenth-century sexual categories, both European and American, differed from our contemporary organization of sexual behavior. Sexual expression, within these eighteenth-century contexts, was inextricably linked to categories, such as class and religion, that are not understood in our own era as inherently sexual.<sup>71</sup>

Second, the eighteenth-century trans-Atlantic exchange of ideas brought the Enlightenment to the New World, a development that sparked revolutions in both North America and Haiti, as well as opening up cultural space for variant sexual and gender practices. As I have written elsewhere, during the Enlightenment, “the rational method of inquiry was favored over blind religious faith, and the individual (unquestioningly assumed to be a white man) was given unprecedented authority in determining his own destiny.” However, along with prizing individual decision-making, Enlightenment thinkers also praised the role of nature and the common good in regulating individual behavior. Monarchies and the Church fell out of favor as the regulators of behavior, but the Enlightenment by no means favored anarchy.<sup>72</sup>

The result was mixed messages with regard to same-sex sexuality. The Enlightenment’s emphasis on the individual led to a dislike of laws governing morality, which in turn led to cultural acceptance of a greater range of sexual practices. However,

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<sup>71</sup> Lyons, “Mapping an Atlantic Sexual Culture”; Richard Godbeer, *The Overflowing of Friendship: Love between Men and the Creation of the American Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 3; Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America*, 39–56.

<sup>72</sup> Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 32; D’Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 39–42.



the new importance of nature and the common good meant that same-sex sexuality remained problematic. Sodomy remained a crime, even as the reasoning behind the laws changed. In the Enlightenment, sodomy was illegal not because Christianity said it was a sin, but because it had the potential to destabilize what was then considered the “natural order.”<sup>73</sup>

Yet, while sodomy remained a crime, romantic connections between men, particularly propertied men of European descent, became increasingly idealized. Revolutionary-era thinking prized the idea of “sensibility” as a necessary component of democracy (again, at this time reserved only for propertied white men). In the words of historian Richard Godbeer, “Developing an intense capacity for emotion and a loving empathy with the feelings of others constituted an important part of becoming a worthy and refined man.” Furthermore, within this framework, intense individual attachments between men offered an even more developed expression of the democratic ideal.<sup>74</sup>

Godbeer continues:

The evocation of a republican brotherhood in which love between individuals would inspire a common sense of purpose and mutual responsibility would play a central role in the fledgling republic's attempt to craft for itself a new conception of social identity and political citizenship.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> D’Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 39–42; Thomas A. Foster, “Introduction,” in *Long before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in Early America*, ed. Thomas A. Foster (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 5–6; Clare A. Lyons, *Sex among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender and Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730-1830* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 9; Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States*, 26–28; Jay Hatheway, *The Gilded Age Construction of Modern American Homophobia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 15–20.

<sup>74</sup> Godbeer, *The Overflowing of Friendship*, 159–64, quotation from 10; Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America*, 71–120; Mark E. Kann, *Taming Passion for the Public Good: Policing Sex in the Early Republic* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 103–7.

<sup>75</sup> Godbeer, *The Overflowing of Friendship*, 162.

Part of the enthusiasm for strong emotional bonds between men of the voting class, as well as a continued cultural willingness to ignore (i.e., not prosecute) male-male sexual behavior among the elite, might be attributed to the founders' fear that the revolutionary ideas swirling around the American colonies in the late eighteenth century would destabilize their own power. Elite women, the middling classes, Indigenous Americans, and enslaved Africans also experienced the cultural shift prompted by the Enlightenment, and they also experienced the trials and sacrifices of the war for independence. Yet, the rewards of American democracy were denied them. The American founders were well aware of the hypocrisy embedded in their plans for the new nation, and thus sought to strengthen the bonds between the democratic elite, in opposition to the large numbers of new Americans who did not receive the vote. In such a political climate, some sexual indiscretions among the powerful could be overlooked.<sup>76</sup>

Related to these contradictions was a shift in understandings about women. At the same time eighteenth-century men were embracing ideas of self-determination, cultural ideals for women began emphasizing their docility and deemphasizing their sexuality. This construction of female identity explains, in part, the near-absence of sources dealing with female-female sexual activity in this era. Sexual expression not initiated by a man was simply inconceivable. In addition, this reconceptualization of the genders as polar opposites would have significant influence over the course of the nineteenth century, as we shall see in the next section.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Lyons, *Sex among the Rabble*; Lyons, "Mapping an Atlantic Sexual Culture"; Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States*, 35–39; Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture by University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 7–12.

<sup>77</sup> Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977).

Sensibility and affection among elite men sometimes proceeded into romantic love and/or sexual activity. However, since historians must rely only on surviving sources and words are both ambiguous and can change meanings and connotations over time, it can be difficult to ascertain whether a pair had crossed that line. Nevertheless, historians have found ample evidence of intense emotional bonds between men in the revolutionary and immediate post-revolutionary era.

Another body of intriguing evidence from this period lies in a few surviving examples of people assigned a female gender at birth who adopted a male identity and fought in the war for independence. Deborah Sampson of Massachusetts is perhaps the best-known example of this phenomenon. Sampson served for seventeen months in the Continental Army under the name of Robert Shurtliff and was wounded in combat before her former identity was discovered. After the war, she returned to a female gender and eventually married a man.<sup>78</sup>

While no residents of Maryland are known to have crossed genders and served in the Revolutionary War, one famous Marylander from this period has captured the attention of some who seek predecessors to today's LGBTQ identities. Benjamin Banneker (1731-1806), who grew up near Ellicott Mills in Maryland (Site 238), is one of the most widely known African American historical figures of the eighteenth century; he also left no evidence of attraction to women. Born of a mixed-race free mother and an enslaved African father, Banneker was born free, inheriting his mother's status as was the law. He learned to read and from childhood displayed a distinctive aptitude for mathematics and science. In adulthood, he was renowned for his work in astronomy and

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<sup>78</sup> Alfred F. Young, *Masquerade: The Life and Times of Deborah Sampson, Continental Soldier* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf; Distributed by Random House, 2004), 3–6.

for being part of the team, along with Andrew Ellicott, to survey the land that was designated to be the new nation's capital, Washington, D.C. Banneker was also an early abolitionist, corresponding with Thomas Jefferson in the 1790s concerning the question of racial equality.<sup>79</sup>

Banneker never married, nor does any evidence of romantic attachments with women exist. He also did not leave any record of same-sex attachments, although his personal writing occasionally references taboo desires. As one example, Banneker once declared many hardships more tolerable to the “pungent stings . . . which guilty passions dart into the heart.”<sup>80</sup>

We also know that he was raised in a family that did not rely on community standards when making personal choices. His maternal grandmother, Molly Welsh, arrived in the colony from England as an indentured servant, possibly as punishment for committing the crime of stealing milk. Despite these humble beginnings, she became a tobacco farmer with the means to purchase two enslaved Africans, one of whom she entered into a long-term domestic partnership with, despite the fact that it was illegal for them to marry, given their different races. The couple had four daughters. Their oldest daughter Mary also entered into a long-term relationship with an enslaved man. This man adopted the Christian name of Robert and took his (non-legal) wife's surname, Bannaky or Banneker. Benjamin was the child of Mary and Robert.

The dearth of evidence concerning any romantic interest in women, the references to taboo desires, and the family history of deciding one's own moral course regardless of community standards combined to lead some LGBTQ historians to identify

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<sup>79</sup> Chapelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 81–83; Michael J. Tyrkus, ed., *Gay & Lesbian Biography* (Detroit: St. James Press, 1997), 44–46.

<sup>80</sup> Tyrkus, *Gay & Lesbian Biography*, 44–46.

Benjamin Banneker as an LGBTQ ancestor. Much of this discussion took place in the 1990s, during a period of “reclaiming” historical figures that seem to have desired members of their same sex or whose attractions were ambiguous. While the evidence is by no means definitive, we can find multiple LGBTQ popular cultural references to Banneker as an ancestor.<sup>81</sup>

Overall, the eighteenth century was a period of dramatic change for Maryland and the rest of the English colonies that would, by century’s end, have fought a revolution to free themselves from colonial rule and established the United States of America. The Enlightenment played an important role in this revolt and the states’ subsequent experiments in democracy. The new worldview inspired by the Enlightenment, coupled with the dramatic social upheaval of the revolution and the establishment of the U.S. government, also introduced new understandings about gender and same-sex desire. The changes were not universal, however. Ideals of self-determination and democracy were not accessible to all, and even among the elite, older ideas comingled with the new, creating a plurality of views about sexuality and gender, among other things.

## **The Nineteenth Century through the Civil War, 1800-1870**

The emphasis on gender differences that began in the post-Revolutionary War era only increased in the nineteenth century. The early republic saw a major economic

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Tyrkus, 44–46; Whitney G. Harris, “African American Homosexual Males on Predominantly White College and University Campuses,” *Journal of African American Studies* 7, no. 1 (2003): 47–56.<sup>81</sup> Donna Ann Harris, *New Solutions for House Museums: Ensuring the Long-Term Preservation of America’s Historic Houses* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007).

shift, which in turn altered culture, class distribution, and understandings of gender. In the early years of the new nation, a system known as the household economy prevailed. Largely self-sufficient, households in this era labored together to provide for their needs and barter for whatever goods and services they were unable to produce themselves. However, the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed a shift known as the Market Revolution. Closely related to the Industrial Revolution, which concentrated the means of production into fewer hands, the Market Revolution saw the rise of money—not barter—as the predominant means of exchange. Increasing numbers of people sought work outside their own households, so that they could earn wages and thus buy the goods and services they were no longer producing for themselves and their families.<sup>82</sup>

Amid this substantial economic change, gender divisions grew more pronounced. In the market economy, men became associated with wage earning and, by extension, the public world, and women became associated with domestic work (generally unpaid) performed in private homes. Physical space itself became gendered, as men and women spent increasing time apart from each other (men in public, women at home). These new circumstances were reified in attendant cultural shifts, which portrayed men and women as having vastly different temperaments and vastly different societal roles, an ideology that historians traditionally have referred to as “separate spheres.”<sup>83</sup>

Of course, for many people in America, the ideal of separate spheres did not reflect personal reality. Yeoman households, which dominated western Maryland before the Civil War, continued to labor together in a structure more reminiscent of the

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<sup>82</sup> Rupp, *Desired Past*, 40–42, 67–72; Walter Licht, *Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 1–12; Charles Grier Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

<sup>83</sup> Rupp, *Desired Past*, 40–42; Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*; Marla R Miller, *Entangled Lives: Labor, Livelihood, and Landscapes of Change in Rural Massachusetts* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019), 193–221.

household economy than the market economy. Enslaved Marylanders continued to lead lives where their labor was exploited by whites, and idealized gender roles had virtually no relevance. Likewise, the extremely wealthy had lived more gender-segregated lives than other Americans since long before the revolution.

Thus, while separate spheres became a cultural ideal, it mostly had an impact on the emerging American middle class. Among its other effects, the Market Revolution created a large middle ground between subsistence and extreme wealth. Increasing numbers of households found themselves still dependent on earned income but with enough to spare that they could now afford consumer goods, both things they might have previously produced themselves and nonessential items they might have previously done without. With disposable income also came aspirations toward gentility, which in turn reinforced separate spheres as a marker of middle-class status. Men working for wages; women able to stay removed from the labor market: these became hallmarks of refinement in the nineteenth century.<sup>84</sup>

Such momentous cultural and economic shifts were felt throughout society, but they prompted two changes that had particularly profound impacts on the history of same-sex love and desire and of gender crossing. The first change lay in increasing urbanization. As the means of production and opportunities for wage work became concentrated, so did population. Existing cities grew rapidly, while new ones sprung up around mills and transportation hubs. One Maryland example is Ellicott City, a town that grew up around the mills founded by brothers Joseph, Andrew, and John Ellicott in 1772. As people sought wage labor, many—especially young people, both men and

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<sup>84</sup> Miller, *Entangled Lives*, 39–53; Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

women—left the circle of their relatives and sought opportunity in urban centers. Both the large numbers of residents and the separation of individuals from their families and the neighbors they had grown up with created unprecedented opportunities for anonymity. Free of the community surveillance and gossip of small-town life, some recent migrants to the city found themselves able to act on desires—to love those of their same sex or live as a different gender—for the first time in their lives.<sup>85</sup>

The trend toward the market economy and urbanization played out in Maryland as well as the rest of the United States, though it was tempered in parts of Maryland by the presence of slavery. The foundation of the market economy is the free market and wage labor, and thus, it serves as a challenge to economies based on slavery. Thus, in the nineteenth century, Maryland—influenced by both the free market leanings of the North and the slavery economy of the South—became something of an economic hybrid.<sup>86</sup>

After the War of 1812, the city of Baltimore boomed, becoming a national hub of shipping and shipbuilding. Further economic expansion occurred after the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal opened in 1829. By 1850, Baltimore was the second largest city in the United States (New York was the largest) and was home to 29 percent of Maryland's population (up from a mere 4 percent of the state's population in 1790). It was also the most diverse location in Maryland. Seventy percent of the state's fifty thousand foreign-

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<sup>85</sup> John D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity," in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Barr Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 100–113; Julie Abraham, *Metropolitan Lovers: The Homosexuality of Cities* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); Wyatt Massey, "History & Facts: What You Need to Know about Ellicott City," *Baltimore Sun*, August 1, 2016, sec. , Howard County, <https://www.baltimoresun.com/maryland/howard/bs-md-ellicott-city-history-20160801-story.html>; Jennifer Brier and Anne Parsons, "Gender Crossroads: Representations of Gender Transgressions in Chicago's Press, 1850-1920," in *Out in Chicago: LGBT History at the Crossroads* (Chicago: Chicago History Museum, 2011), 23–40; Howard P. Chudacoff, *The Age of the Bachelor: Creating an American Subculture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

<sup>86</sup> Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity."



born residents lived in Baltimore City, as did the largest population of free black residents in the United States, drawn there by Baltimore's embrace of wage labor.<sup>87</sup>

Amid such expansive growth and diversity—in Baltimore, as in other nineteenth-century cities—finding others like oneself became easier, regardless of one's particular interests. Fells Point (MIHP B-3714, MIHP B-5123), the Baltimore neighborhood most associated with the harbor, became an area known for urban nightlife and vice (a term used historically to describe behavior that was illegal and/or considered immoral—prostitution, same-sex and interracial sexual activity, gambling, drugs, and excessive drinking). Quite likely, this Baltimore neighborhood would have included LGBTQ social outlets by the mid-to-late nineteenth century, as we know it did by the mid-twentieth. The association of waterfronts with LGBTQ urban culture is well established, a phenomenon that author Hugh Ryan explains as follows:

In the queer history of these areas, five waterfront jobs reoccur again and again: sailor, artist, sex worker, entertainer, and female factory worker. Each of these jobs had particular conditions that made them more available or desirable to queer people.<sup>88</sup>

The second major change for LGBTQ people brought about by the Market Revolution resides within the ideology of separate spheres. As gender roles were elaborately delineated and physical space itself became gendered, individuals were granted far less room for deviation from gender norms. We can see this in the proliferation of laws in the United States that made it illegal for people to wear clothing

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<sup>87</sup> Chappelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 86, 103–5; William S. Dudley, *Maritime Maryland: A History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, in association with the Maryland Historical Society and the Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum, 2010), 61–78.

<sup>88</sup> Hugh Ryan, *When Brooklyn Was Queer* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2019), 21; See also, George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of a Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 10, 143–44; Nan Alamilla Boyd, *Wide-Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 5.

that did not conform to their assigned gender. Though scholarship on this topic is still in its infancy, it is likely that such strict gender conventions led to increasing numbers of people who did not fully identify with their assigned gender to chafe against such roles and explore the possibilities of crossing the gender divide.<sup>89</sup>

Benjamin Egerman, a researcher on this report, has uncovered an example of early-nineteenth-century gender crossing in Maryland. In this instance, a “comely youth” dressed in male clothing was arrested at the Baltimore Horse Market (since demolished) in 1838 for attempting to sell a stolen horse. Upon arrest, police determined the thief to be “a bona-fide woman” who had been “living as a man” for three years.<sup>90</sup>

Another development in the nineteenth century that was closely linked to the rise of separate spheres was the phenomenon that historians now refer to as romantic friendship. Under an ideology that posited the genders as so vastly different from each other that opportunities for mixed-gender socializing were limited, strong emotional attachments between members of the same sex were common and encouraged. Seizing on the romanticism so common in the arts during this period and discussed below, such relationships frequently involved declarations of love and devotion, pet names, and physical affection that involved kissing and caressing. Such behavior was widely accepted, and in fact encouraged, among the white middle class as a healthy distraction from the dangers of premarital heterosexual romance. And while it is quite likely that

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<sup>89</sup> Susan Stryker, “Transgender History in the United States and the Places That Matter,” in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, ed. Megan Springate, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), 31–36, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>; Brier and Parsons, “Gender Crossroads”; Elizabeth Reis, “Transgender Identity at a Crossroads,” *Early American Studies, An Interdisciplinary Journal* 12, no. 3 (Fall 2014): 652–65.

<sup>90</sup> “Influence of Bad Example,” *Baltimore Sun*, February 19, 1838.

most of these relationships did not involve genital contact, they indisputably involved romantic love and thus hold relevance for our understandings of the history of same-sex love and desire. Furthermore, surviving evidence indicates that some romantic friendships did indeed extend to sexual relations, though what significance participants ascribed to such activity is less clear.<sup>91</sup>

Although romantic friendship was largely a practice of the white middle and upper classes, sociologist Karen Hanson has argued that some working-class and African American women engaged in romantic friendships as well, even while rejecting other middle-class gender practices. One of the most documented romantic friendships of African American women (one of whom was also working class) took place in the 1850s and 1860s between Addie Brown (c. 1841-c. 1871), a free African American domestic servant from Connecticut, and Rebecca Primus (1836-1932), a free African American school teacher also from Connecticut. After the Civil War, Primus traveled to Royal Oak, Maryland, on the Eastern Shore, to open a Freedman's Aid Society school for emancipated African Americans (Site 322), where she taught from 1865 to 1869, a period when a great deal of the couple's surviving correspondence was written.<sup>92</sup>

Rebecca and Addie shared both a close emotional bond and physical intimacy, which Hanson describes as “erotic” and “self-consciously sexual.” The women's letters

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<sup>91</sup> Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1, no. 1 (1975): 1–29; Leila J. Rupp, “Romantic Friendships,” in *Modern American Queer History*, ed. Allida Mae Black (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 13–23; Dasa Francikova, “Romantic Friendship: Exploring Modern Categories of Sexuality, Love, and Desire between Women,” in *Understanding and Teaching U.S. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History*, ed. Leila J. Rupp and Susan K. Freeman (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 143–52; Anthony Rotundo, “Romantic Friendship: Male Intimacy and Middle-Class Youth in the Northern United States, 1800-1900,” *Journal of Social History* 23 (Fall 1989): 1–26.

<sup>92</sup> Karen V. Hansen, “‘No Kisses Is Like Youres’: An Erotic Friendship between Two African-American Women during the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” *Gender & History* 7, no. 2 (August 1, 1995): quotations from 158 and 159; See also, Rebecca Primus, Addie Brown, and Farah Jasmine Griffin, *Beloved Sisters and Loving Friends: Letters from Rebecca Primus of Royal Oak, Maryland and Addie Brown of Hartford, Connecticut, 1854-1868* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2001).

are rife with references to physical contact, such as when Addie wrote to Rebecca, “I did miss you last night. I did not have anyone to hug me up and to kiss. I don’t want anyone to kiss me now [that Rebecca is away]. I turn Mr. Games away this morning. No kisses is like youres.” In another letter, Addie fantasizes about being married to Rebecca, and she regularly signed her letters to Rebecca “Addie Brown Primus,” adopting Rebecca’s last name, as a married woman would do with her spouse. Although fewer of Rebecca’s letters to Addie survive, there are suggestions that Addie’s feelings were reciprocated, not least of which is the fact that Rebecca saved Addie’s love letters for the remainder of her life, sixty-two years.<sup>93</sup>

In an example of life and art reinforcing each other, separate spheres, the mysteries of the opposite sex, and same-sex romantic friendships were all represented, and in fact, praised, in a new genre of art and literature to emerge in the nineteenth century, romanticism. Maryland’s most well-known contribution to literary romanticism can be found in the writings of Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849), who lived in Baltimore for most of his adulthood. A leading figure in the genre of dark romanticism and often credited as being the father of mystery writing, Poe’s work emphasized the macabre and characters tortured by secrets. Although there is ample evidence of Poe’s romantic attachments to women and no evidence that he engaged in homosexual activities, contemporary literary scholars frequently cite his works as examples of nineteenth-century homoeroticism in literature. What twenty-first-century readers find homoerotic, nineteenth-century readers most likely saw as simply a reflection of then-

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<sup>93</sup> Hansen, “No Kisses Is Like Youres,” quotations from 162 and 166.

current gender ideologies that romanticized the bonds and affection between members of the same sex.<sup>94</sup>

Nevertheless, regardless of Poe's intentions, his stories and poetry have provoked recognition in LGBTQ readers for the last 175 years. The detailed description of bonds between men in some of his writing, combined with his recurring theme of secrets have resonated with generations of LGBTQ individuals who saw in the author a kindred spirit. Such figures—widely recognized in general culture, but with particular resonance within underground LGBTQ subcultures—formed the basis of the informal code LGBTQ people used to identify each other. Thus, sites associated with Poe, such as the Poe House and Museum, potentially contain associations for LGBTQ history, even without Poe himself having identified as such (Site 106).

The Civil War, 1861-1865, further added to Americans' mobility, continuing a trend that had been sparked by the Market Revolution. Soldiers on both sides traveled far from home and faced new, often terrifying experiences. Although most soldiers who survived the war returned to their home states, the war nevertheless offered a taste of a wider world that no doubt prompted some to seek their destinies in more anonymous surroundings, such as the nation's expanding cities or the western frontier. We also have more evidence of gender crossing—whether temporary or permanent—from the Civil War than from earlier American wars, most likely because of the greater numbers overall who were involved in the fighting. The sophistication and style of journalism by the 1860s is likely also a factor. Historians have more evidence of gender crossing

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<sup>94</sup> Brad Lint, "The Hermaphrodite in the Abyss: Queering Poe's Pym," *Edgar Allan Poe Review* 7, no. 1 (2006): 49–60; Judy Ann Connolly, "Homoerotic Encounters in the Fictions of Edgar Allan Poe" (Master's Thesis, Boca Raton, FL, Florida Atlantic University, 2003), <http://fau.digital.flvc.org/islandora/object/fau%3A9933>; Steve Berman and Edgar Allan Poe, eds., *Where Thy Dark Eye Glances: Queering Edgar Allan Poe* (Maple Shade, NJ: Lethe Press, 2013).

because more instances of gender crossing found their way into the press during the Civil War and later (since many who crossed genders during the war were not discovered to have done so until their deaths years later).<sup>95</sup>

Some soldiers, raised female, such as Franklin Thompson, Harry Buford, and Henry Clark, chose to return to a female identity after the war. Others, such as Albert Cashier, retained a male identity for the rest of their lives. Nevertheless, all of these examples serve to remind us that times of social disruption sometimes allow space for untraditional behavior, and people often take advantage of that space for a variety of purposes.<sup>96</sup>

Although none of the known cases of gender crossing among Civil War soldiers involves Maryland residents, Benjamin Egerman, in the course of research for this project, has uncovered a Civil-War-era incident that hints at gender variance. In 1862, *The Baltimore Sun* reported that the police had apprehended an individual on Baltimore Street, near Eutaw (Site 039), and taken them in for questioning. Police ultimately identified the person in question as Charles Walter. At the time of their apprehension, Walter had been wearing widow's clothing and been registered at a hotel under a female name. Ironically, police had arrested Walter six years earlier while wearing male attire. In the words of the *Sun*, "his effeminate appearance excited suspicion and Marshal Herring had him arrested on the charge of being a woman in male attire."<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States*, 63–70.

<sup>96</sup> Karen Abbott, *Liar, Temptress, Soldier, Spy: Four Women Undercover in the Civil War* (New York: Harper, an imprint of HarperCollins Publishers, 2014); Robin C. Sager, "The Multiple Metaphoric Civil Wars of Loreta Janeta Velazquez's 'The Woman in Battle,'" *Southern Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (Fall 2010): 27–45; Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States*, 68–70; Brier and Parsons, "Gender Crossroads."

<sup>97</sup> "Local Matters: The Lady in Black," *Baltimore Sun*, June 7, 1862.

Two of the major themes of the nineteenth century—the Market Revolution and the Civil War—caused significant social upheaval for the young United States. From the perspective of LGBTQ history, these disruptions allowed for greater mobility, which in turn gave individuals greater anonymity and freedom to pursue their individual desires, rather than being constrained by family and community expectations. However, in the aftermath of the Civil War, this same social flux caused some in the United States to long for the culture they had lost, in which Anglo-Americans held nearly all the power. As we shall see in the next section, this impulse had some surprising consequences for American understanding of same-sex desire and gender variance.

## **The Turn of the Twentieth Century, 1870-1920**

While the United States was embroiled in a civil war, learned men in Europe were beginning to develop medical theories about same-sex attraction and gender nonconformity. Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, a German lawyer and journalist, first presented the idea that desire for one's own sex indicated a personal characteristic, rather than simply thoughts (and sometimes deeds). Ulrichs, who was himself attracted to other men, published his ideas in Europe in 1864, and historian Jennifer Terry argues that his writing served as the foundation of nineteenth-century thought on the subjects of same-sex attraction and gender variance.<sup>98</sup> Over the next twenty-five years, European scientists further developed theories about what would come to be called homosexuality and inversion (a precursor to our contemporary concept of transgender, though one that conflated sexuality and gender identity). However, such ideas did not find traction among North American doctors until the early 1890s. Yet, even in the absence of

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<sup>98</sup> Terry, *An American Obsession*, 42–44; Blank, *Straight*, 1–21; Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*.

medical theories, various developments in the United States were underway that would affect the course of what we now call LGBTQ history.<sup>99</sup>

While the anonymity of the city allowed for greater ease in finding others who shared similar desires, in the eyes of many, it also increased moral danger, particularly for young people venturing to the cities on their own in search of work. Numerous charitable organizations stepped in to create “wholesome,” often single-sex, social activities and living accommodations for new arrivals to the city. Of these, perhaps the most well-known was the Young Man’s Christian Association (YMCA). Founded in 1844 in London, branches were founded in the United States soon after. By the late 1860s, the U.S. YMCA had emerged as a force of Christian morality in the American city, providing both lodging and recreation for single men. As historian John Gustav-Wrathall has described, in its early decades the YMCA encouraged strong emotional attachments between men, in the spirit of nineteenth-century romantic friendship. However, as the nineteenth century drew on, the locker rooms and dormitories of the YMCA developed a reputation as places for sexual rendezvous between men. This association only became stronger in the twentieth century, in part because of a scandal in Portland, Oregon, in 1912, where the local YMCA was discovered to be the site of an extensive network of gay sexual activity. These associations in the popular imagination caused the organization, over time, to emphasize heterosexual sex education and the development of (traditionally defined) masculinity.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 55–57; Terry, *An American Obsession*, 40–73; Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality*, 51–55; Vern L. Bullough, *Science in the Bedroom: A History of Sex Research* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 35–40.

