

The designation of Stonewall National Monument Path and impact

JONATHAN B. JARVIS & MEGAN E. SPRINGATE

This article provides two different perspectives on the designation of Stonewall National Monument, which was proclaimed by President Obama in 2016. First, former National Park Service (NPS) Director Jonathan Jarvis shares his experiences leading up to and beyond the designation. In the second section, Megan Springate places Stonewall into the larger context of the NPS Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ+) heritage initiative and the preparation of LGBTQ America, the LGBTQ+ theme study, which is a document commissioned by the National Park Foundation for the National Park Service. These theme studies, which canvass a particular theme in American history, typically (but, as we shall see, not always) include a comparative analysis of properties that might be nominated as national historic landmarks.

JONATHAN JARVIS

As an undergraduate student at the College of William and Mary in the mid-1970s, I was researching a topic for a sociology class paper and found a book on the history of the imprisonment of Japanese Americans during World War II. I learned that during this period, people of Japanese heritage were rounded up under an executive order by President Franklin Roosevelt, including many who were American citizens. I was appalled that our country would imprison over 100,000 people just because of their ethnicity. That may surprise the reader since I grew up in the South and had witnessed racism and segregation in the Virginia public schools. I am grateful that my parents modeled values that included respect for all people, regardless of their race, gender, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status.

Fast-forward some 30 years. As the Pacific West regional director for NPS, I was on the stage at the dedication of the new visitor center at Manzanar National Historic Site, the first NPS unit to tell the story of the confinement of Japanese Americans due to wartime hysteria and racism. The exhibits in the new visitor center, developed by NPS staff in the Pacific West Region, told this story and included incidents of contemporary bias against people of color, such as the treatment of Muslim Americans since the terrorist attack of 9/11.

Over the course of my career with NPS, I had multiple experiences that reinforced the idea that the United States of America has often failed to live up to its stated ideals as presented in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence. I was determined that NPS had a responsibility to tell these stories and to hold a mirror up to ourselves so that we might be a better nation and society. And I felt there was no agency better placed than NPS to interpret these stories on the ground where our values were tested and forged in the hottest of fires. My goal was that NPS would tell, authentically, truthfully, and unapologetically, all of the American stories—the good, the bad, and the ugly.

I soon realized there were serious gaps in the National Park System of places we recognize as important to history. In many discussions with NPS Historian Dr. Stephanie Toothman, she noted that fewer than 10% of the sites on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and designated NHLs represent the contributions of women and people of color. Even fewer parks in the National Park System were specifically designated to tell their stories.

In 2009, when I became the 18th director of NPS, one of the first meetings I called was with the staff who research and present new sites to be considered for listing on the NRHP or to be designated as an NHL. I asked them what they were currently researching for the next round of designations and was told “summer homes.” I think I was quiet for a

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moment, as I thought about this and its attention to the rich, white, elite who could afford beautiful “summer homes.” I informed the team that we would not be doing that, and instead we would put our focus on the missing parts of our history, where women, African Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, Latinos, and others have helped build this nation. The sites where these populations made their impact needed to be added to both lists. I was reminded by staff to not leave out the history of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) movement as well. [Authors’ note: There are variations of this acronym, but for the purposes of this essay, the acronym “LGBTQ+” is intended to be all inclusive.]

But we were still missing a unit of the National Park System that could stand alongside Independence Hall, Gettysburg, and Selma to Montgomery and represent a turning point in our story of civil rights.

Under the leadership of Dr. Toothman, who came to Washington as associate director for Cultural Resources and Science, the scholarly work began and soon bore fruit. The first site focused on the LGBTQ+ movement that we added to the NRHP was in 2011: the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in Washington, DC.¹ The NPS nomination states:

Dr. Kameny led a newly militant activism in the fledgling gay civil rights movement of the 1960s. He was a landmark figure in articulating and achieving gay civil rights in federal employment and security clearance cases, and in reversing the medical community’s view on homosexuality as a mental disorder. Kameny’s efforts in the civil rights movement, modeled in part on African-American civil rights strategies and tactics, significantly altered the rights, perceptions, and role of gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgendered people in American society.

With the NPS team in Washington working to find new sites and researchers independently documenting sites related to LGBTQ+ rights, soon to follow were more NRHP listings, including the Cherry Grove Community House and Theatre in Bay Shore, New York;² the Carrington House in Fire Island, New York;³ the Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico in San Juan, Puerto Rico;⁴ and the Furies Collective in Washington, DC.⁵

But we were still missing a unit of the National Park System that could stand alongside Independence Hall, Gettysburg, and Selma to Montgomery and represent a turning point in our American story of civil rights. In order to do that, we needed some scholarly research on the LGBTQ+ rights movement and the most important sites, and we needed funding for the study. I reached out to an old friend, Courtney Cuff, the chief executive officer of the Gill Foundation, and she immediately agreed to fund the project.

We already had a track record with President Obama on the designation of new national monuments that better tell the American story. With my NPS team, including retired Department of the Interior (DOI) Attorney Molly Ross, we had already put together a slate of potential sites that could be added to the National Park System using the presidential authority of the Antiquities Act to proclaim national monuments. Our first site to bring to President Obama was Fort Monroe, the location in Virginia where, in 1619, captured Africans were unloaded from a passing ship to be slaves. Fort Monroe later became the site of the “contraband” decision during the Civil War, where Major General Benjamin Butler, the Union Commander of Fort Monroe, refused to return Frank Baker, Shepard Mallory, and James Townsend to be re-enslaved in Confederate territory. Butler reasoned that, since Virginia had declared itself seceded from the Union, United States law (including the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act) no longer applied. The three men, who escaped enslavement by reaching Union territory at Fort Monroe, were, declared Butler, “contraband of war.” When I presented the Fort Monroe proclamation to President Obama, he turned and asked me, “Do you have any more of these?” I said, “I have a list.”

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In March 2015, I joined President Obama and tens of thousands of people in Selma, Alabama, to commemorate the voting rights march between Selma and Montgomery. The president began his speech with the following:

There are places and moments in America where this nation's destiny has been decided. Many are sites of war—Concord, Lexington, Gettysburg, Appomattox. Others are sites that symbolize the daring of America's character—Independence Hall, Seneca Falls, Kitty Hawk, Cape Canaveral, and Selma.⁶

He clearly got the idea and the opportunity, and I was not going to let that go to waste.⁷

With the philanthropic funding in hand from the Gill Foundation, DOI Secretary Sally Jewell announced the launch of a study of the history of the LGBTQ+ movement and National Park Foundation contracted with Megan Springate as prime consultant for the study. In June 2014, I moderated a scholars' panel that discussed the history of LGBTQ+ oppression and the lack of recognition of the sites important to this story. After the panel, I asked panelists to join me in the director's conference room. I told the panelists that, while it was truly wonderful that we had launched this study to identify potential sites, given that we were in the last two years of the Obama administration, I could not wait for the study to be completed to find the most suitable next place to add to the National Park System. I said whatever we chose would not be the last, but we needed a first and it had to be significant. The unanimous agreement was the Stonewall Inn, the location of the 1969 uprising for LGBTQ+ civil rights, viewed by these scholars as a turning point. They said that, for the LGBTQ+ rights movement, there was "before Stonewall" and there was "after Stonewall." I thanked them and we went to work on bringing it into the National Park System.

