

Maryland
LGBTQ
Historic Context
Study

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With Benjamin Egerman

**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.¹ 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

¹ 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.² 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.³

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.⁴ 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.⁵

² 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.

³ 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. 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.

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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; 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.⁶

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; 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.

⁶ 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.⁷

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.⁸ This research, also conducted by Susan Ferentinos, included outreach to the Maryland Historical Trust, Preservation Maryland, and Baltimore Heritage, to identify any LGBTQ-related

⁷ 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.

⁸ 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.⁹

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).¹⁰

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

⁹ 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>.

¹⁰ 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.¹¹

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

¹¹ 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."¹² 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.¹³

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

¹² 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).

¹³ 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*.¹⁴

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.¹⁵

¹⁴ 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).

¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ The incorporation of LGBTQ history into museum interpretation and historic preservation followed even later.¹⁷

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

¹⁶ 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.

¹⁷ 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.¹⁸

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.¹⁹ Nevertheless, the point remains the same: there is a lot of work left to

¹⁸ 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.

¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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.²¹ 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

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>.

²⁰ Springate, *LGBTQ America*, 2016.

²¹ 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.²²

²² 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.²³ 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.²⁴

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.

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).

²³ 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.

²⁴ 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.²⁵

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,

²⁵ 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.²⁶

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

²⁶ 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.²⁷

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.²⁸

²⁷ 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.”

²⁸ 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.²⁹

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.³⁰

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

²⁹ 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).

³⁰ 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.³¹

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.³²

³¹ 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.

³² 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.³³

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.³⁴

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

³³ 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*.

³⁴ 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.³⁵

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

³⁵ 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.³⁶

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.³⁷

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.³⁸

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

³⁷ Kaufman, 38–39.

³⁸ 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.³⁹

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.⁴⁰

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

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

⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹

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.⁴²

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

⁴¹ 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).

⁴² 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.⁴³

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.⁴⁴

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.⁴⁵ 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

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

⁴⁴ 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.

⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶

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?⁴⁷

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.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ 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.

⁴⁷ 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).

⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹

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.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ 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

⁵⁰ 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 1634.⁵¹

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

⁵¹ 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.⁵²

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.⁵³

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

⁵² 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.”

⁵³ 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.⁵⁴

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 1681.⁵⁵

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

⁵⁴ 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>.

⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶

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.⁵⁷

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

⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸

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.⁵⁹

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

⁵⁸ 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.

⁵⁹ 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.⁶⁰

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.

⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹

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

⁶¹ 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.⁶²

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.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴

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.

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

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

⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵

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.⁶⁶

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

⁶⁵ Chapelle and Russo, *Maryland*, 25.

⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷

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.⁶⁸

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

⁶⁷ 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.

⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹

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.”⁷⁰

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

⁶⁹ 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.

⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹

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.⁷²

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,

⁷¹ 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.

⁷² 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.”⁷³

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.⁷⁴

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.⁷⁵

⁷³ 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.

⁷⁴ 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.

⁷⁵ 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.⁷⁶

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.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ 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.

⁷⁷ 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.⁷⁸

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

⁷⁸ 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.⁷⁹

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.”⁸⁰

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

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

⁸⁰ 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.⁸¹

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

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): 47–56.⁸¹ 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.⁸²

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.”⁸³

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

⁸² 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).

⁸³ 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.⁸⁴

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

⁸⁴ 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.⁸⁵

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.⁸⁶

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-

⁸⁵ 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).

⁸⁶ 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.⁸⁷

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.⁸⁸

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

⁸⁷ 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.

⁸⁸ 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.⁸⁹

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.⁹⁰

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

⁸⁹ 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.

⁹⁰ “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.⁹¹

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.⁹²

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

⁹¹ 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.

⁹² 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.⁹³

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-

⁹³ 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.⁹⁴

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

⁹⁴ 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).⁹⁵

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.⁹⁶

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."⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States*, 63–70.

⁹⁶ 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."

⁹⁷ "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.⁹⁸ 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

⁹⁸ 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.⁹⁹

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.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ 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.

¹⁰⁰ 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.”¹⁰¹

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

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

¹⁰¹ 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.¹⁰²

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.¹⁰³ 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.¹⁰⁴

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

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

¹⁰³ “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.

¹⁰⁴ “‘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.¹⁰⁵

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.¹⁰⁶

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

¹⁰⁵ 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/>.

¹⁰⁶ 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).¹⁰⁷

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.¹⁰⁸

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.¹⁰⁹ 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*.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ 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>.

¹⁰⁸ 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.

¹⁰⁹ Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers*, 14.

¹¹⁰ 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).¹¹¹

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

¹¹¹ 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.¹¹²

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.¹¹³

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.

¹¹² 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.

¹¹³ 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.¹¹⁴

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.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ 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>.

¹¹⁵ 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.”¹¹⁶ 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.¹¹⁷

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.¹¹⁸

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

¹¹⁶ 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.

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

¹¹⁸ 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.¹¹⁹ 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.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ 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.”

¹²⁰ 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.¹²¹

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

¹²¹ 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.¹²²

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.¹²³

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.¹²⁴

¹²² Rohn, “Maryland Women’s Suffrage.”

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

¹²⁴ 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.¹²⁵

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.¹²⁶

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

¹²⁵ 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).

¹²⁶ 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.¹²⁷

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.¹²⁸

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

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

¹²⁸ 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.¹²⁹

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.¹³⁰

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

¹²⁹ 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.

¹³⁰ 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.¹³¹

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

¹³¹ 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 1914.¹³²

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.¹³³

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.¹³⁴

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-

¹³² 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.

¹³³ "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.

¹³⁴ 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.¹³⁵

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.¹³⁶

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.¹³⁷

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

¹³⁵ Wake, *Private Practices*, 1–12.

¹³⁶ 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).

¹³⁷ 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.¹³⁸

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.¹³⁹

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.

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

¹³⁹ 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.¹⁴⁰

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

¹⁴⁰ 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).¹⁴¹

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.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ 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.

¹⁴² 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.¹⁴³

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.¹⁴⁴

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

¹⁴³ 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).

¹⁴⁴ 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.¹⁴⁵

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.¹⁴⁶

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

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

¹⁴⁶ 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.¹⁴⁷

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 1943.¹⁴⁸

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

¹⁴⁷ 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).

¹⁴⁸ 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.¹⁴⁹

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 1961.¹⁵⁰ 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."¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ 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).

¹⁵⁰ Johnson, *Lavender Scare*, 65–67; Capozzola, "Sumner Welles."

¹⁵¹ 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.¹⁵²

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.

¹⁵² 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.¹⁵³

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.¹⁵⁴

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

¹⁵³ 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).

¹⁵⁴ 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.¹⁵⁵

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 1966.¹⁵⁶

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

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

¹⁵⁶ 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."¹⁵⁷

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

¹⁵⁷ 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; 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.¹⁵⁸

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.¹⁵⁹

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.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ 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).

¹⁵⁹ 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.

¹⁶⁰ 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.¹⁶¹

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.¹⁶²

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.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ 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.

¹⁶² The Luther Allen residence is located at 3509 N. Calvert Street in Baltimore.

¹⁶³ 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 2020.¹⁶⁴

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.¹⁶⁵

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

¹⁶⁴ 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.

¹⁶⁵ 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."¹⁶⁶

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

¹⁶⁶ 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.¹⁶⁷

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.¹⁶⁸

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

¹⁶⁷ 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.”

¹⁶⁸ 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).¹⁶⁹

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,

¹⁶⁹ 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.¹⁷⁰

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.¹⁷¹

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

¹⁷⁰ Bailey, "As Proud of Our Gayness, As We Are Our Blackness," 113–14. The GLCCB papers are held at the University of Baltimore.

¹⁷¹ 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).¹⁷²

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.¹⁷³

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

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

¹⁷³ 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.¹⁷⁴

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

¹⁷⁴ 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.¹⁷⁵ In the words of historian Lillian Faderman, “They had no interest in reforming society. It had to be torn down and redone from scratch.”¹⁷⁶

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).¹⁷⁷

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).¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ 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.

¹⁷⁶ Faderman, *The Gay Revolution*, 239.

¹⁷⁷ 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>.

¹⁷⁸ 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.¹⁷⁹

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.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ 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).

¹⁸⁰ 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.¹⁸¹

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

¹⁸¹ 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.¹⁸²

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.¹⁸³

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.¹⁸⁴

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

¹⁸² 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>.

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

¹⁸⁴ 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).¹⁸⁵

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

¹⁸⁵ 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.¹⁸⁶

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.¹⁸⁷

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

¹⁸⁶ 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.

¹⁸⁷ 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.¹⁸⁸

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.¹⁸⁹

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.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ 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>.

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

¹⁹⁰ 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.¹⁹¹

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.¹⁹²

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

¹⁹¹ Faderman, 439.

¹⁹² 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.

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.¹⁹³

¹⁹³ 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.¹⁹⁴

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.¹⁹⁵

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

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.

¹⁹⁴ “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.

¹⁹⁵ 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).¹⁹⁶

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).¹⁹⁷

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

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

¹⁹⁷ 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).¹⁹⁸

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.¹⁹⁹

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.²⁰⁰

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

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

¹⁹⁹ 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>.

²⁰⁰ 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.²⁰¹

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.²⁰²

²⁰¹ 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. .

²⁰² 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.²⁰³

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

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/>.

²⁰³ 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 2018.²⁰⁴

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.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ 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; “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; 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; 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; 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.

²⁰⁵ 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.²⁰⁶

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

²⁰⁶ 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.²⁰⁷

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

²⁰⁷ 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).²⁰⁸

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.²⁰⁹

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

²⁰⁸ 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.

²⁰⁹ 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.²¹⁰

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.²¹¹

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

²¹⁰ 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/>.

²¹¹ 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.²¹²

²¹² "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.²¹³ The themes are:

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

²¹³ 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.²¹⁴

Social Life and Support

²¹⁴ 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.²¹⁵

This category includes the gay bar, which many people consider the ultimate representation of queer space.²¹⁶ 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).²¹⁷

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

²¹⁵ Boyle et al., "A Place to Start," 44.

²¹⁶ 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>.

²¹⁷ 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.²¹⁸

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.²¹⁹

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

²¹⁸ 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).

²¹⁹ 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.²²⁰

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).²²¹

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

²²⁰ Kelley, *LGBT Baltimore*, 48.

²²¹ 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.²²² 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).²²³

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

²²² 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>.

²²³ 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.”²²⁴

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.²²⁵

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.²²⁶ The process has been long and is not yet over, and it has involved many issues, from the legalization of same-sex sexual behavior,

²²⁴ 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.

²²⁵ 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.

²²⁶ 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.²²⁷

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.²²⁸

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

²²⁷ 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).

²²⁸ 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.²²⁹

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.²³⁰

²²⁹ 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>.

²³⁰ 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.²³¹

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

²³¹ 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.²³²

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.²³³

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

²³² 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.

²³³ 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 1983.²³⁴

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).²³⁵

²³⁴ 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/>.

²³⁵ 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.²³⁶

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.²³⁷

²³⁶ 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>.

²³⁷ 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.²³⁸

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.²³⁹

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).

²³⁸ 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.

²³⁹ 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.²⁴⁰

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.²⁴¹

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.²⁴²

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

²⁴⁰ 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>.

²⁴¹ Ferentinos, “Beyond the Bar,” 153.

²⁴² 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 2012.²⁴³

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.²⁴⁴

²⁴³ 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>.

²⁴⁴ 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).²⁴⁵

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

²⁴⁵ 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.²⁴⁶

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.²⁴⁷

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

²⁴⁶ 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.

²⁴⁷ 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).²⁴⁸

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.²⁴⁹

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.²⁵⁰

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

²⁴⁹ 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/>.

²⁵⁰ 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.²⁵¹

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.²⁵²

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.²⁵³ 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....²⁵⁴

²⁵¹ 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.

²⁵² 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.

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

²⁵⁴ 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?²⁵⁵

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

²⁵⁵ “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.²⁵⁶

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.²⁵⁷ 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.²⁵⁸

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

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

²⁵⁷ Baker and Stanley, *Hello Sailor!*, 6–9.

²⁵⁸ 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 complicated²⁵⁹

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.”²⁶⁰ 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.²⁶¹

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

²⁵⁹ Zeeland, 5–7.

²⁶⁰ 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>.

²⁶¹ 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.²⁶²

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 1982-1989.²⁶³

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

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

²⁶³ 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).²⁶⁴

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.²⁶⁵

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?²⁶⁶

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

²⁶⁴ Bailey, “As Proud of Our Gayness, As We Are Our Blackness.”