<sup>100</sup> John D. Gustav-Wrathall, *Take the Young Stranger by the Hand: Same-Sex Relations and the YMCA* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); see also, Paula Lupkin, *Manhood Factories: YMCA Architecture and the Making of Modern Urban Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift*;



In Maryland, the Baltimore YMCA was founded in 1852, and in 1859, it became the first branch in the United States to design and build a building exclusively for organizational purposes, when it built the West Baltimore YMCA Building (Site 099). The Central YMCA building (Site 169) was erected in 1878 at Charles and Saratoga streets. In the words of Baltimore YMCA historian Julia Elfenbein, “Although homosexuality was not a topic explicitly mentioned in any of the YMCA’s moral stewardship programs, there is no question that it existed within the YMCA. In his 1937 novel *A Scarlet Pansy*, Robert Scully begins his fictionalized account of a gay man’s sexual coming-of-age in the 1890s by describing his seduction at the hands of a YMCA secretary at the Central YMCA in Baltimore.” She goes on to note, “Such a seduction could not have taken place in the YMCA’s dorms in the 1890s, however, because it was not until 1908 that the new Central featured housing.”<sup>101</sup>

Also during this era, discoveries of gender crossing continued to generate sensationalistic stories in newspapers, and according to Egerman’s research, multiple such stories appeared in the *Baltimore Sun* at the turn of the twentieth century. In 1889, the *Sun* reported on a couple who had married in Harford County, Maryland (Site 270), and who were later determined by authorities to be two women. The husband in question had been raised female as Hanna Calder, but at the time of this story both Calder (then going by Howard Calder) and his wife, Catherine Beall, insisted he was

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D’Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 227–28; Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 151–63; Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs*, 1–3, 125–53.

<sup>101</sup> Jessica I. Elfenbein, *The Making of a Modern City: Philanthropy, Civic Culture, and the Baltimore YMCA* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), 28–29.

male. This incident is particularly noteworthy because it took place outside of an urban environment, in rural Harford County.<sup>102</sup>

A few years later, in 1896, the *Sun* announced that “A Bright Young Girl...Has Been Going about Town in Male Attire.” This article described a fourteen-year-old named Theresa Smith who had been investigated by police for being associated with a gang of boys suspected of committing a robbery. When out in public with male friends, Smith dressed in male attire, concealing their long hair in a cap; when at home with family, Smith dressed in female attire.<sup>103</sup> In 1902, the newspaper reported on another marriage between two people authorities determined to be women. Herman G. Wood, known legally as Lydia Lotta Sawyer, was arrested shortly after marrying Ernestine L. Rauk, “on the technical charge of obtaining \$100 from Mrs. Rauk under false pretenses.” Rauk refused to press charges against her husband but also would not allow him back into her home upon his release from police custody.<sup>104</sup>

In addition to these examples, another Marylander gained notoriety in the late nineteenth century for his flouting of gender norms and is now the subject of a book-in-progress by scholar Channing Gerard Joseph. William Dorsey Swann was born enslaved in 1858, most likely in Hancock, Maryland, where he spent his early childhood. By the 1880s, he was living in Washington, D.C., where “he not only became the first American activist to lead a queer resistance group; he also became, in the same decade, the first known person to dub himself a ‘queen of drag’—or, more familiarly, a drag queen.” Swann was arrested multiple times in D.C. for hosting gatherings of African American

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<sup>102</sup> “Hanna and His Bride: They Are Rudely Torn from Each Other’s Arms by Parental Decree,” *Baltimore Sun*, March 18, 1889.

<sup>103</sup> “One of the Boys: A Bright Young Girl Who Has Been Going about Town in Male Attire and with Wild Companions,” *Baltimore Sun*, December 11, 1896.

<sup>104</sup> “‘Husband’ Is Free,” *Baltimore Sun*, June 27, 1902.

men elaborately dressed in female attire and competing in female impersonation and dance contests, events that Joseph identifies as precursors to the contemporary ballroom scene, popular in some LGBTQ communities of color. In 1896, Swann petitioned President Grover Cleveland for a pardon after serving jail time; the petition was denied. Nevertheless, this effort makes Swann “the earliest recorded American to take specific legal and political steps to defend the queer community’s right to gather without the threat of criminalization, suppression, or police violence,” according to his biographer.<sup>105</sup>

In addition to ongoing urbanization and more frequent references to gender crossing in the popular press, the late nineteenth century also saw a debate over the possibilities of women financially supporting themselves. Employment opportunities for women were severely limited at this time, placing thousands of families in financial peril when their wage-earning men—husbands, sons, brothers—died or abandoned them. The problem was thrust into the national spotlight after the Civil War, in which 620,000 soldiers had died, leaving many families without a wage earner.<sup>106</sup>

One result of this debate was a boom in women’s higher education opportunities. Although some women’s educational institutions were established in the decades before the Civil War, such as the Cambridge Female Academy (founded in 1830 in Cambridge, Maryland) and the Patapsco Female Institute (founded in 1837 in Ellicott City, Maryland), it was not until the 1870s that women’s colleges offering education on par with men’s colleges became common. Smith College, Wellesley College, Radcliffe

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<sup>105</sup> Channing Gerard Joseph, “The First Drag Queen Was a Former Slave,” *The Nation*, January 31, 2020, <https://www.thenation.com/article/society/drag-queen-slave-ball/>.

<sup>106</sup> Kathleen Waters Sander, *Mary Elizabeth Garrett: Society and Philanthropy in the Gilded Age* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 76–77; Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 2008), xi.

College, and Bryn Mawr College were all founded between 1872 and 1886. In Maryland, Hood College, in Frederick, opened as a women's college in 1893 (Site 264).<sup>107</sup>

The effect of women's colleges on LGBTQ history was two-fold. First, the all-female environments produced a culture of female crushes, romantic relationships, and sexual experimentation. Second, the production of college-educated women introduced the possibility of women earning professional salaries, which, in turn, greatly expanded the ability of women to financially support themselves and thus forego heterosexual marriage if they chose.<sup>108</sup>

Indeed, a surprising number of college-educated women in this era chose not to marry men and instead partnered with other women. Between 1880 and 1900, about 10 percent of American women never married, but about 50 percent of female college graduates remained single in this same period.<sup>109</sup> Many of the well-remembered women of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century followed this path. To name just a few examples, Hull House Settlement founder Jane Addams, author Willa Cather, painter Romaine Brooks, and reformer Lillian Wald were all partnered with other women. The practice was common enough that such female partnerships became known as "Boston Marriages," a term that references the 1886 Henry James novel *The Bostonians*.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 13; Howard County, Maryland, "Patapsco Female Institute," n.d., <https://www.howardcountymd.gov/patapscofemaleinstitute>; Hood College, "History," n.d., <https://www.hood.edu/discover/about-college/history>.

<sup>108</sup> Katy Coyle and Nadiene Van Dyke, "Sex, Smashing, and Storyville in Turn-of-the-Century New Orleans: Reexamining the Continuum of Lesbian Sexuality," in *Carryin' On in the Lesbian and Gay South*, ed. John Howard (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 54–72; Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 11–36; D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 190–91.

<sup>109</sup> Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 14.

<sup>110</sup> Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States*, 71–74; D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 190–91.

A variety of factors likely contributed to this phenomenon. No doubt for some, the ability to financially support themselves meant that they could pursue their sexual preference for women. Some of these relationships, or at least the customs and patterns that governed them, probably formed amid women's college subcultures that supported same-sex romance and sexual play. Others' primary motivation may have been the pursuit of a career, which was more easily accomplished without the constraints of husbands, children, and society's expectations of married women's role. For such women, female partnership would have provided companionship, emotional support, pooled income (because women rarely earned as much as comparably educated men), respectability, and safety (in this era, women living or traveling by themselves were assumed to be of questionable moral character).

Maryland natives Mary Elizabeth Garrett (1854-1915), Mamie Mackall Gwinn (1860-1940), and Martha Carey Thomas (1857-1935)—better known as M. Carey Thomas—were staunch advocates for women's education and also were all involved in female partnerships, like so many other educated women of their generation. Thomas and Gwinn were childhood friends who formed a romantic relationship as young adults. They joined with Garrett and a few other women to form a social club, known as the Friday Night, in the 1870s and 1880s (Site 159).<sup>111</sup>

Garrett was the daughter of one of the wealthiest men in Baltimore, John Work Garrett, president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Upon inheriting a portion of her family's fortune in 1884, she became a major American philanthropist, using her donations to improve educational and political opportunities for women. With her friends from the Friday Night, she founded the Bryn Mawr School for Girls, a college

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<sup>111</sup> Sander, *Mary Elizabeth Garrett*, 78-83; Rupp, *Desired Past*, 90-92.

preparatory school that opened in Baltimore in 1885 (Site 056). Garrett's largest philanthropic gesture was providing a significant portion of the money needed to establish Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, with the stipulation that the school admit women on equal terms as men.<sup>112</sup>

Thomas became the "nation's leading advocate and spokeswoman for women's higher education" and served as the second president of Bryn Mawr College, near Philadelphia. She was also an ardent suffragist. However, though she dedicated her life to expanding opportunities for white women, Thomas was also a proponent of eugenics and held anti-Semitic beliefs. In her private life, she eventually partnered with Garrett, while, for a time at least, continuing her romantic relationship with Gwinn. Eventually, Gwinn married a man, and Thomas and Garrett remained partnered for the rest of their lives.<sup>113</sup>

Many of this generation of women who chose careers over heterosexual marriage focused their professional efforts on social reform. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, growing urban populations were facing inadequate housing and urban infrastructure, leading to overcrowding, lack of sanitation, poor health, and entrenched poverty in American cities. Efforts to address these challenges led to a host of reform movements, ranging from settlement houses to social work to public health. Indeed, reform became such a hallmark of the era that historians now refer to the period between 1880 and 1920 as the Progressive Era.

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<sup>112</sup> Sander, *Mary Elizabeth Garrett*, xi, 1–7, 78; Neil A. Grauer, *Leading the Way: A History of Johns Hopkins Medicine* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Medicine, in association with the Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 27–28.

<sup>113</sup> Sander, *Mary Elizabeth Garrett*, xi, 1–7, 78 quotation from 6; "Martha Carey Thomas," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, n.d., <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Martha-Carey-Thomas>; Rupp, *Desired Past*, 90–92.

In Maryland, Progressive-era reform mostly centered on Baltimore. Efforts to alleviate urban challenges included programs for poor and orphaned children; infrastructure improvements (particularly after the Fire of 1904); and the establishment of Johns Hopkins University, which played a national role in the professionalization of medicine and the development of the field of public health. In contrast, alleviation of urban problems in Baltimore was stymied by institutional racism, which segregated Baltimore neighborhoods and excluded African Americans from many charitable programs.<sup>114</sup>

In this era, the lines between voluntary reform work and the professional fields of social work, psychology, medicine, and public health often blurred. While care of the less fortunate and the sick were longstanding facets of community life, it was not until the Progressive Era that these tasks became formalized, with professional training and uniform standards. This was a national transition, which may have affected Maryland more than some other parts of the country, because of the state's location on the east coast, a region that historically has tended to place more importance on education and professionalism.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Nurith Zmora, *Orphanages Reconsidered: Child Care Institutions in Progressive Era Baltimore* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994); Barry Kessler, "'Fresh Air and Cheer': The Origins of Camp Louise in the Settlement House Movement of Baltimore's Jewish Community," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 113, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2018): 21–50; Gretchen Boger, "The Meaning of Neighborhood in the Modern City: Baltimore's Residential Segregation Ordinances, 1910-1913," *Journal of Urban History* 35, no. 2 (January 2009): 236–58, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144208327915>; Dennis P. Halpin, "'The Struggle for Land and Liberty': Segregation, Violence, and African American Resistance in Baltimore, 1898-1918," *Journal of Urban History* 44, no. 4 (July 1, 2018): 691–712, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144215589923>.

<sup>115</sup> Regina G. Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Gary R. Lowe and P. Nelson Reid, eds., *The Professionalization of Poverty: Social Work and the Poor in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1999); Karen W. Tice, *Tales of Wayward Girls and Immoral Women: Case Records and the Professionalization of Social Work* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Daniel J. Walkowitz, *Working with Class: Social Workers and the Politics of Middle-Class Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

An important thinker in the development of the social work profession, Mary E. Richmond (1861-1928) grew up in Baltimore and has been called “one of the founding mothers of American clinical social work.”<sup>116</sup> Richmond became assistant treasurer of the Charity Organization Society (COS) of Baltimore in 1889 and was promoted to general secretary of the organization in 1891. The COS was a national organization devoted to alleviating the problems of urban poverty.<sup>117</sup>

Richmond’s leadership of the Baltimore COS enabled her to stay at the forefront of developments in the emerging field of social work. In 1900, she left the Baltimore COS and moved to Philadelphia, and in 1909 she became the director of the Charity Organization Department at the Russell Sage Foundation, where she remained for the rest of her life. Over the course of her career, Richmond played a leading role in the development of the casework model of social work, the contribution for which she is most remembered. She also authored numerous professional books, including *Social Diagnosis* (1917) and *What is Social Casework?* (1922). Richmond never legally married and shared a strong romantic relationship with fellow social worker Zilpha Drew Smith, although the two never lived together. In the 1910s, Richmond later paired with artist Louisa Eyre, whom she referred to as her partner.<sup>118</sup>

Many Progressive-Era reform efforts, as well as turn-of-the-twentieth-century medical theories, bear the mark of white elite efforts to maintain control over a society

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<sup>116</sup> Karen I. Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., “‘My Ever Dear’: Social Work’s ‘Lesbian’ Foremothers—A Call for Scholarship,” *Affilia* 24, no. 3 (August 2009): 329.

<sup>117</sup> Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., “‘My Ever Dear’”; “Mary Ellen Richmond,” in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1936).

<sup>118</sup> Fredriksen-Goldsen et al., “‘My Ever Dear,’” 329; “Mary Ellen Richmond”; Chappelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 184–85; Elizabeth N. Agnew, *From Charity to Social Work: Mary E. Richmond and the Creation of an American Profession* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).



that was becoming increasingly modern, urban, and diverse.<sup>119</sup> The idea that same-sex desire and gender variance are immutable personal characteristics, as well as signs of mental illness, gained traction in the United States during this era and serves as an excellent illustration of this larger trend.

Although scientists in Europe began formulating the modern construction of homosexuality in the 1860s, such concepts did not gain wide acceptance in the United States until the 1890s, the very period when psychology and medicine were becoming standardized and—not entirely coincidentally—the traditional moral order was being challenged by the anonymity and cultural diversity of American cities. As originally presented by American medical experts, homosexuality and defiance of assigned gender roles were parts of the same “problem.” According to such theories, these conditions were particularly common among “lower orders” of people—coded language for people of color, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe (many of them Jewish), and the poorer socioeconomic classes. This conflation of various human traits—sexual identity, gender expression, ethnicity, and economic circumstance—helps explain why a lively discussion of “sexual perversion” in American cities could take place over the same decades that middle-class professional women were forming lifelong partnerships with other women while staying largely free from social condemnation or accusations of lesbianism.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Walkowitz, *Working with Class*; Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*; Heather Lee Miller, “Sexologists Examine Lesbians and Prostitutes in the United States, 1840-1940,” *NWSA Journal* 12, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 67–91; Hatheway, *The Gilded Age Construction of Modern American Homophobia*, 55–56; D’Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 226; Brier and Parsons, “Gender Crossroads.”

<sup>120</sup> Terry, *An American Obsession*; Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality*; Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*; Christina Simmons, “Companionate Marriage and the Lesbian Threat,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 4, no. 3 (Autumn 1979): 54–59, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3346150>.

Others were not so fortunate in escaping official notice for their same-sex sexual activity. The 1892 murder of Freda Ward by Alice Mitchell, her lesbian lover, in Memphis, Tennessee, captured national headlines for months. In a similar vein, numerous mass arrests of gay men in the early decades of the twentieth century made national news. This press coverage indicates that by the early twentieth century, homosexual networks and subcultures were developing throughout the United States. Examples of these mass arrests include Portland, Oregon, in 1912-1913; Long Beach, California, in 1914-1915; and Newport, Rhode Island, in 1919-1921. The Newport scandal involved recruits at the Newport Naval Training Station and caused a great deal of embarrassment for the U.S. Navy, which may have had an impact on life at the U.S. Naval Academy in Maryland.<sup>121</sup>

Throughout this period, amid all these other changes, the United States debated the issue of women's suffrage. Although the Maryland legislature resisted granting women this right, there was nevertheless an active suffrage movement within the state. The ability to vote was a key element in women gaining political power and having their interests represented. This was an issue that affected all women, but in many ways, it was even more crucial for unmarried women who did not have husbands to represent them at the ballot box. The idea that men represented the interests of their wives and thus women did not need the vote was a major argument used by those who opposed women's suffrage, who apparently assumed that all women were married and that all husbands had their wives' best interest in mind. Despite this opposition, the right to

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<sup>121</sup> Lisa Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers: Sex, Violence, and American Modernity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000); Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 27; Boag, *Same-Sex Affairs*, 135-47; Lawrence R. Murphy, *Perverts by Official Order: The Campaign against Homosexuals by the United States Navy* (New York: Haworth Press, 1988).

vote was finally granted to women in August 1920 by the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.<sup>122</sup>

## **The Interwar Period, 1920-1940**

Historians often characterize the 1920s as the start of American modernity. Cultural changes that had been slowly developing solidified in this era and created aspects of American society that remain recognizable a century later, in our own era. Historian Naoko Wake describes modernity as being, among other things, “about the recognition that ambiguity, rather than clear-cut categories, was where all understanding begins.” This aspect, as Wake points out, was particularly important to the eventual acceptance of various sexual desires and gender expressions.<sup>123</sup>

The 1920s marked the rise of the consumer age. The number of available consumer goods exploded, and conspicuous consumption became a standard part of American culture. The changes brought on by the consumer era can be understood as a shift from an earlier producer culture, where people assessed each other by the work they performed, to a consumer culture, where people assessed each other by what they were able to—and chose to—buy. Producer culture valued frugality and self-control, while consumer culture emphasized frivolity and instant gratification.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Rohn, “Maryland Women’s Suffrage.”

<sup>123</sup> Naoko Wake, *Private Practices: Harry Stack Sullivan, the Science of Homosexuality, and American Liberalism* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 4.

<sup>124</sup> Lawrence Birken, *Consuming Desire: Sexual Science and the Emergence of a Culture of Abundance, 1871-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988); Horowitz, *The Morality of Spending: Attitudes toward the Consumer Society in America, 1875-1940*; T. J. Jackson Lears, “From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture, 1880-1930,” in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in*

This period also saw great strides in the creation of a national, rather than regional, culture. The popularization of feature-length movies, the spread of national radio broadcasting, and the professionalization of advertising all created cultural touchstones that were meaningful to people throughout the United States, rather than only those of a certain geographic area. As a result, the cultural gaps between rural and urban residents became less stark.<sup>125</sup>

A larger demographic shift was also affecting American society in this era. Between the beginning of World War I and the end of the 1960s, approximately six million African Americans left rural communities in the South, where Jim Crow segregation had replaced slavery as the dominant system of racial oppression, to urban manufacturing centers. This population shift is known as the Great Migration. While the majority of these migrants left the South for cities in the North, Midwest, and West, some opted to try their fate in southern urban centers. Segregated cities such as Washington, D.C., and Baltimore received some of these migrants, who sought less extreme discrimination and more opportunities, but lacked either the means or the desire to move further away from family and their cultural traditions.<sup>126</sup>

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*American History, 1880-1980* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 1–38; Susman, “‘Personality’ and the Making of Twentieth-Century Culture.”

<sup>125</sup> David E. Kyvig, *Daily Life in the United States, 1920-1940: How Americans Lived through the “Roaring Twenties” and the Great Depression* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2004); Susan Smulyan, *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting, 1920-1934* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 11–36; David Nasaw, “Learning to Go to the Movies,” *American Heritage*, 1993; Wheeler W. Dixon and Gwendolyn Audrey Foster, *A Short History of Film* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008); Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

<sup>126</sup> Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America’s Great Migration* (New York: Vintage Books, 2011); Davarian L. Baldwin, *Chicago’s New Negroes: Modernity, the Great Migration, and Black Urban Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Paul R. Mullins, “Race and the Genteel Consumer: Class and African-American Consumption, 1850-1930,” *Historical Archaeology* 33, no. 1 (1999): 22–38; Weems, Robert F., *Desegregating the Dollar: African American Consumerism in the Twentieth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

Connected to all these other changes, more and more opportunities for social life moved to commercial establishments—movie theaters, restaurants, dance halls—which in turn enabled Americans, particularly young people, to separate their social lives from their family lives. Yet another consequence was what some historians refer to as the first American sexual revolution, where sexual experimentation outside of marriage became more common and people became more accepting of moral values that did not match their own.<sup>127</sup>

With a national popular culture, the expansion of commercial entertainment, and upheaval in traditional sexual morals, occasional references to homosexuality and a queer underworld began to appear in mainstream culture. Before 1934 (when the film industry implemented a strict set of moral guidelines), Hollywood films incorporated a surprising amount of bawdy humor and unorthodox sexual situations. For instance, the first film to win the Best Picture Academy Award, *Wings* (1927), features a kiss between two men and offers a glimpse of a lesbian couple in a nightclub scene. Numerous works of the New Negro Renaissance, also known as the Harlem Renaissance, depicted LGBTQ content. Examples include Claude McKay's *Home to Harlem* and Wallace Thurman's *The Infants of Spring* (1932). Jazz songs, such as Ma Rainey's "Sissie Blues" (1926), also referenced queer cultures and situations.<sup>128</sup>

Furthermore, numerous cultural figures were either openly LGBTQ or did not go to particularly great lengths to hide it. In addition to authors Claude McKay and Wallace Thurman (who both had relationships with men), and musician Ma Rainey (who had

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<sup>127</sup> White, *First Sexual Revolution*; Beth L. Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988).

<sup>128</sup> Mike Mashon and James Bell, "Pre-Code Hollywood (Cover Story)," *Sight & Sound* 24, no. 5 (May 2014): 20–26; Rupp, *Desired Past*, 107–10; Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 244–66; Kevin J. Mumford, *Interzones: Black/White Sex Districts in Chicago and New York in the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 73–92; Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 60–61.

relationships with men and women), national examples include jazz singers Gladys Bentley (who dressed in male attire on stage and had relationships with women) and Bessie Smith (who had relationships with both men and women). They also include composer Cole Porter, who could be described as bisexual, and playwright Noel Coward, who was gay, and who were both regular visitors to the estate of Harvey S. Ladew, known as Ladew Gardens, in Monkton, Maryland (Site 271). Finally, singer Billie Holiday, who spent part of her youth in Baltimore (Site 051), had relationships with both men and women, and author Gertrude Stein, who attended Johns Hopkins Medical School for two years (Site 118), was quite open about her nontraditional gender expression and romantic relationship with Alice Toklas.<sup>129</sup>

In urban centers during this era (and earlier in some places), we find evidence of “Pansy Balls,” African American gay cultural events where performers would dress flamboyantly and entertain audiences with campy humor and performance. These events were reminiscent of William Swann’s events from the 1880s, discussed previously. In the 1930s, the *Baltimore Afro-American* reported on annual Pansy Balls held at the Monumental Elks Lodge in Baltimore (Site 166). Coverage of these events describe audiences in the hundreds, drawn from throughout the Mid-Atlantic.<sup>130</sup>

Also in the 1930s, Baltimore hosted the American debut of “Wise Tomorrow,” a play about a lesbian relationship by gay British playwright Stephen Powys. The play

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<sup>129</sup> Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 60–61; Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 67–75; Kenneth H. Thomas, “Gertrude ‘Ma’ Pridgett Rainey House, Columbia, Georgia,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1992), <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/93209126>; “History of Ladew,” Ladew Gardens, n.d., <https://www.ladewgardens.com/ABOUT-LADEW/History-of-Ladew>; Christopher Weeks, *Perfectly Delightful: The Life and Gardens of Harvey Ladew* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 108–9; Grauer, *Leading the Way*, 35.