The first challenge was that the Stonewall Inn was a privately owned bar and still operating as such. When I was in New York City for a visit with my daughter, we went to the inn and had a beer. I walked around inside and thought about its future: Would we have rangers dressed as bartenders, serving beer to visitors? Probably not. My conclusion was that the Stonewall Inn should remain a bar and our focus should be outside, at Christopher Park, where the events of June 1969 spilled into the streets.⁸

Over the course of the next year, our team worked on the details: park boundary, land ownership, land transfer, partnerships, community relationships, key stories, and future management. Advocacy groups, such as the National Parks Conservation Association, joined the effort. Ultimately we needed not only support but actions from New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio and New York Governor Andrew Cuomo to transfer the land, and we needed Representative Jerry Nadler and Senators Kirsten Gillibrand and Chuck Schumer to introduce legislation for designation. The legislation was introduced in 2015 but it failed to pass Congress.⁹

As required by the president, before any use of the Antiquities Act we were to hold a public meeting and hear from all concerned citizens. On May 9, 2016, Secretary Jewell and I sat on the stage of Public School 41 and took comment and testimony from local citizens and individuals who were there in 1969. I actually enjoy public meetings, and this one was a fun, positive event, with great support for the designation. What we heard most was that this new park needed to be inclusive of everyone in the LGBTQ+ community. As I was leaving, an NPS ranger stopped me and said he had often volunteered with the Greenwich community suicide hotline and that the designation of Stonewall as a unit of the National Park System "would save lives." His statement moved me greatly, underscoring the importance of this work.

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On June 24, 2016, President Barack Obama, using the authority of the Antiquities Act, designated Stonewall National Monument as a unit of the National Park System. Secretary Jewell, Representative Nadler, Advisor to the President Valerie Jarrett, and I gathered with the community to celebrate the designation. Standing in front of the Stonewall Inn, I stated:

This year, 2016, is the 100th Anniversary of the National Park Service and as we enter our second century of stewardship and public engagement, we embrace our role as America's storytellers and committed to telling a more complete version of American history through the places where history happened. I



National Park Service Director Jonathan B. Jarvis speaking at the celebration of the designation of Stonewall National Monument, June 24, 2016. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

could not be more proud today to welcome into the National Park System the first National Monument dedicated to the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender community and their fight for equal rights.

Today we welcome Stonewall National Monument into the family that includes the Grand Canyon, Yosemite, the Statue of Liberty, and the Lincoln Memorial, to be maintained in perpetuity for the inspiration of future generations.

In October 2016, Megan Springate completed the LGBTQ theme study, providing a framework and nationwide context for identifying additional worthy sites for designation on the NRHP, as NHLs, and as units of the National Park System. Stonewall National Monument is the first but certainly should not be the last such national park.

The designation of national parks that detail the struggle for civil rights of women, people of color, and LGBTQ+ people raises awareness and deepens our understanding that our journey towards the high ideals of our nation still follows a rocky path. The NPS interpretation at Manzanar National Historic Site has not prevented the uptick in attacks on Asian Americans during the COVID pandemic, nor did the designation of Stonewall National Monument stop the recent horrific shootings of people at an LGBTQ+ gathering in Colorado Springs. But perhaps the creation of these national parks, and more like them, will deepen our collective understanding of the struggle for respect and equal rights that many still endure and for which we all share a responsibility.

MEGAN SPRINGATE

I was not directly involved with the designation of Stonewall as a national monument. I found out about it well after much of the groundwork had been laid (and not long before a public announcement was made). But I was involved with the NPS LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, one of the main products of which was LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History. In many ways, Stonewall was a touchstone throughout the process. Here I give a brief look at the creation of the theme study, and the impacts it, and the designation of Stonewall as a national monument, have had.

I realized I was gay in 1987 while in high school—a realization that made a lot of my feelings as a teenager make a lot of sense. At the time, I lived with my mom and sister in a small town in Ontario about 45 minutes outside of Toronto. While not terribly close to the border, we were close enough to the US that, in addition to Canadian media, we also got several American television stations both via cable and antenna. In popular culture at the time, my options for a future as a gay person felt very limited, constrained by stereotypes (specifically, butch lesbians, who were predators and/or suicidal, or femme lesbians, who were victims). I also felt very keenly being vulnerable to legal discrimination in jobs, school, healthcare (this was during the AIDS epidemic), and housing, and to violence by gay bashing on the streets.

Thankfully, my small town was close enough to Toronto that I could call the lesbian and gay helpline there as a free local call, where I spoke with volunteers about having a “normal” life (as a local call, no long-distance charges would appear on the family phone bill that would prompt questions I was not yet prepared to answer). There was also a regular bus back and forth between where I lived and Toronto, and I would often go when not in school and visit the city’s “gay ghetto” around Church and Wellesley Streets. I’d climb the narrow stairway to browse the bookshelves at Glad Day Bookshop, and then go watch “my people” while sipping coffee on the famous Steps at the Second Cup. Sometimes I would trek west across the city to The Toronto Women’s Bookstore near Bathurst and Bloor Streets to be around other (presumably) queer women.¹⁰ Stonewall lived in my head as a place of immense importance; an almost sacred place worthy of pilgrimage. It would be several years before I came out to my family (and I’ve been out ever since), but the critical importance of positive and authentic representation and inclusion of marginalized groups—as well as the power of place in the creation of community and identity—has remained with me and shaped my career as an historical and public archaeologist.

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My involvement with the NPS LGBTQ initiative started in 2012, when I ran across a 2002 article by Dr. Gail Dubrow, “Deviant History, Defiant Heritage.”¹¹ In it, Dubrow discusses the invisibility of LGBTQ+ identities in historic preservation contexts, including on the NRHP and in on-site interpretation:

While there’s no shortage of queer folk in the preservation movement ... there are very few positive depictions of GLBT identity at the historic sites and buildings that are our life’s work. The stigma of deviance has kept interpreters silent on the subject of sexual orientation even at historic houses where the cat has been out of the bag for a long, long time.

Acknowledging the 1999 listing of Stonewall on the NRHP and its designation as an NHL, Dubrow called for more sites to be recognized. She argued that by working towards an agenda of inclusion of LGBTQ+ identities and other “lines of difference” in our work with the past, “we make space for a future in which everyone is welcome.”

Spurred by her call to action (and not a little bit curious), I emailed Dr. Barbara Little, an archaeology colleague who works at NPS and who I knew had once worked in the office responsible for the NRHP. I asked her about LGBTQ+ listings, and why she thought (10 years after Dubrow’s article) that there were still so few. This inquiry led to an internship with Dr. Little in the NPS Cultural Resources Office of Outreach, Education and Training (now Cultural Resources Office of Interpretation and Education), and ultimately resulted in my serving as prime consultant for the

LGBTQ Heritage Initiative and editor of *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*.¹²

I was anxious about saying “yes” to the opportunity, both because I was not a historian of LGBTQ+ history, but also because I was working to complete my dissertation at the University of Maryland. After (probably too) much consideration, I agreed. As a non-historian, I was open to having other types of scholars involved in the work, and I didn’t have any proverbial horse in the race in terms of any academic personal or historiographical conflicts that may have existed. As far as the dissertation work ... well, I realized that this was a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity that I would regret declining. (As it turned out, the intersectional practice used in the preparation of the theme study and my deep-dive into queer existences in the past helped me in thinking about and writing my dissertation, which I finished in 2017.)¹³

The goals of the initiative (and my mission as prime consultant) were to:

- Engage scholars, preservationists, and communities to identify, research, and tell the stories of LGBTQ associated properties;
- Encourage national parks, national heritage areas, and other affiliated areas to interpret LGBTQ stories associated with them;
- Identify, document, and nominate LGBTQ-associated sites as National Historic Landmarks;
- Increase the number of listings of LGBTQ-associated properties in the National Register of Historic Places.