²⁶⁵ 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; Esther Newton, *Cherry Grove, Fire Island: Sixty Years in America’s First Gay and Lesbian Town* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993).

²⁶⁶ 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.²⁶⁷

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.²⁶⁸

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

²⁶⁷ 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.

²⁶⁸ 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.²⁶⁹

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.²⁷⁰ 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.²⁷¹

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

²⁶⁹ 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).

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

²⁷¹ 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 2015.²⁷²

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.

²⁷² 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.²⁷³

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.²⁷⁴

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

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

²⁷⁴ 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.²⁷⁵ 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.²⁷⁶

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.

²⁷⁵ 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.*

²⁷⁶ 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.

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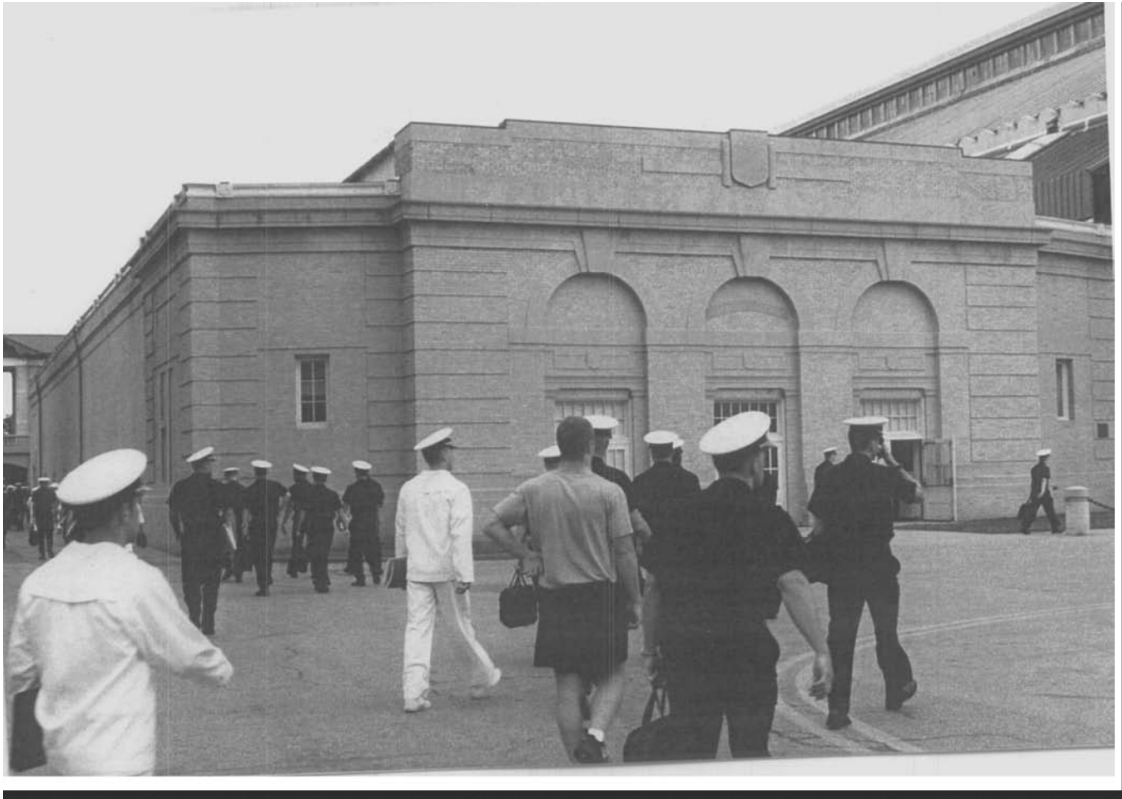
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Appendix A:
Photographs

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.



#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.

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

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.

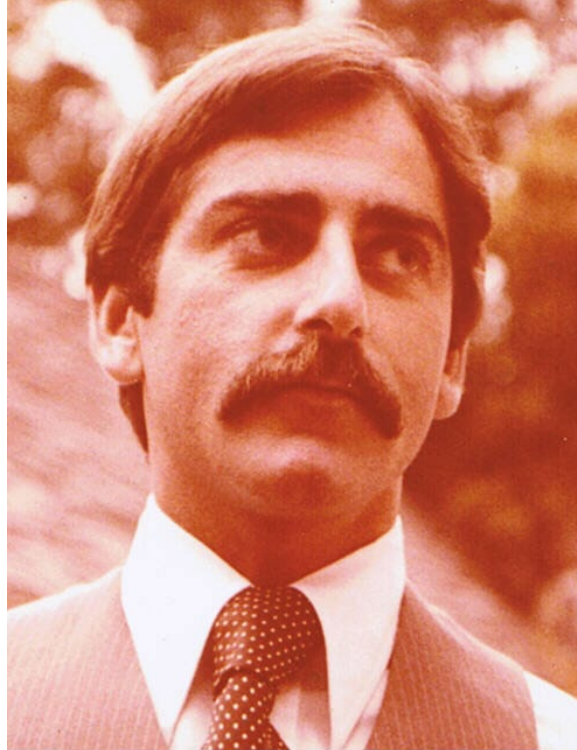
Photo by Benjamin Egerman, 2020.



#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.

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>.

Appendix BE-1: Gay and Lesbian Guide Listings

Site Address	Site Name	Years in Guide	Description/Notes
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About/how to use this document:

The listings in this appendix are gathered from a number of different travel guides made primarily for gay men and Lesbians. Though the first such guides were written in the 1940s, the mass publication of them only began in the mid-1960s. The main guide in this document, is variously called "Bob Damron's Address Book," "Damron's Address Book," or "Damron's Guide." Later the field grew, and numerous guides exist, including some aimed specifically at Lesbians and bisexual women, such as "Gaia's Guide". The listings were often inaccurate, getting key details such as names or addresses wrong.

These books existed as a sort of LGBTQ+ equivalent of a "green book," ensuring people travelling knew the places to go where they would be safe to have a drink, rent a room, or meet someone. Because LGBTQ+ culture is often inseparable from sexual practices, these guides included various codes to help the reader know what kind of partners they might find in a certain place, and many offered advice on where to go cruising for sex. The guides were generally coded with a number of different letters, numbers, or symbols signifying different things. A single listing might have no codes or many. Of note is many listings that say "mixed" or "mixed crowd," this means a mix of straight and gay patrons, and generally meant that it was a straight establishment where gays and/or lesbians frequented.

By compiling many years and multiple guides on an area, it becomes possible to get a good sense of when certain establishments were around, and often learn a bit about what they were like. In order to best make sense of these, I have coded the listings in different shades based off of the guides used. Because many LGBTQ+ bars change names or change hands frequently, you will often see a series of names associated with a single address. You will also see the dates it was listed in that guide, and lastly, the meaning of any codes associated and any further notes to help understand.

-Benjamin Egerman, 8/4/20

Guides

Damron's Address Book	1965-1966, 1968-1970, 1972-1980, 1985, 1987-1991, 1993-1995, 1997-1998, 2000-2001, 2003, 2006, 2008
Gaia's Guide	1977-1999, 1983-1985, 1989
Private Stock	1980

ANNAPOLIS

Accommodations and Travel

262 King George St	Cafe Bahia (B&B)	1990-1993	Mixed LGBTQ+ & Straight crowd, caters to gay men and lesbians
201 Prince George St	Two-O-One B&B		Gay-owned, gay men and lesbian friendly
8 Martin St	William Page Inn	1994-2008	Gay-friendly inn, noted as gay-owned and mixed crowd post 2001

Bars & Cafes

66 State Cir	Barrister Inn	1973-1974	Mixed crowd
47 State Cir	Grattis Cafe	1987-1998	
63 Maryland St	Little Campus	1965-1989	Mixed crowd
Severn Ave & 3rd St	Marmaduke's	1975-1980	Mixed crowd
Church Circle & Main St	Maryland Inn	1974-1980	Mixed crowd, young crowd, marijuana present
186 Main St	Port of Annapolis Bar	1973-1977	Mixed crowd
211 King George St	Red Coach	1965-1972	Mixed crowd

Cruising Spots

2020 West St	20/20 Video	1987-1989, 1995-1998	(listed as 'cruisy' 1987-1989) [This was the site of a series of major stings, including the one which eventually was challenged in court and overturned Maryland's sodomy law.]
City Dock	The Dock	1974-1975	

BALTIMORE

publications, organizations, services

101 E 25th St B-2	Cold Day in August	1977-1978	Monthly newsmagazine--includes a calendar of events for Baltimore women
3028 Greenmount Ave	Lesbian Community Center	1977-1979	(this is the Baltimore Lesbian Switchboard)
101 E 25th St	Baltimore Women's Liberation Center	1977-1978	
1110 St Paul St	Women's Growth Center	1977-1979	Therapy, referrals, lesbian rap and C-R
339 E 25th St	Women's Growth Center	1983-1985	
413 Southway	Women's Express	1989	News and an excellent women's events calendar. Monthly.

Accommodations and Travel

17 W Chase St	Chez Claire	1990-1998	Listed 1990-1991 as mixed crowd and both gay and lesbian friendly. Noted as a 'mostly gay hotel.' Loses mixed crowd 1993-1997, listed as gay friendly 1998
205 W Madison St	Shirley-Madison Inn (B&B)	1990-1994	Mixed crowd, gay-friendly
24 W Franklin	YMCA (H)(M)	1974-1980	Mixed crowd
3501 St Paul	Embassy Travel	1988-1989	International Gay Travel Assoc.
1303 N Charles St	Mt Royal Travel, Inc	1994-1997	International Gay Travel Assoc.
25 South St	Safe Harbors Travel	1994-1997	International Gay Travel Assoc.
58 W Biddle St	Abacrombie Badger B&B	1997-2008	Gay-friendly
205 W Madison St	Biltmore Suites B&B	1995-2008	Gay-friendly
612 Cathedral St	Clarion Hotel--Mt Vernon Sq	2000-2006	Gay-friendly
1601 Bolton St	Mr Mole B&B	1995-2003	Gay-friendly, noted as gay-owned 2001-2003
1637 Eastern Ave	The Convent B&B	2001	gay and lesbian, gay-owned
711 Eastern Ave	Harbor Inn Pier 5	2001-2008	
4250 Lynhurst Rd (at N Point Road)	Camp Rainbows	2003	mostly gay men, swimming, gay-owned, noted as waterfront campus
2018 Park Ave	Park Ave B&B	2006-2008	mixed crowd, gay-owned
8 E Pleasant St	Tremont Park Hotel	2006-2008	mixed crowd, wheelchair accessible

Religious Organizations

2233 St Paul St	MCC of Baltimore	1978-1980	
Park Ave at Wilson	MCC of Baltimore	1985	
27th & St Paul St (2640 St Paul)	MCC of Baltimore	1987-1993	
3401 Old York Rd	MCC of Baltimore	1998	
Mt Royal and Lafayette	Dignity (church)	1985	
(only PO box given)	Dignity (church)	1987	
740 N Calvert St	Dignity (church)	1990-1993	