<sup>130</sup> Molly McGarry and Fred Wasserman, *Becoming Visible: An Illustrated History of Lesbian and Gay Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Penguin Studio, 1998), 61–70; Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 314–21; “Twilight Sex Draws 200 at Annual Ball,” *Baltimore Afro-American*, February 23, 1935.

opened at the racially segregated Ford's Theater (now demolished) in Baltimore in October 1937. According to the *Baltimore Sun*: "The play's theme, that of abnormal love between a retired actress and a young girl, requires delicate handling to make it acceptable on the stage, and there is reason to believe that it was so handled in London. At Ford's last night, it was bungled and botched and came out just plain nasty." Such commentary reminds us that even though references to same-sex love and desire were occasionally making their way into popular culture, full-scale acceptance was far from wide-spread.<sup>131</sup>

However, even while some segments of the population were becoming increasingly comfortable with sexual liberalism and cultural references to LGBTQ identities, the medical and psychiatric fields were simultaneously creating an approach to sex and gender that framed variance as a problem in need of a cure. New theories related to LGBTQ activity emerged in the 1920s and 1930s, and none of them signaled good news for LGBTQ individuals. In 1920, Edward J. Kempf, a psychiatrist working at St. Elizabeths Hospital in Washington, D.C., introduced the psychiatric theory of "homosexual panic," the idea that a person would get so discomfited by sexual advances from someone of the same sex that they would temporarily lose control of rational thinking and hence, their behavior. Before taking his position at St. Elizabeths, Kempf

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<sup>131</sup> Donald Kirkley, "'Wise Tomorrow' at Ford's Theater," *Baltimore Sun*, October 5, 1937; "Baltimore Loses Ford's Theater: 92-Year-Old Landmark to Make Way for a Garage," *New York Times*, February 3, 1964, <https://www.nytimes.com/1964/02/03/archives/baltimore-loses-fords-theater-92yearold-landmark-to-make-way-for-a.html>; "Ford's Theatre—Theatrical and Civil Rights History," Explore Baltimore Heritage, August 29, 2017, <https://explore.baltimoreheritage.org/items/show/621>.

worked at the Phipp's Psychiatric Clinic (Site 145), part of Johns Hopkins University, from 1912 to 1914.<sup>132</sup>

Kempf's theory has been used ever since its development, though with decreasing success, in criminal cases involving violent crimes against LGBTQ individuals, where defendants employ a "homosexual panic" defense to justify attacking an LGBTQ person. One example comes from the Eastern Shore, where one John Dobson used this defense while on trial for the 1952 murder of William Andrews in Cambridge, Maryland (Site 259). Dobson claimed that Andrews made sexual advances toward him, and as a result his conviction was reduced from first- to second-degree murder.<sup>133</sup>

In addition to the development of the theory of "homosexual panic," during the interwar period, psychologists began conflating sexual predators, pedophiles, and homosexuals (particularly gay men) under one category: the "sexual psychopath." The effect was an unwarranted association in the public imagination between gay men and child sexual abuse, which continues to some extent to the current day.<sup>134</sup>

Yet, between World War I and World War II, there was also a liberal wing of psychology that saw homosexuality as primarily problematic in that it interfered with a person's ability to operate comfortably in mainstream society. Influenced by interwar anthropology's study of other cultures, these psychologists were more likely to see same-

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<sup>132</sup> Barbara M. Riley, *Finding Aid: Edward John Kempf Papers* (New Haven: Yale University Library, 1974), <https://archives.yale.edu/repositories/12/resources/4067>; Vernon Rosario, "Rise and Fall of the Medical Model," *Gay & Lesbian Review Worldwide* 6, no. 4 (October 31, 1999): 31.

<sup>133</sup> "Shore Man Held in Slaying of Truck Driver," *Baltimore Evening Sun*, December 8, 1952; "Dobson Case in Hands of Jury," *Easton Star-Democrat*, February 4, 1953; "Dobson given 15-Yr Sentence in Slaying," *Easton Star-Democrat*, February 6, 1953.

<sup>134</sup> Estelle B. Freedman, "'Uncontrolled Desires': The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920-1960," in *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, ed. Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 199-225; Lunbeck, *Psychiatric Persuasion*, 238; Genny Beemyn, *A Queer Capital: A History of Gay Life in Washington, D.C* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 130-32.



sex desire as being influenced by an individual's culture, rather than as a biological defect.<sup>135</sup>

Herbert (Harry) Stack Sullivan (1892-1949) belonged to this more liberal arm of psychology. He worked at Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital in Towson, Maryland, from 1922 to 1930 and served as Director of Clinical Research beginning in 1925 (Site 248). During this time, he rose to national prominence for his success at treating schizophrenia in young men. In this era, diagnoses of schizophrenia and homosexuality were often conflated, and some of Sullivan's treatments involved what amounted to a sympathetic approach to same-sex desire in his patients.<sup>136</sup>

Sullivan was himself gay, although he was professionally closeted (in this era, no admittedly homosexual psychologist could have found employment). He met James Inscoe in 1927, while working at Sheppard Pratt, and the two were partnered until Sullivan's death twenty-two years later. James, in fact, eventually changed his name to James Inscoe Sullivan.<sup>137</sup>

Harry left Sheppard Pratt in 1930, but returned to Maryland in 1939, when he and James relocated to Bethesda. Harry held a supervisory position at Chesnut Lodge Hospital, in Rockville, and taught at branches of the Washington School of Psychiatry. In 1940, Harry began work as a consultant to the War Department during the mobilization for World War II, preparing training materials and leading live trainings in the psychiatric screening of potential military recruits. Although the military did

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<sup>135</sup> Wake, *Private Practices*, 1–12.

<sup>136</sup> Wake, 1–12; Peter Hegarty, "Harry Stack Sullivan," in *Encyclopedia of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History in America*, ed. Marc Stein (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons: Thomson Gale, 2004).

<sup>137</sup> Wake, *Private Practices*, 44–49; Hegarty, "Harry Stack Sullivan."

implement psychiatric guidelines during World War II that precluded LGBTQ people from serving, Sullivan was not a proponent of this approach.<sup>138</sup>

From the late 1940s until his death in 1956, another psychologist with somewhat liberal views of same-sex desire practiced in Maryland. Robert M. Lindner had a private practice in Baltimore (Site 246) and served as chief consultant to the Maryland Board of Corrections. Although his primary expertise was the psychology of criminals, this field brought him into regular contact with homosexuals (who were then widely believed to be criminally insane). He approached the treatment of homosexuals sympathetically, seeking to discern what, if any, psychological characteristics they shared in common. Lindner was best known for his 1944 book *Rebel Without A Cause: A Hypnoanalysis of a Criminal Psychopath*, a psychological case study on which the 1955 feature film with the same primary title was based.<sup>139</sup>

The period between the two world wars saw the rise of the modern age and its attendant revolution in sexual mores, which created a bit of space for LGBTQ experiences to be represented in popular culture. Yet modernity was not embraced by all, and those furthest from the moral mainstream often received the brunt of measures to reign in the sexual liberalism of the age. An example of this is found in psychology's treatment of sexual and gender variance. By and large, members of this profession still saw these characteristics as problematic.

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<sup>138</sup> Wake, *Private Practices*, 157–86, 189; Hegarty, “Harry Stack Sullivan.”

<sup>139</sup> Udel Brothers, “Robert Lindner, Psychologist, 41: Author of ‘Rebel Without a Cause,’ ‘Must You Conform?’, ‘Fifty-Minute Hour’ Dies; Film Based on His Book.,” *New York Times*, February 28, 1956; Robert Mitchell Lindner, *Rebel without a Cause: The Hypnoanalysis of a Criminal Psychopath* (New York: Grove Press, 1956).

## The Mid-Twentieth Century, 1940-1970

The United States' entry into World War II profoundly affected American life, expanding the reach of the federal government, restoring economic prosperity after a decade of economic depression, and prompting yet another period of expanded geographic mobility. Yet this was an ambivalent time for LGBTQ individuals. While some news stories in the mainstream press and the start of LGBTQ magazines helped sexual and gender variant people to find each other; the postwar glorification of traditional gender roles and the nuclear family created suspicion of those who did not fit easily into these ideals.

Because of its proximity to the nation's capital and its long maritime history, Maryland experienced a particularly high amount of change during World War II. The federal government invested \$185 million into constructing Maryland factories that would help supply the war effort, leading to additional growth for Baltimore as well as for Frederick and Cumberland. Government investment also enhanced the military's role in the Maryland economy; \$500 million poured into Maryland during the war for the expansion of existing military sites and the construction of new ones, such as Andrews Air Force Base, Bethesda Naval Medical Center, Patuxent Naval Air Station, and Aberdeen Proving Ground. In addition, the expansion of federal government operations in Washington, D.C., sparked suburban development in Prince George's and Montgomery counties, as newly hired government workers sought housing in nearby Maryland.<sup>140</sup>

The expansion of wartime industry, as well as military recruitment, prompted internal migration nationally, as people followed job opportunities and military

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<sup>140</sup> Chappelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 250–55.

assignments. As we have already seen, migration away from families and towns of origin has long served as a tool for LGBTQ people seeking to act on their sexual or gender identities, and this was no less true during the 1940s. In fact, historian Alan Berubé has argued that it was during World War II that the gay bar became the center of LGBTQ social life, in part because it provided an efficient means for LGBTQ military people on leave in a new location to find sexual liaisons. While Baltimore and Annapolis likely had numerous establishments that catered to an LGBTQ clientele in the 1940s, the earliest one we have evidence of dates from 1942, Cicero's Cafe in Baltimore (demolished).<sup>141</sup>

Within the military, gays and lesbians had mixed experiences. On the one hand, the military changed from a policy of punishing soldiers for sodomy, as it had done previously, to barring homosexuals from service. (Transgender identities were still so poorly understood that they would have fallen under the category of mentally ill or homosexual and barred on those grounds; likewise, bisexuals would have been lumped into the category of homosexual.) Pre-induction screening amounted to verbal questioning, and few individuals admitted to same-sex attraction. However, once in the military, to be outed as gay or lesbian meant a dishonorable discharge, which would then become part of one's permanent record and likely interfere with future employment. A dishonorable discharge would also mean the forfeiture of all military benefits, including medical care through the Veterans' Administration and opportunities through the G.I. Bill.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Allan Berubé, *Coming out under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Free Press, 1990), chap. 4; "Liquor Board Suspends Cafe Licenses of 11: Income and Sales-Tax Infractions Figure in Basis of Actions," *Baltimore Sun*, May 1, 1949; "100 Arrested in Cicero Raid: Police Dodge Bottles, Glass in Retreat from Bar," *Baltimore Sun*, March 28, 1971.

<sup>142</sup> Berubé, *Coming out under Fire*; Faderman, *The Gay Revolution*, 31–32.

On the other hand, military service provided many gays and lesbians an opportunity to leave their hometowns and potentially find others like themselves. The mobilization needs of the United States meant that, in reality, gays and lesbians often had a fair amount of leeway—forming romantic relationships or transgressing gender norms—before receiving any official censure. The female branches of the military, most established during World War II, were in fact desirable places for women who defied traditional feminine stereotypes to find satisfying work and social life.<sup>143</sup>

The end of the war in 1945 introduced the specter that the wartime economic prosperity that had elevated the U.S. out of the Great Depression would not be able to survive demobilization. Americans feared they would lose the economic gains of the war years, and thousands of returning service personnel needed to find peacetime employment. As a result of these fears, women lost their wartime jobs *en masse*. Propaganda, both government and industrial, portrayed women who sought to keep their jobs after the war as unpatriotic and selfish. Assisting the transition of women out of the labor market, popular culture and advertising reified images of the heterosexual nuclear family and the roles of mother and housewife. To a large extent, the imagined future became reality, as the United States experienced a surge in the birth rate between 1946 and 1965, which became known as the Baby Boom.<sup>144</sup>

For obvious reasons, this was not an ideal development for LGBTQ Americans. With marriage and parenthood such a dominant cultural expectation, unmarried adults

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<sup>143</sup> Bérubé, *Coming out under Fire*; Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 118–38; Leisa D. Meyer, *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps during World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

<sup>144</sup> Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982); Ellen Carol DuBois and Lynn Dumenil, *Through Women's Eyes: An American History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 555–67; Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, Revised and Updated Edition (New York: Basic Books, 1999).

were viewed with suspicion and were regularly questioned about their failure to marry. Society's romance with the "traditional" family led to a concurrent entrenchment of traditional gender roles, making those who deviated particularly noticeable. Likewise, the effort to push women out of the workforce led to economic hardship for many women. Women who needed to financially contribute to their households—many African American women and the working class—or who did not have a male provider, including lesbians, faced increasing difficulty finding work.<sup>145</sup>

Connected to these changes, the end of World War II also marked the start of the Cold War. The Soviet Union and the United States emerged from the war as major global powers and, although allied in wartime, the postwar world soon became a battleground between democratic capitalism and communism. Historian Elaine Tyler May, in her classic study *Homeward Bound*, demonstrated how traditional white, middle-class gender roles and the nuclear family were cast as a patriotic imperative during the Cold War, being represented as the "American way of life." This further complicated the lives of LGBTQ individuals, as failure to comply with societal norms became increasingly seen as un-American.<sup>146</sup>

This conflation of "difference" with communism had severe economic consequences for many people who identified (or were perceived) as LGBTQ. Beginning in the late 1940s, the federal government began to oust people suspected of being LGBTQ from federal employment. The alleged reasoning behind this move was the homosexuals were both morally weak and subject to blackmail. As a result, the thinking

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<sup>145</sup> May, *Homeward Bound*; Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

<sup>146</sup> May, *Homeward Bound*; See also, Canaday, *Straight State*; David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 30–38.

went, they were easy targets for Soviet spies and should not have access to inside information about the federal government. This purge of federal employees continued into the 1960s and has become known in retrospect as the Lavender Scare. State and local governments followed suit, as did many businesses in the private sector. The Lavender Scare no doubt impacted the LGBTQ history of Maryland, since then as now, the Maryland counties surrounding the District of Columbia are home to many federal workers and others who worked in the Capital in related positions.<sup>147</sup>

Historian David K. Johnson, who has written the definitive book on the Lavender Scare, cites a World-War-II-era scandal involving Marylander (Benjamin) Sumner Welles (1892-1961) as an important precursor to the later purge of LGBTQ employees from the federal government. Welles was a well-respected U.S. diplomat, with particular expertise in Latin America. He worked for the U.S. Department of State from 1915 to 1925 and again from 1933 to 1943. A close personal friend of President Franklin Roosevelt, Welles returned to the State Department at Roosevelt's request and was appointed Under-Secretary of State in 1937, a position he held until his resignation in 1943.<sup>148</sup>

Although Welles was married to three women in his lifetime, rumors of homosexuality dogged his career. In reality, he was most likely bisexual. In September 1940, traveling with the president and other officials, Welles propositioned multiple pullman porters on the train that was transporting the dignitaries back to Washington. Nearly all pullman porters were African American men, and racial dynamics were likely

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<sup>147</sup> Johnson, *Lavender Scare*; Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 129–79; Stacy Lorraine Braukman, *Communists and Perverts under the Palms: The Johns Committee in Florida, 1956-1965* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012).

<sup>148</sup> Johnson, *Lavender Scare*, 65–67; “Sumner Welles,” in *Encyclopedia of World Biography Online* (Detroit: Gale Publishers, 1998), electronic resource.

part of Welles's decision making. Given his wealth and political position, as well as the mistreatment and prejudice afforded to African Americans, Welles likely believed that he would not suffer any significant consequences from this behavior. Instead, Welles's political rivals seized upon the story, and working out of the public eye, lobbied the president to dismiss Welles. After a period of defending him, Roosevelt eventually asked for Welles's resignation. In the end, even Welles's privilege and his friendship with the president were not enough to protect him from this scandal, though it is important to note that the essence of the misbehavior was understood to be his interest in sex with other men, *not* in his assumption that he should have sexual access to African Americans as part of their employment as porters.<sup>149</sup>

Throughout his tenure in Washington, Welles maintained a country estate in Oxon Hill, Maryland, and it was here where he retreated in the aftermath of his resignation. Welles remained married to his second wife Mathilde Townsend Gerry, whom he had married in 1925 after each had divorced their first spouse, until her death in 1949. He married a third time in 1952, to Harriette Post; this marriage lasted until Welles's death in 1961.<sup>150</sup> Johnson connects this earlier incident with the Lavender Scare by stating, "It helped seal the association between the [State] department and homosexuality and formed a backdrop that seemed to confirm the charge that the department was honeycombed with—possibly even controlled by—homosexuals."<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Johnson, *Lavender Scare*, 65–67; Christopher Capozzola, "Sumner Welles," in *Encyclopedia of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History in America*, ed. Marc Stein (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons: Thomson Gale, 2004).

<sup>150</sup> Johnson, *Lavender Scare*, 65–67; Capozzola, "Sumner Welles."

<sup>151</sup> Johnson, *Lavender Scare*, 67; Oxon Hill Manor is on the National Register, see Mary Fraser dePackah and Pamela James, "Oxon Hill Manor, Oxon Hill, MD," National Register of Historic Places Nomination (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1978), <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/106778014>.



Another Marylander who figured prominently in the Lavender Scare was Whitaker Chambers (Site 257). Chambers was a member of the Communist Party in the United States in the 1930s, and in 1948, while testifying before the House Un-American Activities Committee, accused State Department official Alger Hiss, a Baltimore native, of being a communist spy. Chambers also acknowledged engaging in homosexuality, and the subsequent investigation of Hiss seemed to suggest that the two had had a sexual relationship. Although the statute of limitations prevented Hiss from being tried for espionage, he was convicted of perjury in 1950. The scandal further strengthened the conflation of homosexuality and the communist threat in the American mind.<sup>152</sup>

Related to government suspicion and surveillance, police harassment of LGBTQ individuals and businesses was very common in the mid-twentieth century, and this situation proved extremely problematic for LGBTQ individuals. The names of people arrested during police raids of gay bars and cruising grounds were often published in local newspapers, bringing the danger that people arrested would become the target of violence and lose their jobs, their homes, and their families, in addition to dealing with the arrest. One example of a police raid in Maryland comes from 1955. Baltimore police raided the private home of an African American man at 2111 Westwood Avenue (Site 029). They arrested a group of men who called themselves the “Friendship Club” and regularly met to have sex with each other. Another example occurred in 1966, when police hid in a drop-tile ceiling in order to observe men having sex with each other in the restroom at Loch Raven Reservoir in Baltimore County. Twenty men were arrested as a result of this voyeuristic police operation.

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<sup>152</sup> Johnson, *Lavender Scare*, 31–33; “Whittaker Chambers Farm, Westminster, MD,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1988), <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/106775940>.

All was not lost, however. Even in the midst of this constriction of LGBTQ lives, there were signs of change. In 1948 and 1953, Alfred Kinsey, a zoology professor at Indiana University, published the results of an extensive study of the sexual experience and habits of white Americans. Published under the titles *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, and known colloquially as the Kinsey Report, Kinsey's findings caused a media sensation.<sup>153</sup>

Kinsey's data about what people were actually *doing* sexually challenged the dominant moral system in the United States at that time, on a range of topics including masturbation, premarital sex, and women's sexual responsiveness. But the data that generated the most public attention concerned the degree of homosexual activity among research subjects. Kinsey found that 37 percent of males and 13 percent of females reported same-sex experiences that had led to orgasm. Furthermore, from his data, Kinsey determined that 10 percent of the male population and 2-6 percent of the female population had been exclusively homosexual for at least three consecutive years. What had previously seemed like a rare sexual aberration suddenly revealed itself to be quite common.<sup>154</sup>

At about the same time as the Kinsey Reports, Christine Jorgensen made national headlines when she announced that, after growing up in a male body and serving as a soldier in World War II, she had traveled to Europe and undergone gender-affirmation surgery (a procedure known at the time as a sex-change operation). Jorgensen was

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<sup>153</sup> Susan Ferentinos, "Alfred C. Kinsey House," Amendment to the Vinegar Hill National Register of Historic Places District Nomination (Monroe County, IN) (National Park Service, 2019); Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell Baxter Pomeroy, and Clyde Eugene Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948); Institute for Sex Research and Alfred C. Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1953).

<sup>154</sup> D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 290–92; Ferentinos, "Kinsey House Amendment"; Vern L. Bullough, "Sex Will Never Be the Same: The Contributions of Alfred C. Kinsey," *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 33, no. 3 (June 2004): 277–86.

glamorous, blond, and conventionally feminine, and the fact that she had been assigned male at birth fascinated the American public.<sup>155</sup>

The combined effect of the Kinsey Report and the publicity surrounding Christine Jorgensen was to assure LGBTQ people in the United States that they were not alone, and in fact, might exist in numbers far larger than even they had realized. Thus, even amid the height of the Cold War fear of “perversion” and the increased repression of LGBTQ individuals, the 1950s also witnessed the first American contributions to the medical understanding of and response to gender variance, as well as the start of a national LGBTQ political movement, known as the homophile movement.

In the 1950s, due in part to the media coverage of Christine Jorgensen, her endocrinologist, a German immigrant named Harry Benjamin working primarily out of San Francisco, emerged as the foremost American authority on transgender identities. Benjamin had been working in sexual science since the 1920s and was far to the left of most American doctors, arguing in the 1930s for the legalization of sodomy and prostitution. Benjamin was of the theory that psychiatric interventions were not helpful in assisting people who identified as a gender that did not match their physical sexual characteristics. Rather, he pioneered medical interventions that would bring the body more in line with an individual’s gender. Based on his years of research, he published *The Transsexual Phenomenon*, a foundational text on the subject, in 1966.<sup>156</sup>

Much of Benjamin’s work was funded by the Erickson Educational Foundation, started in 1965 by transgender philanthropist Reed Erickson to fund research on

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<sup>155</sup> Susan Stryker, *Transgender History* (Berkeley, CA: Seal Press; Distributed by Publishers Group West, 2008), 47–50; Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift*, 49–98.

<sup>156</sup> Joanne Meyerowitz, “Harry Benjamin,” in *Encyclopedia of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History in America*, ed. Marc Stein (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons: Thomson Gale, 2004); Stryker, *Transgender History*, 73.

transgender identity. The foundation also provided money to Johns Hopkins University for the establishment of its Gender Identity Clinic in 1966, the country's first medical facility to provide coordinated care for transgender patients who wished to receive gender-affirming medical intervention (Site 145). John Money, a psychologist whose research focused on gender identity and himself bisexual, was named director of the Johns Hopkins clinic, and under his direction it became a leading advocate of gender-affirming treatment for both transgender and intersex patients. The clinic performed ten gender-affirmation surgeries in its first six months and initiated the use of the now commonplace terms "gender identity" and "sexual orientation."<sup>157</sup>

Money and his clinic were not without their critics, however. In 1974, another Johns Hopkins faculty member, Jon K. Meyer, coauthored a professional paper that was deeply critical of the clinic's methods, arguing that they were not as effective as the clinic claimed. Amid the subsequent controversy, the clinic closed in 1979. In the late 1990s, Money's work came under even more serious criticism, when journalist John Colapinto published a *Rolling Stone* article and later a book, about one of Money's most well-known cases. The case involved a patient, originally identified as John/Joan, who had been born with male genitalia that subsequently had been mangled in a circumcision. On Money's recommendation, the patient was raised as a girl. The case was documented in sexologic literature as a success, but years later, Colapinto revealed that the patient, David Reimer, had later returned to a male identity and had suffered negative emotional

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<sup>157</sup> Genny Beemyn and Laura Erickson-Schroth, "Transgender History in the United States," in *Trans Bodies, Trans Selves*, Online, Unabridged Edition of Chapter (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 16–18, [https://www.umass.edu/stonewall/sites/default/files/Infoforandabout/transpeople/genny\\_beemyn\\_transgender\\_history\\_in\\_the\\_united\\_states.pdf](https://www.umass.edu/stonewall/sites/default/files/Infoforandabout/transpeople/genny_beemyn_transgender_history_in_the_united_states.pdf); Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 7–8; Bob Ostertag, *Sex Science Self: A Social History of Estrogen, Testosterone, and Identity* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2016), 96–101; Terry Goldie, *The Man Who Invented Gender: Engaging the Ideas of John Money* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), 4.

results from the treatment. The result of this revelation was a mixed legacy for John Money.<sup>158</sup>

In addition to their continuing negotiations with medical and government authorities, LGBTQ communities began their first sustained political organizing in the postwar period, a historical trend referred to as the homophile movement. In Los Angeles, Harry Hay—who ironically, *was* a member of the Communist party until he was asked to leave because of his homosexuality—applied his training in political systems (obtained through his work with the party) to the information about homosexual activity contained in the Kinsey Report. He realized that gays and lesbians in the United States were numerous enough to constitute a sizable political constituency. He organized what would become the country’s first national gay rights group, the Mattachine Society, in 1949, and over the course of the next decade, local chapters sprung up in cities across the country.<sup>159</sup>

Also in the 1950s, a group of women in San Francisco including Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon started a lesbian organization in 1955, which they called the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB). Originally conceived of as a lesbian social club, the group soon took on an advocacy role as well, and, like the Mattachine Society, local chapters began spreading across the country. In 1956, DOB started a newsletter, *The Ladder*, which became the first nationally distributed lesbian periodical in the United States.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Ostertag, *Sex Science Self*, 106–7; Goldie, *The Man Who Invented Gender*, 3–6; John Colapinto, *As Nature Made Him: The Boy Who Was Raised as a Girl* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2000).

<sup>159</sup> Ferentinos, *Interpreting LGBT History*, 66–67; C. Todd White, *Pre-Gay L.A.: A Social History of the Movement for Homosexual Rights* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 11–27; John D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*, 2nd edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 70–71; Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 45–52.

<sup>160</sup> Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 55–57; Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2006).

Although there were no known Maryland chapters of either the Mattachine Society or the DOB, Washington, D.C., had a visible homophile movement. In the Washington area, Frank Kameny, who had lost his job in the federal government as part of the Lavender Scare, organized a local LGBTQ political effort. Originally a chapter of the national Mattachine Society, in 1961 the Mattachine Society of Washington was founded as an independent group. Though operating from Kameny's home in D.C., this group likely had some members who were based in the Maryland suburbs.<sup>161</sup>

Also in this era, Baltimore resident Luther Allen (Site 157) maintained a correspondence with Mattachine groups in Los Angeles, Washington, and New York, and he was an occasional author for the group's national publication, *The Mattachine Review*. Allen also founded the Robert Lindner Foundation (Site 246), an organization promoting the pro-LGBTQ views of this Maryland psychologist. Allen appears to have been one of the earliest LGBTQ activists in the state.<sup>162</sup>

In the 1960s, LGBTQ homophile political organizing became more sophisticated, more visible, and more radical. Activists in D.C., Philadelphia, and New York joined forces in 1962 under the umbrella of the East Coast Homophile Organization (ECHO) and for the rest of the decade, pro-LGBTQ advocates in these cities coordinated with each other in their strategizing and attended protests in each city, which had the effect of increasing numbers and thus visibility.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Michael McElderry, *Finding Aid: Frank Kameny Papers* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 2008), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/service/mss/eadxmss/eadpdfmss/2009/ms009068.pdf>; Meinke, "Frank Kameny Residence"; Linda R. Hirshman, *Victory: The Triumphant Gay Revolution* (New York: Harper, 2012), 59, 82–83; Faderman, *The Gay Revolution*, 142–63.