The first event I attended as the prime consultant was the June 14, 2014, scholars’ roundtable at DOI headquarters in Washington, DC, mentioned earlier in this article. I had been helping folks at NPS get ready for the meeting, including preparing written materials, working on the initiative’s web presence,¹⁴ helping to identify and contact potential scholars, and ensuring that travel arrangements were made. It was the night before the roundtable, after an informal meet-and-greet with several scholars at their hotel, that I finally formally agreed to take on the project. Part of my duties would be to edit the theme study.

Present at the roundtable were 23 scholars, community activists, and NPS staff.¹⁵ There was a *lot* of emotion in the room—excitement to be part of this important work, and tears of relief and joy at the opportunity of finally, really being “seen” and having our histories valued by the government. This was the kick-off to the first time in the history of the world that a federal government sought to document its nation’s LGBTQ+ history. These are feelings that I both felt and encountered in others throughout the process. The power of representation, of having your existence acknowledged, is real. Sometimes, it feels like being grateful for even the barest minimum, but being authentically seen is the foundation of belonging, of health, and of joy (if you doubt this, check out how marginalized communities foster these things among themselves).

Working in small groups around themes, and coming together for discussion and consensus, a remarkable amount of work got done during the morning of the roundtable. The day concluded with a LGBTQ Theme Study Panel discussion that was open to the public. The auditorium at Main Interior, the headquarters building, was abuzz with hundreds of people, and there were even more who had logged in remotely for the livestream. Director Jarvis facilitated the proceedings, beginning with a message of welcome, and there were opening comments by Secretary Sally Jewell, Ambassador to Australia John Berry, and Representative Nancy Pelosi.¹⁶ Questions were solicited from the public in writing, both via the livestream and from those present. Any questions that were not answered during the panel were answered afterwards in a document made available on the NPS website.¹⁷

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The input of the scholars and the public that day dramatically changed the direction of the theme study. Initially, it had been envisioned to follow a similar format to other NPS theme studies: a document of approximately 200–250

pages, with articulated periods of significance generally not more recent than 50 years, significant themes, and specific sites identified as worthy of being considered for designation as NHLs or units of the National Park System. A history spanning periods of “Pre-Stonewall,” “Stonewall to HIV/AIDS,” and “HIV/AIDS to Activism” was very quickly vetoed as a white, urban, middle-class, cisgendered male history.¹⁸ In order to properly present the multiple histories that make up the LGBTQ+ history of the United States, roundtable participants insisted on working intersectionally and thematically.¹⁹ They also insisted that the Q (for “queer”) be included in the name of the theme study, acknowledging that while some people found it deeply offensive and hurtful—a slur often hurled at people as a precursor to or during violence—others had reclaimed it as a term, both personally and culturally. It also provided a space of inclusion for those who did not see themselves represented by the other letters, such as those who did not identify with the gender binary that was implied; had same-gender relationships, but did not identify with any of these labels; and those who may be questioning their sexuality. Finally, the scholars argued that the theme study needed to include histories more recent than 50 years ago (i.e., those occurring after 1966) in order to provide a more complete historical context.

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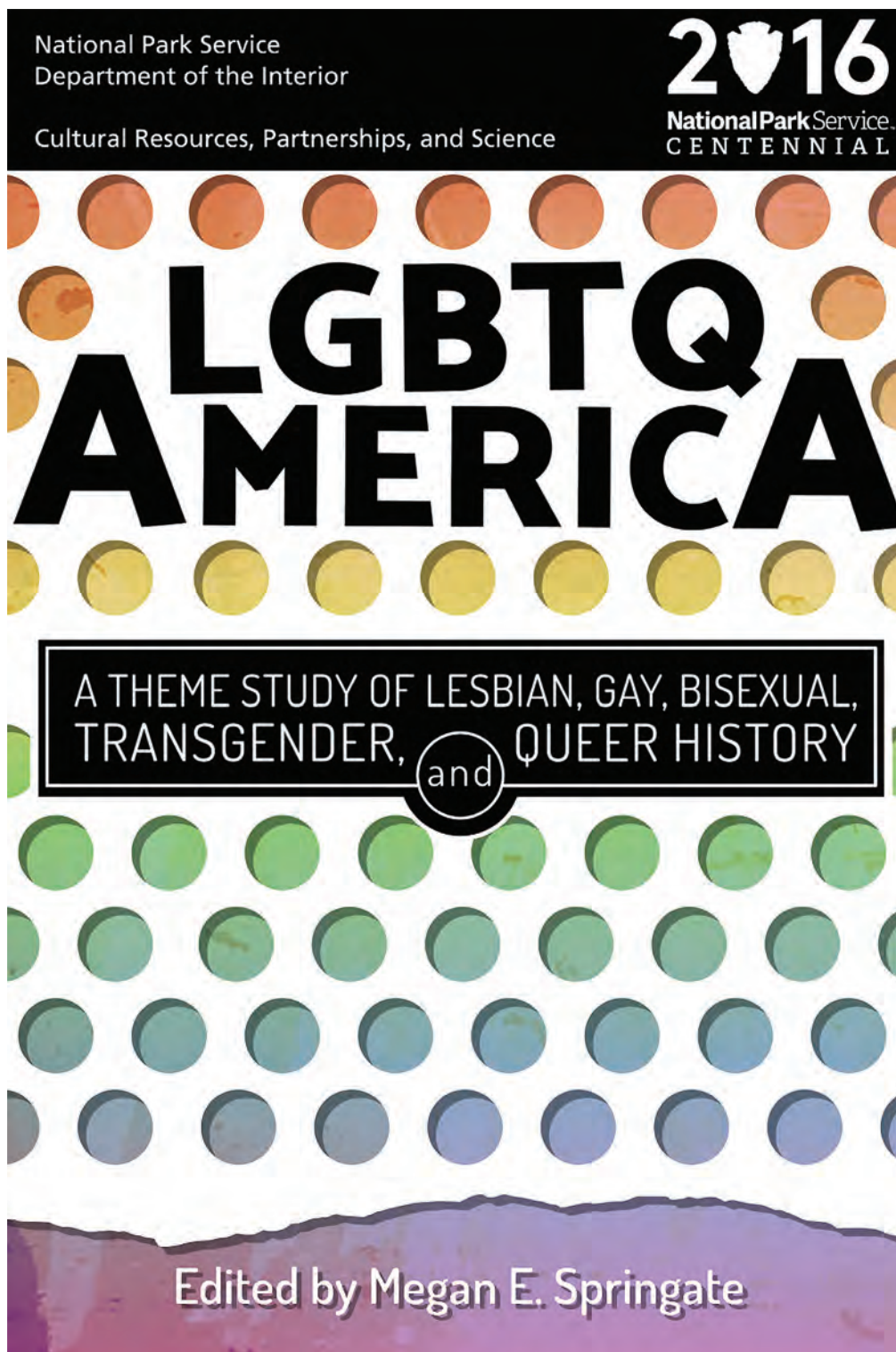
In 2014, when work began on the theme study, there were only four places listed on the NRHP²⁰ and one designated as an NHL²¹ for their association with LGBTQ+ history. As nomination forms have become more accessible for full-text searching online, I have identified several listings on the NRHP and designated NHLs which, while not listed specifically for their LGBTQ+ association, contain mentions (sometimes made obliquely) to the LGBTQ+ history of the site.²² The earliest of these is Halcyon House in Washington, DC.²³ Listed on the NRHP in 1971 (a mere five years after the NRHP was established in 1966, and just two years after the 1969 Stonewall Uprising), the nomination references owner Albert Clemons living in the house “with his carpenter,” and although married, he and his wife living completely separate lives, including in separate residences.²⁴ Almost 20 years later, the nomination for the Holley Graded School in Virginia mentioned Miss Holley’s “lifelong companion,” Miss Caroline Putman.²⁵ In 1993, the nomination for the First Methodist Protestant Church of Seattle in Washington state mentioned the church establishing programs for the social and spiritual needs of a changing demographic in the 1960s, including for “youth, for the hungry and homeless, for mental health patients, and for homosexuals.”²⁶