Bars, Clubs, Baths

<u>1101 Cathedral St</u>	<i>Downtown Club</i>	1972-1973	Young crowd, dancing, likely to find marijuana, dancing, popular
	<i>Mary's</i>	1975-1980	Young crowd, disco, likely to find marijuana, dancing, popular on weekends, listed variously as having a mixed crowd some nights, some black clientele, primarily lesbians some nights
	<i>Mary's</i>	1977	
	<i>Mary's</i>	1980	Black clientele, dancing, entertainment, young crowd, popular
	<i>Allegro</i>	1988-2003	neighborhood joint
	<i>Allegro</i>	1989	"Dance bar. Women's night Thursday, is highly recommended. Piano Bar."
<u>Holiday & Fayette</u>	<i>Armistead Hotel Bar</i>	1966-1974	Mixed crowd, rough trade
<u>615 Fallsway</u>	<i>Atlantis</i>	1985-2003	Dancing, go-go boys
<u>Broadway & Elager?</u>	<i>B&B</i>	1974-1975	Mixed crowd restaurant
<u>2022 N Charles</u>	<i>Baltimore Eagle</i>	1993-2008	Leather and Levi
<u>1114 Cathedral</u>	<i>Barracks</i>	1977-1980	Baths, some western and s&m types, private 1978-1979. 1980 says "Burned, but should be reopening"
	<i>Barracks</i>	1980	Entertainment, food, expect sex, private
<u>5860 Belair Rd</u>	<i>Blue Parrot</i>	2008	gays and lesbians, neighborhood joint, food and karaoke
<u>Castle & Monument Sts</u>	<i>Cage</i>	1965-1975	Listed as having some dancing in 1975. Site of lawsuits and protests demanding desegregation.
<u>2206 N Charles St</u>	<i>Caf's Meow Steam Baths</i>	1974-1976	Baths
<u>Chase & Cathedral Sts</u>	<i>Chase Steam Baths</i>	1970	Baths
<u>Gay & Forest Sts</u>	<i>Cicero's</i>	1965-1968	Primarily lesbian, rough trade
<u>137 W North St</u>	<i>Cinema Follies Club</i>	1978-1979	Private, theatre, pool table
	<i>Cinema Follies Club</i>	1980	Expect sex, private, 24 hours, cruising in bathrooms, popular
<u>1735 Bank St</u>	<i>Bernie's Speakeasy</i>	1988-1991	Cruisy, older crowd, neighborhood in 1991
<u>300 W 30th St</u>	<i>Buckley's Pub</i>	1993	Mixed crowd, neighborhood. Unknown why two addresses
<u>806 S Potomac</u>	<i>Buckley's Pub</i>	1993	Lesbian bar, neighborhood. Unknown why two addresses
<u>4119 E Lombard</u>	<i>Butterfly</i>	1983	"Mostly women. Neighborhood. Live entertainment. Open daytime."
	<i>Butterfly</i>	1988-1989	Lesbian bar, dancing
<u>Lucern & Hudson</u>	<i>(Caroles) Crow's Nest</i>	1988-1989	some lesbian clientele
<u>1001 N Charles St</u>	<i>Flamingo's</i>	1991	Restaurant with mixed crowd and dancing
	<i>Central Station</i>	1983-2003	Gay and lesbian, entertainment, food, neighborhood popular
	<i>Grand Central</i>	2006-2008	Gay and lesbian, dancing, food, karaoke, drag, video, 18+
<u>Lafayette btween Charles & St Paul Sts</u>	<i>Cignals</i>	1987-1990	Disco 87-89, 1990 popular mixed, gay and lesbian, dancing, after hours, Saturday mostly gay, BYOB
<u>1722 N Charles</u>	<i>Club 1722</i>	1991-2008	Gay and lesbian, dancing, young crowd, BYOB, after hours.
<u>221 W Franklin</u>	<i>Club Bar</i>	1969-1970	Popular
<u>608 W Lexington St</u>	<i>Our Place</i>	1993-1997	Black clientele, dancing.
	<i>Club Bunns</i>	1997-2008	Gay and lesbian, dancing, Black clientele
<u>1105 Cathedral St</u>	<i>Club East Baths</i>	1970-1980	Noted as popular 1975 onwards, noted private starting 1979
	<i>Club Baths</i>	1980	Entertainment, food, expect sex, private, younger crowd, popular
<u>4020 E Lombard</u>	<i>Club Gypsies</i>	2008	Gay and lesbian, karaoke
<u>2549 N Howard St</u>	<i>Club Midnight</i>	1998-2000	Gay friendly, Sunday tea dance
<u>1103 E Pratt St</u>	<i>Snug's</i>	1965-1968	Lesbian bar, dancing, private
	<i>Club Mitchell</i>	1970-1972, 1974-1989	Lesbian bar, dancing, private, listed popular 1975 on. 1978 on notes "girls only," pool table, coffe after hours
	<i>Club Mitchell</i>	1977-1983, 1985, 1989	1983: "Mostly women. Membership. Shows. Food. The most popular women's bar in Baltimore--knock for entrance. 8pm-2am 7 days a week" 1989: "99% women and 'very lively'"
	<i>Orpheus</i>	1993-2006	Listed 1993 as gays and lesbians, dancing, entertainment, younger crowd. 1994 onwards as gay friendly, dancing, 18+
<u>900 E Monument St</u>	<i>Club Nine Hundred</i>	1969-1970, 1974-1975	1975 listed as both gays and lesbians, Black clientele, rough trade, dancing
<u>1101 Cathedral St</u>	<i>Club Phoenix</i>	2006-2008	Gays and lesbians, dancing, food, karaoke, video, drag
<u>710 N Howard St</u>	<i>Cyrano's</i>	1972	Young crowd, dancing, \$2 admission
<u>Lord Baltimore Hotel</u>	<i>Diamond Back Room Lord</i>	1965-1966	Mixed crowd, fancy
	<i>Baltimore Hotel Disco</i>		
<u>311 W Madison St</u>	<i>Coconuts Cafe</i>	1997-1998	Lesbian bar, dancing, wheelchair accessible
<u>18 Custom House Ave</u>	<i>Custom House Saloon</i>	1994-1995, 2000	Gay and lesbian, dancing, alternative music, video, nude dancers, hustlers
<u>302 W Read St</u>	<i>Drinkery</i>	1974-1975, 1977, 1980-2008	1977 listed as mostly gay men, best during day. 1980 lists mostly gay men, disco, dancing. 1985- says some older crowd, neighborhood bar added 1995
	<i>The Drinkery</i>	1984-1985	
<u>Water & Light sts</u>	<i>Eddie's</i>	1965-1974	Mixed, rough trade, S&M
<u>Pratt & Light Sts</u>	<i>Elmer's</i>	1969-1970	
<u>15 W Eager St</u>	<i>Fifteen West</i>	1988-1989	Listed as after hours and "should click"
	<i>Paloma's</i>	2001-2003	Gay and lesbian, dancing, food, entertainment
	<i>Eden's Lounge</i>	2008	Gay friendly
<u>Lombard & Eutaw Sts</u>	<i>Flamboyant (G)</i>	1969	
<u>2127 E Pratt St</u>	<i>Fran's</i>	1987-1989	Some lesbian clientele
	<i>Fran's</i>	1983-1989	"Older crowd, unsophisticated atmosphere and very friendly" 1985 just says "rough"
<u>4909 Edmonton</u>	<i>G & G</i>	1988-1989	Black clientele
<u>1735 Maryland Ave</u>	<i>Nellie's (Nelson Baker's)</i>	1968-1969	(Address is listed at this intersection)
	<i>Gallery</i>	1975-2008	Popular, western and S&M, restaurant. 1994 notes pool table, 1996 on notes gay men and lesbians
	<i>Gallery</i>	1980	Food, masculine/western/leather, popular
	<i>Studio Restaurant</i>	1980	Masculine/western/leather, open day and night
	<i>Studio Restaurant</i>	1985	(restaurant attached to Gallery)
<u>228 Park Ave</u>	<i>Go West/Club Mardi Gras</i>	1987-1990	Some western, levi, older crowd. Popular. Opens 11AM, notes to check out 'loft' and 'deck' bars
	<i>Club Mardi Gras</i>	1991-1998, 2001	1991 lists food and shows, Men, neighborhood, wheelchair accessible.
<u>3230 E Fairmont Ave</u>	<i>Harmon's Pub</i>	2001	Gay men and lesbians, neighborhood, wheelchair accessible
<u>419 N Paca St</u>	<i>Hats</i>	1985-1989	Restaurant for lunch, dancing, black clientele

<u>1 W Eager St</u>	<i>The Hippopotamus</i>	<u>1974-2008</u>	Marijuana, unisex, younger crowd, dancing, popular. 1975 adds "Far Out!" 1977 adds pool table and wednesday mostly Black crowd. Starting 1994 listed as gay and lesbian crowd, dancing, karaoke, video, wheelchair accessible, popular.
	<i>The Hippopotamus</i>	<u>1977-1989</u>	1984: "Tuesday night is women only. The rest of the time it's ok. 30% gay women. Local atmosphere. Disco, quiet area, two pool tables, electronic games, drag shows." 1989: "Disco & video bar. Women's nights, Weds."
	<i>Hippopotamus</i>	<u>1980</u>	Dancing, entertainment, young crowd, popular
<u>1626 Thames St</u>	<i>Eager St Saloon</i>	<u>1980</u>	Dancing, entertainment, young crowd
<u>715 Howard St</u>	<i>Horse You Came In On</i>	<u>1974-1977</u>	Mixed crowd, younger, dancing, restaurant, marijuana
<u>700 Howard St</u>	<i>Howard Bar</i>	<u>1974-1976</u>	Black clientele, rough trade, mixed crowd
<u>133 W North Ave</u>	<i>Howard St Book Store</i>	<u>1974</u>	
	<i>Icebreakers</i>	<u>1993-1994</u>	Mixed crowd, dancing, wheelchair access, country western, food
<u>3501 St Paul lower level arcade</u>	<i>Jack's LA Sauna</i>	<u>1976-1978-1985</u>	1976 listed as "baths-massage." Later there was a sting here and the owner and masseuses charged with prostitution
	<i>Jack's Health Spa (listed under "Special Services")</i>	<u>1980</u>	Hustlers, private. Address misprinted as 2501
<u>2204 Fleet St</u>	<i>Jay Bee's Saloon</i>	<u>1978</u>	Rough Trade
<u>225 W Read St</u>	<i>Jay's on Read</i>	<u>2008</u>	Mixed, piano bar
<u>Monument & Castle Sts</u>	<i>Key Hole</i>	<u>1977</u>	
<u>502 N Howard</u>	<i>Laura's</i>	<u>1979</u>	Dancing
<u>110 S Haven St</u>	<i>JB's It'll Do Bar</i>	<u>1989</u>	
<u>2318 Fleet St</u>	<i>Jonathans</i>	<u>1978</u>	Pool table, dancing, some younger crowd and rough trade
	<i>Jonathans</i>	<u>1985</u>	"Spectacular drag shows/6 video screens/their Christmas Dinner Party was for gay and lesbian parents and their children!"
	<i>Stallion Inn</i>	<u>1987</u>	Young crowd, videos, shows
<u>2312/4 Boston St</u>	<i>Julian's Lounge</i>	<u>1983-1984</u>	"Dance bar/young crowd. Clientele: 50% gay women."
	<i>Numbers</i>	<u>1989</u>	"Show-bar. Mostly men."
	<i>Numbers</i>	<u>1987-1993</u>	Some lesbian, some Black clientele, disco, dancing. 1989 on lists only dancing and shows.
<u>616 Eutaw</u>	<i>Last Stop</i>	<u>1985</u>	After Hours
<u>812 Madison Ave</u>	<i>Last Stop</i>	<u>1987-1989</u>	Black, weekends after hours
<u>Broadway & Thames St</u>	<i>Ledbetter's</i>	<u>1973-1977</u>	Mixed, marijuana, younger crowd
<u>Franklin & Paca Sts</u>	<i>Lena's</i>	<u>1972</u>	Black clientele
<u>870 Park Ave</u>	<i>Leon's</i>	<u>1965-2008</u>	Popular, listed some older crowd 1978, 1990 says food and neighborhood joint, wheelchair accessible added 1994
	<i>Leon's</i>	<u>1980</u>	Masculine/western/leather, older crowd
	<i>Tyson's Place (Restaurant)</i>	<u>1980</u>	S: Noticable presence of "straights and bisexuals" Y: Young crowd. * Popular
	<i>Tyson's Place (Restaurant)</i>	<u>1985</u>	
<u>1642 Light St</u>	<i>Lights, Camera, Action</i>	<u>1977-1978</u>	Shows, rough trade, disco, dancing, drag
<u>774 Washington St</u>	<i>Lynn's</i>	<u>1980-1997</u>	Patio noted 1987, 1990 notes neighborhood joint
	<i>Lynn's of Baltimore</i>	<u>1983</u>	
<u>Tyson & Mulberry Sts</u>	<i>Martick's</i>	<u>1965-1968</u>	Mixed
<u>1417 Maryland Ave</u>	<i>Maryland Bar</i>	<u>1970-1973</u>	Young crowd, popular
<u>2308 Boston Ave</u>	<i>Connie's Hideaway Lounge</i>	<u>1978</u>	Mixed crowd, lesbian bar, dancing
	<i>Connie's Hideaway Lounge</i>	<u>1977-1978</u>	"Food, dancing, pool table, entertainment"
	<i>Masquerade</i>	<u>1980-1987</u>	Lesbian bar, pool table, dancing, shows, popular
	<i>Masquerade</i>	<u>1979-1983</u>	"Youngish/mixed crowd."
<u>504 S Haven St</u>	<i>New Masquerade</i>	<u>1988-1989</u>	Lesbian bar, pool table, dancing, shows
	<i>Sue Ellen's</i>	<u>1993-1994</u>	Lesbian bar, dancing, popular
	<i>Hepburn's</i>	<u>1997</u>	Mixed crowd, dancing
<u>4330 E Lombard St</u>	<i>New Port in a Storm</i>	<u>1987-1989</u>	Lesbian bar
<u>710 N Howard St</u>	<i>New Port in a Storm</i>	<u>1989</u>	
	<i>Nite Owl</i>	<u>1973</u>	Young crowd, dancing, coffee, restaurant, after hours, popular
<u>21 E North Ave</u>	<i>O'Dells</i>	<u>1983</u>	"Men and women (monday mostly black), non-alcohol disco"
<u>Centre st btween Charles & St Paul Sts</u>	<i>O'Henry's</i>	<u>1974-1975</u>	Mixed, marijuana, younger crowd
<u>641 S Montford Ave</u> <u>(Listed in Gaia's as Foster & Montford)</u>	<i>Pegasus</i>	<u>1985</u>	
	<i>Pegasus</i>	<u>1988-1989</u>	Food, some lesbian clientele
	<i>Stars & Stripes</i>	<u>1990</u>	Food
	<i>Old Oak Tavern</i>	<u>1991-1994</u>	Mixed crowd, neighborhood joint
<u>1024 E Baltimore St</u>	<i>PJ's Place</i>	<u>1977-1979</u>	
<u>105 E Madison St</u>	<i>Owl's Nest</i>	<u>1974</u>	Coffee, restaurant, after hours
<u>Paca St near Saratoga St</u>	<i>Paca House</i>	<u>1972-1973</u>	
<u>1310 Russell St</u>	<i>Paradox</i>	<u>1998-2008</u>	Mixed crowd, dancing
<u>1302 Laurens St</u>	<i>Paradise</i>	<u>1985-1989</u>	Black clientele
<u>704 N Howard St</u>	<i>Parkers</i>	<u>1978-1980</u>	Black clientele, rough trade, hustlers
	<i>Parker's</i>	<u>1980</u>	Black clientele, hustlers, older crowd
<u>921 Charles St</u>	<i>Peabody Book Store (bar)</i>	<u>1975-1977</u>	Mixed crowd, marijuana, younger crowd
<u>213 N Gay St</u>	<i>Pepper Hill</i>	<u>1965-1969</u>	Popular
<u>3224/6 Greenmount Ave</u>	<i>Pepper's Place</i>	<u>1984</u>	"Wednesday Women's Night"
	<i>Pepper's Place</i>	<u>1985</u>	Mostly lesbian bar, disco, sunday tea dance, popular
<u>311 Gorsuch Ave</u>	<i>Porthole</i>	<u>1985-1990</u>	Pool table, neighborhood joint. (This spot was one of two in the neighborhood which had the city office of civil rights pursue them for racist carding practice).
	<i>Zippers</i>	<u>1991-1995</u>	
<u>1722 Fleet St</u>	<i>Port In A Storm</i>	<u>1983-1985</u>	1983: "Heavily into role playing" and "lots of hassle from straight guys and NOBODY SAYS A DAMN THING TO THEM", and the walls are decorated with oil paintings of menstruating women... (Oh yes, arcade games/good music/nice dance floor)"
	<i>Port In A Storm</i>	<u>1985</u>	Lesbian bar, dancing, closed Mondays
<u>3607 Fleet St</u>	<i>Quest</i>	<u>2001-2008</u>	Gay men, neighborhood joint, older crowd
<u>17 E Franklin St</u>	<i>Regency of Baltimore Baths</i>	<u>1972</u>	
<u>312 W Camden</u>	<i>Roosevelt Hotel Bar</i>	<u>1965-1969, 1972-1973</u>	Mixed, rough trade, lesbian clientele