<sup>162</sup> The Luther Allen residence is located at 3509 N. Calvert Street in Baltimore.

<sup>163</sup> Faderman, *The Gay Revolution*, 142–45; Marc Stein, *City of Sisterly and Brotherly Loves: Lesbian and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004).

Activists around the U.S. began challenging laws and policies that discriminated against same-sex behavior and those perceived as gays and lesbians. At the start of the 1960s, sodomy was illegal in every state in the United States. In 1961, Illinois became the first state to repeal its prohibition of homosexual acts, and it remained the only state without a sodomy law until 1969, when Connecticut followed. Numerous other states repealed their laws in the early 1970s. In 1999, the Maryland Court of Appeals struck down the Maryland sodomy law. However, although no longer enforceable, the law, known as the “Sodomy and Unnatural or Perverted Sexual Practices Act” had not been officially repealed by the Maryland Legislature as of early 2020.<sup>164</sup>

Beginning in roughly the mid-1960s, American social movements became increasingly radical, representing a shift from requesting change within the established political system to demanding a full restructuring of society. The LGBTQ movement was no exception, and by the mid-1960s, strains of a more radical approach, which came to be known as gay liberation, were emerging. Gay liberation is often understood as starting in the immediate aftermath of the 1969 Stonewall Uprising, but recent scholarship argues instead that Stonewall was one of a series of spontaneous protests that began in the late 1960s and represented the increasing radicalization of LGBTQ political efforts.<sup>165</sup>

These other spontaneous protests—like Stonewall—involved a significant number of gender variant participants. In 1965, tensions over the treatment of young gender-

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<sup>164</sup> Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 65; American Civil Liberties Union, “In Historic Settlement with ACLU, Maryland Clears Last of Its Sodomy Laws from the Books,” January 19, 1999, <https://www.aclu.org/press-releases/historic-settlement-aclu-maryland-clears-last-its-sodomy-laws-books>; “Maryland House Votes to Repeal Sodomy Law,” *Washington Blade*, February 25, 2020, sec. homepage news, <https://www.washingtonblade.com/2020/02/25/maryland-house-votes-to-repeal-sodomy-law/>. Although the House of Delegates voted to repeal the law in February 2020, as of May 2020, the State Senate had not yet voted on the bill.

<sup>165</sup> Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States*, 208–10; Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 69–71.

variant clients at Dewey's Lunch Counter in Philadelphia sparked an uprising. A similar chain of events took place in 1966 at Compton's Cafeteria in San Francisco. At the same time, in early 1969, Carl Wittman, an activist in San Francisco, published "The Gay Manifesto," which outlined many of the tenets of the gay liberation movement, months before Stonewall. Wittman had been a co-author of the 1962 Port Huron Statement, a foundational document of the New Left movement, which in the 1960s sought to combine a variety of liberal political concerns under one movement. These leftist roots were evident in the Gay Manifesto. In the words of journalist Michael Bronski: "Wittman's combination of community building, constructive dialogue, goodwill, trust, and fun was a mixture of New Left organizing, homosexual playfulness, and the single most important directive of gay liberation: to come out."<sup>166</sup>

Although, in retrospect, there are indications that gay liberation was emerging in the late 1960s, nothing caused these various threads to coalesce into a new political movement until June 1969, when a routine police raid on a Greenwich Village gay bar, the Stonewall Inn, sparked five days of spontaneous protests in New York City. As with the Dewey's and Compton's protests, a significant number of participants were gender-variant youth and people of color. The Stonewall Uprising originally received only limited press coverage, but local activists spread the word throughout the nascent gay liberation movement. Apparently, the time was ripe for action. Stonewall captured the imagination of LGBTQ communities throughout the United States, and eventually, the

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<sup>166</sup> Susan Ferentinos, "Dewey's Lunch Counter Sit-In," in *Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia* (Camden, NJ: Rutgers University, Camden, 2016), <https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/deweys-lunch-counter-sit-in/>; Stryker, "Transgender History in the United States and the Places That Matter," 59–75; Sam Roberts, "The Port Huron Statement at 50," *New York Times*, March 3, 2012, <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/04/sunday-review/the-port-huron-statement-at-50.html>; Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States*, 208–9, quotation from 209.



world. Within weeks, activists had organized themselves into groups demanding wholesale change in the treatment of LGBTQ Americans.<sup>167</sup>

## **Gay Liberation, Lesbian Feminism, and AIDS, 1970-1996**

Journalist Michael Bronski offers a concise explanation of the ways that homophile activism differed from gay liberation. “Whereas homophile groups argued that homosexuals could find safety by promoting privacy, gay liberation argued that safety and liberation were found only by living in, challenging, and changing the public sphere.” While homophile activists essentially argued that their sexual identity should not be of any concern to authorities and thus discrimination based on sexual identity should cease, gay liberationists celebrated the ways in which they deviated from societal norms.<sup>168</sup>

A key strategy of gay liberation was visibility, as embodied by the popular rallying cry of the 1970s, “Out of the closets and into the streets!” Coming out of the closet—that is, openly declaring one’s LGBTQ identity—was seen as essential to social transformation. In gay liberation thinking, being out was a declaration of personal pride, a rejection of the shame that society had historically heaped onto LGBTQ people for their difference. It would also give the American public a more accurate understanding of LGBTQ political power. Finally, the thinking went, it would accelerate LGBTQ acceptance by mainstream society, because the vast majority of heterosexuals would realize that they actually knew someone who identified as LGBTQ, a fact that was

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<sup>167</sup> David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2004); Martin B. Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Plume, 1994); Carter et al., “Stonewall Nomination.”

<sup>168</sup> Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States*, 209.

hidden when sexual and gender minorities kept these identities secret from most of their associates.

Shortly after the Stonewall Uprising in June 1969, LGBTQ activists in New York City formed a group called the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), to advocate for greater rights and visibility for gays and lesbians. Other chapters of GLF quickly sprung up around the country. Baltimore's Gay Liberation Front (Site 046) formed in spring 1970, in response to a police raid on male prostitutes working in the area bounded by Cathedral Street, Park Avenue, Monument Street, and Madison Street, known among gay men as the Meatrack (Site 028). By August 1970, Baltimore GLF reportedly had fifty dues-paying members, "most of them in their teens and practically none over 30. Most live in the downtown area, and some live together. A few are students, while others range from office workers to department store clerks and employees in advertising agencies." An LGBTQ rights group started in 1971 at University of Maryland in College Park (Site 317). They originally called themselves the Student Homophile Association, but soon changed their name to the Gay Student Alliance. In 1975, the Baltimore Gay Alliance formed, naming, Paulette Young, an African American woman, as co-chair (Site 045).<sup>169</sup>

That year also saw the establishment of the Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Baltimore (GLCCB). Community centers became common throughout the United States in the 1970s and 1980s, as sites of community, support, information, and advocacy. In Baltimore, the GLCCB was an off-shoot of the Baltimore Gay Alliance,

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<sup>169</sup> Antero Pietila, "City's 'Gay' People Seek Liberation from Law, Society," *Baltimore Sun*, August 24, 1970; *Collection: Gay Student Alliance Records* (College Park: University of Maryland Special Collections, n.d.), <https://archives.lib.umd.edu/repositories/2/resources/785#>; Johnny L. Bailey, "'As Proud of Our Gayness, As We Are Our Blackness': The Political and Social Development of the African-American LGBTQ Community in Baltimore and Washington, D.C., 1975-1991" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Baltimore, Morgan State University, 2017), 110–11.

handling the non-political aspects of the organization, including a small gay health clinic, which would eventually become Chase-Brexton Health Services, Inc., a statewide LGBTQ health services organization (Sites 067, 068, 069, 070, 128). In addition to serving as co-chair of the Gay Alliance, Paulette Young was also elected the GLCCB's first president.<sup>170</sup>

By 1973, discussion of LGBTQ rights had spread beyond Baltimore and College Park and had even reached the secondary-school level. In spring 1973, a collective living near Columbia, Maryland, began publishing an underground newspaper titled *Changes*, which the *Baltimore Sun* claimed, “exhibits a surprising degree of professionalism and lack of dirty words.” The group, which called itself the PEER Collective, was comprised of primarily LGBTQ members and its paper advocated for gay liberation, birth control, and an end to racism (Site 277). The collective included eight members, including Peter Hanrahan and Lynne Baughman who were mentioned in the *Sun* article, and they all lived together in a house leased by the Maryland Highway Administration.<sup>171</sup>

In May and June 1973, twenty students were suspended from Howard County high schools for distributing the newspaper, which school officials found objectionable because of its “advocacy of homosexual lifestyles and the graphic illustrations... of contraception.” Apparently as a result of this controversy, the Maryland Highway Administration issued an eviction notice to the collective, which the group contested with the help of the American Civil Liberties Union. Eventually the agency agreed to withdraw the eviction in exchange for the tenants’ promise not to carry on any commercial activities in the house (such as publishing the paper). *Changes* continued

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<sup>170</sup> Bailey, “As Proud of Our Gayness, As We Are Our Blackness,” 113–14. The GLCCB papers are held at the University of Baltimore.

<sup>171</sup> Antero Pietila, “Howard Underground Newspaper Wallows in Controversy,” *Baltimore Sun*, July 22, 1973.

publishing, however (although we do not know where, exactly), for at least another year. In April 1974, three additional students were suspended from Wilde Lake High School in Columbia, Maryland, for distributing the paper (Site 283).<sup>172</sup>

Alongside of gay liberation, the more radical side of the LGBTQ movement, the women's movement and the African American civil rights movement were experiencing similar developments, with parts of these movements becoming increasingly radical. However, both of these movements were split on the issue of homosexuality, with some movement leaders fearing that acceptance of gays and lesbians among their ranks would threaten the legitimacy of their efforts in the eyes of the American public. Betty Friedan, while president of the National Organization of Women, went so far as to call lesbians within the women's movement "the lavender menace." Still, many LGBTQ women and people of color chose to devote their energies to these movements instead of gay liberation, or to divide their time across multiple efforts.<sup>173</sup>

Gay liberation tended to privilege the interests of white gay men, while the women's movement and African American civil rights movements tended to privilege the interests of heterosexuals. As a result, in the 1970s, both LGBTQ women and people of color would form specific groups devoted to the range of issues affecting them. In the 1990s, transgender folk and bisexuals would also form branches of the LGBTQ movement advocating for their specific needs.

In August 1968, a national gathering of feminists took place over three days at the Friends School in Sandy Spring, Maryland (Site 304). Later known as the Sandy Spring

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<sup>172</sup> Pietila; Columbia Bureau of the Sun, "Three Suspended in Circulating Youth Tabloid," *Baltimore Sun*, April 1974.

<sup>173</sup> Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967-1975* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 210–20.

Conference, this event was one of the first convenings of the radical branch of the women's movement and drew representatives from Boston, Los Angeles, New York City, Chicago, Florida, and North Carolina. The conference was organized by Dee Ann Pappas, a Maryland resident who had lesbian relationships and would go on to publish the feminist journal *Women: A Journal of Liberation* (Site 225); Marilyn Webb, an activist then based in D.C., who had lesbian relationships; and Beverly Jones and Judith Brown, authors of "Toward a Female Liberation Movement," also known as "The Florida Paper," which urged female activists to leave the New Left movement and instead advocate for their own interests within the women's movement. Topics discussed at the Sandy Spring Conference included feminism's relationship to other social justice movements of the era; the possibility of recruiting radical African American women to the cause (the Sandy Spring event appears to have been attended solely by white women); and whether heterosexuality was compatible with feminism, a topic that suggests a nascent lesbian feminism. This conference is credited with establishing some major tenets of radical feminism.<sup>174</sup>

The radical branch of the women's movement advocated for including lesbian rights in their efforts, but lesbians quickly began to articulate their own ideology, lesbian feminism. Lesbian feminism saw heterosexuality as a major keystone in enforcing male supremacy. As such, lesbian feminists argued that, in order to bring about true equality between the sexes, women needed to devote their political, emotional, and sexual energy

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<sup>174</sup> Carol Giardina, *Freedom for Women: Forging the Women's Liberation Movement, 1953-1970* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010), 140–41; Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*, 104–8. An excerpt of the transcript of the Sandy Springs conference appears in Echols, 369-77.

exclusively to other women.<sup>175</sup> In the words of historian Lillian Faderman, “They had no interest in reforming society. It had to be torn down and redone from scratch.”<sup>176</sup>

One element of devoting their energies to other women was the creation of a separatist “women’s culture,” which relied on women-owned businesses and centered around female artists. Lesbian-feminist publishing and music were two of the greatest contributions of this movement, and Maryland made contributions to both these efforts. Diana Press, a lesbian-feminist publishing house, and *Women: A Journal of Liberation* both operated in Baltimore in the 1970s. Additionally, Sisterfire, a women’s music festival, ran annually from 1982 to 1989 in Takoma Park (Site 305).<sup>177</sup>

In Baltimore alone, within the span of a few years, women founded a commune (1971); a women’s publishing company, Diana Press (1972); a feminist therapy collective, the Women’s Growth Center (1973); a women’s bookstore, 31 Street (1973, Site 032)); a Women’s Liberation Center (1974, Site 232); a lesbian production company (year not known); a Women’s Law Center (mentioned in print in 1976, Site 231); and a Lesbian Community Center (established as an independent location in 1978, Site 046).<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 193–204; Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*, 228–38; Faderman, *The Gay Revolution*, 231–46; Anne M. Valk, *Radical Sisters: Second-Wave Feminism and Black Liberation in Washington, D.C.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 135–57; Rebecca C. Dolinsky, “Lesbian and Gay DC: Identity, Emotion, and Experience in Washington DC’s Social and Activist Communities (1961-1986)” (PhD Dissertation, Santa Cruz, CA, University of California, Santa Cruz, 2010), 188–202.

<sup>176</sup> Faderman, *The Gay Revolution*, 239.

<sup>177</sup> Bonnie J. Morris, *The Disappearing L: Erasure of Lesbian Spaces and Culture* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2016), 74–75; *Finding Aid: Women: A Journal of Liberation Records* (Northampton, MA: Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, 2013), <https://archivespace.library.northeastern.edu/repositories/2/resources/848>.

<sup>178</sup> More detail and specific locations are provided in Benjamin Egerman’s list of LGBTQ-related sites that appears at the end of this report. For information on Baltimore connections to the D.C.-based collective known as the Furies, see Susan Ferentinos, “House of the Furies, Washington, D.C.,” National Historic Landmark Briefing Statement (Washington DC: Submitted to the National Park Service National Capital Regional Office, 2018); Mark Meinke, “The Furies Collective, Washington, D.C.,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), <https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/pdfs/16000211.pdf>.

In addition, one of the most prolific photographers of the lesbian-feminist movement, and to a lesser extent the wider LGBTQ movement, was Joan E. Biren, also known as J.E.B., based in Silver Spring, Maryland (Site 293). And although other liberal-leaning Maryland cities such as Frederick, College Park, and Takoma Park likely had lesbian feminist institutions as well, further research is needed to ascertain specifics. Rural land collectives were also part of lesbian feminism's agenda, so evidence of this type of site in rural parts of the state may still emerge.<sup>179</sup>

Paulette Young (Site 188), an African American Baltimore native, became a leader in the Baltimore LGBTQ movement of the 1970s, while also remaining active within the local lesbian feminist community. One of the original co-chairs of the Baltimore Gay Alliance (BGA)(Sites 045, 101)—founded in 1975—Young oversaw the organization as it started a gay and lesbian switchboard, newsletter, and youth group, as well as advocating for better relations with local police and a repeal of the state's sodomy law. Prior to her time at the helm of the BGA, she served as one of the co-founders of Baltimore's Lesbian Community Center (Site 046), and while working for the BGA she also helped found and was elected the first president of the Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Baltimore (GLCCB)(Site 147). Another founder of the GLCCB was Louis Hughes (Site 155). Also African American, he was active in local gay liberation efforts, while at the same time growing increasingly aware of the issues facing LGBTQ people of color that were not being specifically addressed by gay liberation.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Kerry Manders, "Photos of Lesbian Lives Meant to Inspire a Movement," *New York Times*, April 7, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/08/lens/lesbian-lives-movement-jeb.html>; Joan E Biren, *Voices of Feminism Oral History Project*, interview by Kelly Anderson, February 27, 2004, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, <https://www.smith.edu/libraries/libs/ssc/vof/transcripts/Biren.pdf>; Katherine Schweighofer, "Legacies of Lesbian Land: Rural Lesbian Spaces and the Politics of Identity and Community" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Bloomington, Indiana University, 2015).

<sup>180</sup> Bailey, "As Proud of Our Gayness, As We Are Our Blackness," 110–11; 128–30.

By the late 1970s, people of color nationally were growing frustrated with the failure of the gay liberation movement, the lesbian feminist movement, or the Black Power movement to address the specific issues of those who were both racial and sexual minorities. The umbrella term used at the time for people of color was “Third World,” and beginning in the late 1970s activists began to form coalitions across specific ethnic groups using this term. Together, they articulated a political vision that incorporated analyses of the ways various identities intersect and influence a person’s experience of any one aspect of their identity, a framework that is now known as intersectionality. With regard to Baltimore in particular, historian Johnny Bailey has pointed out the irony of gay liberation groups in the city being overwhelmingly white when Baltimore itself was, and is, a majority African American city. A similar point could be made about Baltimore lesbian feminist organizations.<sup>181</sup>

In Maryland and D.C. in the late 1970s, African American LGBTQ activists A. Billy Jones-Hennin, who is bisexual, Darlene Garner, and Delores Perry organized a coalition of queer black activists from Baltimore and Washington, D.C., which for a time was simply called “the Baltimore-D.C. Coalition.” The group rotated their meetings between the two cities, meeting in private homes to discuss the specific issues they faced as LGBTQ African Americans. In 1978, the coalition changed its name to the National Coalition of Black Gays (NCBG) and incorporated as a nonprofit in Columbia, Maryland (Site 200). Louis Hughes served as a founding board member. Eventually, local chapters

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<sup>181</sup> Megan E. Springate, “A Note on Intersectionality,” in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Foundation, 2016); Bailey, “As Proud of Our Gayness, As We Are Our Blackness,” 101.



began to form, prompting members in Baltimore and the District to split into separate chapters of the national coalition. In 1983, the group added lesbians to their name.<sup>182</sup>

As part of its efforts to build relationships with other groups working at the intersection of race and sexual identity, NCBG organized a national Third World Lesbian and Gay Conference in Washington, D.C. in 1979. The conference was held at Harumbee House, a minority-owned hotel at 2225 Georgia Avenue NW and was timed to coincide with the first National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights in October 1979. The event was an opportunity to build a national network of “Third World” LGBTQ activist groups and create a space for LGBTQ people of color to discuss issues unique to their intersectional identities within the larger March on Washington. It was a foundational event in the history of intersectional political organizing.<sup>183</sup>

Although the larger gay liberation movement involved a joyous celebration of queer sexuality, theatrical political actions, and an emphasis on public visibility, many political activists continued advocating for change within existing social structures, even while also supporting the fun, celebratory aspects of the age. The 1970s also saw the start of widespread, often successful, efforts to get sexual identity included in anti-discrimination statutes at the local and state levels. Inclusion of gender identity—as a separate category from sex—in anti-discrimination laws would come much later.<sup>184</sup>

In Maryland, Howard County was the first to approve the inclusion of sexual orientation as a class protected from discrimination in housing, employment, and public accommodations (Site 276). This measure passed in 1975. In 1983, Montgomery County

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<sup>182</sup> Bailey, “As Proud of Our Gayness, As We Are Our Blackness,” 120–42; Jeffrey A. Harris, “‘Where We Could Be Ourselves’: African American LGBTQ Historic Places and Why They Matter,” in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, ed. Megan Springate, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), 13.27, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>.

<sup>183</sup> Bailey, “As Proud of Our Gayness, As We Are Our Blackness,” 79–93.

<sup>184</sup> Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States*, 218–24.

considered a similar measure, and although it was originally expected to pass easily, opponents to the bill mounted a sizable opposition. The Suburban Maryland Gay Alliance, headed by Robert Mitchell Coggin, testified in support of the bill, which eventually passed in 1984 (Site 300).<sup>185</sup>

As in Montgomery County, throughout the United States, the political gains of the LGBTQ movement in the 1970s and 1980s sparked a backlash, where conservative political forces allied to protest against the growing societal and legal acceptance of sexual and gender variance. In addition, the early 1980s saw a new challenge to LGBTQ communities, in the form of AIDS.

In 1981, doctors in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York began seeing an unprecedented number of young men presenting symptoms of diseases that were extremely rare for their age group, such as Kaposi's sarcoma and pneumonia. The Centers for Disease Control was notified, and the first news of an unidentified epidemic began to spread through the medical literature, the gay community, and soon the national press. Because the first patients were gay men, the disease was originally referred to as Gay-Related Immune Deficiency (GRID), but the name soon changed to Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) when it became clear that gays were not the only people who were falling ill. Nevertheless, the toll on LGBTQ communities was devastating, decimating three generations of gay men and transwomen and

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<sup>185</sup> R. H. Melton, "Gay Rights Quietly Gaining in Montgomery," *Washington Post*, December 1, 1983; Keith B. Richburg, "Council to Consider Gay Rights Bill In Montgomery," *Washington Post*, July 27, 1983; R. H. Melton, "Montgomery Homosexual Rights Bill Stirs Fight," *Washington Post*, February 6, 1984; Lou Chibbaro, Jr., "Gay Activist Robert Coggin Dies at 62," *Washington Blade*, January 29, 2014, sec. Obituary, <https://www.washingtonblade.com/2014/01/29/gay-activist-robert-coggin-dies-62/>.

traumatizing the LGBTQ community, which commonly refers to the period between 1981 and 1996, when a viable treatment was finally identified, as the plague years.<sup>186</sup>

The extent of the disease was soon apparent within the LGBTQ and other outsider communities, such as sex workers and intravenous drug users. Yet, official response to the crisis was abysmally slow. In the words of legal scholar Linda Hirschman:

AIDS was just the type of emergency public health institutions exist to address—a fatal, infectious disease. And yet, as the protesters would chant when they finally acted up, many years later, “We die/ they do nothing.” For several crucial years the government of the United States did nothing. Most states and cities did nothing. Often their own families did nothing.<sup>187</sup>

In the absence of a coordinated government response to the epidemic, local LGBTQ communities stepped in to care for the sick and the dying. In Maryland, the first AIDS service organization, the Health Education Resource Organization (HERO) formed in Baltimore in 1983 and provided information and assistance for people with AIDS (Site 128). Further south, Whitman-Walker Clinic in Washington, D.C., which was founded in the 1970s as a venereal disease clinic for gay men, launched an AIDS Education Fund, also in 1983, to provide services for people with AIDS in the D.C. metro area. In 1992, it would open a branch clinic in Hyattsville, Maryland. Caretaking and information-sharing were the most immediate needs, as mainstream panic over the disease made LGBTQ people even more of the pariahs they had already been. This was particularly true before it was known how the disease spread, information that was

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<sup>186</sup> David France, *How to Survive a Plague: The Story of How Activists and Scientists Tamed AIDS*, 2017; Faderman, *The Gay Revolution*, 415–41; Hirshman, *Victory*, 169–85.

<sup>187</sup> Hirshman, *Victory*, 171; Historian Jennifer Brier, however, has argued that the government’s response to AIDS was not as simplistic as historians have claimed, but varied by different agencies and individuals; see Jennifer Brier, *Infectious Ideas: U.S. Political Responses to the AIDS Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

discovered in 1983 but took longer to disseminate through the public consciousness. Prejudice and lack of information prevented mainstream society from providing for the needs of people with AIDS; so, LGBTQ communities scrambled to fill in this gap.<sup>188</sup>

After the initial confusion abated and people began to adjust to the new reality of the epidemic, the need for organized resistance became clear. In 1987, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP) was created by activists in New York City, and they soon became the loudest voice of the era demanding government response to the epidemic and fighting the societal prejudice and institutional homophobia that was making life with AIDS so much more difficult. The group took a broad view of the epidemic, linking it to larger issues of inequality in American society.<sup>189</sup>

One of ACT-UP's largest and most successful protests took place at the campus of the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, Maryland, on May 21, 1990 (Site 298). Dubbed "Storm the NIH," this protest involved a day-long takeover of the NIH grounds to protest the use of standard drug trials on potential AIDS treatments. The usual drug-testing policy, which the NIH had influence over, studies recipients over a long-term period and involves a control group (trial participants who receive a placebo treatment), standards that activists found unethical in the face of such large death rates. They were advocating that Dr. Anthony Fauci, head of the NIH Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, make exceptions to these policies to ensure that viable treatments could reach people with AIDS as quickly as possible.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> Randi Henderson, "Support Groups for AIDS Victims Multiply: Varied Organizations Provide Help, Counsel," *Baltimore Sun*, June 5, 1988, sec. Maryland; Whitman-Walker Health, "Our History," n.d., <https://www.whitman-walker.org/our-history>.

<sup>189</sup> Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 156–68; Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 157–63.

<sup>190</sup> Faderman, *The Gay Revolution*, 438–40.

In response to the protest, Fauci agreed to hear ACT-UP's concerns. Members of the ACT-UP Treatment and Data Committee—the arm of the organization that kept abreast of scientific research leads and potential treatments for the disease—laid out a proposal that would get drugs to the people who needed them, while they still had a chance of survival. In the words of historian Lillian Faderman:

The “partnership” [between ACT-UP and the NIH] started a revolution in the way things were done at the National Institutes of Health. It brought about major changes in how the federal government tests and distributes experimental drugs.... As a result of that “partnership” NIH advisory committees and counsels always include activists from communities that are directly affected by NIH's policy decisions. ACT-UP changed American's “scientific culture” to profit everyone.<sup>191</sup>

The significance of ACT-UP's efforts has recently become more widely apparent, in the wake of the 2020 COVID-19 epidemic. Protocols for emergency drug testing, developed as a result of ACT-UP's efforts, are currently being used to find treatments and a potential vaccine for this new virus. In addition, many of the key government officials in the COVID-19 outbreak, most notably Dr. Anthony Fauci and Donna Birx, were also active in the fight against AIDS in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>192</sup>

A viable treatment for AIDS was finally developed in 1996, making the disease chronic instead of quickly fatal for those with the economic resources to afford treatment. Although in the United States, the worse of the crisis was over, the history of AIDS was just beginning. It has become a global pandemic in which the world's poor

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<sup>191</sup> Faderman, 439.