Writing about the listing of Stonewall on the NRHP, Stephen A. Morris observed:

The listing is a testament not only to the increased acceptance of gays and lesbians in contemporary society but also to the still young but growing field of scholarship in gay history. Also, it is another example of how, in recent years, the National Register, and historic preservation in general, have become more inclusive of a broader spectrum of human experience than in the past.²⁷

Indeed, previous efforts to mark Stonewall as a historic site had failed.²⁸ But after the 1999 listing of Stonewall on the NRHP, the number of nominations mentioning LGBTQ+ histories increased. Some nominations went into considerable detail, including the one for Hotel Alma in Oregon that described the gay bar and bathhouse that occupied part of the hotel.²⁹ All told, there were at least 28 places listed on the NRHP and one designated NHL with reference to LGBTQ+ history as work began on the theme study in 2014.³⁰ In addition, there were a very few LGBTQ+ entries on the [NPS.gov](https://www.nps.gov) website, including a story about pioneering activist Henry Gerber’s prison sentence on Governors Island in New York City.³¹ At the time, the historic context-setting document “Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933–1979,” published in 2004, was the only one of its kind in the United States.³²

The theme study was completed in October of 2016, four months after Stonewall was designated a national monument. Throughout the process, LGBTQ+ history continued to be made: the April 2015 Caitlyn Jenner interview with Diane Sawyer where Jenner revealed that she is transgender; the 2015 Supreme Court decision *Obergefell v. Hodges*, which ruled that same-sex couples had a constitutional, fundamental right to marry; the June 12, 2016, shooting at



Pulse, a gay nightclub in Orlando, where a gunman killed 49 people; and the implementation on June 30, 2016, of the policy allowing transgender service members to continue to serve in the military.³³ In close coordination with the theme study's contributing authors and the production team, I was adding edits reflecting changes in LGBTQ+ history and law right up until the last possible minute before production.

During the 18 months that the theme study was in preparation, I worked with authors and peer reviewers, copy editors, design folks, and others to bring the chapters together into a complete document. This included working

with authors to add specific places to their entries (and noting whether they were already listed on the NRHP or designated as an NHL) to ensure that chapters were intersectional in their content, to help with sourcing images, and to cross-reference among chapters. I also responded to public comments submitted through the NPS Planning, Environment & Public Comment system and also those that reached me through other means.³⁴ The comments were overwhelmingly positive, with people being as moved as I had been about NPS conducting the study, and also sharing offers of information about places across the country with LGBTQ+ history. There were a few comments opposed to the work, mostly from people who didn't think LGBTQ+ history was an appropriate use of public money. One comment I read online complained that the work was being done with little transparency; the writer was concerned about who was telling their stories. In response, I arranged for the full list of scholars from the roundtable, chapter authors, and peer reviewers to be posted on the (new and expanded) LGBTQ Heritage Initiative landing page.³⁵

Beyond the immediate work of the theme study, there was a flurry of activity recognizing LGBTQ+ history across the country. Perhaps the most visible of these was the June 24, 2016, designation of Stonewall National Monument as a unit of the National Park System. Although receiving less national attention, other significant work across NPS was also underway, including a call from Rosie the Riveter WWII Home Front National Historical Park for LGBTQ+ stories from the wartime home front, which served as the basis for an exhibit that opened in late 2016; the publication of a report by the Historic American Buildings Survey looking at LGBTQ+ nightlife in Washington, DC; and the publication of LGBTQ+ content on the [NPS.gov](https://www.nps.gov) website, including information about the Butt-Millet Memorial Fountain in Presidents' Park, Washington, DC, and about Albert Cashier, a soldier who fought at Vicksburg who was assigned female at birth, but served (and retired from) the Union Army. At Independence National Historical Park, rangers installed a temporary exhibit for the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Annual Reminders. These were held every July 4th from 1965 to 1969 outside Independence Hall to remind people that not all Americans benefited equally from Constitutional rights. They stopped after 1969, as the focus of gay rights activism shifted to New York City after Stonewall.³⁶

This period also saw the preparation and acceptance of several historic site nominations to the NRHP. Properties listed on the NRHP during this period include: Carrington House, Fire Island, New York; the Bayard Rustin Residence, New York City; Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay, San Juan, Puerto Rico; the Furies Collective, DC; and Julius' Bar, New York City.³⁷ Additional documentation for listings already on the NRHP were also accepted, adding LGBTQ+ context for the Elks Athletic Club, Louisville, Kentucky, and the National Mall Historic District, DC.³⁸ During this time, three properties with LGBTQ+ history were designated as NHLs: the Henry Gerber House in Chicago, Illinois; the James Merrill House in Stonington, Connecticut; and Pauli Murray's Family Home in Durham, North Carolina.³⁹

How did so many listings and designations happen before the theme study was even published? There was definitely something in the air in the mid-2010s: in 2013, President Obama invoked Stonewall in his second inaugural address; in 2014, Susan Ferentinos published *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites*, providing a framework for places to begin engaging with their LGBTQ+ histories; in 2014 Kasey Fulwood completed a Master's thesis looking specifically at LGBTQ+ heritage and the NRHP; in 2015 in the United Kingdom, researchers launched Pride of Place, another nationwide LGBTQ+ context-setting program; and in 2016, the LGBTQ Alliance of the American Alliance of Museums published its "Welcoming Guidelines for Museums," a framework of best practices aligned with museum standards to increase the belonging of and representation for LGBTQ+ staff and patrons.⁴⁰ In addition, the NPS LGBTQ Heritage Initiative was also being presented in the press, online, and at community meetings.⁴¹ The imprimatur of the National Park Service, one of the federal agencies most loved by the American public, with its massive public reach through its parks and programs, certainly did not hurt. It signaled to Tribal, state, and local governments, to educational institutions, and to funding agencies that this work was important, not "niche," and was to be taken seriously. It signaled to researchers that they need not fear doing the work. And it signaled to LGBTQ+ people across the country that we were, and always have been, part of American history. The designation of Stonewall National Monument only amplified and solidified these messages.