1633 S Charles St	Rowan Tree	2008	Mixed, karaoke
Broadway & Bond St	Sappho's Bar	1977-1978	Lesbian Bar
1425 E Baltimore	Sanitary European Baths Turkish Steam Baths	1969-1970 1974-1985	Listed as rough trade 1976-1977, Older crowd 1977-1985, some Black clientele and popular 1978-1985
	Turkish Baths	1980	Not 24 hours, entertainment, hustlers, expect sex, straights present, older crowd
407 E Saratoga St	Sappho's Bar	1977-1978	1977: "New and wonderful--women owned." 1978: "Women-owned. Recommended"
100 Albermarle St	Sapphos	1978-1979	Lesbian bar, dancing, disco on weekends, popular
1901 Aliceanna	Satelite (G)	1972-1977	Lesbian bar, dancing, popular
612 1/2 N Howard	Senator	1966-1970, 1973-1997	Listed popular 1974 on, rough trade in 1975. starting 1976 "Best Sunday afternoons". 1978-1985 as entertainment, older crowd, best on sundays. 1987-1988 says entertainment, some older crowd, "tired." 1990-1997 neighborhood, older, shows
	Senator	1980	Entertainment, hustlers, older crowd
S Broadway	Sherrie's Place	1973	Lesbian bar
4 N High St	Shot Tower	1973-1980	Lesbian bar. 1975 on lists Black clientele, mixed bar, rough trade
	Shot Tower	1977-1983	1983: "Women. Live entertainment. Open days. Food. Closed Mon."
407 E Saratoga St	Sonar	2006-2008	Mixed bar, dancing
2000 Eastern Ave	Spectrum	2008	Gay men, shows
412 Park Ave	Sportsman Bar	1988-1998	Neighborhood
1003 N Charles St	Stagecoach	1994-2001	Gay men and lesbians, dancing, country western, food, wheelchair accessible.
	Stage One	2003	Gay men and lesbians, dancing, country western, food, wheelchair accessible.
	Spike	2006	Gay men, Lesbians, wheelchair access
Hanover & Ostend Sts	Sweet Lips Disco	1980	
411 E 32nd St	The Torch	1985	Young crowd, disco, dancing, after hours coffee, popular
6037 Belair Ave	Thirsty's II	2008	Gay men and lesbians
616 W Lexington	Tikki's	1984-1989	
	Tikki's	1988-1991	Black clientele, some lesbian clientele
226 W Fayette St	Turf	1965, 1988-1989	1965 mixed, rough trade. 1988-1989 listed as Black clientele
2200 E Fayette St	Twenty Two Club	1969	Black clientele
2218 Boston Ave	Unicom/Fay's Mistake/Frankie & Johnnie's	1973-1980	Mixed, some lesbian clientele, rough trade.
	Frankie and Johnnie's	1977-1979	
	Unicom	1989	
2001 Eastern Ave	Zodiac	1973-1978	Lesbian bar, shows
	Zodiac	1977-1979	
632 S Bond	Zodiac	1979	Lesbian bar, "may be changing name"
	Private Affair	1980	
Restaurants & Cafes			
1225 Cathedral St	23rd Degree	1985-1990	
1645 Thames St	Admiral's Cup	1985-1990	Mixed, fancy, restaurant
415 W Cold Sp	Alonso's (M) (collegiate)	1966-1968, 2003-2008	2003-2008 wheelchair access
3215 N Charles St	Cafe Diana/Guiseppi's	1995-1998	popular
1009 W 36th St	Cafe Hon	1994-2008	Gay friendly, wheelchair accessible
911 Charles St	City Diner	1997-1998	
2 W Madison	Donna's Coffee Bar	1994-2008	Gay friendly, beer and wine
904 N Charles St	Gampy's	1985-1989	1985: "Probably your best bet for dining out in Baltimore, highly recommended, once again."
	Great American Melting Pot (Gampy's)	1988-2001	Fancy, mixed, restaurant, sunday brunch popular
1103 Hollins St	Gypsy Cafe	1997-1998	
800 Key Hwy	Joy Cafe	1998-2001	
413 W Cold Spring Ln	Loco Hombro	1998-2001	
518 N Charles	Louie's The Bookstore Cafe	1994-2001	Gay friendly, entertainment, wheelchair accessible
505 S Broadway	M. Gettier	1997	Wheelchair accessible
1114 Hollins St	Mancken's Cultured Pearl Cafe	1994-1998	Gay friendly, wheelchair accessible
1713 N Charles St	Metropol Cafe & Art Gallery	1997-1998	
120 E Lombard	Michael's Rivera Grill/Rooftop Grill	1993-1998	Mixed crowd, rooftop grill
5201 Franklinton Rd	The Millrace	1998-2001	
909 N Charles St	Mount Vernon Stable & Saloon	1993-2008	Mixed crowd
29th & Howard Sts	Open House	1975-1985, 1990, 1994	Mixed crowd, restaurant, coffee, after hours
	Open House	1989	"Coffee shop, breakfast served all day"
1225 Cathedral St	Spike & Charlie's Restaurant & Wine Bar	1997-2003	
Howard & Franklin	White Coffee Pot	1966-1968, 1970, 1973-1974	Coffee
Bookstores, Publishing Houses and Erotica			
425 E 31st St	The 31st St Book Shop	1979-1989	"A good place to go when you first hit town. They sell books, records, plants and even 'Gaia's Guide'"
724 Howard St	724 Books	1974-1978, 1990-1994	
12 W 25th St	A Women's Bookstore at Diana Press	1977-1978	"600 feminist titles. Special emphasis on books by and for lesbians."
714 S Broadway	Adrian's Book Cafe	1995-2001	new & used, some gay titles
1443 Gorsuch Ave	Alternative Press Center	1983-1985	"Alternative Library carrying large selection feminist/lesbian/gay/non-sexist children's titles, producing an index of titles for sale in both US & abroad. Bulletin board/info/reading tables/author's nights -- tea & coffee served"
106 Washington Blvd	Center News	1985	Books, etc. Mixed.
	Fayette News Center	1990-2001	
241 W Chase	Lambda Rising	1985-1989	"One of the best stocked bookstores of its kind in the world. They sell GAIA'S GUIDE. Say 'hi' from GAIA"
	Lambda Rising	1987-2008	
3322 Greenmount Ave	Discount Books	1990	general bookstore with gay/lesbian titles. 24hrs.
	Greenmount Books	2004-2008	
136 W Read St	Leather Underground	1985-1998	"Shop and dungeon"