<sup>192</sup> David France, “The Activists: How ACT UP Remade Political Organizing in America,” *New York Times*, April 13, 2020, sec. T Magazine, <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/04/13/t-magazine/act-up-aids.html>; Michael Kranish, “Fauci and Birx Worked Together at the Dawn of the AIDS Crisis. Thirty-Seven Years Later, They Are Partners in Fighting the Coronavirus.” *Washington Post*, April 5, 2020, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/fauci-and-birx-worked-together-at-the-dawn-of-the-aids-crisis-thirty-seven-years-later-they-are-partners-in-fighting-the-coronavirus/2020/04/03/d10980d8-7425-11ea-ae50-7148009252e3\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/fauci-and-birx-worked-together-at-the-dawn-of-the-aids-crisis-thirty-seven-years-later-they-are-partners-in-fighting-the-coronavirus/2020/04/03/d10980d8-7425-11ea-ae50-7148009252e3_story.html).

suffer and die disproportionately. While some local health organizations such as Chase-Brexton Health Services and Walker-Whitman Health have continued to serve the health needs of LGBTQ people, with the shift of demographics in who dies from AIDS, the energy of the national LGBTQ political movement has shifted away from AIDS, to focus on other issues.

## **The Turn of the Twenty-First Century, 1996-2016**

After AIDS ceased to be a death sentence for those with the resources to access medical treatment, the priorities of the LGBTQ movement changed. In the 1990s, in place of transforming society, the movement once again returned wholesale to the goals of acceptance and fair treatment within the existing social structure. The major LGBTQ issues at the turn of the twenty-first century—LGBTQ service in the military, the push for transgender rights, and the legalization of same-sex marriage—revolved around accessing basic rights rather than challenging existing structures.

Perhaps the most widely publicized LGBTQ issue of the 1990s involved the question of whether LGBTQ Americans could openly serve in the military. As we have seen, although sodomy was behavior subject to discipline within the military from at least the World-War-I era, homosexuality (that is, same-sex desire, regardless of actual behavior) became grounds for dismissal—rather than discipline—from the U.S. military beginning in World War II. And although this policy was challenged by numerous individuals in the 1970s and 1980s—most famously, Leonard Matlovich—it remained official policy for the next fifty years.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Vicki Lynn Eaklor, *Queer America: A GLBT History of the 20th Century* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2008), 199–203; Beth L. Bailey, “The Politics of Dancing: ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ and the Role of Moral Claims,”

One case that challenged the LGBTQ ban in the 1970s had direct connections to Maryland. In 1976, E. Lawrence Gibson, a civilian instructor at the Naval Academy (Site 026) and resident of Annapolis, was dismissed from his position in connection to the dishonorable discharge for homosexuality of his partner, Vernon Berg III, a recent Naval Academy graduate who, in fact, identified as bisexual. Berg was one of the first members of the U.S. armed forces to fight a military discharge on the grounds of homosexuality, and in 1978 a court ruled that his discharge had been without grounds. By this time, however, Berg was no longer a sailor, having resigned in the wake of his investigation.<sup>194</sup>

Despite earlier individual challenges, by the early 1990s the military still had not officially lifted the ban against LGBTQ service. Like Matlovich and Berg before her, in 1992 army nurse Magarethe Cammermeyer, stationed in Washington state, received a discharge when it was discovered that she identified as lesbian. Unlike the earlier cases, however, Cammermeyer was eventually reinstated to the military on appeal. That same year, 1992, President Bill Clinton was elected on a platform that included allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military. It appeared for a moment that public opinion had changed regarding this issue.<sup>195</sup>

In reality, though, Clinton soon met with unexpected political resistance to the idea. The eventual congressional compromise was the “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” (DADT) policy, which was enacted into law in 1993. It stated that gays and lesbians (again, both

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*Journal of Policy History* 25, no. 1 (January 2013): 89–113; Faderman, *The Gay Revolution*, 471–84. Matlovich was the first openly gay person to appear on the cover of Time Magazine, in 1975, for his protest against the LGBTQ military ban.

<sup>194</sup> “E(Dward) Lawrence Gibson,” in *Contemporary Authors Online* (Detroit: Gale, 2002); David W. Dunlap, “Vernon Berg 3d, 47, Gay Ensign Who Fought Navy on Discharge,” *New York Times*, January 30, 1999; Faderman, *The Gay Revolution*, 479–84.

<sup>195</sup> Eaklor, *Queer America*, 199–202; Bailey, “The Politics of Dancing.”

bisexual and transgender people were not consistently recognized at this point in history) could serve in the military, as long as they did not admit to being homosexual. Sadly, this law actually led to an increase in the number of military personnel dishonorably discharged for homosexuality. In the seventeen years DADT was military policy, *seventeen thousand* people were discharged for “telling” (or being told on).<sup>196</sup>

Activists both inside and outside of military service worked for nearly two decades to repeal this law and allow LGBTQ people to serve without conditions. When President Barack Obama took office in 2009, his administration joined the effort, and Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell was repealed by Congress in 2010. In 2016, the U.S. Department of Defense announced that openly transgender people would also be allowed to serve. These changes allowed the 91,500 Marylanders employed by the U.S. military in active-duty, reserve, and civilian roles to better integrate their personal and professional identities and to uphold the military’s ideal of personal honor, which they’d been prevented from doing by the DADT policy (military personnel) and the climate it created (military civilians).<sup>197</sup>

Two significant changes brought about by the repeal of DADT and the end of the transgender ban had particular relevance to Maryland. First, transgender military personnel were able finally to be open about their identity and begin gender-affirming medical treatment. The first openly transgender person in the U.S. military was Shane Alejandro Ortega, who was on active duty in the U.S. Army when he came out as

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<sup>196</sup> Eaklor, *Queer America*, 199–202; Bailey, “The Politics of Dancing.”

<sup>197</sup> Nathaniel Frank, “The President’s Pleasant Surprise: How LGBT Advocates Ended Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell,” *Journal of Homosexuality*, Special Issue on Evolution of Government Policy Toward Homosexuality in the U.S. Military, 60, no. 2–3 (February 2013): 159–213; NBC News, “Obama Cements Historic LGBT Rights Legacy,” n.d., <https://www.nbcnews.com/feature/nbc-out/transgender-military-ban-lifted-obama-cements-historic-lgbt-rights-legacy-n600541>; The 91,500 statistic is from 2017 data; see, Governing.com, “Military Active-Duty Personnel, Civilians by State,” 2017, <https://www.governing.com/gov-data/public-workforce-salaries/military-civilian-active-duty-employee-workforce-numbers-by-state.html>.



transgender, though he has since retired from service. Ortega is a native of Maryland; having been born here in the late 1980s, while his mother served at Patuxent Naval Air Station (Site 320).<sup>198</sup>

The other significant change with particular relevance to Maryland involved the fact that the repeal of DADT meant that the nation’s military academies—including the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis—began accepting openly LGBTQ candidates (Site 026). The Naval Academy class of 2013 was the first cohort in which an openly gay couple attended the Ring Dance, an academy tradition in which students celebrate the end of their junior year. The first same-sex marriage ceremony to take place at the Naval Academy was held in May 2014. Such milestones signaled a significant change to military culture.<sup>199</sup>

It appeared the fight for LGBTQ inclusion in the military had been won at last. However, in 2017 President Donald Trump announced his administration’s intent to bar transgender troops from serving, a policy that the U.S. Supreme Court allowed to stand in a January 2019 decision. This reversal of LGBTQ access to opportunities enjoyed by non-LGBTQ people—confirmed by the Supreme Court—signals that LGBTQ issues will continue to be a source of debate in the upcoming years.<sup>200</sup>

The question of whether transgender people should be permitted to serve in the U.S. military reflects a larger cultural debate over the role of transgender Americans in contemporary society. Although gender-variant activists have been actively advocating for themselves within LGBTQ organizations since at least the 1960s, transgender issues

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<sup>198</sup> Juliet Eilperin, “Transgender in the Military: A Pentagon in Transition Weighs Its Policy,” *Washington Post*, April 9, 2015.

<sup>199</sup> Clementine Fujimura and Clara Navarro, “LGBT at USNA,” *Sociology and Anthropology* 4, no. 8 (August 2016): 767, <https://doi.org/10.13189/sa.2016.040811>.

<sup>200</sup> Michele Goodwin and Erwin Chemerinsky, “The Transgender Military Ban: Preservation of Discrimination through Transformation,” *Northwestern University Law Review* 114, no. 3 (May 2019): 752–807.

did not begin to gain traction within the gay and lesbian movement or garner mainstream public attention until the 1990s. It was in this decade that “transgender” became the word consistently used to describe those who identify with a gender different than the one they were assigned at birth. This was also the period when what had previously been described as “gay and lesbian” became more commonly known as “GLBT” (and now, LGBTQ), an effort to be more inclusive of bisexual and transgender issues. However, bisexual and transgender advocates continue to struggle to have their specific issues treated equally within the larger LGBTQ movement. As historian Genny Beemyn notes, in many cases “...the ‘T’ seems to stand for ‘token,’ rather than ‘transgender.’” Very often, the “B” has also been silent.<sup>201</sup>

Maryland has followed this national trend of transgender rights lagging behind those of sexual minorities. After decades of efforts, in 2001 Maryland amended its civil rights statutes to prohibit discrimination based on sexual identity. However, it took another thirteen years, until 2014, for discrimination based on gender identity to also be included. A Gender Identity Anti-Discrimination Act passed the Maryland House of Delegates in 2011, and advocates believed they also had enough votes for the bill to pass the State Senate; however, Senate leadership chose not to bring the bill to a vote, thus preventing its passage that year. The leadership made that decision despite a report released that year (2011) by the National Center for Transgender Equality and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force stating that 71 percent of transgender Marylanders reported experiencing harassment or mistreatment on the job.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Beemyn and Erickson-Schroth, “Transgender History in the United States,” 35 Other words that have been historically used to describe transgender identity include cross-dresser, transvestite, transsexual, drag queen, he/she, and female impersonator. .

<sup>202</sup> Freedom for All Americans, “The State of LGBTQ Non-Discrimination Protections in Maryland,” February 7, 2018, <https://www.freedomforallamericans.org/category/states/md/>; Merki, Avery, and Blackfield, “The Future of

Similarly, transgender representation in public office has only recently begun, while openly gay, lesbian, and bisexual candidates experienced success in this area since the 1990s in Maryland and since the 1970s in other parts of the United States. Bruce Williams (Site 285) was the first openly gay elected official in Maryland, when he was elected to the Takoma Park City Council in 1993, but the first openly transgender candidate was not elected to public office in Maryland until 2018, when Laura Hart won a seat on the St. Mary's County Democratic Central Committee.<sup>203</sup>

Other openly-LGBTQ elected officials in Maryland include Anne Strasdauskas (elected Baltimore County Sheriff in 1998, Site 236); Maggie McIntosh (came out while serving in the House of Delegates, 2001; term began 1992); Richard Madaleno (House of Delegates, 2002); Patrick Wojahn (College Park City Council, 2007); Heather Mizeur (House of Delegates, 2007, Site 292); and Evan Glass (Montgomery County Council, 2018). LGBTQ people have also served as mayors of Maryland towns, including Bruce Williams (Takoma Park, 2007); Jim Ireton (Salisbury, 2009, Site 335); and Patrick Wojahn (College Park, 2015). In 2014, Heather Mizeur ran for Governor of Maryland, in a bid to become the country's first openly LGBTQ candidate elected governor of a state. She lost to her opponent, and that honor instead went to Kate Brown, a bisexual woman elected governor of Oregon in 2016. In an example of the historic disregard of bisexual

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LGBT Civil Rights and Equality in Maryland"; National LGBTQ Task Force, "Maryland House of Delegates Passes Gender Identity Anti-Discrimination Act," March 26, 2011, <https://www.thetaskforce.org/maryland-house-of-delegates-passes-gender-identity-anti-discrimination-act/>.

<sup>203</sup> Out and Elected in the USA: 1974-2004, "Bruce Williams, Maryland, 1993," OutHistory.org, n.d., <http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/out-and-elected/1993/bruce-williams>; Michael L. Lavers, "Two Trans Candidates Make History in Md.," *Washington Blade*, June 27, 2018, <https://www.washingtonblade.com/2018/06/27/transgender-candidates-make-history-maryland/>.

identities, Jared Polis, a gay man, is often cited as the first. He was elected governor of Colorado in 2018.<sup>204</sup>

Although there were intermittent attempts to advocate for bisexual inclusion throughout the second half of the twentieth century, a national movement became visible at the 1987 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights, when bisexual activists from around the country marched in a specifically bisexual contingent. The effort continued to grow in the early 1990s. The first organizing conference specifically held for bisexuals was held in 1990 in San Francisco, and over 450 people attended. The following year, a foundational text drawing attention to the needs and experiences of people who identify as bisexual, was published. Alyson Books, an LGBTQ publishing house, published *Bi Any Other Name: Bisexual People Speak Out* in 1991. Longtime bisexual activist and founder of the organization BiNet USA Lorraine Hutchins co-edited this volume. Hutchins is a long-time resident of the D.C. suburbs in Maryland and teaches at Montgomery College, in Rockville.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Out and Elected in the USA: 1974-2004, “Anne Strasdauskas, Maryland, 1998,” OutHistory.org, n.d., <http://outhistory.org/exhibits/show/out-and-elected/1998/anne-strasdauskas>; “Maggie McIntosh,” in *Wikipedia*, March 22, 2020, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maggie\\_McIntosh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maggie_McIntosh); “List of the First LGBT Holders of Political Offices in the United States,” in *Wikipedia*, May 14, 2020, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_the\\_first\\_LGBT\\_holders\\_of\\_political\\_offices\\_in\\_the\\_United\\_States](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_the_first_LGBT_holders_of_political_offices_in_the_United_States); Montgomery County (MD) Council, “About Evan Glass,” n.d., <https://www.montgomerycountymd.gov/glass/about.html>; College Park, Maryland, “Mayor & Council,” n.d., <https://www.collegeparkmd.gov/27/Mayor-Council>; “Heather Mizeur,” Ballotpedia, n.d., [https://ballotpedia.org/Heather\\_Mizeur](https://ballotpedia.org/Heather_Mizeur); Jenna Johnson, “11 Random Facts about Heather Mizeur, a Maryland Democratic Gubernatorial Hopeful,” *Washington Post*, June 19, 2014, sec. Maryland Politics, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/md-politics/11-random-facts-about-heather-mizeur-maryland-democratic-gubernatorial-hopeful/2014/06/18/291283e0-f70b-11e3-a606-946fd632f9f1\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/md-politics/11-random-facts-about-heather-mizeur-maryland-democratic-gubernatorial-hopeful/2014/06/18/291283e0-f70b-11e3-a606-946fd632f9f1_story.html); Amber Phillips, “Meet Kate Brown, the First Openly LGBT Person to Be Elected Governor of a State,” *Washington Post*, November 10, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/11/10/meet-the-first-openly-gay-person-to-be-elected-governor-of-a-state/>; Matthew Schneier, “America’s Gay Governor,” *New York Times* 168, no. 58203 (January 10, 2019): D1–6.

<sup>205</sup> Lorraine Hutchins, “Making Bisexuals Visible,” in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, ed. Megan Springate, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>; Loraine Hutchins and Lani Kaahumanu, eds., *Bi Any Other Name: Bisexual People Speak Out* (Boston: Alyson, 1991); Lorraine Hutchins, “About,” Loraine Hutchins, Ph.D., June 12, 2012, <https://www.lorrainehutchins.com/about/>.

Arguably, the largest LGBTQ political victory of the last generation was the legalization of same-sex marriage throughout the United States. Evidence of marriage-like ceremonies among same-sex couples exist throughout U.S. history and especially the twentieth century. The Metropolitan Community Church alone estimated that, as a denomination focused specifically on LGBTQ communities, it had performed over 85,000 same-sex union ceremonies in its first thirty-five years of existence (1968-2003). Legal recognition of these unions was another matter, however. The first attempts to have a same-sex union legally recognized in the U.S. occurred in 1970, when same-sex couples in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Louisville, Kentucky applied for marriage certificates and joined together in a lawsuit when they were denied, arguing that the law did not specifically state that marriage must be between a man and a woman. The case was quickly dismissed, however, and led to something of a backlash, as a series of states passed laws in the 1970s adding this man-and-woman proviso to their marriage statutes. Maryland, in fact, was the first state to do so, in 1973. In 1984, Steven B. Jacobs and John M. LeBedda, a gay couple who had been together for ten years, filed a complaint with the Howard County (MD) Office of Human Rights protesting the fact that they could not legally marry. The complaint was denied.<sup>206</sup>

Yet, despite these earlier efforts, same-sex marriage did not become a major focus for the LGBTQ movement until the turn of the twenty-first century, when it became the most absorbing LGBTQ political issue for more than a decade. Historian George Chauncey has argued that LGBTQ experiences in the 1980s and 1990s heightened the

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<sup>206</sup> Rachel Hope Cleves, *Charity and Sylvia: A Same-Sex Marriage in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Fosl, Vivian, and Coleman, "Kentucky LGBTQ Historic Context Narrative," 72–78; George Chauncey, *Why Marriage? The History Shaping Today's Debate over Gay Equality* (New York: Basic Books, 2004), 88–92; Keith F. Girard, "Gays Seek Rights As Couple: Spousal Status Denied in Howard," *Washington Post*, November 8, 1984.

sense of urgency around this issue. First, Chauncey argues, growing visibility gave LGBTQ communities a taste of public acceptance that led to a desire to have same-sex partnerships recognized and protected in the same way opposite-sex unions were. Second, the horrors of the AIDS epidemic brought the need for legal protections into sharp focus for many who identified as LGBTQ. The lack of spousal health insurance benefits, next-of-kin authority in medical decisions and inheritance, or even hospital visitation rights made LGBTQ experiences of illness, death, and its aftermath so much worse than they had to be during the AIDS crisis. Finally, according to Chauncey, the 1980s and 1990s saw a marked increase in the number of same-sex couples, particularly lesbian couples, raising children together, which also heightened the need for legal protections for these families. In many states at that time, children could not legally have more than one parent of the same sex, resulting in situations where one parent had no legal relationship to their child and thus could not legally make decisions concerning their child's welfare, access information about their child's health or schooling, or retain custody in the event of the legal parent's death.<sup>207</sup>

The push for same-sex marriage began as an effort to have domestic partnerships recognized for the purposes of health insurance, bereavement leave, and legal protections. In 1992, software company Lotus extended domestic partner benefits to its employees, making it the first publicly traded company to do so and starting a slow and steady trend of other employers following suit. Takoma Park, Maryland, granted

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<sup>207</sup> Chauncey, *Why Marriage?*, 95–111.

domestic partner benefits to its city employees in 1993, making it the first Maryland municipality to do so (Site 307).<sup>208</sup>

In 1993, the Supreme Court of Hawaii ruled that the state’s ban on same-sex marriage was unconstitutional and sent the relevant case back to trial court to decide the issue of whether Hawaii had “a compelling state interest” to maintain the ban. This case did not succeed in legalizing same-sex marriage in Hawaii, but it did set off another wave of legislation around the country explicitly stating that legal marriage applied only to male-female couples. The national-level Defense of Marriage Act passed in 1996, which had the effect of denying federal marriage benefits to same-sex couples, even when such unions began to be legally recognized in some of the states.<sup>209</sup>

The tide began to turn—slowly—in 2000, when Vermont became the first state to recognize same-sex unions, although rather than simply including such unions in marriage statutes, the state created a different category of relationship. Massachusetts was the first state to legalize same-sex marriage when the state’s Supreme Judicial Court ruled the Massachusetts same-sex marriage ban illegal; the ruling went into effect in 2004. The next ten years witnessed an epic political battle between proponents and opponents of same-sex marriage. Maryland legalized same-sex marriage in 2012, after an extended effort by a coalition of LGBTQ-rights organizations. A leader in this fight was the group Equality Maryland, founded in 1990 to advocate for LGBTQ protections at the state level. Among the group’s many achievements was its work on Maryland’s Civil Marriage Protection Act, which passed the state legislature in 2012 and was approved by voters later that year, making Maryland—along with Maine and

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<sup>208</sup> Chauncey, 116–27; D’Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 365–66; Meera Somasundaram, “Takoma Park Approves Benefits for Domestic Partners,” *Washington Post*, August 5, 1993.

<sup>209</sup> Chauncey, *Why Marriage?*, 116–27; D’Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 365–66.

Washington, which voted the same day—the first states to legalize same-sex marriage by public vote.<sup>210</sup>

A major victory for the supporters of same-sex marriage came in 2013, when the United States Supreme Court struck down the Defense of Marriage Act in *United States v. Windsor*. This ruling meant that same-sex couples who were legally married were eligible to receive federal marriage benefits, such as social security payments from a deceased spouse and the ability for a foreign national to obtain legal residency in the United States upon marrying a U.S. citizen. Although this ruling did not apply to state marriage benefits, it prompted a wave of state laws recognizing same-sex marriage as well. It took another two years for same-sex marriage to become fully legal in this country. In 2015, the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Obergefell v. Hodges* declared that state bans on marriage equality were unconstitutional.<sup>211</sup>

Although this 2015 case involved a male couple from Cincinnati, Maryland did play a role in the case that fully legalized same-sex marriage in the United States. Jim Obergefell and John Arthur had been a couple for about eighteen years, when Arthur was diagnosed with amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), a fatal neurological disease, in 2011. He entered hospice care in 2013, and the couple decided to legally marry, even though their home state of Ohio did not recognize same-sex marriage at the time. By this time Arthur's disease had progressed to the point that he needed a medical

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<sup>210</sup> Chauncey, *Why Marriage?*, 127–35; Rupp and Freeman, *Understanding and Teaching U.S. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History*, 305; Annie Linskey, “Gay Marriage Bill Clears Senate Panel,” *Baltimore Sun*, February 22, 2012; David Deschamps and Bennett L. Singer, *LGBTQ Stats: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer People by the Numbers* (New York: The New Press, 2017), 114; In 2016 Equality Maryland merged with another organization, FreeState Legal Project, to become FreeState Justice. FreeState Justice, “Mission and History,” n.d., <https://freestate-justice.org/who-we-are/mission/>.

<sup>211</sup> Joseph Brownell, “We’ve Come a Long Way: Marriage Equality in Less than a Year,” *Out & About Nashville*, May 25, 2014, <http://www.outandaboutnashville.com/story/weve-come-long-way-marriage-equality-less>; Brownell; Jen Colletta, “SCOTUS Ruling Caps a Momentous Marriage Year,” *Philadelphia Gay News* 38, no. 10 (March 7, 2014): 15; “Jim Obergefell,” in *Gale Biography Online Collection* (Detroit: Gale Publishers, 2015).



transport plane to travel to a state that would allow the couple to wed. The couple chose Maryland as their destination, and on July 11, 2013, they flew to Maryland and were wed in the plane on a tarmac at BWI airport, as Arthur was too sick to be moved from his bed (Site 011).

Arthur died three months later, and Obergefell sued the state of Ohio to be listed on Arthur's death certificate as his spouse. The case went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled 5-4 in Obergefell's favor. The effect of this decision was to mandate that states recognize the legal marriage of same-sex couples, legalizing same-sex marriage throughout the United States.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> "Jim Obergefell."

## **CHAPTER FOUR: THEMES RELATED TO MARYLAND LGBTQ HISTORY**

The preceding chapter offered a chronological approach to the history of sexual and gender variance in Maryland, developing the historical context in which to understand the specific details of a given property. This section offers a different, thematic, lens with which to consider a particular site. Using these parts of the report in tandem, preservationists can begin to understand a particular property in terms of its period of significance (historical overview) and in comparison to other sites related to its topical area of significance (themes).

Within the broad sweep of LGBTQ history in Maryland, eleven themes emerge, which together capture most of the identified sites in this study.<sup>213</sup> The themes are:

- Social Life and Support
- Political Organizing and Protest
- Businesses and Organizations
- Spirituality

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<sup>213</sup> Alternative ways to group property types are available in LGBTQ Historic Context Studies for other locations. See, for example, Fosl, Vivian, and Coleman, “Kentucky LGBTQ Historic Context Narrative”; GPA Consulting, “San Diego LGBTQ Historic Context Statement”; GPA Consulting, “SurveyLA”; Graves and Watson, “Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco”; Shockley et al., “Historic Context Statement for LGBT History in New York City.”

- Persecution and Violence
- Medicine and Health
- Maritime History
- Separatism and Intersectionality
- Art and Architecture
- Rural LGBTQ Life
- Neighborhoods

These themes are not mutually exclusive; rather they provide relevant thematic contexts. For example, when evaluating a feminist bookstore operated by a lesbian cooperative, applicable themes to consider are Social Life and Support; Businesses and Organizations; and Separatism and Intersectionality. If the bookstore served as the meeting location for a chapter of the Lesbian Avengers (a political group from the early 1990s), the theme of Political Organizing and Protest might also be relevant; if a Wiccan book group met there, the theme of Spirituality might apply; and if the store was the target of homophobic vandalism, the theme of Persecution and Violence might also be considered.

The rest of this chapter explores these themes in more detail. The list of properties at the end of this report identifies relevant themes for each site, providing an array of examples to further illustrate each topic.<sup>214</sup>

## **Social Life and Support**

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<sup>214</sup> Much of the following discussion is drawn from Ferentinos, “Beyond the Bar.”