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Fueling considerable work in LGBTQ+ representation on the NRHP and in the NHL program was the creation in 2014 of the Underrepresented Community Grant (UCG) program, funded through the Historic Preservation Fund and administered by NPS through the State, Tribal, and Local Plans and Grants Division. This program provides grants to increase the diversity represented on the NRHP and in NHL designations. In its inaugural year, both New York City and the state of Kentucky received funding to pursue LGBTQ+ historical context work. In the subsequent eight granting cycles (through 2022) six more projects specifically focused on LGBTQ+ history have been funded, including additional work in New York City, the District of Columbia, and Portland, Oregon.⁴² At least one other project funded by UCG, a multi-property documentation of Asian American and Pacific Islanders in California, has also resulted in an NRHP listing with LGBTQ+ significance.⁴³ Historic context statements published while the theme study was in production include those for Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco, California; and for Kentucky (funded by the UCG program).⁴⁴

On Coming Out Day (October 11), 2016, the theme study was officially launched at Main Interior in Washington, DC. Present for the ceremonies, which took place in front of a panel of the NAMES Quilt honoring those who died from AIDS, were Secretary Jewell, Director Jarvis, NPS colleagues, and many of the people who had worked on the volume. In her spoken remarks, Eliza Byard, Executive Director of GLSEN, which supports LGBTQ+ students, echoed the words that Director Jarvis had heard earlier that year at Stonewall: that the existence of this theme study, documenting the long history of LGBTQ+ people in the United States, would save lives. In a note that Secretary Jewell sent to me after the release, she wrote:

More than any other theme study to date, this work has generated tremendous appreciation for the importance of inclusion and recognition on our march toward a more perfect union. I look forward to visiting more sites and hearing more of our LGBTQ history as this study translates to action.

The finished document, designed to be useful for the general public as well as heritage professionals, came in at over 1,200 pages. Unlike other theme studies, this one did not identify places eligible for nomination to the NRHP, or for designation as NHLs or park units. Instead, it focused on laying out the broader national histories of LGBTQ+ people across the United States: a framework or scaffold that future individual nominations can connect to for establishing significance. Logistical constraints kept us from a traditional print run, but the complete document was made available on [NPS.gov](https://www.nps.gov), incorporated into the *Telling All Americans' Stories* portal, further signaling that telling these histories is embedded in the work of NPS.⁴⁵

The launch of the theme study marked the conclusion of an intense process to create an intersectional historical context that modeled how LGBTQ+ histories across the United States could connect to the NRHP and NHL programs. But more importantly, the launch marked the beginning of its wide availability for people to use—to learn about LGBTQ+ histories, to see themselves

People can use the theme study to learn about LGBTQ+ histories, to see themselves represented in an important government study, and to identify, document, and preserve historic sites.

and others represented in an important government study, and to serve as a foundation for the identification, documentation, and preservation of associated historic sites. In 2017, I took part in two retrospectives looking at the impact of the theme study. One was self-authored and published in the predecessor to this journal.⁴⁶ It documents a lot of the activity that happened in that first year, including NPS trainings to support LGBTQ+ interpretation as well as examples of public programming. The second, which took place in 2017 but published two years later, was a conversation with five other authors who contributed to the theme study.⁴⁷ One thing I took away from that discussion was the impact that working on the project had on the authors themselves: among them, working intersectionally, focusing on place-based histories, reading and learning from each other's chapters, and discovering new ways to think about their work. In 2018, the theme study was awarded the Paul E. Buchanan Award from the Vernacular Architecture Forum—an award that went specifically to all those who worked to put it together:

Springate and her colleagues delivered a monumental, groundbreaking, nationwide theme study of the cultural landscapes of LGBTQ communities. The US National [Park] Service project ... defines and

documents in-depth the historical, ideological, cultural, social, and geographical contexts necessary to fully comprehend sites of gendered “otherness.” The wide variety of high quality background, thematic and place-based essays acknowledges regional and metropolitan differences. No “single story” prevails.... Exceedingly valuable to historians, academics, preservationists and broader audiences in their efforts to interpret, teach and preserve sites of underrepresented groups, the Theme Study connects people and events to places associated with an important segment of the American population, namely persons who identify as LGBTQ.⁴⁸

Now, a little over six years out from publication, and about eight and a half years since the scholars’ roundtable, the theme study continues to have impacts both at home and abroad. Within NPS, companion pieces to the theme study have been published, including *The Pride Guide: An Interactive Workbook for Exploring Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) History and Places*, and “Stonewall Storytime,” a library program designed for patrons in their teens and older to facilitate a conversation about universal themes and values.⁴⁹ Staff at parks and in programs have increasingly incorporated LGBTQ+ histories into their interpretations and storytelling, both in person and online. These include interpreting same-gender relationships in the life of Eleanor Roosevelt; in the history of Longfellow House–Washington’s Headquarters National Historic Site; an overview of Philadelphia’s heritage of LGBTQ+ activism, including at Independence Hall; a presentation discussing how to incorporate von Steuben’s sexuality into interpretations of the Revolutionary War; a look at LGBTQ+ military history at Golden Gate National Recreation Area; and a video series created by the Alaska Regional Office that recognizes, celebrates, and honors LGBTQ+ staff in Alaska’s national parks.⁵⁰ These resources and others are periodically shared out at the national level, including during Pride Month (June).⁵¹

The theme study has been referenced in journal articles, scholarly papers, and other place-based studies across the United States.

At least 18 places have been listed on or determined eligible for the NRHP, or had additional documentation appended to include LGBTQ+ history. Among these are the homes of writers James Baldwin and Lorraine Hansberry; the National Headquarters for the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom; the Japanese YWCA/*Issei* Women’s Building; Darcelle XV (a drag club in operation since 1967); and several churches.⁵² Five historic context statements have been made public, including for New York City and Washington, DC (both funded by the UCG program),⁵³ Eugene, Oregon; the neighborhood of Hillcrest in the city of San Diego; and for the state of Maryland.⁵⁴ Currently in progress are additional contexts for Atlanta and Portland.⁵⁵

The theme study has been referenced in journal articles, scholarly papers, and other place-based studies across the United States, including those looking at San Francisco and Los Angeles, California,⁵⁶ Roanoke and Richmond, Virginia;⁵⁷ Cambridge and Boston, Massachusetts;⁵⁸ Mineral Point, Wisconsin;⁵⁹ Kansas City and Columbia, Missouri;⁶⁰ Nashville, Tennessee;⁶¹ Philadelphia, Pennsylvania;⁶² Seattle, Washington;⁶³ Baltimore, Maryland;⁶⁴ Washington, DC;⁶⁵ Kentucky;⁶⁶ and Arizona.⁶⁷ Like the impact of the Stonewall Uprising, the reach of the theme study has also spread internationally, with citations by authors working in Australia, Sweden, Canada, Brazil, Spain, The Netherlands, and Italy.⁶⁸ And while written predominantly for those working in historic preservation,⁶⁹ it has also been referenced in disciplines as diverse as law and policy,⁷⁰ geography,⁷¹ urban planning and urban studies,⁷² history and public history,⁷³ psychology,⁷⁴ journalism and media studies,⁷⁵ English and literature,⁷⁶ museum studies,⁷⁷ architecture and landscape architecture,⁷⁸ sociology,⁷⁹ and archaeology and anthropology.⁸⁰

In 2019 and 2020, a set of three books based on the theme study were published, with Katherine Crawford-Lackey and I as editors. The books were targeted for students in historic preservation, but designed also to be useful in LGBTQ+ studies, anthropology, and other fields. Although initially planned as a single volume, it quickly became clear to us, and to Caryn Berg, our editor at Berghahn Books, that there was enough important content to warrant three volumes (even so, unfortunately, some chapters could not be included, largely due to space constraints). The volumes, organized by theme, were: *Identities and Place: Changing Labels and Intersectional Communities of LGBTQ and Two Spirit People in the United States*; *LGBTQ Preservation and Place: Historic Preservation by and of LGBTQ Communities in the United States*; and *Communities and Place: A Thematic Approach to the Histories of LGBTQ Communities in the United States*.⁸¹ Authors had the

opportunity to edit and revise their chapters, and at least one additional chapter—a community mapping history of the lesbian bar Phase One in DC—was included.⁸² At the end of each book were activities and questions designed to engage students with the content, to think broadly about the themes, and to apply skills they have learned in class. In 2020, *Preservation and Place* won the prestigious University of Mary Washington Center for Historic Preservation Book Prize, putting it in the excellent company of works by Roy Rosenzweig, David Lowenthal, Alison Isenberg, and others.⁸³