	<u>18 Custom House Ave</u>	<i>Chained Desires</i>	2006-2008	
	<u>202 W Reed St</u>	<i>Le Salon at Custom House Saloon</i>	1994-1995	
	<u>425 E 31st St</u>	<i>Men's Room (Clothing)</i>	1988-1989	
	<u>420 E Baltimore</u>	<i>31st St Books</i>	1985-1989	
	<u>4845 Belair Rd</u>	<i>Block News</i>	1985-1989	"Books & Erotica", mixed
	<u>927 W 36th St</u>	<i>Earle Theatre</i>	2003-2006	
		<i>Sugar</i>	2008	Gay owned
Cruising Spots				
	<u>Meat Rack</u>		1972-1993	"At your own risk" 1977 on
	<u>Park Ave. N of Monument</u>		1973-1989	"At your own risk" 1985 on
		<i>(as Park ave to Cathedral St, Madison St to Monument St)</i>	1980	Hustlers, nighttime only, young crowd, use caution
	<u>Wyman Park</u>		1973-1989, 2000-2008	Caution, at your own risk 1976 on, rough trade 1985-1989
	<u>Patterson Park At Eastern</u>		1975-1989	Rough trade, heavily policed, 1985 on says "sure suicide"
	<u>Baltimore Museum Park</u>		1976-1980	possibly double listing for Wyman Park
		<i>(as Museum Drive)</i>	1980	Nighttime only, use caution
	<u>Johns Hopkins U. (Gilman Hall, so. wing off library; Lib. Quadrangle entr. nr. vending machines)</u>		1980	Cruising in bathroom, younger crowd.
	<u>Harbor Place</u>		1987-1993	
	<u>Druid Hill Park</u>		2000-2008	Black men, younger crowd, at your own risk
	<u>Lake Montebello</u>		2000-2008	At your own risk, "in the woods"
Beltsville				
Accomodations and Travel				
	<u>10440 Baltimore Ave</u>	<i>Your Travel Agent of Beltsville</i>	1990-1998	IGTA
Bethesda				
Bookstores and Cafes				
	<u>4949 Bethesda Ave</u>	<i>Community (Cafe and Bookstore)</i>	1983	"Women's books and records. Many lesbian titles"
	<u>7945 McArthur Blvd</u>	<i>Bethesda Co-Op</i>	1984	"They mostly sell nutrition and cookbooks but they do carry women's records and tapes."
Burtonsville				
Cruising				
	<u>I-95 Northbound</u>	<i>Rest Stop and Woods Behind</i>	1978-1985	1979 "known locally as Ruth Ann's, AYOR 1985
Catonsville				
Accomodations and Travel				
	<u>8857 Youngsea Pl</u>	<i>Galaxsea Cruises & Vacations</i>	1998	IGTA
Chesapeake Bay (Mislabelling of Chesapeake Beach)				
Cafes				
	<u>7544 Bayside Rd</u>	<i>Bayhill Market</i>	2008	Entertainment, karaoke, BYOB, wheelchair accessible
Cockeysville				
Bars, Cafes, Restaurants				
	<u>10010 York Rd</u>	<i>The York Inn</i>	2003	Entertainment
College Park				
Cruising Spots				
	<u>U of Md -- Student Union Building - Basement T-Room</u>		1978-1980	
		<i>(as "U. Md. (Student union, basemnt)")</i>	1980	Cruising in bathroom, young crowd
	<u>U of MD, Main Library, 2nd & 4th Fl</u>		1990	
	<u>U of MD, Javes Hall, Basement</u>		1990-1994	AYOR 1991-1994
	<u>U of MD Cole Field House</u>		1990-1994	AYOR
Columbia				
Cafes, Social Groups, Publications				
	<u>Cedar Lane</u>	<i>Feminist Connection, Ms. Z's (Cafe)</i>	1977	
	<u>No 204, 2619 Nicholson, 20782</u>	<i>Lesbian Front (publication)</i>	1977	"Every other month, "Lesbian Front" will be produced"
	<u>Oakland Mills Village Center, Corn Cribb Room</u>	<i>Coalition of Gay Sisters (Org)</i>	1978-1985	1983: "A strictly social group which meets every Weds in the Harriet Tubman Center in Columbia"
Cumberland				
Accomodations				
	<u>849 Braddock Rd</u>	<i>Red Lamp Post</i>	1990, 1994-2006	Gay friendly B&B
	<u>16701 Lakeview Rd NE, Flintstone</u>	<i>Rocky Gap Lodge & Golf Resort</i>	2006-2008	
Bars & Cafes				
	<u>Algonquin Motor Inn</u>	<i>Baltimore St Downtown</i>	1976-1980	Mixed bar, hotel and restaurant
	<u>Eagle's Cafe</u>	<i>65 N Mechanic</i>	1972-1975	Mixed crowd
	<u>The Bistro</u>	<i>N Center St</i>	1985	Mixed crowd
Restaurants				
	<u>25 E Main St, Frostburg</u>	<i>Acropolis</i>	1998-2008	
	<u>86 E Main</u>	<i>Au Petit Paris</i>	1998-2008	
Cruising Spots				
	<u>Union St near Holiday Inn</u>		1976-1980	

Edgewater				
Bookstores and Erotica				
3909 Pulaski Hwy	Bush River Books & Video	2000-2008		
Frederick				
Bars & Coffeeshops				
100 East St	Frederick Coffee Co & Cafe	1997-2003		
5854 Urbana Pike	Talon's	1994		Gay men and lesbians, dancing, food, wheelchair accessible. This bar was aggressively picketed by the KKK as soon as it opened, was shut down when patrons were scared away.
Cruising Spots				
Rte 340 S From Frederick (last left b4 potomac river, go 1.5 miles cross RR tracks	C&O Canal	2000-2006		AYOR
Go to summit, turn left	Gambrell State Park	2000-2008		AYOR
Gaithersburg				
Accomodations and Travel				
9047 Gaither Rd	Monarch Travel Center	1998		IGTA
Greenbelt				
Accomodations and Travel				
6006 Greenbelt Rd S 106	H.T.A. Travel Network	1993		IGTA
Cruising Spots				
Greenbelt Park		1985-2008		AYOR 1994 onwards
Hagerstown				
Accomodations				
57 S Potomac	Colonial	1980		Expect sex. Same location as Bull Ring
Bars & Coffeeshops				
41 N Potomac	Gay Nineties	1973-1975		Popular 1975
	Headquarters	1998		Gay men and lesbians, dancing, food, shows
	41 North	2000		Gay men and lesbians, dancing, food, shows
57 So Potomac at Antietam	Bull Ring	1977-1980		Mixed crowd, younger, popular, closed sundays
	Bull Ring	1978		"Dancing, monthly entertainment" Mislabeled as College Park
	Bull Ring	1980		Young, popular
Rt 40 up towards S Mountain	Deer Park Lodge	1983-1989		MGM--Mostly Gay Men
	Deer Park Lodge	1985-2008		Disco, dancing, some lesbian clientele, restaurant, popular. Listed at "5 Mi E. off I-70, Exit 32," equivalent address as in Gaia
Stores				
139 N Mulberry St	Now, Voyager	1989		
Cruising Spots				
14 1/2 E Washington St	Rainbow Connection LLC	2008		Gay owned
Opp People's Drug Store				
	News & Video (Cruisy area)	1987-1989		
Greyhound Bus Depot				
		1985-1989		
S Potomac & Summit Sts				
		1985-2006		AYOR 2000 on
Havre De Grace				
Accomodations				
226 N Union Ave	La Cle D'or	2000-2008		Mixed clientele, gay owned
Jessup				
Accomodations				
Rt. I-95	Trucker's Motel & Bar	1985-1989		Mixed, restaurant
Largo				
Accomodations				
1300 Mercantile Ln #158	Shipmate Cruise & Travel	1998		IGTA
Laurel				
Bookstores and Erotica				
106 Washington Blvd	Route 1 News Agency	1990-2008		
Bars and Cafes				
9855 N Washington Blvd	PW's Place	2008		Mixed bar, neighborhood, food, karaoke, gay owned
North Beach				
Bars and Cafes				
	Golden Key	1965-1979		Dancing, Shows, popular
	Rose's	1969-1972		Dancing, shows
Cruising Spots				
Dunes & Beach at N end of 2nd tower		1978-1980		
Ocean City				
Bars & Coffeeshops				
	Roosevelt Hotel Bar	1972-1976		Mixed bar
"Inquire Locally"	Daisy's Anchor bar	1978-1980		Mixed, rough trade
"Inquire Locally"	Fager's Island	1978-1980		Mixed, restaurant
75th & Bay	BJ's On the Water	1985		Mixed bar
11700 Coastal Hwy.	Carousel Hotel Bar	1985		Mixed Bar
Owings Mills				
Bars & Coffeeshops				
Atop Painters Mill Music Fair	Backstage Cafe	1980		Dancing
Oxon Hill				

Accommodations			
6178 Oxon Hill Rd #103	Travel Desk	1998	IGTA
<u>Parkton</u>			
Accommodations			
1419 Mt Carmel Rd	Hidden Valley Farm B&B	1998	Gay men and lesbian clientele
<u>Rock Hall</u>			
Accommodations			
5750 Main St	Tallulah's on Main	2003-2008	Mixed crowd, wheelchair accessible, gay owned
<u>Rockville</u>			
Religious Orgs			
501 Mannakee St	MCC of Rockville	1990-1995	
15817 Barnesville Rd	MCC of Rockville	1997-1998	
Cruising Spots			
	White Flint Mall (Cruisy Area)	1985-1993	
N of Rte 28 off Avery Rd	Lake Needwood	2000-2008	AYOR
<u>Salisbury</u>			
Accommodations			
30635 Linden Ave	Alexander House Booklover's B&B	2003-2008	Gay friendly
Bookstores & Erotica			
615 S Salisbury Rd	Salisbury News Agency	1985-2008	Cruisy, adult books
Cruising Spots			
Salisbury City Park		1995-2006	
<u>Silver Spring</u>			
Bars & Coffeeshops			
8233 Georgia Ave	Westwood	1980	Mixed bar, restaurant, some western types, best late
Travel and Accomodations			
10304 Eastwood Ave	Northwood Inn	1990	B&B catering to gay men and lesbians
8767 Geogria Ave	Central Travel of Silver Spring	1990-1998	IGTA
8209 Fenton St	Travel Central	1990-1998	IGTA
Bookstores and Erotica			
7898 Georgia Ave	Cadmus Books I	1990	
11236 Georgia Ave	Max Wonder	1991-1997	
<u>Stevensville</u>			
Bars & Coffeeshops			
401 Love Point Rd	Love Point Cafe	2006	
<u>Towson</u>			
Bookstores & Erotica			
516 York Rd	Towson Books	1978-1989	Mixed
	Towson Books	1983-1984	"Gay titles and feminist titles"
<u>Wheaton</u>			
Bars & Coffeeshops			
11305 Georgia Ave	De Lounge	2006-2008	Gay men and lesbians, dancing, entertainment
Bookstores & Erotica			
11236 Georgia Ave	Cadmus Books II	1990	