Sites related to social life and support have traditionally been extremely important to the sustenance of LGBTQ subcultures. Many of the customary ways of passing on culture to young people—families, schools, churches—are not historically relevant to LGBTQ culture, and this in turn has increased the importance of sites of leisure as places where people connect and learn the customs that will help them identify and bond with other members of the community.<sup>215</sup>

This category includes the gay bar, which many people consider the ultimate representation of queer space.<sup>216</sup> There is no denying that this property type has played an outsized role in LGBTQ social life, and often forms the anchor of LGBTQ neighborhoods and subcultures. Leon's, a gay bar that has operated since 1957 in the Mt. Vernon neighborhood of Baltimore, is one such social pillar (Site 150). The Bull Ring, which operated from 1974 to 1982 in Hagerstown, is another (Site 325).<sup>217</sup>

Nevertheless, to focus exclusively on bars as vehicles for LGBTQ social life and support is to inadvertently favor some LGBTQ communities over others. Historically, gay and bisexual white men were much more likely to gather in gay bars than were women or racial minorities. Women of all races had much more limited access to public streets than did men, particularly after dark. If they were traveling without a male companion, they risked negative assumptions about their character, unwanted attention from men, and the possibility of attack. As such, many queer women chose other, less

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<sup>215</sup> Boyle et al., "A Place to Start," 44.

<sup>216</sup> For examples of gay bars that have received historic designation, see Catherine Fosl, "Whiskey Row Historic District, Louisville, Kentucky," National Register of Historic Places Nomination: Additional Documentation (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2017), <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123850869>; Catherine Fosl, "Elks Athletic Club, Louisville, Kentucky," National Register of Historic Places Nomination: Additional Documentation (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123850533>. See also, David K. Johnson, "LGBTQ Business and Commerce," in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, ed. Megan Springate, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>.

<sup>217</sup> Louise Parker Kelley, *LGBT Baltimore*, Images of Modern America (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2015), 16.

public, forms of socializing, such as private parties and potlucks. This is not to say that there were no bars that catered to a female clientele; there were. For instance, J. J. Gallagher's, in Baltimore, was a popular lesbian bar that operated from 1979 to 2007. In addition, lesbian bars often served as gathering places for working-class women—who, because of realities such as shift work, reliance on public transportation, and the financial need to live with family members, were more accustomed to being out alone after dark and who were less likely to be able to socialize in private residences. Nevertheless, lesbian bars never reached the numbers evident with male bars.<sup>218</sup>

Likewise, African Americans, as a group, utilized gay bars less often than white men, in large part because of discrimination. Discussing LGBTQ history in Washington, D.C., historian Melinda Relayne Michels states:

Some bar owners employed various methods of excluding women and African American patrons, believing that they were likely to make greater profits if the clientele was primarily white, male, or both.... In response to exclusion as well as because of a desire to find common ground with one another, African Americans and women created their own spaces. Each of these factors contributed to the complex terrain that formed much of the publicly accessible parts of gay experience in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>219</sup>

Michels's observations seem relevant for Maryland as well. To begin with, there was regular interaction between the LGBTQ communities in D.C. and Maryland, particularly the counties of Montgomery and Prince George's. Secondly, a 1984 lawsuit

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<sup>218</sup> Kate Drabinski, "The History of Baltimore's Lesbian Bar Scene," *Baltimore Sun*, July 19, 2016, sec. Baltimore City Paper, <https://www.baltimoresun.com/citypaper/bcp-072016-feature-baltimore-lesbian-bars-20160719-story.html>; Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 79; Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Rupp, *Desired Past*, 110–12; Melinda Relayne Michels, "Where the Girls Were: The Geographies of Lesbian Experience in Washington DC during the Late 1960s and 1970s" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Washington, DC, American University, 2003), 64, 73; Ty Ginter, "D.C.'s Dykaries: Phase One, D.C.'s Last Dyke Bar (1971-2016)" (Master's Thesis, College Park, University of Maryland, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.13016/xkab-4slt>. For a more nuanced argument, see Anne Enke, *Finding the Movement: Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

<sup>219</sup> Michels, "Where the Girls Were," 61.

in Baltimore suggests that discrimination against African Americans was common in that city as well. This case, initiated by the group Black and White Men Together, alleged that two LGBTQ bars in Baltimore, the Torch (Site 035) and the Porthole, subjected African Americans to greater scrutiny than European Americans before allowing them to enter these clubs. The case was ultimately decided in favor of Black and White Men Together.<sup>220</sup>

In response to the constant threat of discrimination in LGBTQ bars catering primarily to European Americans, African American LGBTQ men and women often chose to socialize in bars specifically catering to them, when such options were available. When not available, other forms of socializing were employed, such as private parties or using certain times of the week to gather at establishments that otherwise served straight African American clientele. As one example of this practice, in the late 1980s, Club Fantasy, a Baltimore bar catering to African Americans, had designated gay nights (Site 080).<sup>221</sup>

Independent socializing among sexually or gender variant African Americans stretches back to the nineteenth century, as evidenced by the existence of African American “pansy balls” in West Baltimore, drag balls such as those held by Maryland native Charles Swann in Washington, D.C. (discussed in the historical overview), and similar events in New York City’s Harlem, as documented by historian George Chauncey. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, this tradition continues among

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<sup>220</sup> Kelley, *LGBT Baltimore*, 48.

<sup>221</sup> Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 107–10; “History of Baltimore Black Community?,” *City Data Forum*, 2017, <http://www.city-data.com/forum/baltimore/2145209-history-baltimore-black-gay-community-3.html>; Nat Thompson, “An Oral History of Baltimore Club,” *WaxPoetics*, October 15, 2016, <https://www.waxpoetics.com/blog/features/articles/an-oral-history-of-baltimore-club/>; see also, Johnson, “LGBTQ Business and Commerce,” 16.13-14.

African Americans and Latinxs in the form of ballroom culture.<sup>222</sup> Sites associated with such events can be considered within the contexts both of Social Life and Support and of Separatism and Intersectionality.

In addition to social outlets specifically for African Americans, since the 1970s, LGBTQ-focused coffeehouses and meetings of Alcoholics Anonymous have provided a social alternative to the bar for people who are in recovery from addiction. Social clubs provided another outlet, often geared toward a particular aspect of LGBTQ experience, such as clubs for LGBTQ individuals of a particular ethnic background or for interracial LGBTQ couples. All-women's softball leagues are a longstanding part of lesbian culture and were particularly popular in the 1970s and 1980s. Finally, LGBTQ support groups, community centers, and bookstores served a dual purpose, both creating a space for social connection and disseminating information about LGBTQ culture and politics in the pre-Internet era, when such information was extremely difficult to access through mainstream channels. For example, around 1980, a local lesbian group called the Pleides would hold monthly gatherings at the Frederick Coffee Company, in Frederick, Maryland (Site 263).<sup>223</sup>

Places where LGBTQ people could explore and celebrate their sexuality also fall into the category of Social Life and Support. Because of the discrimination LGBTQ people faced, sexual exploration and expression needed to be divorced from other aspects of people's lives. To entertain a romantic partner in one's home was to court

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<sup>222</sup> Joseph, "The First Drag Queen Was a Former Slave"; Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 257–64; Kim Gallon, "'No Tears for Alden': Black Female Impersonators as 'Outsiders Within' in the Baltimore Afro-American," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 27, no. 3 (September 2018): 367–94, <https://doi.org/10.7560/JHS27302>.

<sup>223</sup> Enke, *Finding the Movement*, 106–73; Christina B. Hanhardt, "Making Community: The Places and Spaces of LGBTQ Collective Identity Formation," in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, ed. Megan Springate, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>.

severe consequences. Thus, LGBTQ individuals—particularly gay and bisexual men and trans women—often sought sexual partners anonymously, in bathhouses, pornographic movie theaters, sex clubs, and in relatively secluded public areas such as parks and public restrooms, which are referred to in LGBTQ parlance as “cruising grounds.”<sup>224</sup>

Spaces of sexual exploration have played such an important role in LGBTQ history that the Kentucky LGBTQ Historic Context Study listed “Opportunity Venues” as a distinct property type. In Maryland (as elsewhere), in rural areas lacking many explicitly LGBTQ social spaces, cruising grounds were often the only way to meet other LGBTQ people. This is evident from the list of sites that accompany this report, with cruising grounds identified in Cumberland (Site 002), Centreville (Site 318), and Scaggsville (Site 274), Maryland, among others.<sup>225</sup>

## **Political Organizing and Protest**

Beginning with Henry Gerber’s Society for Human Rights, founded in the 1920s in Chicago, LGBTQ people in the United States have been advocating for their civil rights and equal protection under the law.<sup>226</sup> The process has been long and is not yet over, and it has involved many issues, from the legalization of same-sex sexual behavior,

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<sup>224</sup> Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America*, 29–56; Gustav-Wrathall, *Take the Young Stranger by the Hand*, 158–79; Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 14–46; Johnson, *Lavender Scare*, 41–64; Josh Sides, *Erotic City: Sexual Revolutions and the Making of Modern San Francisco* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 123–39; “Complaints about Lewd Activity Bring Spate of Arrests,” *Annapolis Capital*, May 1, 1997; S. W. Antonelli, “Men Seeking Men—and Sex—Uncover Cops Instead,” *Baltimore Sun*, April 28, 1991.

<sup>225</sup> Fosl, Vivian, and Coleman, “Kentucky LGBTQ Historic Context Narrative,” 126; Colin R. Johnson, *Just Queer Folks: Gender and Sexuality in Rural America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013), 181–97; Scott Herring, *Another Country: Queer Anti-Urbanism* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 149–80.

<sup>226</sup> Gerber’s house is now designated a National Historic Landmark. See McClellan and University of Michigan Public History Initiative, “Henry Gerber House.”



to the right to serve in the military, to same-sex marriage, to respectful representation in popular culture.<sup>227</sup>

The theme of Political Organizing and Protest encompasses a range of property types. These include incidents that led to important court cases or raised popular awareness of LGBTQ issues, such as the 1976 firing of Shannon Powell in Salisbury. Powell, a transwoman, was dismissed from her job at Read's Pharmacy (Site 334) on her first day of work, when her employer discovered that her driver's license listed her sex as male. Powell initiated a lawsuit on the basis of sex discrimination, and even though her case was dismissed before trial, it remains an early example of transgender activism on the Eastern Shore.<sup>228</sup>

Sites related to political activism and protests, political groups, and LGBTQ entry into formal politics also fall under this theme. These sites include personal residences, offices or meeting places, and sites of political protest. LGBTQ Pride events (where LGBTQ communities gather to celebrate their identities and give the mainstream population a sense of their numbers) can also be considered an element of this theme. Since the 1970s, visibility has been a key strategy of the LGBTQ movement in the United States. The thinking goes that it is harder to deny a group of people rights when you personally know people who belong to that group. Thus, for the last fifty years, activists

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<sup>227</sup> Books related to LGBTQ political organizing abound. Some useful overviews include Faderman, *The Gay Revolution*; Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*; D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*; Gallo, *Different Daughters*; David Eisenbach, *Gay Power: An American Revolution* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2006).

<sup>228</sup> Marc Stein, "Historical Landmarks and Landscapes of LGBTQ Law," in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, ed. Megan Springate, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>; "Man Fired after Beginning Sex Change, Loses Anti-Discrimination Suit Here," *Baltimore Sun*, September 5, 1977.

have encouraged LGBTQ people to be open about their sexual and gender identities, so that LGBTQ issues can be humanized.<sup>229</sup>

## **Businesses and Organizations**

Throughout most of the twentieth century, LGBTQ people were unable to fully express themselves within mainstream American culture, and as a result LGBTQ businesses and organizations became an important part of LGBTQ communities. Sometimes, the goods and services offered were not particularly queer; instead the businesses were owned and patronized by LGBTQ people and often located in traditionally LGBTQ neighborhoods. Such enterprises still potentially carry LGBTQ significance by being part of economic networks within a subculture. Other LGBTQ businesses did in fact offer specifically LGBTQ goods and services. Examples would be lawyers known for defending people arrested in gay raids or helping same-sex couples protect their shared assets in an era before they were legally allowed to wed.<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> For examples of NRHP properties related to LGBTQ protest and political organizing, see McClellan and University of Michigan Public History Initiative, “Henry Gerber House”; Meinke, “Frank Kameny Residence”; Mark Meinke and Kathleen LaFrank, “Bayard Rustin Residence, New York, New York,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), <https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/pdfs/16000062.pdf>; Santiago Gala and Juan Llanes, “Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico, San Juan, Puerto Rico,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), <https://www.nps.gov/places/edificio-comunidad-de-orgullo-gay-de-puerto-rico.htm>.

<sup>230</sup> Johnson, “LGBTQ Business and Commerce”; Hanhardt, “Making Community: The Places and Spaces of LGBTQ Collective Identity Formation,” 15.23-28; Rodger Streitmatter, *Unspeakable: The Rise of the Gay and Lesbian Press in America* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995); Tracy Baim, *Gay Press, Gay Power: The Growth of LGBT Community Newspapers in America* (Chicago: Prairie Avenue Productions; Windy City Media Group, 2012); Kristen Hogan, *The Feminist Bookstore Movement: Lesbian Antiracism and Feminist Accountability* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016); Joanne Ellen Passet, *Indomitable: The Life of Barbara Grier* (Tallahassee, FL: Bella Books, Inc, 2016); Morris, *The Disappearing L*; for an example of preservation documentation for an LGBTQ business or organization, see Susan Ferentinos, “Gay Community News/ Bromfield Street Educational Foundation,” National Historic Landmark Briefing Statement (Philadelphia: Submitted to the National Park Service Northeast Regional Office, 2018).

Particularly significant businesses within LGBTQ communities are those that revolve around queer sexual expression. Sexuality is, after all, a crucial part of these communities, and as such, sexuality-related businesses likely hold historical significance that may escape the notice of preservationists who are not personally familiar with LGBTQ culture. In addition to providing Social Life and Support, and thus relevant under that theme, sexually-oriented LGBTQ Businesses and Organizations provided the opportunity for entrepreneurs to support themselves in particularly queer-affirming ways and, as historian Marc Stein has pointed out, also provided a significant amount of money and energy to LGBTQ political efforts of the 1960s and 1970s. As such, sex clubs, sex stores, and gay bathhouses allow an opportunity to preserve and document LGBTQ culture on its own terms, rather than trying to mold it to conform with the norms of the larger culture.<sup>231</sup>

LGBTQ Businesses and Organizations that created and disseminated LGBTQ print culture comprise another important part of this theme. Before the Internet became widely available in the late 1990s, books and periodicals were quite commonly the first place LGBTQ people turned to learn about their sexual and gender identities and to find others like themselves. Yet, information about these subcultures was difficult to access. Beginning with the federal Comstock Law of 1873 and continuing into the 1960s, the United States was zealous in its restrictions on the distribution of material dubbed “obscene,” including anything pertaining to sexual or gender variance. This long history

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<sup>231</sup> Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 63–78; Dubrow, “The Preservation of LGBTQ Heritage,” 5.43-44; Harris, “‘Where We Could Be Ourselves’: African American LGBTQ Historic Places and Why They Matter,” 13.30-32; Johnson, “LGBTQ Business and Commerce,” 16.17-21; Lynn Comella, *Vibrator Nation: How Feminist Sex-Toy Stores Changed the Business of Pleasure* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017).

of censorship made many publishers hesitant to publish material with LGBTQ content and many mainstream booksellers hesitant to carry such material.<sup>232</sup>

The desire for LGBTQ information and representation, combined with limited means of distributing such material, resulted in an entire industry of publishers, periodicals, and booksellers specializing in this topic. The first periodical explicitly intended for an LGBTQ audience was a mimeographed newsletter called “Vice-Versa,” created by a lesbian in Los Angeles in the late 1940s, and the first bookstore devoted to this clientele was opened by Craig Rodwell in 1967 in New York City. In Maryland, 31 Street Bookstore (Site 032), which operated in Baltimore from 1973 to 1995, represents the theme of LGBTQ Business while also falling under the theme of Separatism and Intersectionality for its focus specifically on a lesbian-feminist ethic and customer base.<sup>233</sup>

In addition to 31 Street, the city of Baltimore also served as the home to one of the first lesbian-feminist publishing houses, Diana Press, which began operations there in 1972. Among their notable printings were works by Rita Mae Brown and Judy Grahn, collected essays by the Furies Collective, and a reprinting of Jeannette Foster’s *Sex Variant Women in Literature* (originally published in 1956), thus creating a national impact on the world of LGBTQ publishing. The site of the publishing house, however, no

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<sup>232</sup> Hanhardt, “Making Community: The Places and Spaces of LGBTQ Collective Identity Formation,” 15:26-28; Meeker, *Contacts Desired*; Craig M. Loftin, *Masked Voices: Gay Men and Lesbians in Cold War America* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2012); Amy Beth Werbel, *Lust on Trial: Censorship and the Rise of American Obscenity in the Age of Anthony Comstock* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018); Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement*, 46–78.

<sup>233</sup> Hanhardt, “Making Community: The Places and Spaces of LGBTQ Collective Identity Formation,” 15:26-27; Streitmatter, *Unspeakable*; Baim, *Gay Press, Gay Power*; Passet, *Indomitable*; Hogan, *The Feminist Bookstore Movement*; Morris, *The Disappearing L*; White, *Pre-Gay L.A.*; Faderman, *The Gay Revolution*, 189–91.

longer survives. A lesbian-feminist periodical, *Women: A Journal of Liberation*, was also published in the city from 1969 to 1983.<sup>234</sup>

## Spirituality

In 2014, the Pew Research Center's Religious Landscape Survey found the following religious breakdown for Marylanders, regardless of sexual or gender orientation: 69 percent identified as Christian; 23 percent identified as religiously unaffiliated; and 8 percent identified as Non-Christian. Broken down further, the most common religions were Evangelical Protestant (18 percent of total surveyed); Mainline Protestant (18 percent); Historically Black Protestant (16 percent); Catholic (15 percent); and Jewish (3 percent). Unfortunately, the survey did not cross-tabulate these numbers with respondents' sexual and gender identity, although it did ask about attitudes toward same-sex sexuality. In this 2014 study, 66 percent of Marylanders thought that homosexuality should be accepted. Interestingly, of those with religious affiliations, Catholics had the highest percentage of adherents believing that homosexuality should be accepted (67 percent of Catholics, compared to 64 percent of Mainline Protestants and 41 percent of Evangelical Protestants; percentages for Non-Christian religions were not recorded).<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> Courtney Dean, *Finding Aid: Diana Press Records, 1970-1994 (Collection 2135)* (Los Angeles: UCLA. University Library. Department of Special Collections, 2013), <http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/ucla/mss/dian2135.pdf>; Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 203; Meinke, "Furies Collective"; Ferentinos, "House of the Furies"; Hanhardt, "Making Community: The Places and Spaces of LGBTQ Collective Identity Formation," 15:27; *Finding Aid: Women*; Independent Voices: An Open Access Collection of an Alternative Press, "Women," n.d., <https://voices.revealdigital.com/>.

<sup>235</sup> Pew Research Center's Religion & Public Life Project, "Adults in Maryland - Religion in America: U.S. Religious Data, Demographics and Statistics," Religious Landscape Survey, 2014, <https://www.pewforum.org/religious-landscape-study/state/maryland/>.

Religion has intersected with LGBTQ history in many ways. Some opponents to same-sex sexual expression and gender variance have used religious tenets as their justification for denying LGBTQ groups protection under the law. Others have used their faith as motivation for outreach to LGBTQ communities and support of LGBTQ social justice. And many within LGBTQ communities have explored ways to nurture their spiritual beliefs while also expressing their sexual and gender identity.<sup>236</sup>

The Catholic Church has a long history within the state of Maryland. The original colony was established by a land grant given to the Calvert family, who were Catholic and who sought to establish a colony where settlers were free to practice the religion they chose, thus creating an English colony in North America that was accepting of Catholics. Catholicism also has a long and complicated history with same-sex desire. Because non-procreative sexual activity is discouraged by church doctrine, the global Catholic Church's official position condemns same-sex sexual activity, although some Catholic congregations and programs take a more welcoming view. In fact, a national Catholic LGBTQ advocacy organization, New Ways Ministry, was founded in 1977 and operates out of Mt. Rainier, Maryland (Site 314). The organization grew out of work its founders, Father Robert Nugent and Sister Jeannine Gramick, had been doing at the Catholic social justice group, the Quixote Center, also located in Maryland, in College Park.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Drew Bourn, "Struggles in Body and Spirit: Religion and LGBTQ People in U.S. History," in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, ed. Megan Springate, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>; Ferentinos, "Beyond the Bar," 151–52; for an example of preservation documentation of an LGBTQ Site of Spirituality, see Karen Derrick-Davis and Susan Robertson, "First Unitarian Society of Denver, Denver, Colorado," National Register of Historic Places Nomination (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2017), <http://legacy.historycolorado.org/sites/default/files/files/OAHP/NRSR/5DV16713.pdf>.

<sup>237</sup> Chapelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 5–7; Bourn, "Struggles in Body and Spirit: Religion and LGBTQ People in U.S. History," 21:7–9.

Nationally, liberal religious organizations were some of the earliest mainstream groups to advocate for acceptance of sexual and gender variance. As early as 1964, a group of clergy members in San Francisco formed the Council on Religion and the Homosexual and became an active voice in support of LGBTQ rights. Similarly, the Unitarian Universalist Association affirmed its denomination's commitment to gay rights in 1970, and in 1972, the Friends General Conference, representing Quakers, passed what is believed to be the first denominational statement in support of bisexuality.<sup>238</sup>

In addition to mainstream congregations that have advocated for LGBTQ rights and welcomed LGBTQ members, specifically LGBTQ congregations have provided their members with a safe spiritual home since the late 1960s. The Metropolitan Community Church is a Christian-based denomination founded in 1968 in California specifically to serve the spiritual needs of LGBTQ individuals. Since then, numerous non-denominational African American churches catering to LGBTQ parishioners have also been founded throughout the country, along with some specifically-LGBTQ congregations of Mainline Protestant denominations and Judaism.<sup>239</sup>

Within Maryland, a Metropolitan Community Church (MCC) congregation organized in Baltimore in 1972 (Site 164). St. John's United Methodist Church welcomed the MCC to hold services in their building, and the two congregations shared a home from 1972-1974; 1980-1981; and 1985-1989. Baltimore is also home to Unity Fellowship Church, an LGBTQ congregation that upholds a Black Protestant tradition (Site 224).

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<sup>238</sup> Sides, *Erotic City*, 85–86; Carter, *Stonewall*, 105; D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 103–5; Bourn, “Struggles in Body and Spirit: Religion and LGBTQ People in U.S. History,” 21:21-22.

<sup>239</sup> Bourn, “Struggles in Body and Spirit: Religion and LGBTQ People in U.S. History”; Robert W. Fieseler, *Tinderbox: The Untold Story of the Up Stairs Lounge Fire and the Rise of Gay Liberation* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2018); Morris, *The Disappearing L*, 150.

Other churches and synagogues around the state signal their acceptance of LGBTQ congregants by designating themselves as “LGBTQ-affirming” congregations.<sup>240</sup>

## Persecution and Violence

The price of intolerance is steep. LGBTQ history, spanning as it does periods of misunderstanding and intolerance, contains more than its fair share of persecution and violence. As I have written elsewhere:

Institutions of power—government, police, the medical establishment—often have a vested interest in supporting the status quo and safeguarding the boundaries of acceptable behavior. Historically, variant sexuality and gender expression received the wrath of these entities, and the built environment is littered with places that are relevant to these struggles: examples of police harassment, disturbing medical interventions, and the Cold War persecution of gay and lesbian civil servants known as the Lavender Scare.<sup>241</sup>

In addition to systematic persecution, individual acts of violence have also marked LGBTQ lives. To adequately represent the LGBTQ past, sites associated with these unsettling incidents must be included in the preservation landscape, both as a testament to the victims of these crimes and as a reminder that such violence is still a regular part of LGBTQ lives.<sup>242</sup>

As discussed previously, the concept of homosexuality as an inherent personal trait developed in the late nineteenth century, as a medical construction in an era when

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<sup>240</sup> Niels Van Doorn, “Forces of Faith,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian & Gay Studies* 21, no. 4 (October 2015): 635–66, <https://doi.org/10.1215/10642684-3123725>.

<sup>241</sup> Ferentinos, “Beyond the Bar,” 153.

<sup>242</sup> For a wider perspective on how persecution and violence intersect with LGBTQ history, see Terry, *An American Obsession*; Johnson, *Lavender Scare*; Tina Takemoto, “Looking for Jiro Onuma: A Queer Meditation on the Incarceration of Japanese Americans During World War II,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 20, no. 3 (2014): 241–75; Fur, “Weibe-Town and the Delawares-as-Women”; Fieseler, *Tinderbox*; Carly S. Woods, Joshua P. Ewalt, and Sara J. Baker, “A Matter of Regionalism: Remembering Brandon Teena and Willa Cather at the Nebraska History Museum,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 99, no. 3 (2013): 341–63.



the white, native-born, elite in the United States was preoccupied with finding a scientific basis for their superiority. They defined themselves as “normal” and everyone else as “deviant.” Part of this effort was concerned with defining the boundaries of acceptable sexuality, and thus the construction of same-sex desire and gender variance (which at the time were mostly conflated with each other) as “deviant” became an essential part of maintaining the power structures in place during this era. The designation of homosexuality as a medical and psychological disorder led to seventy-five years of involuntary incarceration of and disturbing medical interventions on LGBTQ individuals. This period lasted roughly from 1895 to 1973 for same-sex desire and even longer for transgender identity, which was not removed from the American Psychiatric Association’s *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* until 2012.<sup>243</sup>

The law is another institution of power with a long history of persecuting LGBTQ expression. Long before homosexuality was even a concept, there were laws prohibiting sodomy (technically defined as anal or oral sexual contact between two individuals, regardless of sex; but in practice almost exclusively used to prosecute men who engaged in sexual activity with other men) and “cross-dressing,” that is, wearing articles of clothing designed for a gender other than what the state deemed your gender to be. The oppressive effect of such laws is apparent in the case of a horse thief arrested in Baltimore in 1838, discussed in the historical overview chapter, or the case of Theresa Smith, who was arrested in 1896 for living as a man in Baltimore.<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> Terry, *An American Obsession*; Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*; Blank, *Straight*, 41–66; Stryker, *Transgender History*, 92–101; Camille Beredjick, “DSM Replaces Gender Identity Disorder with Gender Dysphoria,” *Advocate.com*, July 23, 2012, <http://www.advocate.com/politics/transgender/2012/07/23/dsm-replaces-gender-identity-disorder-gender-dysphoria>.

<sup>244</sup> Godbeer, “The Cry of Sodom”; Peter Boag, *Re-Dressing America’s Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 23–58; Brier and Parsons, “Gender Crossroads”; Stryker, “Transgender History in the United States and the Places That Matter,” 31–33; “Influence of Bad Example”; “ONE OF THE BOYS.”