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There is no question that the NPS work to document, interpret, and preserve LGBTQ+ heritage has been a success. Of particular note is the intersectional work that underlies everything. At Stonewall National Monument, exhibits forefront the diversity of those who pushed back against police harassment.⁸⁴ Authors of NRHP and NHL nominations (and staff at State Historic Preservation Offices and at the national program office) have also embraced intersectionality and the complex histories of places. For instance:

- National Headquarters, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, New York, NY: Bayard Rustin, the “organizational genius” who worked closely with other civil rights leaders at office planning this landmark event in 1963, was a (relatively) openly gay man. Fearing repercussions, organizers asked him to stay in the background. It was at the event that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. gave his “I Have a Dream” speech. The nomination of the headquarters building also mentions other LGBTQ+ connections. From 1920 to 1924, Dr. Katherine B. Davis headed a board that managed the Sojourner Truth House, a temporary home in this building for “delinquent colored girls.” Outside of this work, Davis worked in corrections and as the head of the Bureau of Social Hygiene. In 1929, her book *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-Two Hundred Women*, was published. In it, she presented the results of her research that established that homoerotic experiences were common among “normal women.” The response to her work forced her into an early retirement.⁸⁵
- The Women’s Building, San Francisco: This was one of the first women-owned and women-operated community centers in the United States. The number of groups and organizations that met here is extensive, and includes the Lavender Youth Recreation Center, California Women of Color, ACT/UP San Francisco, Children’s Rights Advocates, the National Asian Women’s Health Project, Lesbian Visual Artists, the Women’s Philharmonic, the Women’s Alcoholism Center, and the Women’s Cancer Resource Center. The center also sponsored numerous community projects, including WRY CRIPS Disabled Women’s Theater Arts, Generation Five (promoting education to end child sexual abuse), Promoterías Latinas Comunitarias de Salud (promoting Latino community health), and the SF Network for Battered Lesbian and Bisexual Women. Events were also held in the space, including a Jewish memorial service for slain gay rights leader Harvey Milk; a day of workshops and a dance organized by the Gay Latino Alliance and the Third World Gay Caucus, called Third World Gay Day; a benefit dance supporting the first national Bisexual Conference; the first FTM (female to male) transgender conference of the Americas; and more.⁸⁶
- Pauli Murray Family Home, Durham, NC: Pauli Murray grew up here with her grandparents and aunts. Throughout her life, Murray struggled with her sexual and gender identities. As well as facing discrimination for these parts of her identity, she was also kept out of schools and jobs as a Black woman. The discrimination she faced because of these interlocking identities informed her groundbreaking work in civil rights, including an articulation of the concept of “Jane Crow” and retaining “sex” as a prohibited ground for discrimination in what became the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Thurgood Marshall referred to her book, *States’ Laws on Race and Color* (1951) as “the bible” of segregation laws and used it to prepare his arguments on behalf of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the US Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board of Education*. Marshall himself would become a Supreme Court justice, and Murray’s work also inspired Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg.⁸⁷
- Japanese YWCA / *Issei* Women’s Building, San Francisco: The Japanese Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) was founded at a time when segregation kept Japanese women from using city’s main YWCA. The women

of San Francisco’s Japanese community spent years raising money, and in 1932, opened their doors. Legally forbidden from owning property because of California’s Alien Land Law, the women struck a deal with the San Francisco YWCA (SFYWCA) to purchase and hold the property and building in trust. After Executive Order 9066 was issued on February 19, 1942, and all people of Japanese ancestry were forced into internment camps, the SFYWCA took over operations. From 1942 to 1959, they rented it to the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). During WWII the AFSC worked with conscientious objectors and refugees, as well as sending material and emotional support to those forcibly held in the Japanese internment camps. In 1943, the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE) formed, and set up their offices here. That summer, CORE invited Bayard Rustin (see above) to teach a seven-week course on “meeting the problems of racial discrimination.” In 1954, the Mattachine Society, a homophile organization founded in 1950, held their first convention in the building’s auditorium. The agenda included discussions on legislation, public relations, and legal policies, a speech about the “sexual deviation” research being conducted at the University of California’s Langley Porter Clinic, and an award given to the Institute for Sex Research (later the Kinsey Institute) for their groundbreaking studies on human sexuality.⁸⁸

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By embracing these complex narratives, not shying away from negative events, and avoiding “single stories,” these nominations present and preserve a much richer and more accurate history of the United States. As well as being good practice, this type of work becomes critical in times like these, serving as examples of empathy, accurate histories, and representation in a climate where the poisons of intolerance, erasure of history, and violence against those perceived as “other” is on the rise.

Did I ever get to Stonewall? I finally did. And when the uniformed park ranger came out as queer during their interpretation, I teared up. And my sixteen-year-old self, who had struggled coming out with no positive role models and fearful of how being queer would affect her future, healed a little.

ENDNOTES

1. Mark Meinke, National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) Nomination, “Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence” (Washington, DC), 2006; <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/117692243> (listed: 11/2/2011).
2. Carl Luss, NRHP Nomination, “Cherry Grove Community House & Theatre” (Bay Shore, NY), 2013 (listed 6/4/2013).
3. Molly R. McDonald, NRHP Nomination, “Carrington House” (Fire Island, NY), 2012; <https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/13001057> (listed 1/8/2014).
4. Santiago Gala and Juan Llanes, NHRP Nomination, “Edificio Comunidad de Orgullo Gay de Puerto Rico” (San Juan, PR), 2016; <https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/16000237> (listed: 5/1/2016).
5. Mark W. Meinke, NRHP Nomination, “The Furies Collective” (Washington, DC), 2015; <https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/89f205e3-90cf-405f-94c2-68a2e75e3326> (listed: 5/2/2016).
6. Barack Obama, “Remarks by the President at the 50th Anniversary of the Selma to Montgomery Marches” (Washington, DC: Office of the Press Secretary), 2015. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/03/07/remarks-president-50th-anniversary-selma-montgomery-marches>
7. President Obama had also previously recognized the importance of Stonewall in American history. In his second inaugural address in January 2013, he said, “We, the people, declare today that the most evident of truths, that all of us are created equal, is the star that guides us still, just as it guided our forebearers to Seneca Falls and Selma and Stonewall.” Barack Obama, “Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama” (Washington, DC: Office of the Press Secretary), 2013. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2013/01/21/inaugural-address-president-barack-obama>
8. This decision was supported by the boundaries established in Stonewall’s previous National Register and National Historic Landmark (NHL) nominations, neither of which incorporated the Stonewall bar itself. David Carter, Andrew Scott Dolkart, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, NRHP Nomination, “Stonewall” (New York City, NY), 1999, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75319963> (listed: 6/28/1999); David Carter, Andrew Scott Dolkart, Gale Harris,