Site Number	Report Page Number	Resource Name	Location	Significance	Dates	Year Built	Architect	State Report Themes	State Designation Status	National Park Service (NPS) Status	Corresponding NPS Theme Study Chapters	NPS Systematic Framework Themes	Building Type/Property Type	Source
Allegany County Sites														
1		Algonquin Motor Inn	Baltimore & Green St, Cumberland, MD	Listed as a "mixed bar" in Damron's Guide (for gay men) throughout 1970s, meaning it was a nominally straight bar where gays could relatively safely meet each other.	1976-1980	1926	W.F. Frederick, Washington, DC; George F Sansbury, Cumberland	1, 3, 10	AL-IV-A-020: Algonquin Motor Inn; AL-IV-A-026: Washington St HD; AL-IV-A-145: West Side HD; AL-IV-A-082: Fort Cumberland Site	IN 73000884: Washington Street Historic District		Peopling Places	Commercial: Hotel	
2	123	Cruising Ground, Cumberland	199 W Union St, Cumberland, MD, 21502	Listed as a prime cruising ground in Damron's Guide.	1976-1980			1, 10	In AL-IV-A-132: Downtown Cumberland HD; AL-IV-A-144: Downtown/Baltimore St Survey District	IN 83002917: Downtown Cumberland HD	Sex, love, and relationships		Landscape: Park	For gay and lesbian guides citations, see appendix BE-1
3		Cumberland Pride	1 N Liberty St, Cumberland, MD	In 2017, Cumberland, Maryland held its first LGBTQ+ pride event, now a yearly occurrence	2017			2, 10	In AL-IV-A-132: Downtown Cumberland HD; AL-IV-A-144: Downtown/Baltimore St Survey District	NPS 83002917: Downtown Cumberland HD	LGBTQ Spaces and Places	Creating Social Institutions and Movements; Expressing Cultural Values; Shaping the political landscape	Plaza	Egerman, Benjamin (2019, Apr 4-10). Phone interview and email correspondence with Al Feldstein.
4		Eagle's Cafe	65 N Mechanic St, Cumberland, MD	Listed in Damron's Guide as a "Mixed" bar, which is to say, nominally straight bar where gay men could meet each other.	1972-1975			1, 3, 10			Business & Labor		Government	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
5		Queen of Queen City	49 Baltimore St., Cumberland MD	AIDS benefit Drag pageant in Cumberland, MD	2007-present	1931-1932	Hodgens and Hills, Philadelphia	6, 9, 10	AL-IV-A-012: Embassy Theatre In AL-IV-A-132: Downtown Cumberland HD	IN NPS 73000884: Washington Street Historic District 1983	LGBTQ Art and Artists; LGBTQ Health	Expressing Cultural Values	Commercial: Theatre	Maryland Historical Trust, Embassy Theatre, Cumberland, Allegany County, Maryland, AL-IV-012, p. 5; Cumberland Times-News. (2007, August 3). Queen City pageant precedes 'The Lady in Question' at Embassy. Retrieved March 2, 2020, from https://www.times-news.com/queen-city-pageant-precedes-the-lady-in-question-at-embassy/article_2688a5b3-fae6-5933-85dc-1e5da7ebbc94.html
6		Red Lamp Post	849 Braddock Rd, Cumberland, MD	Gay owned, primarily gay B&B in Cumberland listed in Damron's	1990-2006	1948		3, 10	In AL-IV-A-145: West Side HD		Business & Labor		Residential	Maryland SDAT, 849 Braddock Rd, Cumberland, Allegany County, 06-007368 For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
Anne Arundel County Sites														
7	138	"The Dock"/Annapolis City Dock	1 Dock St, Annapolis, MD	Listed in Damron's Guide from 1973-1978 as a main cruisy area in Annapolis	1973-1978	1700s		1	IN AA-137: Colonial Annapolis HD	Part of 84003875 Colonial Annapolis Historic District, NR 1966	Sex, love, and relationships		Landscape: Park	Ohl, D. (2019, June 24). History repeating: A City Dock study offers reflection on the life of the waterfront. Retrieved January 24, 2020, from https://www.capitalgazette.com/maryland/annapolis/ac-cn-city-dock-study-20180730-story.html; For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1
8	139	20/20 News	2020 West St, Annapolis, MD	Listed in gay guides starting mid 1980s as a cruising spot. Repeated targeting of gay men at adult bookstore for "soliciting," aka asking guys to come home for sex. Drew serious criticism from Baltimore Alternative. One arrest led to successful legal challenge to state sodomy law in 1999.	1985-1998			1, 3, 5			Sex, love, and relationships; LGBTQ Law; Civil Rights		Commercial: Business	"Navy Chief's aide charged in sex sting" (1997, 13 Aug), Annapolis Capital, p. 43; Shuey, P. and Winakur, S., "Sex charges against principal dropped" (1998, 07 Mar), Annapolis Capital, p. 6; Allen, M. "Sex offenders get no slack from police" (1998, 14 Jun), Annapolis Capital; Gross, L. (1997, Jul 14) "Tyler Heights principal reassigned to desk work" Annapolis Capital, p. 11; Argetsinger, A. "State Anti-Sodomy Law Faces Challenge Over Police Sting" (1997, Nov 7), Washington Post, p. B5; Argetsinger, A. "ACLU hails judge's ruling against Md. law affecting gays" (1998, Oct 17), Washington Post, p. B1.
9	138	Annapolis Mall	2002 Annapolis Mall, Annapolis, MD	In 1997, Anne Arundel County Police performed "Operation Spring Clean," an undercover sting targeting gay men cruising for sex in area parks. Numerous arrests were conducted in the course of a week.	1997	1983		1, 5			Sex, love, and relationships; LGBTQ Law		Commercial: Shopping Center	Complaints about lewd activity bring spate of arrests The Capital (Annapolis, MD) Thursday, May 1, 1997; Maryland SDAT, 2002 Annapolis Mall, Annapolis, Anne Arundel County, 02-000-90042470 For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1;
10		Barrister Inn	66 State Circle, Annapolis, MD	Listed as mixed bar in Damron's	1973-1974	1919-1921		1, 3	AA-1598	In 84003875: Annapolis HD			Commercial	Maryland Historical Trust, 66 State Circle, Annapolis, Anne Arundel County, AA-1598, p. 1
11	115-116	BWI Tarmac (James Obegefell)	BWI Airport Tarmac	On July 11, 2013, James Obergefell and John Arthur took a private medical jet to be married legally in Maryland prior to John's passing from ALS. They flew to the runway of BWI, held the ceremony on the jet itself, and the left, as John was not well enough to travel outside. The refusal of Ohio authorities to recognize this marriage formed the basis for the case Obergefell v. Hodges, which eventually led to the legalization of same-sex marriage nationwide.	41466	1974		2			Civil Rights; LGBTQ Law	Shaping the Political Landscape	Location: Airport	Case: 1:13-cv-00501-TSB Doc #: 1 Filed: 07/19/13 Page: 4 of 8 PAGEID #: 4; Baltimore–Washington International Airport. (2020, January 23). Retrieved January 25, 2020, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baltimore–Washington_International_Airport#History
12	138	Chesapeake Square	6720 Ritchie Hwy, Glen Burnie, MD 21061	In 1997, Anne Arundel County Police performed "Operation Spring Clean," an undercover sting targeting gay men cruising for sex in area parks. Numerous arrests were conducted in the course of a week.	1997	1985		1, 5	Address is on AA-4: Governor Ritchie Highway, Annapolis Boulevard		Sex, love, and relationships; LGBTQ Law		Commercial: Shopping Center	Complaints about lewd activity bring spate of arrests The Capital (Annapolis, MD) Thursday, May 1, 1997; Maryland SDAT, 6716 Ritchie Hwy, Glen Burnie, Anne Arundel County, 05-000-90040646
13		Christian Siriano Childhood Home	524 Wintersweet Court, Annapolis, MD	Childhood home of reality television winner, fashion designer, Baltimore School for the Arts Graduate, and pint-size homosexual Christian Siriano.	1988-2003	1987		9			LGBTQ Art and Artists		Residential	Maryland SDAT, 524 Wintersweet Ct, Annapolis, Anne Arundel County, 03-136-90036885; ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 1988-1988, HES 4527, pp. 0496-050, MSA CE 59-4871; Tucker, A. (2008, March 5). Christian Siriano shows why he's a fierce competitor. Retrieved February 16, 2020, from https://www.baltimoresun.com/entertainment/tv/bal-runway0305-story.html

14	138	Friendship Park	Friendship Park, Airport Loop, Glen Burnie, MD	In May of 1979, Anne Arundel County police posed as gay men in this location where they arrested six men for soliciting gay sex. Later, the same day that their names were published by the Annapolis Evening Capitol, one of the men, a Baptist assistant minister named Ray Turner, committed suicide. A 1988 article outlines a similar sting resulting in 17 arrests, with similar arrests popping up at least until 1992.	1979-1992				1, 5			Sex, love, and relationships; LGBTQ Law	Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites: Park	Constable, P. (1979, May 20). Suicide in sex scandal: Minister was driven, with nowhere to turn. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/536770701?accountid=10750 ; Menefee, N. "Homosexual offense charged at county park" (1984, Dec 21) Annapolis Capital, p. 4; Donna Weaver, S. w. (1988, Apr 29). Police arrest 17 at park on solicitation charges. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1474398589?accountid=10750 ; Police beat: Two men charged in sex offenses. (1988, Sep 21). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1477583859?accountid=10750 ; Kris Antonelli, S. w. (1991, Apr 28). Men seeking men -- and sex -- uncover cops instead. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1798043493?accountid=10750 ; Bartlett, W. (1991, May 13) Police arrest 13 men for sexual offences. Annapolis Capital. p. 9; Police beat. (1992, Mar 03). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/197662203?accountid=10750
15	138	Glen Burnie Mall	6711 Ritchie Hwy, Glen Burnie, MD 21061	In 1978, a major sting against gay men cruising occurred at Harundale and Glen Burning mall, following "complaints of large groups of homosexuals accosting shoppers"	1978	1963	Edward J. DeBartolo, Sr.	1, 5				Sex, love, and relationship	Commercial: Shopping center	Lebar, S. "Mall Solicitation ring broken by detectives" (1978, Aug 25). Annapolis Capital, p. 5.; MALL HALL OF FAME: Glen Burnie Mall. (2008, October). Retrieved February 16, 2020, from http://mall-hall-of-fame.blogspot.com/2008/10/glen-burnie-mall-governor-ritchie.html
16	134, 139	Harundale Mall	7440 Ritchie Hwy, Glen Burnie, MD 21061	In 1997, Anne Arundel County Police performed "Operation Spring Clean," an undercover sting targeting gay men cruising for sex in area parks. Numerous arrests were conducted in the course of a week.	1978-1997	1958	James Rouse	1, 5	On AA-4: Governor Ritchie Highway, Annapolis Boulevard			Sex, love, and relationships; LGBTQ Law	Commercial: Shopping Center	"Police Beat" (1978, Aug 23). The Capital (Annapolis, MD), p. 5; Lebar, S. "Mall Solicitation ring broken by detectives" (1978, Aug 25). Annapolis Capital, p. 5. "Complaints about lewd activity bring spate of arrests" (1997, May 1) The Capital (Annapolis, MD) p. 15; Harundale Mall. (2020, January 9). Retrieved January 29, 2020, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harundale_Mall Maryland Historical Trust, 63 Maryland Ave, Annapolis, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, AA-1830; For gay and lesbian guidess, see Appendix BE-1
17		Little Campus	63 Maryland Ave, Annapolis, MD	Listed as a "mixed bar" in Damron's Guide (for gay men) throughout 60s and 70s, meaning it was a nominally straight bar where gays could relatively safely meet each other.	1965-1987	1897-1903		1, 3	AA-1830: 63 Maryland Ave, IN AA-137: Colonial Annapolis HD	In NPS 66000383 Colonial Annapolis HD; MHT AA-1830		Business & Labor	Commercial: Restaurant	For gay and lesbian guidess, see Appendix BE-1
18	138	Marley Station Mall	7900 Ritchie Hwy, Glen Burnie, MD 21061	In 1997, Anne Arundel County Police performed "Operation Spring Clean," an undercover sting targeting gay men cruising for sex in area parks. Numerous arrests were conducted in the course of a week.	1996-1997	1987	Taubman Co.	1, 5	On AA-4: Governor Ritchie Highway, Annapolis Boulevard			Sex, love, and relationships; LGBTQ Law	Commercial: Shopping Center	Police beat: indecent exposure (1996, Jul 14). The Capital (Annapolis, MD), p. 32; "Complaints about lewd activity bring spate of arrests" (1997, May 1) The Capital (Annapolis, MD) p. 15; Meyer, Caroline (February 23, 1987). "Regional Mall Opening In Anne Arundel County". The Washington Post. Retrieved Feb 15, 2020 from https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/business/1987/02/23/regional-mall-opening-in-anne-arundel-county/01734479-5693-4b20-babb-4cf06b06f6bc/
19		Marmadukes	301 Severn Ave, Annapolis, MD 21403	Listed as a "mixed bar" in Damron's Guide (for gay men) throughout 1970s, meaning it was a nominally straight bar where gays could relatively safely meet each other.	1975-80			1, 3				Business & Labor	Commercial: Restaurant	For gay and lesbian guidess, see Appendix BE-1
20		Maryland Inn	16 Church Cir, Annapolis, MD 21401	Listed as a "mixed bar" in Damron's Guide (for gay men) throughout 1970s, meaning it was a nominally straight bar where gays could relatively safely meet each other. Along with other places listed in Damron's Guide, was known for live music by Dick Gessner.	1974-1980	1772-1782		1, 3	AA-407: Maryland Inn, IN AA-137 Colonial Annapolis HD	In NPS 66000383: Colonial Annapolis HD 1966/1983; MHT AA-407		Business & Labor	Commercial: Restaurant	Maryland Historical Trust, Maryland Inn, Annapolis, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, AA-407, p. 1; For gay and lesbian guidess, see Appendix BE-1
21	110	Maryland State House	100 State Cir, Annapolis, MD 21401	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.	1970-2014	1771	Charles Wallace	2, 5	AA-685: Maryland State House	NPS 66000385, 1960		Civil Rights; LGBTQ Law	Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	Maryland Historical Trust, Maryland State House, Annapolis, Anne Arundel County, AA-685, p. 9
22		Port of Annapolis Bar	186 Main St, Annapolis, MD	Listed as mixed bar in Damron's	1973-1977	1899		1, 3	AA-570: Gottlieb's Department Store, IN AA-137: Colonial Annapolis HD	Part of 84003875 Colonial Annapolis Historic District, NR 1966		Business & Labor	Commercial: Business	For gay and lesbian guidess, see appendix BE-1; Maryland Historical Trust, Gottlieb's Department Store, Annapolis, Anne Arundel County, AA-570, p. 1
23	138	Queenstown Park	640 Queenstown Rd, Severn, MD, 21144, USA	In 1997, Anne Arundel County Police performed "Operation Spring Clean," an undercover sting targeting gay men cruising for sex in area parks. Numerous arrests were conducted in the course of a week.	1997			1, 5				Sex, love, and relationships; LGBTQ Law	Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites: Park	Sobie, B. (1996, Oct 22) "Police crack down on park sex activity" The Capital (Annapolis, MD), p. 9; "Complaints about lewd activity bring spate of arrests" (1997, May 1) The Capital (Annapolis, MD) p. 15; "Navy Chief's aide charged in sex sting" (1997, 13 Aug). Annapolis Capital, p. 43; Shuey, P. and Winakur, S., "Sex charges against principal dropped" (1998, 07 Mar), Annapolis Capital, p. 6; Allen, M. "Sex offenders get no slack from police" (1998, 14 Jun), Annapolis Capital, p. 1;
24		Red Coach	211 King St, Annapolis, MD	Listed as a "mixed bar" in Damron's Guide (for gay men) throughout 60s and 70s, meaning it was a nominally straight bar where gays could relatively safely meet each other.	1965-1975			1, 3	IN AA-137: Colonial Annapolis HD	In NPS 66000383: Colonial Annapolis HD 1966/1983		Business & Labor	Residential	For gay and lesbian guidess, see Appendix BE-1