In the twentieth century, after homosexuality had been defined and determined to be “deviant,” police harassment expanded. Gathering places for people who identified as sexually and gender variant became frequent sites of raids by police. Such raids resulted in the arrest of anyone present, and these people in turn experienced severe social consequences, since the names of those arrested often appeared in local newspapers. In fact, raids on LGBTQ gathering places were so common that historians now chart these events as a means of discovering historically LGBTQ bars and traditional cruising grounds, as is the case with a series of police raids in Annapolis from the 1970s to the 1990s, as well as the I-270 Monocacy Scenic Overlook near Frederick (Site 261).<sup>245</sup>

Sadly, in addition to persecution enacted by institutions of power, there are also acts of violence perpetrated by individuals, even after institutional powers yielded a degree of acceptance. Random acts of violence against people perceived to be LGBTQ have served as a constant danger to variant sexual and gender expression, while at the same time occasionally serving as consciousness-raising moments for members of straight, cisgender communities, increasing understanding of the plight of sexually and gender variant individuals. While all LGBTQ people live under the threat of individual violence, transgender people of color are significantly more likely to be targets of such incidents. Indeed, the Transgender Day of Remembrance, an annual event held every November, developed as a means of memorializing those trans members of LGBTQ communities who have been murdered in acts of hate, and their numbers are astoundingly high. In Maryland, transwoman Bailey Reeves, of Rockville, was only

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<sup>245</sup> Beemyn, *A Queer Capital*, 14–46; Carter, *Stonewall*, 5–29; Eisenbach, *Gay Power*, 104–7; “Complaints about Lewd Activity Bring Spate of Arrests”; J. Gregg, “Four Men Arrested for Homosexual Activity,” *Frederick News*, June 9, 1994.

seventeen years old when she was shot and killed in Baltimore in September 2019 (Site 235). At a memorial vigil held in her honor, speakers noted that Reeves was the seventeenth transperson murdered in the United States that year (only nine months into 2019) and the third transperson, all women, killed in Maryland in the same nine-month period.<sup>246</sup>

## Medicine and Health

As the historical overview section of this report demonstrates, LGBTQ history and the history of medicine regularly overlap. Since the creation of a medical model of sexual and gender variance in the late nineteenth century, LGBTQ individuals have found the medical establishment to be a force of both oppression and progress. Maryland is one of the centers of U.S. LGBTQ medical history, arguably rivaled only by California for having the most cultural resources with national significance in this area.<sup>247</sup>

Johns Hopkins University, as previously elaborated, intersects in multiple ways with the LGBTQ story. The School of Medicine exists today because of the generosity of Mary Elizabeth Garrett, a woman who shared her life with another woman. The university was part of the earliest coordinated research effort in the United States investigating the causes of AIDS. Perhaps most importantly, the Johns Hopkins Gender

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<sup>246</sup> Thomas R. Dunn, “Remembering Matthew Shepard: Violence, Identity, and Queer Counterpublic Memories,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 13, no. 4 (Winter 2010): 611–51; Rebecca L. Stotzer, “Violence against Transgender People: A Review of United States Data,” *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 14, no. 3 (May 1, 2009): 170–79, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2009.01.006>; Transgender Memorial Garden of St. Louis, “History,” April 5, 2016, <https://transmemorialgarden.wordpress.com/history/>; Human Rights Campaign, “Transgender Day of Remembrance,” n.d., <https://www.hrc.org/campaigns/transgender-day-remembrance/>; Human Rights Campaign, “HRC Mourns Bailey Reeves, a Black Trans Teen Killed in Maryland,” n.d., <https://www.hrc.org/blog/hrc-mourns-bailey-reeves-a-black-transgender-teen-killed-in-maryland/>; “At Vigil for Transgender Teen Killed in Baltimore, LGBTQ Community Stresses Unity in Face of Violence,” *Baltimore Sun*, September 6, 2019.

<sup>247</sup> Ferentinos, “Beyond the Bar,” 153–55.

Identity Clinic, established in 1966, was a pioneer in the understanding of transgender identities and gender-affirming medical interventions (Site 145).<sup>248</sup>

Maryland's proximity to the nation's capital has provided another rich avenue for the intersection of LGBTQ and medical history. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration and the National Institutes of Health (Site 298) are both located in Maryland, and both were sites of significant LGBTQ protests related to the early AIDS epidemic. Likewise, the premiere military hospital in the country, Walter Reed Medical Center (formerly the Bethesda Naval Hospital) is also located in Maryland. In 2016, Walter Reed was the first military facility to receive the Human Rights Campaign's Leader in LGBT Healthcare Equality designation, and such recognition suggests the need for additional research into the programs that earned this designation.<sup>249</sup>

Finally, Maryland has also been home to a number of prominent psychologists who had an impact on medical understandings of LGBTQ identities, as well as authors who popularized these ideas. John Money, Robert Lindner, and Harry Stack Sullivan are each notable for their unorthodox approaches to the subject. In the mid-twentieth century, when the psychiatric profession generally served as a threat to LGBTQ acceptance, these individuals belonged to a smaller, more liberal school of thought, one that would eventually prevail. Edward Kempf, who identified a condition he called "homosexual panic," belongs to the more conservative camp, yet his work nevertheless had a significant (if largely negative) impact on LGBTQ lives.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> Grauer, *Leading the Way*, 27–28; 114–15; Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*, 7–8.

<sup>249</sup> Faderman, *The Gay Revolution*, 415–41; Brier, *Infectious Ideas*, 156–79; France, *How to Survive a Plague*; Human Rights Campaign, "Walter Reed Medical Center Earns HRC Award for LGBT Inclusion," n.d., <https://www.hrc.org/press/walter-reed-national-military-medical-center-among-earns-hrc-award-for-lgbt/>.

<sup>250</sup> Goldie, *The Man Who Invented Gender*; Wake, *Private Practices*; Riley, *Finding Aid: Edward John Kempf Papers*.

All of these stories have national significance. The challenge for preservationists is to identify the best sites to represent the history, and—as is true for medical history sites generally—to reconcile any assessment of integrity with the reality that sites related to science and medicine must change frequently to stay current with the latest innovations of their fields. Maryland also has sites of national significance related to LGBTQ medical history. One example is Chase-Brexton Health Services, Inc. (Sites 067, 068, 069, 070), a comprehensive LGBTQ health service that began in Baltimore and now provides services throughout the state.

## **Maritime History**

The Chesapeake Bay and its estuaries have had a profound effect on the history of Maryland. From its initial European settlement at St. Mary's to the port of Baltimore to the Naval Academy in Annapolis and the various twentieth and twenty-first-century naval installations throughout the eastern part of the state; from the slave trade and privateering to shipbuilding and shipping to the fishing, oystering, and crabbing industries, the Bay has been inextricably linked to the culture and economy of the state. Maritime history also intersects in many ways with LGBTQ history, and thus Maryland's maritime past provides fertile ground for finding LGBTQ historical associations.

Associations between seafaring men and same-sex desire are longstanding and well documented. On the one hand, seafaring meant global travel in eras when most people rarely traveled more than fifty miles from their birthplace, lending sailors a worldliness and familiarity with far-off cultures and practices. On the other hand, months spent at sea with only other men for company led to both homoerotic shipboard customs and a reputation for randiness once ashore. The combination of these

circumstances led in many cases to homosexual activity among sailors, whether onboard or in port.<sup>251</sup>

Such connections were well established by the time of European colonization of the Americas. John Smith, who led the expedition to settle Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, noted that very year that while ships were docked near the settlement “sailors would pilfer [food from the ship] to sell, give or exchange with us, for money, saxefras, furs, or love.” The reference to “love” is notable, because the colony at that time was all men. A note in the margin of Smith’s original text states, “The sailors’ abuses,” indicating that both Smith and his anticipated readers would understand the connection between sailors and homosexual activity.<sup>252</sup>

Furthermore, numerous historians have noted that, before LGBTQ people could congregate openly, clandestine subcultures tended to develop in “morally ambiguous” or transient places, such as waterfronts.<sup>253</sup> In the words of historian Nan Alamilla Boyd:

Prior to the 1970s (though the date varies dramatically by region), GLBT populations had been excluded from public life as criminals—as a population that could (and in some areas, can) only enjoy public life in the absence of any markers of “queer” identity or association. For this reason, it was often in large port towns, where transient and immigrant populations congregated, that GLBT populations found a large enough community of like-minded individuals to become publicly visible....<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> Hans Turley, *Rum, Sodomy, and the Lash: Piracy, Sexuality, and Masculine Identity* (New York: New York University Press, 1999); B. R. Burg, *Sodomy and the Pirate Tradition: English Sea Rovers in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean* (New York: New York University Press, 1995); Arthur N. Gilbert, “Buggery and the British Navy, 1700-1861,” *Journal of Social History* 10 (October 1976): 72–98; Baker and Stanley, *Hello Sailor!*, 6–9; Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 65–97; Ryan, *When Brooklyn Was Queer*, 21.

<sup>252</sup> Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac: A New Documentary in Which Is Contained, in Chronological Order, Evidence of the True and Fantastical History of Those Persons Now Called Lesbians and Gay Men*, 66–67 while it is possible that Smith’s sailors were seeking “love” with native women, rather than European men, the fact that the offered trade involved provisions that the European settlers--not Native Americans--were in dire need of supports a homosexual interpretation.

<sup>253</sup> D’Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 227–28; Ryan, *When Brooklyn Was Queer*, 13–42.

<sup>254</sup> Nan Alamilla Boyd, “Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Communities and the Right to Public Assembly,” Draft Essay Prepared for the National Park Service (Unpublished, 2002), 1.

In Maryland, an unusually extensive police raid in Annapolis provides further evidence for this argument. In 1997, over the course of a week, Anne Arundel County police performed a sting operation at multiple cruising grounds in the area, resulting in many arrests. The Annapolis Mall (Site 009), Chesapeake Square (012), Harundale Mall (015), Marley Station Mall (018), Queenstown Park (023), and Sawmill Creek Park (025) were all caught up in the sweep. An earlier 1979 raid indicates that Friendship Park (Site 014), at least at that time, was also a cruising ground, while gay travel guides in the 1970s listed “the dock” as the prime cruising area in the city, likely referencing the City Dock area in Annapolis (Site 007). The number of sites involved lends credence to the idea that port cities had unusually high LGBTQ populations, even as late as the turn of the twenty-first century. Similarly, the fact that the police chose to send such a strong message about this activity is rich in possibility. It is possible that the presence of the Naval Academy compelled the authorities to take a stand against gay sexual activity, especially in the late 1990s, when the issue of LGBTQ people serving in the military was being hotly debated?<sup>255</sup>

As the previous example illustrates, both the image and the reality of the connection between sailors and homosexual activity carried over to members of the Navy, at least in the United Kingdom and the United States. Although it is likely that Winston Churchill never actually made the well-known comment attributed to him, that the only traditions of the Royal Navy were “Rum, Sodomy, and the Lash,” the staying power of this quote suggests that the turn of phrase struck a note of recognition in the popular imagination. Such imaginings, in turn, were supported by actual events. The

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<sup>255</sup> “Complaints about Lewd Activity Bring Spate of Arrests”; Antonelli, “Men Seeking Men—and Sex—Uncover Cops Instead.”

United States Navy was racked in 1918-1919 by a scandal at the Naval Training Station in Newport, Rhode Island, in which dozens of Navy men were implicated in homosexual behavior. Later, over the course of the 1930s, more than 40 percent of sailors confined to the Naval prison at Portsmouth, New Hampshire (the designated site to house such offenders), were there on homosexuality-related charges.<sup>256</sup>

Idealized imagery of Navy men has been a longstanding feature of gay pornography, and in 1979 the Village People's pop song "In the Navy" was a tongue-in-cheek reference to the gay allure of sailors.<sup>257</sup> Similarly, author Steven Zeeland points out how the U.S. Navy itself embodies a complicated relationship with same-sex desire:

A desire to be in close quarters with other military men in a tightly knit brotherhood might be homosexual. Navy initiation rituals involving cross-dressing, spanking, simulated oral and anal sex, simulated ejaculation, nipple piercing, and anal penetration with objects or fingers might be homosexual. An officer's love for his men might be homosexual. The intimate buddy relationships men form in barracks, aboard ship, and most especially in combat—often described as being a love greater than between man and woman—might be homosexual—whether or not penetration and ejaculation ever occur.

The U.S. military does not want these things called homosexual. To maintain the illusion that these aspects of military life are heterosexually pure it is necessary to maintain the illusion that there is no homosexuality in the military.<sup>258</sup>

However, to clarify, Zeeland is not claiming that the U.S. Navy is exclusively comprised of closeted gay men. Rather, he is making the point that the Navy embodies a

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<sup>256</sup> Gilbert, "Buggery and the British Navy, 1700-1861"; Murphy, *Perverts by Official Order*; Bérubé, *Coming out under Fire*, 130–31.

<sup>257</sup> Baker and Stanley, *Hello Sailor!*, 6–9.

<sup>258</sup> Steven Zeeland, *Sailors and Sexual Identity: Crossing the Line between "Straight" and "Gay" in the U.S. Navy*, Haworth Gay and Lesbian Studies (New York: Haworth Press, 1995), 5.



certain level of homoeroticism, which in turn creates a space where the line between heterosexuality and homosexuality becomes complicated<sup>259</sup>

## Separatism and Intersectionality

In the words of preservationists Donna Graves and Gail Dubrow, “LGBTQ is not an identity in and of itself, but rather a contemporary political alliance that can conceal as much as it reveals about the individuals and communities designated by the acronym.”<sup>260</sup> Their point is two-fold. First, sexual orientation is just one aspect of identity; the same is true of gender identity. These aspects of identity intersect with many others—class, race, religion, region—to create a unique set of experiences for each individual. This multifaceted approach to identity is known as intersectionality and reminds us that there is no singular LGBTQ experience. Graves and Dubrow’s quotation also reminds us that, at times, the needs and issues of one population under the LGBTQ umbrella conflicts with the needs and issues of another population. That is, issues of privilege and oppression exist *within* LGBTQ communities as well as beyond them.<sup>261</sup>

Because of this reality LGBTQ people whose identities intersected with other marginalized communities—women, people of color, to a lesser extent the poor—have historically formed organizations specifically to discuss their particular issues and interests. Marginalized members of the LGBTQ label—transgender and bisexual

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<sup>259</sup> Zeeland, 5–7.

<sup>260</sup> Donna Graves and Gail Dubrow, “Taking Intersectionality Seriously: Learning from LGBTQ Heritage Initiatives for Historic Preservation,” *Public Historian* 41, no. 2 (May 2019): 291, <https://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2019.41.2.290>.

<sup>261</sup> Graves and Dubrow, “Taking Intersectionality Seriously”; Springate, “LGBTQ America,” 2016; Nikki Lane, “All the Lesbians Are White, All the Villages Are Gay, but Some of Us Are Brave: Intersectionality, Belonging, and Black Queer Women’s Scene Space in Washington, D.C.,” in *Lesbian Geographies: Gender, Place and Power*, ed. Kath Browne and Eduarda Ferreira (Farnham (U.K.): Ashgate Publishing, 2015), 219–42; Mieke Verloo, “Intersectional and Cross-Movement Politics and Policies: Reflections on Current Practices and Debates,” *Signs* 38, no. 4 (June 1, 2013): 893–915; Crystal N. Feimster, “The Impact of Racial and Sexual Politics on Women’s History,” *Journal of American History* 99, no. 3 (December 2012): 822–26, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jahist/jas466>.

people—have done the same. In order to capture the history of these marginalized LGBTQ communities as well as the tensions among LGBTQ identities, we must approach LGBTQ history with an eye toward these stories, to ensure that they are not overlooked. One way to accomplish this is to look for spaces that were created specifically to provide a separatist space.<sup>262</sup>

Maryland is rich in examples of marginalized communities creating space for themselves. The theory of lesbian feminism is premised on the idea that women-loving women need to separate both from mainstream culture and wider LGBTQ culture in order to free themselves from the inherent biases against them. Thus, all lesbian-feminist ventures can be considered within the context of Separatism and Intersectionality. Examples include Diana Press and the Pleides, both discussed earlier in this chapter, as well as Sisterfire, a women’s music festival held in Takoma Park from 1982-1989.<sup>263</sup>

Both Baltimore and Washington, D.C., host vibrant African American communities, and historian Johnny Bailey has demonstrated that LGBTQ activists within these communities, working together, played an instrumental role in creating a national African American LGBTQ movement. This movement both created separatist space for LGBTQ African Americans and advocated for an end to racism within the larger LGBTQ political movement of the 1970s and 1980s. Examples of sites associated with these efforts include the site of the first meeting of the Baltimore Coalition of Black

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<sup>262</sup> Ferentinos, “Beyond the Bar,” 155; Graves and Dubrow, “Taking Intersectionality Seriously”; Springate, “LGBTQ America,” 2016.

<sup>263</sup> Julie R. Enszer, “‘How to Stop Choking to Death’: Rethinking Lesbian Separatism as a Vibrant Political Theory and Feminist Practice,” *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 20, no. 2 (April 2016): 180–96, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10894160.2015.1083815>; Schweighofer, “Legacies of Lesbian Land”; Morris, *The Disappearing L*, esp. 74–75.

Gay Women and Men, held in 1979, and the site of the first conference on African American communities and AIDS, held in Baltimore in 1985 (Site 200, Site 109).<sup>264</sup>

## **Art and Architecture**

Creative professions, such as art and architecture, benefit from practitioners who can think beyond the status quo. As such, cultural outsiders—including members of LGBTQ communities—are often drawn to such work. Well-known American artists who had same-sex romantic attachments include authors Willa Cather, Carson McCullers, James Merrill, Gore Vidal, Walt Whitman, and Tennessee Williams. Visual artists who had same-sex romantic attachments include Paul Cadmus, Philip Glass (architect), Annie Leibovitz, and Andy Warhol.<sup>265</sup>

Indeed, sites associated with LGBTQ artists and architects are particularly ripe for interrogating the connections between same-sex attraction/gender variance and historic significance. How do experiences of cultural “otherness” inform an artists’ body of work? Did romantic partners provide the artistic inspiration, emotional stability, or financial support that enabled this person to produce their art?<sup>266</sup>

Filmmaker John Waters perhaps holds the most vivid associations with Maryland, LGBTQ culture, and art. Born in 1946, Waters grew up and currently lives in Baltimore (Site 244). His cinematic work might best be described as “transgressive cult

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<sup>264</sup> Bailey, “As Proud of Our Gayness, As We Are Our Blackness.”

<sup>265</sup> For examples of historic preservation documentation of sites related to LGBTQ art and architecture, see Andrew Dolkart, “Alice Austen House, Staten Island, New York,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination: Additional Documentation (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1992), <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75316041>; Amanda Davis, “Caffe Cino, New York, New York,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2017), [http://www.nyclgbtsites.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/NY\\_NewYorkCounty\\_CaffeCino.pdf](http://www.nyclgbtsites.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/NY_NewYorkCounty_CaffeCino.pdf); Esther Newton, *Cherry Grove, Fire Island: Sixty Years in America’s First Gay and Lesbian Town* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993).

<sup>266</sup> Ferentinos, “Beyond the Bar,” 157–58.

films.” As a director, writer, producer, and actor, he has been involved in over twenty-five films that use gross-out gags, dark humor, and a campy sensibility to revel in an absurdist view of American culture. Some of his more famous movies include *Pink Flamingos* (1972), *Polyester* (1981), *Hairspray* (1988), *Pecker* (1998), and *Cecil B. Demented* (2000). His flamboyant film style and his unabashed embrace of his homosexuality have made Waters an LGBTQ cultural icon throughout the United States.<sup>267</sup>

Waters has used neighborhoods in Baltimore as the locations for many of his films, and his childhood friend Glenn Milstead—better known by his drag persona, Divine (1945-1988) both served as Waters’s muse and starred in most of the films directed and written by Waters, including *Pink Flamingos*, *Polyester*, and *Hairspray*. Like Waters, Divine was born and raised in Baltimore (Site 240) and is credited with bringing the LGBTQ art form of drag performance into the mainstream cultural consciousness through his work as an actor in Waters’s films.<sup>268</sup>

## **Rural LGBTQ Life**

Rural LGBTQ life is a relatively new area of study, and the majority of the work in this area comes from disciplines other than history and deals with contemporary circumstances. Nevertheless, the ways that LGBTQ individuals have navigated their

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<sup>267</sup> Joshua Kondek, ed., “Waters, John 1946-,” in *Contemporary Theatre, Film and Television*, vol. 26 (Detroit, MI: Gale, 2000), 440–42; Tyrkus, *Gay & Lesbian Biography*, 450–51; James Egan, *John Waters: Interviews* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2011), ix–xvi.

<sup>268</sup> Tyrkus, *Gay & Lesbian Biography*, 152–53; “Divine (Performer),” in *Wikipedia*, May 12, 2020, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Divine\\_\(performer\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Divine_(performer)); I have chosen to use a male pronoun when referring to Milstead, since Drag personas are not necessarily an indication of transgender identity.

identities and forged social connections outside of urban metropolitan areas is an important theme in understanding Maryland LGBTQ experiences, given that both the western part of the state and the Eastern Shore are primarily rural.<sup>269</sup>

Despite mainstream Americans' assumptions, LGBTQ individuals live in both urban and rural settings. In fact, in his pioneering 1948 study of sexual behavior among men in the United States, sexologist Alfred Kinsey found that same-sex sexual activity was most prevalent in rural areas.<sup>270</sup> However, surveys of LGBTQ life often overlook rural queer experiences, partly because of stereotypes linking the countryside to social conservatism and partly because, as scholars are beginning to demonstrate, rural representations of social identity manifest themselves in different ways than they do in urban areas.<sup>271</sup>

In Maryland, Boonsboro is the site of a gay bar, the Lodge, that has been operating since 1986 and acts as an LGBTQ gathering spot for people throughout western Maryland and West Virginia (Site 330). Its longevity challenges the idea that rural areas are inhospitable to sexual and gender variance. Similarly, in 2009, an openly

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<sup>269</sup> The Kentucky historic context study, although primarily focused on the city of Louisville, offers some insights into preserving rural LGBTQ history; see Fosl, Vivian, and Coleman, "Kentucky LGBTQ Historic Context Narrative," 14–21; The historical study of LGBTQ experiences in rural areas began with a focus on the U.S. South; see, for example, John Howard, ed., *Carryin' on in the Lesbian and Gay South* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); John Howard, *Men like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Martin B. Duberman, "'Writhing Bedfellows' in Antebellum South Carolina: Historical Interpretation and the Politics of Evidence," in *About Time: Exploring the Gay Past*, Revised and expanded (New York: Meridian, 1991), 3–23; Aliyyah I. Abdur-Rahman, "'The Strangest Freaks of Despotism': Queer Sexuality in Antebellum African American Slave Narratives," *African American Review* 40, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 223–37; Jerry Watkins, "Keep on Carryin' on: Recent Research on the LGBTQ History of the American South," *History Compass* 15, no. 11 (November 2017), <https://doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12428>; For more general studies of LGBTQ rural life, see Johnson, *Just Queer Folks*; Mary L. Gray, Colin R. Johnson, and Brian Joseph Gilley, eds., *Queering the Countryside: New Frontiers in Rural Queer Studies* (New York: New York University Press, 2016); Herring, *Another Country*; David Shuttleton, Diane Watt, and Richard Phillips, eds., *De-Centring Sexualities: Politics and Representations beyond the Metropolis* (London: Routledge, 2000); Will Fellows, *A Passion to Preserve: Gay Men as Keepers of Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004).

<sup>270</sup> Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, 459; quoted in Johnson, *Just Queer Folks*, 2.

<sup>271</sup> Johnson, *Just Queer Folks*, 12–17; Katherine Schweighofer, "Rethinking the Closet: Queer Life in Rural Geographies," in *Queering the Countryside: New Frontiers in Rural Queer Studies*, ed. Mary L. Gray, Colin R. Johnson, and Brian Joseph Gilley (New York: New York University Press, 2016), 223–43.

LGBTQ candidate, Jim Ireton, was elected mayor of Salisbury, a town of 32,000 on the Eastern Shore (Site 335). He served in this capacity until 2015.<sup>272</sup>

Although LGBTQ sites connected to less populated parts of the state might be even more difficult to identify, they are essential parts of the history of sexual and gender variance within the state, and thus are worthy of concerted effort to locate and document.

## **Neighborhoods**

Like other marginalized communities, during the twentieth century, LGBTQ people often congregated in particular geographic areas, to increase the likelihood that they would be safe and welcomed by their neighbors and local businesses. Given the often-transitory nature of particular LGBTQ sites, preservation of LGBTQ neighborhoods provides the potential to capture the aggregate experience of LGBTQ life in a given era, even when individual establishments within the neighborhood were short-lived. By thinking of LGBTQ enclaves as a unified entity, preservationists can represent the networks—social, cultural, and economic—that contributed to this group’s survival during times of extreme ostracism from the larger society. Potentially, preserving these neighborhoods as historic districts can also demonstrate the layers of history, considering the generations of residents and businesses that together created a sense of place and belonging.

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<sup>272</sup> Liz Holland, “Former Salisbury Mayor Ireton Announces Plans to Run for Clerk of Court,” *Delmarva Daily Times*, August 10, 2017, <https://www.delmarvanow.com/story/news/local/maryland/2017/08/10/former-salisbury-mayor-ireton-announces-plans-run-clerk-court/553352001/>; Michael K. Lavers, “Two LGBT Congressional Candidates on Maryland Ballot,” *Washington Blade*, April 20, 2016, sec. homepage news, <https://www.washingtonblade.com/2016/04/20/two-lgbt-congressional-candidates-on-md-ballot/>.