- and Jay Shockley, NHL Nomination, “Stonewall” (New York City, NY), 1999, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75315976> (designated: 2/16/2000).
9. Senator Kirsten Gillibrand (for herself and Mr. Schumer [Senator Charles Schumer]), “S.2386. A bill to authorize the establishment of the Stonewall National Historic Site....” Introduction of Bills and Joint Resolutions, *Congressional Record* 161(179): S8602. December 10, 2015—Senate, <https://www.congress.gov/congressional-record/volume-161/issue-179/senate-section/article/S8602-3>; Congressman Jerry Nadler, “H.R.4230. A bill to authorize the establishment of the Stonewall National Historic Site....” Public Bills and Resolutions, *Congressional Record* 161(179): H9269. December 10, 2015—House, <https://www.congress.gov/congressional-record/volume-161/issue-179/house-section/article/H9269-2>
 10. Glad Day Bookshop opened in 1970, and is the oldest queer bookstore in the world. Phil Villeneuve, “The Fascinating History of Toronto’s Oldest Bookstore,” *blogTO*, February 19, 2017; <https://www.blogto.com/arts/2017/02/fascinating-history-toronto-oldest-bookstore-glad-day/>. The Steps at the Second Cup coffee shop served as the *de facto* heart of the Village: the place to meet, to watch people, etc.—at least until the building owner removed the steps to discourage “loitering.” The Second Cup was located here from 1992 to 2005. Rob Salerno. “Second Cup to Return to Church St.,” *Xtra**, September 11, 2011; <https://xtramagazine.com/culture/second-cup-to-return-to-church-st-6345>. The Toronto Women’s Bookstore was tucked away on a side street in a neighborhood dominated by the University of Toronto. When it closed in 2012, it had been in business for 39 years. Bruce DeMara, “Toronto Women’s Bookstore Closing After 39 Years,” *The Toronto Star*, October 9, 2012. https://www.thestar.com/entertainment/2012/10/09/toronto_womens_bookstore_closing_after_39_years.html
 11. Gail Dubrow, “Deviant History, Defiant Heritage,” *The Friends of 1800* (blog), 2002. <http://www.friendsof1800.org/VIEWPOINT/dubrow.html>
 12. For a more in-depth description of my path to the NPS LGBTQ initiative, see 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*, Megan E. Springate, ed. (Washington, DC: National Park Foundation and National Park Service, 2016), pp. 02-3 to 02-6. <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>
 13. Megan E. Springate, “Respectable Holidays: The Archaeology of Capitalism and Identities at the Crosbyside Hotel (c. 1870–1902) and Wiawaka Holiday House (mid-1910s–1929), Lake George, New York,” PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Maryland–College Park, 2017. <http://hdl.handle.net/1903/19952>
 14. The first archive of the Lesbian, Bisexual, Gay and Transgender Heritage Initiative webpage on [NPS.gov](http://www.nps.gov) was April 12, 2014. <https://web.archive.org/web/20140412170229/http://www.nps.gov/heritageinitiatives/LGBTHistory/>
 15. For a full list of attendees at the scholars’ roundtable, see Springate, *LGBTQ America*, vi–viii. A transcript of the public panel can be found at <http://transcripts.castingwords.com/200/180371.html>.
 16. On the panel were Stephen Pitti, National Park System Advisory Board, chair of the subcommittee on National Historic Landmarks; Eliza Byard, executive director of GLSEN; Julio Capo, Jr., assistant professor of history at the University of Massachusetts–Amherst; Jack Jen Giesecking, a postdoctoral fellow in New Media and Data Visualization at Bowdoin College; and Mark Meinke, a pioneer in documenting DC’s LGBTQ history. John Berry was the first openly gay US ambassador to a G-20 nation, and before that, had been the highest-ranking openly gay official to serve in the executive branch of any US administration.
 17. National Park Service, “Administrative History: LGBTQ Heritage Initiative,” Frequently Asked Questions and Background section, 2019 (updated). <https://www.nps.gov/articles/lgbtqheritageadminhist.htm>
 18. “Cis-gendered” refers to a person whose gender identity (how they feel) and their gender expression (how they appear) matches the gender they were assigned at birth. The prefixes “cis-“ and “trans-“ come from science (particularly chemistry) where “cis-“ means that particular parts of a chemical structure are located on the same side, while “trans-“ means they are opposite, or across from each other. Jonathan Jarry, “The Word ‘Cisgender’ Has Scientific Roots,” *McGill Office for Science and Society: Separating Sense from Nonsense*, November 13, 2021. <https://www.mcgill.ca/oss/article/history-general-science/word-cisgender-has-scientific-roots>
 19. Intersectionality recognizes that various axes of identity (gender, sex, class, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, etc.) influence and are influenced by each other. People with different sets of intersecting identities have different—often very different—histories. An understanding of intersectionality goes back at least to the 19th century (e.g., Sojourner Truth’s “Ain’t I A Woman,” 1851). See also the Combahee River Collective Statement of 1977 for a discussion of interlocking oppressions; Kimberlé Crenshaw, “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics,” *University of*

- Chicago Legal Forum* 140 (1989): 139–167; and Megan E. Springate, “A Note about Intersectionality” In Springate, *LGBTQ America* (Chapter 7).
20. Carter et al., NRHP, “Stonewall”; Meinke, NRHP, “Kameny”; Luss, NRHP, “Cherry Grove Community House”; McDonald, NRHP, “Carrington.”
 21. Carter et al., NHL, “Stonewall.”
 22. While some limit their census of LGBTQ sites listed on the NRHP or designated NHLs to those listed specifically for their association with LGBTQ history, I take a broader approach, and include those nominations that mention the LGBTQ identity of associated people. Just as in the early days of women’s history and African American history, the mere mention of their existence is revolutionary.
 23. Nancy C. Taylor, NRHP Nomination, “Halcyon House” (Washington, DC), 1970, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/117692202> (listed: 3/31/1971); Megan E. Springate. “Introduction to the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative Theme Study,” p. 02-27.
 24. The NRHP nomination notes stories that Elizabeth White, Clemons’ wife, insisted that he stay away from her. She never lived at Halcyon House. Perhaps their marriage was one of convenience; it was not uncommon for LGBTQ people to marry those of the opposite sex (known as “lavender marriages”) to conform to societal (and legal) expectations. See Tracy Baim, “Sex, Love, and Relationships,” in Springate, *LGBTQ America*, Chapter 17. Artifacts recovered at the site suggest that Clemons may have hosted (and been part of) an underground drag scene at Halcyon House during Prohibition. Jenn Lupu, “Working with the Halcyon Collection, Part 1” *Society for Historical Archaeology Blog*, August 4, 2020, https://sha.org/blog/2020/08/halcyoncollection_part1/.
 25. Jeff O’Dell, NRHP Nomination, “Holley Graded School” (Lottsburg, VA), 1989, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/41682288> (listed: 12/19/1990).
 26. Florence K. Lentz, NRHP Nomination, “First Methodist Protestant Church of Seattle” (Seattle, WA,) 1993, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75612508> (listed: 5/14/1993).
 27. Stephen A. Morris, “Stonewall—An Icon in Gay History—Recognized by the National Register,” *CRM: Cultural Resource Management* 22(8): 19 (1999).
 28. In the summer of 1998, the Department of Interior branch of GLOBE (Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Employees of the Federal Government) had the idea of adding Stonewall to the National Register of Historic Places, in part as a legacy project for the Clinton Administration, which had appointed numerous LGBTQ people to government posts, including at the Department of Interior. Collaborating with Andrew Dolkart, a historic preservation consultant, the Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects and Designers (OLGAD), and the Greenwich Village Society for Historic Preservation, this effort was successful (Morris, “Stonewall—An Icon”; Stephen A. Morris, “Interior GLOBE Sparked and Guided the Collaborative Effort to Recognize Stonewall,” *Interior Globe News*, Spring 2000, Issue 1. But there were also previous efforts to have the property identified as an historic site. The earliest appears to have been in 1973 (just four years after the Stonewall Uprising), when Dr. Bruce Voeller, a member of the Gay Activists Alliance (and later founder of the National Gay Task Force) applied to the New York City Landmark Preservation Commission for city designation. The commission declined. Jameson Currier, “Stonewall Wins Place in History,” *New York Blade*, June 25, 1999 (copy in Carter et al., NHL, “Stonewall”). In 1993, the associate regional director for planning and resource protection in the NPS Mid-Atlantic Regional Office sent a memo to the NPS chief historian requesting a review of the potential for Stonewall to be designated an NHL—a request initiated by OLGAD (Memorandum from chief historian, NPS, to associate regional director, planning and resource protection, NPS Mid-Atlantic Region, “Proposed Stonewall Inn National Historic Landmark Nomination, March 4, 1994” (copy in Carter et al., NRHP, “Stonewall”). Included in their response indicating that the nomination would not succeed, the chief historian recommended completing a National Register nomination for local or state significance instead, and noted that there was no existing theme study by which to evaluate an NHL nomination. See also Jay Shockley, “Preservation of LGBTQ Historic & Cultural Sites—A New York City Perspective,” in Springate, *LGBTQ America*, pp. 26–9–26–11.
 29. John M. Tess, NRHP Nomination, “Hotel Alma” (Portland, OR), 2009, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/77848370> (listed: 9/9/2009).
 30. Taylor, NRHP, “Halcyon House”; O’Dell, NRHP, “Holley Graded School”; Lentz, NRHP, “First Methodist Protestant”; Carter et al., NRHP, “Stonewall”; Clayton B. Fraser, NRHP Nomination “Dubuque Young Men’s Christian Association Building” (Dubuque, IA), 2001, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75338796> (listed: 1/31/2002); R. Laurie Simmons and Thomas H. Simmons, NRHP Nomination, “First Congregational Church” (Colorado Springs, CO), 2002, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/02001258> (listed: 10/31/2002); Daniel Tinkelman, NRHP Nomination,