25	138	Sawmill Creek Park	Sawmill Creek Park, Glen Burnie, MD, USA	In 1997, Anne Arundel County Police performed "Operation Spring Clean," an undercover sting targeting gay men cruising for sex in area parks. Numerous arrests were conducted in the course of a week.	1997					1, 5		Sex, love, and relationships; LGBTQ Law		Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites: Park	"Complaints about lewd activity bring spate of arrests" (1997, May 1) The Capital (Annapolis, MD) p. 15; "Navy Chief's aide charged in sex sting" (1997, 13 Aug), Annapolis Capital, p. 43; Shuey, P. and Winakur, S., "Sex charges against principal dropped" (1998, 07 Mar), Annapolis Capital, p. 6; Allen, M. "Sex offenders get no slack from police" (1998, 14 Jun), Annapolis Capital, p. 1;
26	70, 106-108	United States Naval Academy	US Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD	"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." During 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 the teaching position he held at the Naval Academy. "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."	1974-1977	1901	Ernest Flagg (1857-1947)	2, 5, 7	AA-359 US Naval Academy	NPS 66000386: US Naval Academy 1961	LGBTQ Law; LGBTQ Military Service	Peopling Places	University	National Register of Historic Places, The Naval Academy at Annapolis, Annapolis, Anne Arundel County, Md., #66000386, p. 2.; Constable, P. (1978, Dec 12). Life style: Banned from the navy, 'copy' berg never wanted to be gay rights crusader. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/540830716?accountid=10750	
27		Wanda Sykes Childhood Home	1008 Springhill Way, Gambrills, MD	Openly lesbian comedian and actress Wanda Sykes grew up in Anne Arundel County, graduating from Arundel High School and working at the NSA before moving on to work in show business.	1972-1980	1972		9			LGBTQ Art & Artists; LGBTQ African Americans		Residential	Maryland SDAT, 1008 Springhill Way, Gambrills, Anne Arundel County, 04-295-05740690; ANNE ARUNDEL COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 1972, MSH 2485, pp. 0268-0269, MSA CE 59-2829	
BALTIMORE CITY: EXTANT SITES															
28	93	"Baltimore's Famous Meat Rack"	699 Cathedral, Baltimore, MD	According to 1970 Sun article, police harassment in "The Meat Rack," an area of Mt. Vernon Place where gay and trans hustlers congregated, inspired the creation of the Gay Liberation Front in Baltimore. Listed 1972-1980 in Damron's Guide, This location has been noted for cruising since the early 20th century, when the Maryland Vice Commission reported "homo-sexuals" congregating 1 to 2 blocks from here.	1969-1980			5	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	IN NPS 71001037: Mt Vernon Place HD	Sex, love, and relationships; LGBTQ Law	Peopling places; Expressing cultural values	Landscape: Park	Pietila, A. (1970, Aug 24). City's 'gay' people seek liberation from law, society. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/541244151?accountid=10750 ; For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1; Maryland Vice Commission, Reports vol 2, Baltimore, Maryland (1916), p. 423.	
29	84	"Friendship Club"	2111 Westwood Ave, Baltimore, MD	A 1955 case sparked by an earlier raid on a New Year's party found a group of young black men who were regularly meeting at one's house for sex with one another.	1955	1915		5			Sex, Love, and Relationships; LGBTQ African Americans	Peopling places	Residential	"The friendship club, 'all-male teen-age sex group, smashed: Total bail of \$62,000 for 12; boy sobs aloud during testimony.'" (1955, Feb 05). Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/531935921?accountid=10750 ; Maryland SDAT, 2111 Westwood Ave, Baltimore City, 15-37-2301-017	
30		"Lesbian Lane"	Abell Avenue, Baltimore, MD	"Since so much of the Baltimore's visible lesbian feminist community was focused in the Charles Village and Waverly neighborhoods, Abell Avenue was nicknamed 'Lesbian Lane' because of the large number of lesbian-identified women who lived on those blocks during the early days of the LGBT movement. The rainbow-hued homes there were among the most colorful in Charles Village."	1970-1990	1914-1915		1, 8, 11	IN B-3736: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	IN NPS 83003629: Charles Village/Abell Historic District		Peopling places; Expressing cultural values	Neighborhood	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p.53.; National Register of Historic Places, Charles Village/Abell Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #83003629, p. 6	
31		1955 New Years Raid	1733 N Broadway, Baltimore, MD	In 1955, police arrested a number of men in a raid on a new years party of about a dozen gay men. The group was noted for being interracial and included a black man, who owned the house, and his white "intimate friend". The attendees were teachers and professors, including two from Delaware State College who were very publically fired. The trial appears to have been very in-depth. Was covered in ONE Magazine (later The Advocate) and a subject at Mattachine meetings. This raid led to two others, one on "The Friendship Club," a group of gay black teenagers, and the other the raid on the Pepper Hill Club, a popular gay bar for men from Baltimore and Washington. The latter involved 163 arrests and became a political scandal much discussed by both early gay rights activists and by those in politics and law debating how to address gatherings of gays.	1955	1913		5, 8	IN B-5077: Baltimore East/South Clifton Park HD; B-3971 Madison Square-Oliver HD	IN NRHP Baltimore East/South Clifton Park HD, 2002	Sex, love, and relationships		Residential	9 all-male party guests convicted. (1955, Jan 29). Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/531886838?accountid=10750 ; McIntire, D. "tangents" (1955, Apr 1). ONE Magazine, Los Angeles, CA. Vol. 3, Iss. 4, p. 15.	
32	98, 127	31 Street Bookstore	425 E. 31st St., Baltimore, MD	Period of Significance: 1973-1995. The 31 Street Bookstore was a women's bookstore with a strong lesbian feminist presence. It was established in 1973 and closed in 1995. This business served as a focal point for the Baltimore lesbian feminist community: selling the writings of lesbian and feminist authors; holding readings and other events; and serving as an informal information clearinghouse through the distribution of flyers, newsletters, and the large community bulletin board.	1973-1995	ca. 1890		1, 3, 8	IN B-5229: Waverly Main Street Historic District	IN NPS 13001029: Waverly Main Street Historic District	Business & Labor	Creating social institutions and movements; Expressing cultural values; Developing the American economy	Commercial: Business	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, pp. 17, 66. National Register of Historic Places, Waverly Main Street Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #13001029, p.27	
33		4 Star Video	1601 Park Ave, Baltimore, MD	Video store advertising to Baltimore Alternative	1986-2009	1880		3	IN B-64: Bolton Hill Historic District	IN NPS 71001031: Bolton Hill Historic District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Business	Maryland SDAT, 1601 Park Ave, Baltimore City, 14-01-0355-001; "Business and Entertainment Guide" (1986, July). Baltimore Alternative, p. 9;	
34		A Private Affair	1901 Aliceanna St, Baltimore MD	Bar advertising in Gay Paper. Now dry cleaners. Mentioned in 1978 "Lesbian Connection" as a "women's bar... which is trying to promote women's culture and is having open mics and concerts on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings."	1978-1979			1, 3	IN B-3714: Fells Point Historic District	IN NPS 86003777: Fells Point Historic District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Business	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, June 1979 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper	
35	121	After Dark/The Office/The Torch	3128 Greenmount Avenue (411 East 32nd Street), Baltimore, MD	Opened August 7, 1979. Known as the Office Disco from 1979-1983, when it became The Torch. In 1984, members of Black and White Men Together, an interracial group for gay men, sued the owner of the Torch and the owner of another gay bar, the Porthole, for racial discrimination. To enter the bars, African American patrons were asked for multiple pieces of identification while white patrons were able to enter with less scrutiny. Black and White Men Together won the suit.	1979-1986	ca. 1890		1, 2, 3, 8	IN B-5229: Waverly Main Street Historic District	IN NPS 13001029: Waverly Main Street Historic District	Business & Labor	Creating social institutions and movements; Shaping the political landscape	Vacant	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p.48. National Register of Historic Places, Waverly Main Street Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #13001029, p.23	
36		Alonso's	415 W Cold Spring Lane, Baltimore, MD	Listed as mixed bar in Damron's	1966-1968			1, 2			Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1	
37		Angel McCoughtry Childhood Home	1810 Heathfield Rd, Baltimore, MD 21239	Childhood Home of Angel McCoughtry, WNBA forward with the Atlanta Dream. McCoughtry came out as lesbian in 2015 and has been outspoken about advocating LGBTQ+ rights.	1992-2006	1953		8			LGBTQ Sport and Leisure; LGBTQ African Americans	Peopling Places	Residential	Maryland SDAT, 1810 Heathfield Road, Baltimore City, 27-24-5387-786; BALTIMORE CITY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 2014, FMC 16248, pp. 0337-0342, MSA CE 164-25403; Angel McCoughtry. (n.d.). Retrieved February 5, 2020, from https://www.wnba.com/player/angel-mccoughtry/#gamelogs	