The HistoryPin digital map, created as part of this project, offers a way to consider identified sites in spatial relation with one another. Spatial clusters on the map facilitate the identification of likely LGBTQ neighborhoods, like Mount Vernon, Charles Village, Waverly, and others. Some might then qualify as new National Register districts designated for their LGBTQ associations; others, already located in a designated historic district, might warrant an amendment to acknowledge LGBTQ significance. Still other clusters of LGBTQ sites may lack the full requirements for preservation designation, but might warrant other memorial efforts, such as neighborhood street signs or rainbow crosswalks.<sup>273</sup>

The identification and preservation of LGBTQ neighborhoods is particularly pressing, because their traditional configuration is steadily becoming a historical artifact. With greater acceptance within the larger society, LGBTQ couples and individuals have become less reliant on queer enclaves for identity and safety. As a result, neighborhoods that formerly had high concentrations of people who identified as LGBTQ are now becoming more integrated, decreasing their unique identities as queer space. While this reality represents change, not necessarily an end of the queer neighborhood, historic designation and other forms of preservation can ensure that the memory of older forms of LGBTQ neighborhoods remains in public awareness.<sup>274</sup>

When engaging with the historical significance of LGBTQ neighborhoods, preservationists will also need to engage with the socioeconomic factors at play in the establishment of queer enclaves. The migration of LGBTQ residents into an area often

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<sup>273</sup> HistoryPin, “LGBTQ+ Maryland,” 2019, <https://www.historypin.org/en/lgbtq-america/lgbtq-maryland/>; Ferentinos, “Ways of Interpreting Queer Pasts,” 34–40.

<sup>274</sup> Amin Ghaziani, “Gay Enclaves Face Prospect of Being Passé: How Assimilation Affects the Spatial Expressions of Sexuality in the United States,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 2015, 756–71, <https://doi.org/DOI:10.1111/1468-2427.12209>; Amin Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 1–32; Dubrow, “The Preservation of LGBTQ Heritage.”

sparks gentrification, with all of its complications.<sup>275</sup> In addition, historian Christina Hanhardt has outlined the ways in which the production of queer urban space, in the form of LGBTQ neighborhoods, was laced with class and racial biases, which left their mark not only on the physical urban landscape, but on the political landscape of the LGBTQ movement as well.<sup>276</sup>

Nevertheless, it is the complicated nature of LGBTQ neighborhoods that reveal their potential to document queer experience in all its nuance. Economic networks, safe space, gentrification, and class and race privilege all come into play when examining queer enclaves. By considering these issues, we are better able to understand how such factors played out more generally within the history of sexual and gender variance.

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<sup>275</sup> Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?*, 1–32; Gregory Rosenthal, “Make Roanoke Queer Again: Community History and Urban Change in a Southern City,” *Public Historian* 39, no. 1 (February 2017): 46–49; Page, *Why Preservation Matters*, 90–94; Prince, *African Americans and Gentrification in Washington, D.C.*

<sup>276</sup> Christina B. Hanhardt, *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).



## **CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION**

This report is intended to serve as an introduction to LGBTQ history and historic preservation in Maryland, to assist in identifying and evaluating historically significant properties related to LGBTQ experiences. Each of its four chapters has approached the topic from a different perspective.

Chapter One introduced this project, outlining the history, parameters, and methodology of this study. Chapter Two provided a discussion of the ways LGBTQ historic preservation might differ from the preservation of other parts of the national past. Chapter Three outlined a chronological overview of the history of same-sex love and desire and of gender variance within the state of Maryland. And Chapter Four identified eleven themes of Maryland LGBTQ history that can help organize preservation efforts. Finally, this narrative report is followed by an appendix listing sites with LGBTQ associations that may be eligible for historic designation. However, designation is just one means of preserving meaningful historic sites and may not always prove to be the best option of properties related to LGBTQ history.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have been a public historian—and a queer woman—for long enough to still feel a twinge of wonder at mainstream historical organizations taking an interest in the LGBTQ past. As such, the last few years have been a delight. Preservation Maryland has been an ardent supporter of the preservation of LGBTQ cultural resources within the state, and special thanks go to staff members Meagan Baco, Doug Harbit, and Benjamin Egerman. Meagan shepherded this historic context study from conception to final submission, in addition to coordinating logistics for all of our outreach efforts. Doug conducted his own outreach efforts to identify the specifics of what would be most helpful for his Maryland colleagues to know about preserving LGBTQ history and then worked to secure the funding to help meet those needs. Ben, hired by Preservation Maryland specifically to work on this project, proved to be a passionate researcher, compiling the site list and digital map for this project, as well as tracking down various leads we uncovered. The commitment and enthusiasm of these three have buoyed me throughout the long process of researching and writing this report.

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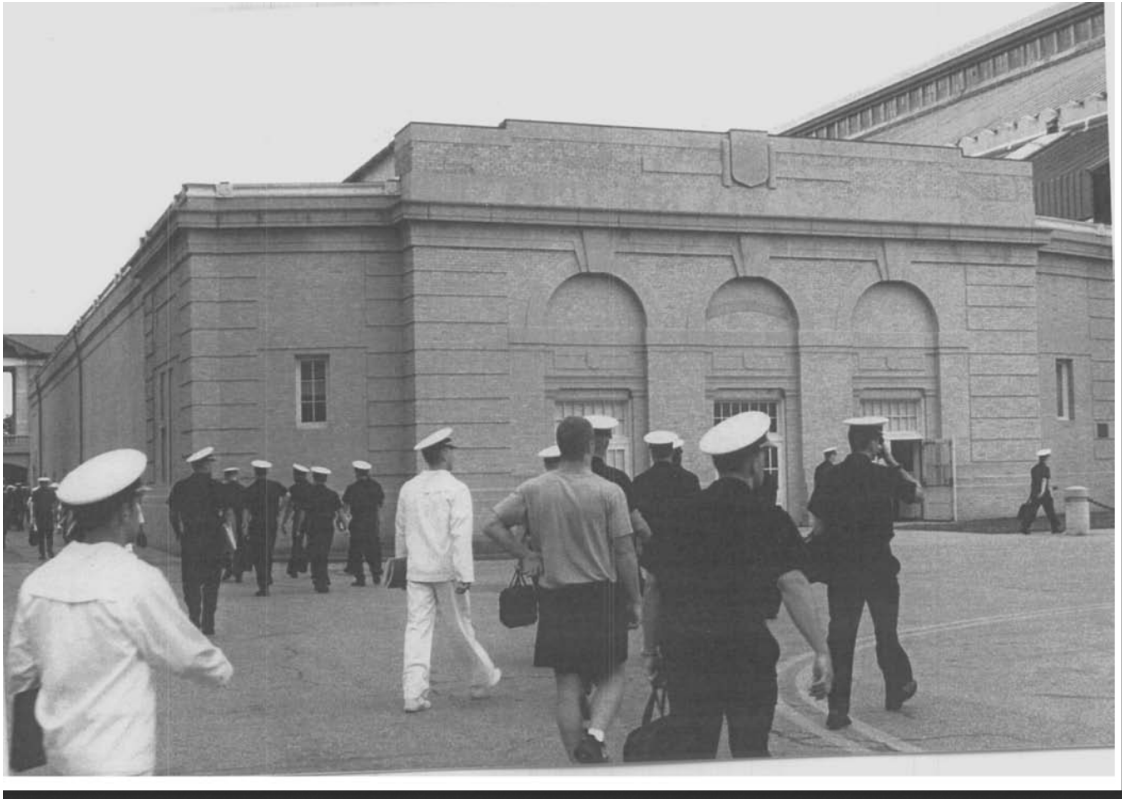


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**Appendix A:**

**Photographs**

# Anne Arundel County



## US Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD: Connected to #014: Firing of Lawrence Gibson

Connected to early military case of Vernon Berg III, one of the first openly gay people in the military to fight against his discharge for homosexuality, his partner, Lawrence Gibson, was also fired from a teaching position at the Naval Academy in 1974.

Photo from Maryland Historical Trust, National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form, AA-359: United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Anne Arundel County. P. 25, 1996: [https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/Medusa/PDF/NR\\_PDFs/NR-3.pdf](https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/Medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-3.pdf).



**#022: Maryland State House, Annex, 100 State Cir, Annapolis, MD**

Throughout the 1970s through the end of the 1990s, attempts to abolish Maryland's sodomy laws and extend legal protections to LGBTQ people were proposed, and failed numerous times. In 1973, the state passed a law asserting marriage as between one man and one woman, earning it the distinction of being the first state to outlaw same-sex marriage. After numerous attempts, the state amended its civil rights statutes to include sexuality in 2001. This was extended to gender identity in 2014. Although ruled unconstitutional statewide in 1998, the sodomy law is still on the books.

Photo from Maryland Historical Trust, National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form, AA-685: Maryland State House, Annapolis, Anne Arundel County. p. 16, 1981: [https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/Medusa/PDF/NR\\_PDFs/NR-2.pdf](https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/Medusa/PDF/NR_PDFs/NR-2.pdf).

## Baltimore City



**Baltimore Gay Alliance: Connected to sites: #045: Baltimore Gay Alliance, #066-069: Chase Brexton Clinic, #086: Pride Center, #114: Gay Community Center of Baltimore, #115: Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Community Center of Baltimore and Central Maryland**

The Baltimore Gay Alliance was the city's first Gay and Lesbian (later LGBTQ+) activist and service group to last. Founded in 1975, the group was racially diverse and had numerous Lesbians in leadership positions, including its first president Paulette Young, a Black Lesbian; all of this ran counter to the trend of early gay rights groups being dominated by white men. The BGA later spun off a community center which survives today as the Pride Center, as well as the Chase Brexton health clinic.

This is one of the earliest photos of the BGA, taken at 1976 New York Pride parade, by Andre Powell.





National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays: Connected to #107: First Conference on the Black Community and AIDS, #153: Louis Hughes Home, #181: Paradise Inn/Black Gay Pride 1986, and #198: Rev. Dolores Berry/Baltimore Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays.

The National Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays--the first ever national-level organization of Black LGBTQ+ people--was started at Billy S. Jones' Columbia, MD apartment at a meeting between him, several activists from DC, and a number of activists from Baltimore, including Louis Hughes and Rev. Dolores Berry. This was done in order to put together the "Third World Conference" that coincided with the 1979 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights, but the organization grew to have chapters in many cities and counted among its leadership Washington, DC poet Essex Hemphill, and the acclaimed poet, speaker, and writer Audre Lorde.

Photo taken at 1986 Baltimore Pride Parade, courtesy of Louis Hughes.



## #081: Club Hippopotamus and #119: Grand Central at the corner of Eager & Charles Streets in the Mount Vernon Neighborhood

The Hippopotamus (far right) opened in 1972 and was the location for the yearly Baltimore Pride Block Party from 1975 through 2016. Throughout the 70s and 80s, action was taken against discriminatory practices against Black LGBTQ+ people, especially Black Lesbians. Closed at the end of 2015, and the space has since been leased to CVS.

Grand Central (left) was opened in 1991 and announced it was closing in 2019. Both it and the Hippo had multiple areas for bars, performances, and dancefloors. This means that from 1991 until 2015, the city's two largest gay bars were across the street from one another.

Photo by Jake Lazier and Benjamin Egerman, 2020.





## #084: Corpus Christi Catholic Church, 110 W Lafayette Ave

This church was the earliest meeting spot for Dignity, an organization of LGBT Catholics. The local chapter was started in the late 1970s by Sister Jeannine Gramick, and was initially treated with some amount of cautious acceptance. Beginning in the 1980s, the Archdioceses of Baltimore and Washington, DC both began distancing themselves and taking a more hostile attitude.

Photo by Benjamin Egerman, 2020.





## #092: 2817 Guilford Ave: Associated with *Desperate Living: A Lesbian Newsletter*

Beginning in 1973 and running until 1978, *Desperate Living* carried news, art, fiction and poetry from Baltimore's sizeable Lesbian community, as well as event and bar listings. While earlier issues were edited by Susan Baker, living at 3200 Ellerslie Ave, and printed by a woman-owned print shop nearby, by the last few years the newsletter gave the address of this townhouse as the location where it was edited, published, and could be contacted at.

Photo by Flory Gessner and Benjamin Egerman, 2020.



## #112: Gallery One Bar, 1735 Maryland Ave

Listed as a gay bar starting in 1966, it has been run continuously since 1975, making it one of the city's historic bars. From 1988 until 1996, this bar was the starting point for the yearly Baltimore Pride Parade, which would march north to Wyman Park, where a festival was held.

Photo by Lo Smith and Benjamin Egerman, 2020.





### #148: Leon's, 870 Park Ave

Leon's is the oldest continually operating gay bar in Baltimore; it has been a gay bar since 1957. The building housed bars with various names since the 1890s; it is called Leon's because its owner in the 1930s was Leon Lampe. Leon's is located at 870 Park Avenue in Mount Vernon."

Photo by Jake Lazier and Benjamin Egerman, 2020.





### #153: Louis Hughes Home, 1039 W Barre Street

Louis Hughes has been an organizer and activist for Baltimore's LGBTQ community, and especially its Black LGBTQ community, since the 1970s. He was a founding member of the Baltimore Gay Alliance, the national and Baltimore Coalition of Black Lesbians and Gays and served as the male co-chair of the board of NCBLG for its entire history. He helped organize the first conference on AIDS in the gay Black community; was involved in campaigns to stop racist policies at local gay bars, and more. This house, which he owned and resided in 1980-2000, was used as a meeting spot for organizations such as Blacks United for Gay and Lesbian Equality (BUGLE) and White Men and Black Men together (WMBMT). He is now (2020) helping put together talks and walking tours on Maryland's LGBTQ history.

Photo by Benjamin Egerman, 2020.



### #154: Lucy Diggs Slowe House, 1916 Druid Hill Ave

For several years while teaching history at the Baltimore Colored High School (now known as Frederick Douglass High School), this was the home of Lucy Diggs Slowe, an advocate of Black women's education, award-winning tennis player, and the first Dean of Women for Howard University. Slowe spent much of her life living with her partner, Harlem Renaissance playwright Mary P. Burrell.

Photo by Angel Castro and Benjamin Egerman, 2020.





### #164: Monumental Elks Lodge No. 3, 1528 Madison Avenue

The Monumental Elks Lodge #3 in West Baltimore was, from at least 1927 to 1935, the site of Baltimore's annual "Pansy Ball"- the precursor to modern ballroom. Coverage in the Afro-American described crowds of hundreds coming from across the Northeast, especially DC, Philadelphia, and Harlem. The publication became a small scandal, producing a remarkable rebuke by one of the performers, Louis Diggs, entitled, "A Defense of Pansies by One of Them".

Photo taken from Baltimore City Commission for Historic and Architectural Preservation, CHAP-183, Monumental Elks Lodge #3, p. 1, 2013:

<https://chap.baltimorecity.gov/sites/default/files/Monumental%20Lodge%20No.%203%20Landmark%20Designation%20report.pdf>



### #205: Shot Tower Bar, 4 N High Street

"The Shot Tower was another popular spot. Located just behind the better known Shot Tower, it was a tiny place in an edgy neighborhood. You had to knock to get in, speakeasy-style, and if you had a man with you, he might not get in. Kelley says the bar "was a true sanctuary. It was multi-generational. Dykes and feminists were there, singing feminist songs—it was wonderful." Liquor license suspended for "perverted practices" in 1961. Currently office for postal workers' union, APWU. Listed Damron's Guide 1973-1980, building listed for sale as "formerly Shot Tower Bar" in 1985.

Photo by Benjamin Egerman, 2020.





### #210: Snugs/Club Mitchell, 1003 E Pratt Street

Opened in 1979 as an openly lesbian dance bar, but by the 1960s was already known as a lesbian bar named "Snugs Tavern." Later became straight-ish Club Orpheus in 1991. Listed as both Snugs and Club Mitchell in Damron's Guides, as well as in *Desperate Living*, *Gay Paper*, and others.

Photo by Benjamin Egerman, 2020.



# Baltimore County



#235: Divine's Gravestone, Prospect Hill Cemetery, 701 York Rd, Towson, MD

Divine, the "muse" of John Waters and star of his early films; and later musician, was and still is an icon to many in the LGBTQ+ community. As an unapologetically filthy, obese drag queen whose early film roles and music proclaimed her as the most fashionable and beautiful woman in the world, her impact on gay culture and the world of drag cannot be overstated. His gravestone in Towson remains a site of pilgrimage for people to pay their respects, as shown by the graffiti and dedications.

Photo by Benjamin Egerman, 2020.





#238: John Waters Childhood Home, 313 Morris Ave, Lutherville-Timonium, MD

This is the home that legendary filmmaker and Baltimore icon John Waters grew up in, where he would befriend Glenn Milstead (Divine) and embark on their career together. He lived here until he enrolled at NYU in 1964.

Photo by Benjamin Egerman, 2020.



# Carroll County



## #250: Whittaker Chambers Farm, East Saw Mill Road, Westminster, MD

Period of Significance: 1941-1961. This property is also known as Pipe Creek Farm. Chambers was an ex-Communist, whose revelations about past espionage with Alger Hiss (former State Department official) had major political repercussions. This was the location where Chambers turned over the "Pumpkin Papers" that implicated Hiss, and where he wrote his autobiography. Chamber's relationship with Alger Hiss may have included intimate feelings. Chambers later admitted to having had gay relationships.

Photo taken from Wikimedia, courtesy of JERRYE & ROY KLOTZ, M.D. / CC BY-SA, 2019:  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:WHITTAKER\\_CHAMBERS\\_FARM,\\_WESTMINSTER,\\_CARROLL\\_COUNTY,\\_MD.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:WHITTAKER_CHAMBERS_FARM,_WESTMINSTER,_CARROLL_COUNTY,_MD.jpg)

## Frederick County



### #258: Victor Cullen Reformatory, 6000 Cullen Dr, Sabillasville, MD

In 1967, 2 teenage boys who had run away from Victor Cullen Reformatory alleged "widespread homosexuality" at the institution. The response was one of shock and led to an investigation headed by Governor Spiro T. Agnew. The investigation grew to address the entire penal system in the state, leading to the firing of the head of the Department of Corrections and staff at multiple prisons and juvenile facilities, detailed in the release of a 98-page report in 1969.

Photo from Maryland Historical Trust, Victor Cullen Center Old Administration Building, Sabillasville, Frederick County, F-6-21B. p. 27, 2006:

<https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Frederick/F-6-21B.pdf>.



## Harford County



### #262: Howard Calder House, 4166 Federal Hill Rd, Jarrettsville, MD

In 1889, Howard Calder proclaimed in the pages of the Baltimore Sun, “I was a girl until I was about twenty-five years old. Then I noticed a change coming in my sex. I was becoming a man. I certainly have been one for over ten years” after attempting to elope with one Catherine Beall. Both Calder and Beall were from wealthy families in Harford County and, after being married in a nearby Catholic Church, attempted to move to Baltimore. Beall was found and abducted by her family, and Calder took the case to court, where he eventually lost. Later, he would marry another woman and move to Virginia, then Florida, where he again became a news item when he died and was examined by the coroner.

Photo from Maryland Historical Trust, Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties, Verdent Plans (Martin Calder Home), Jarrettsville, Harford County, HA-1141. p. 16, 1977:

<https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/medusa/PDF/Harford/HA-1141.pdf>.

# Howard County



## #266 “Pickle Park,” Maryland Rest Stop, Scaggsville, MD

This rest stop--the only one on the interstate between Baltimore and Washington--and the wooded area around it were well known as a gay cruising spot since the late 1970s, and is listed as such in the Damron's Guide for Men for many years. In 1988, Maryland Highway patrol organized multiple sting operations, resulting in numerous arrests. Baltimore Sun coverage ran under the headline, "Police go undercover to root out homosexual activity."

Photo by Benjamin Egerman, 2020.



# Montgomery County



## #276: Bruce Williams Home, Takoma Park, MD

Bruce Williams was the first openly gay elected official to any public office in Maryland, Virginia, or DC. He was elected to Takoma Park city council in 1993 and served until 2007, when he became Mayor of Takoma Park, an office he held until 2015.

Photo by Benjamin Egerman, 2020.





**#284: Joan Biren House, Silver Spring, MD**

Since the earliest days of the modern lesbian movement, Joan Biren has documented the lives of lesbian communities and women in them through her photographs and film.

Photo by Benjamin Egerman, 2020.

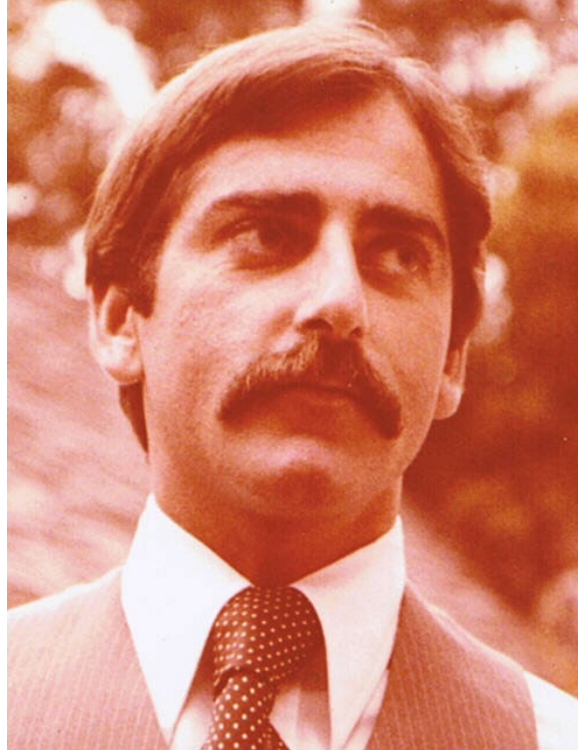




**#289: National Institutes of Health, 9000 Rockville Pike, Bethesda, MD**

Launching the "Storm the NIH" protest in 1990, one thousand protesters from ACT UP demand that the NIH increase treatments for opportunistic infections from AIDS, improve representation of women and people of color, and form a Women's Health Committee. The NIH responded by inviting ACT UP! Activists to work with them to rewrite testing and treatment protocols to address their concerns.

Photo from NIH History Office account on Flickr, "ACT UP Demonstration in front of Building1, May 21, 1990: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/historyatnih/14356036431/>.



#290: Joe Acanfora, Parkland Middle School, 4610 W Frankfort Dr, Rockville, MD

In 1972, Teacher Joe Acanfora was hired to Parkland Middle School in Rockville, MD, only to be fired later that year when his homosexuality was made public. A major lawsuit followed, which Acanfora ultimately lost, despite courts verifying that his discharge was entirely due to discrimination.

Photo 1 by Joe Acanfora, hosted on Wikimedia; public domain, no date:  
[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/o/o8/Joe\\_Face\\_in\\_Tie.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/o/o8/Joe_Face_in_Tie.jpg).

Photo 2 by Benjamin Egerman, 2020.





**#291: R.M. Coggin House, 4509 Bennion Road, Silver Spring, MD**

Period of Significance: 1988-2014. Robert Coggin founded and led the Suburban Maryland Gay Alliance (SMGA) in 1981 to advocate for gay issues in Montgomery County, MD. In the end of 1982, and by June 1983, the group had changed its name to Suburban Maryland Lesbian/Gay Alliance (SMLGA,) active in Montgomery, Prince George's and Howard counties, MD. By 1987 it had expanded its mission statewide and changed its name to Maryland Lesbian/Gay Alliance (MLGA). SMLGA/MLGA were key players in advocating for LGBTQ people in the Maryland suburbs of DC and beyond. He purchased this home in 1988, and lived there until he passed away in 2014.

Photo by Benjamin Egerman, 2020.



**#296: Takoma Park Junior High School, 7611 Piney Branch Rd, Takoma Park, MD associated with Sisterfire**

Started in 1982, Sisterfire was a women's festival held each year in Takoma Park at the field behind this middle school. Held until 1989, the festival was a touchstone for many of the area's lesbian, bisexual, and queer women.

Photo by Benjamin Egerman, 2020.





## #297: Susan Silber House, Silver Spring, MD

Susan Silber is a longtime legal advocate for LGBTQ+ people and local head of the ACLU. She became city attorney of Takoma Park in 1981 and has worked to strengthen LGBTQ+ civil rights and protections at the local, county, and state-wide level.

Photo by Benjamin Egerman, 2020.



# Prince George's County



#304: Homophile Social League, 5601 Longfellow St #301, Riverdale, MD

The Homophile Social League was a social club formed in 1970 and offered "dances, trips, judo classes, and a host of other activities aimed at broadening the range of activities for the area's homosexuals." This apartment building in the Oak Ridge Apartments complex was likely home to newsletter editor-in-chief Paul Breton or another leading member, as it is listed as a contact address on their newsletter, the Washington Blade, and other sources.

Photo by Benjamin Egerman, 2020.





**#305: New Ways Ministry, 3312 Buchanan Street #302, Mt Rainier, MD**

LGBTQ+ Catholic group, published multiple books and a newspaper called *Bondings*, which ran 1978-1998. Founded by Sister Jeannine Gramick and C. Robert Nugent, SDS, in 1977. This is the apartment building either Gramick or Nugent lived in during the first several years of the group's existence. Barred in 1984 from the Archdiocese of Washington.

Photo by Benjamin Egerman, 2020.



### #308: University of Maryland, Stamp Student Union

The Student Homophile Association formed here at the Stamp Student Union in 1970. It was succeeded by the Gay Student Alliance. SHA was one of the earliest gay student organizations at US universities and colleges, and legally fought administrators on being denied funding offered to all other student groups. In a different context, certain men's rooms in Stamp Student Union were listed as a major cruising site in the Damron's Guide for Men from 1978-1980.

Photo from Maryland Historical Trust, Determination of Eligibility Form, University of Maryland, College Park, Prince George's County, PG;66-35. p. 39, 2011:

<https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/Medusa/PDF/PrinceGeorges/PG;66-35.pdf>.



# Washington County



## #316: The Bull Ring, 59 S Potomac St, Hagerstown, MD

Major gay bar for the area, operating early 70s-mid-to-late 80s. Opening advertisement placed in 1974 issue of Eastern Standard Times. Ultimately closed following the opening of the Deer Lodge in nearby Boonsboro. During the 1970s, this bar was the nearest safe space to dance, drink, and meet others to not only Western Maryland, but also most of West Virginia and Central Pennsylvania.

Photo from Maryland Historical Trust, Maryland Inventory of Historic Properties Form, Colonial Hotel, Hagerstown, Washington County, WA-HAG-077, p. 11, 1975:  
<https://mht.maryland.gov/secure/Medusa/PDF/Washington/WA-HAG-077.pdf>.