“Congregation Tifereth Israel” (Brooklyn, NY), 2001, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75318357> (listed: 1/11/2002); Judy Molnar, NRHP Nomination, “Alpine County Courthouse” (Markleeville, CA), 2003, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123858381> (listed: 9/30/2004); Danforth W. Toan, NRHP Nomination, “Carson McCullers House” (South Nyack, NY), 2004, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75321466> (listed: 7/14/2006); Adriane Fowler, Jessica Koepfler, Terry Necciai, Liz Sargent, Donna Seifert, and Sarah Traum, NRHP Nomination, “DC Workhouse and Reformatory Historic District (Lorton, VA), 2005, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/41680473> (listed: 2/16/2006); Douglas Terpstra and Alan Tonetti, NRHP Multiple Property Documentation, “Federal and State Correctional Institutions in Ohio,” 2006, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/71986356> (listed: 8/11/2006); Emily T. Cooperman, NRHP Nomination, “1964-1965 New York World’s Fair New York State Pavilion” (Flushing, NY), 2009, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75321054> (listed: 11/20/2009); Michael R. Corbett and Anne Bloomfield, NRHP Nomination, “Uptown Tenderloin Historic District” (San Francisco, CA), 2008, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123861345> (listed: 2/5/2009); Tess, NRHP, “Hotel Alma”; Betty Alderson. NRHP Nomination, “Plymouth Congregational Church” (Lawrence, KS) 2008, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123862697> (listed: 9/2/2009); Rev. Heidi Neumark, NRHP Nomination, “Trinity Lutheran Church of Manhattan” (New York City, NY), 2009, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75319998> (listed: 9/16/2009); Tom Harper, NRHP Nomination, “United Presbyterian Center” (Lawrence, KS), 2008, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123863824> (listed: 9/9/2009); Andrew S. Dolkart, NRHP Nomination, “Westbeth” (New York City, NY), 2009, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75320069> (listed: 12/8/2009); Leroy Blommaert, Breanna Boulton, Thom Greene, Ann Halbrook, Katie Jefferies, Trisha Logan, Kristine Menas, Lauren Oswalt, Maura Pilcher, Ellen Shepard, and Nelson White, NRHP Nomination, “Andersonville Commercial Historic District” (Chicago, IL), 2007, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/28892266> (listed: 3/9/2010); Vanderbilt University Campus Planning, NRHP Nomination “Alumni Memorial Hall, Vanderbilt University” (Nashville, TN), 2010, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/135817929> (listed: 7/6/2011); Meinke, NRHP, “Kameny”; Vincent Marsh, NRHP Nomination, “Richard P. Doolan Residence and Storefronts” (San Francisco, CA), 2009, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/123861087> (listed 5/11/2011); Susannah Ribstein, NRHP Nomination, “Roger Brown Home and Studio” (Chicago, IL), 2010, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/28892523> (listed: 2/22/2011); Francis Kowsky and Martin Wachadlo, NRHP Boundary Increase, “Allentown Historic District” (Buffalo, NY), 2011, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75317534> (boundary increase: 2/14/2012); Kerri Culhane, David Mulkins, Sally Young, and Mitchell Grubler, NRHP Nomination, “The Bowery Historic District” (New York City, NY), 2011, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/299316bc-9174-4860-beb0-b14d2a6bd37e> (listed: 2/20/2013); Luss, NRHP, “Cherry Grove”; Rachel D. Carley, NRHP Nomination, “James Merrill House” (Stonington, CT), 2013, <https://npgallery.nps.gov/AssetDetail/NRIS/13000618> (listed: 8/28/2013); McDonald, NRHP, “Carrington House”; Carter et al., NHL, “Stonewall.”

31. NPS, “Henry Gerber,” earliest archive March 22, 2014, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140322074138/http://www.nps.gov/gois/historyculture/henry-gerber.htm> (current version: “LGBT History on Governors Island” <https://www.nps.gov/gois/learn/historyculture/henry-gerber.htm>).
32. Damon Scott with Friends of 1800, *Sexing the City: The Development of Sexual Identity Based Subcultures in San Francisco, 1933–1979* (San Francisco: Friends of 1800, 2004). http://www.friendsof1800.org/context_statement.pdf
33. Diane Sawyer and Caitlyn Jenner. “Bruce Jenner—The Interview,” *ABC News* 20/20, April 24, 2015; *Obergefell v. Hodges* 576 U.S. 644 (2015), <https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/boundvolumes/576BV.pdf> (starts on page 644); Ralph Ellis, Ashley Fantz, Faith Karimi, and Elliott C. McLaughlin, “Orlando Shooting: 49 killed, Shooter Pledged ISIS Allegiance,” *CNN.com* June 13, 2016, <https://www.cnn.com/2016/06/12/us/orlando-nightclub-shooting>; Terri Moon Cronk, “Transgender Service Members Can Now Serve Openly, Carter Announces” *DoD News*, June 30, 2016. <https://www.defense.gov/News/News-Stories/Article/Article/822235/transgender-service-members-can-now-serve-openly-carter-announces/>
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