38	98	approximate location of women's collective	2400 block of N Calvert Street, Baltimore MD	Predecessor of Homestead collective formed in March 1971	29618	1890-1920		1, 8	In B-4504: Old Goucher College HD	In NPS 94001163: Old Goucher College Historic District		Creating social institutions and movements; Expressing cultural values;	Residential	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, February 1981 Issue of the Gay Paper; National Register of Historic Places, Old Goucher College Historic District (Expanded), Baltimore, Maryland, #94001163, p. 9
39	57	Arrest of Charles Walter	Eutaw & Baltimore	in 1862, a person known as the "Lady in Black" was working their way through various soldier's camps and homes in Baltimore, either as a hustler or in attempts to secure a marriage. 'Revealed' by the Baltimore Sun to be a frequent visitor of the city either in dark dresses or in man's clothing as Charles Walter, they promised to leave town, and when they didn't, they were arrested.	1862			5	In B-1262: Market Center/Retail HD	IN NPS 00000040: Market Center H.D.	Sex, love, and relationships; Transgender history	Peopling places	Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	LOCAL MATTERS. (1862, Jun 07). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/533671939?accountid=10750 ; LOCAL MATTERS. (1862, Jun 24). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/533709370?accountid=10750 LOCAL MATTERS. (1862, Jun 25). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/533668760?accountid=10750
40		B.R. Smith Bearing Co and proposed location of a Gay Disco	880 Park Ave, Baltimore MD	Paid advertisement in Gay Paper discussed proposal for gay disco at this location and opposition to a gay bar by the Mt Vernon Belvedere Neighborhood Association, allege anti-gay liquor board decisions	29221	1935		1	MHT: B-1735 Wholesale Electrical Appliances		Business & Labor		Commercial	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, January 1980 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; Maryland SDAT, 880 Park Ave, Baltimore City, 11-02-0503-034
41		Babylon Video	525 Gorsuch Ave, Baltimore, MD	Video store advertising to Baltimore Alternative	1986	ca. 1900		3	IN B-5229: Waverly Main Street Historic District	IN NPS 13001029: Waverly Main Street Historic District	Business & Labor		Residential	National Register of Historic Places, Waverly Main St Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #13001029, p. 39; "Business and Entertainment Guide" (1986, July). Baltimore Alternative, p. 9;
42		Baltimore Alternative	36 West 25th St., Baltimore, MD	Period of Significance: 1991-2000. Founded in 1986 by Bill Urban, the Baltimore Alternative was located in a basement office here from 1991 until it went out of business in 2000. Urban died of AIDS in 1992 and his partner, Charles Mueller took over. The Alternative was especially strong on coverage of the early days of the AIDS epidemic in Baltimore. The success of the Alternative proved that Baltimore was big enough to support two LGBT newspapers.	1991-2000	ca. 1890s		1, 3, 6	In B4504: Old Goucher College Historic District (Expanded)	In NPS 94001163: Old Goucher College Historic District	Creating Community; Health	Peopling places; Creating social institutions and movements	Residential; Commercial: Business	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p.56; National Register of Historic Places, Old Goucher College Historic District (Expanded), Baltimore, Maryland, #94001163, p. 10.
43		Baltimore City Hall	Baltimore City Hall, Baltimore, MD	"LGBT activists and supporters mounted three attempts to pass a gay rights bill in Baltimore. The first failed attempt was in 1979-1980. The second failed attempt was in 1984-1985. The third attempt, this one successful, was in 1987-1988."	1979-1988	1867-1875	George A. Frederick (1842-1924)	2	In B-3935: Business and Government Historic District; B-60: Baltimore City Hall	IN 87002065: Business and Government Historic District; NPS 73002180: Baltimore City Hall	Civil Rights; LGBTQ Law	Shaping the Political Landscape	Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 30, 33.; National Register of Historic Places, Baltimore City Hall, Baltimore, Maryland, #73002180, p. 3-7
44		The Baltimore Eagle	2022 Charles Street, Baltimore, MD	"In terms of bars, Rider fondly remembers The Eagle as a leather bar that made real space for women. The bar was opened in 1991 by Tom Kiple, and Wes Decker tended bar. Decker had hosted a reception for International Ms. Leather at the National Lesbian Conference in Atlanta, and he was so inspired by the energy of the event that he helped organize a Ms. Baltimore Leather contest at The Eagle in 1992."	1991-present			1, 3			Business & Labor		Commercial: Bar	http://www.bizjournals.com/baltimore/blog/charm-city-flavor/2015/06/baltimore-eagle-a-landmark-gay-bar-nears-reopening.html https://thebaltimoreeagle.com/home/ http://www.citypaper.com/news/features/bcp-072016-feature-baltimore-lesbian-bars-20160719-story.html
45	93, 98	Baltimore Gay Alliance	414 E. 31st St., Baltimore, MD	The first office of the Baltimore Gay Alliance, the city's first LGBT political activist group. Prior to moving into a small office at this location, the group had met in private homes	1975	1875-1888	Louis & Jacob Aull	1, 2, 3	B-2813: The Charles Village Shop; IN B-5229: Waverly Main Street Historic District	IN NPS 13001029: Waverly Main Street Historic District	Creating Community	Creating social institutions and movements; Shaping the political landscape	Residential; Commercial: Business	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 22.; Maryland Historical Trust, The Charles Village Shop, Baltimore City, B-2813, p. 3
46	94	Baltimore GLF/Women: A Journal of Liberation/Lesbian Community Center	3028 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, MD	Period of Significance: 1970-1983. Throughout the 1970s, this address was associated with gay and lesbian liberation organizations. Starting in 1970 until at least 1972, the Baltimore Gay Liberation Front met and received mail here. At the same time, radical feminist publication "Women: A Journal of Liberation" was published here in the early 70s. The Lesbian Community Center was founded in 1974, and located between here and the Women's Liberation Center (101 E. 25th St.). Located solely on Greenmount Avenue from 1978 through the early 1980s, the Center hosted a switchboard, social groups, and events, and continued publishing "Women: A Journal of Liberation"	1970-1983	ca 1900		1, 2, 3, 8	IN B-5229: Waverly Main Street Historic District	IN NPS 13001029: Waverly Main Street Historic District		Peopling places; Creating social institutions and movements	Office? Vacant?	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 19.; "National Directory" (1970, Nov 1), Detroit Gay Liberator, Vol 1, Iss 6, Detroit, MI, p. 2; Motive (Feminist) (1972, 1 Jan); Nashville, TN. Vol 32, Iss 2, p. 68; National Register of Historic Places, Waverly Main St Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #13001029, p. 28
47		Barracks	1114 Cathedral St, Baltimore	Gay gym listed in Damron's guide	1977-1980	1940		1, 3	B-1733: 1114 Cathedral, in B-1393: Mount Vernon Local HD		Business & Labor; Sex, Love, and Relationships		Commercial	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1; Maryland SDAT, 1114 Cathedral St, Baltimore City, 11-02-0504-021
48		Belvedere Hotel	1 E Chase St, Baltimore, MD 21202	location of a Baltimore's Women's weekend that led to the Women's Growth Center according to the February 1981 lesbian history feature in the Gay Paper. The WCG had been located in Mt Vernon on Park Avenue but quickly moved to a few locations on St. Paul Street and then to 25th Street.	Spring 1972	1902-1903	Parker & Thomas, Boston	8	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	NPS 77001529: Belvedere Hotel 1977	Creating Community	Creating social institutions and movements	Commercial: Hotel	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, February 1981 Issue of the Gay Paper; National Register of Historic Places, The Belvedere Hotel, Baltimore, Maryland, #77001529, p. 2
49		Bernie's Speak Easy	1733 Bank St, Baltimore, MD	Bar advertising in Baltimore Alternative and listed in In Step. Listed Damron's Guide	1986-1991	1920		1, 3	In B-3714: Fells Point Historic District	IN NPS 86003777: Fells Point Historic District	Business & Labor		Residential	Maryland SDAT, 1733 Bank St, Baltimore City, 02-04-1771-065; "Business and Entertainment Guide" (1986, July). Baltimore Alternative, p. 9; "Bar Guide" (1988, Mar-Apr) Baltimore Alternative; Bar Guide. (1990, November 16). In Step: The Gay and Lesbian Guide to the Washington and Baltimore Areas, 2(23), 21, Courtesy of John J. Wilcox Jr. LGBT Archives., Philadelphia, PA
50		Biddle Street near Pennsylvania Ave	Biddle Street near Pennsylvania Ave, Baltimore, MD	A 1931 Afro American article notes this as an area where Black women, "lured by a woman's affections and generosity, [are] lost to the love of real men"	1931			11	IN B-1373: Old West Baltimore Historic District; B-4491 Madison Park HD	IN NPS 04001374: Old West Baltimore Historic District	Sex, Love, and Relationships; LGBTQ African Americans		District	Little, W. (1931, Nov 21). BALTIMORE'S RED LIGHTS. Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/530893885?accountid=10750

51	73	Billie Holiday House	217-219 S Durham St, Baltimore	Billie Holiday was open about her affairs with women as well as men. She lived in these homes when she began singing at age 10.	1926-1929	c. 1850s		9	In B-5123 Upper Fells Point HD; B-460: Alley Houses	In NPS 07001034: Upper Fells Point HD	LGBTQ Art and Artists; LGBTQ African Americans	Peopling Places	Residential	Britto, B. (2019, June 7). Upper Fells home said to have housed Billie Holiday for sale. Retrieved February 6, 2020, from https://www.baltimoresun.com/features/baltimore-insider/bal-fells-point-home-where-jazz-singer-billie-holiday-once-lived-selling-for-239-900-20160728-story.html ; Explore Baltimore. (2018, September 26). Billie Holiday Houses. Retrieved February 6, 2020, from https://www.explorebaltimore.org/places/billie-holiday-houses ; Maryland Historical Trust, Alley Houses, Baltimore City, B-4760, p. 3
52		Blue Jay	504 S Broadway, Baltimore, MD	Bar involved in liquor license troubles due to hiring "female impersonators"	1970			1, 3, 5	In B-3714: Fells Point Historic District	IN NPS 86003777: Fells Point Historic District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Tavern	LIQUOR BOARD CLOSED CLUB: ANTICS OF WRONGLY PLUMED COST 'BLUE JAY' PERMIT. (1970, Jul 03). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/533614052?accountid=10750 ; Classified ad 3 -- no title. (1960, Jun 06). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/542291667?accountid=10750
53		Blue Parrot	5860 Belair Rd; Baltimore, Maryland 21206	2000s gay bar. Noted as opening in 2006 in Baltimore OUTloud, still on the bar guide late 2009, off it in early 2011	2006-2010	c. 1925		1, 3			Business & Labor		Commercial: Office	St. John, A., "Alexander's New World" (2007, Jun 8). Baltimore OUTloud, p. 41; Bar Guide (2009, Nov 20). Baltimore OUTloud, p. 25; Maryland SDAT, 5860 Belair Road, Baltimore City, 27-03-5695F-026
54		Bread and Roses Coffeehouse	424 E. Thirty-first Street, Baltimore MD	"The Bread and Roses Coffeehouse, housed at 424 E. Thirty-first Street, was an outgrowth of the counterculture of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The Muses Collective, a lesbian production company, held many of its events here and at nearby Waverly Presbyterian Church and St. John's United Methodist Church. Artists such as Suede; Sanders; Kass & White; and Kate Clinton performed here."	1965-1975	1930		1, 2, 3, 8	IN B-5229: Waverly Main Street Historic District	IN NPS 13001029: Waverly Main Street Historic District	Business & Labor; Creating Community	Creating social institutions and movements; Expressing cultural values; Developing the American economy	Youth Center	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 19.; National Register of Historic Places, Waverly Main Street Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #13001029, p. 25-26
55		The Brig	1710 Aliceanna St, Baltimore, MD	Late 70s, early 80s leather bar	1978-1982			1, 3	In B-3714: Fells Point Historic District	IN NPS 86003777: Fells Point Historic District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1;
56	65	Bryn Mawr School	109 W. Melrose Ave, Baltimore, MD	Bryn Mawr is an all-girls' school founded in 1885 with funding from Mary Elizabeth Garrett and members of her "Friday night group." Garrett as well as several other members maintained romantic relationships with other women in the group. Originally located in the Mt. Vernon neighborhood, in 1928 the school moved to its current location in Roland Park. Original buildings have been demolished.	1885	1910		1, 8	B-4602: Gordon Building (The Orchards)				Educational	Riley, K. L., & Marks, I. S. (n.d.). History. Retrieved June 25, 2020, from https://www.brynmawrschool.org/about/history Maryland Historical Trust, Gordon Building (The Orchards), Baltimore, Maryland, B-4602, p. 15
57		Buckley's Pub	806 S Potomac, Baltimore, MD	Lesbian neighborhood bar listed in Damron's	1993			1, 3	IN B-3704 CANTON HISTORIC DISTRICT	IN NPS 80001784: Canton Hist District	Business & Labor		Residential	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
58		Burger Wolrd	612 W Lexington St, Baltimore, MD	Black gay bar				1, 3, 8	IN B-1262: Market Center H.D.	IN NPS 00000040: Market Center H.D.	Business & Labor, LGBTQ African Americans		Vacant	Benjamin Egerman (22 February, 2020). Interview with Louis Hughes. Maryland Rainbow History Online, accessed February 25, 2020, https://mdrainbowhs.omeka.net/items/show/3 .
59		Butterfly/Rumors	4119 East Lombard, Baltimore, MD	Bar advertising in Baltimore Alternative and In Step, listed in Damron's and GAIA's	1983-1990	1915		1, 3	DOE-BC-0093: 4111-4121 E Lombard St DOE	DOE-BC-0093: 4111-4121 E Lombard St DOE	Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	"Business and Entertainment Guide" (1986, July). Baltimore Alternative, p. 9; Bar Guide. (1990, November 16). In Step: The Gay and Lesbian Guide to the Washington and Baltimore Areas, 2(23), 21. Courtesy of John J. Wilcox Jr. LGBT Archives, Philadelphia, PA For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1 Maryland Historical Trust, 4111-4121 E Lombard St Determinations of Eligibility, Baltimore City, DOE-BC-0093;
60		Capitol Bar	1523 W Baltimore St, Baltimore, MD	Listed in 1966 article on ban of female impersonators in Baltimore bars. Location bought in 1962, sold in 1968.	1962-1968	1920		1, 3	In B-3740: Union Square/Hollins Market District; B-3871 1523 W Baltimore	In 83002941: Union Square-Hollins Market Historic District	Business & Labor		Abandoned	Woodruff, J. E. (1966, Apr 15). CURB PLACED ON PERVERTS: FEMALE IMPERSONATORS ARE BANNED IN CITY'S BARS. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/539670138?accountid=10750 ; Maryland SDAT, 1523 W Baltimore St, Baltimore City, 19-07-0213-012
61		Caroles Crows Nest	834 S Luzerne, Baltimore, MD	Lesbian bar in Canton	1986-1990	ca. 1890-1914		1, 3	IN B-3704 CANTON HISTORIC DISTRICT	IN NPS 80001784: Canton Hist District	Business & Labor		Vacant	National Register of Historic Places, Canton Historic District, Baltimore City, Maryland, #80001784, p. 5; "Business and Entertainment Guide" (1986, July). Baltimore Alternative, p. 9; Bar Guide. (1990, November 16). In Step: The Gay and Lesbian Guide to the Washington and Baltimore Areas, 2(23), 21. Courtesy of John J. Wilcox Jr. LGBT Archives., Philadelphia, PA
62		Cat's Meow Steam Baths	2206 N Charles St, Baltimore, MD	Bathhouse listed in Damron's Guide (A travel guide for gay men) from 1974 until 1976	1974-1976	ca. 1883-1897		1, 3	In B4504: Old Goucher College Historic District (Expanded)	In NPS 94001163: Old Goucher College Historic District	Business & Labor; Sex, Love, and Relationships		Residential	National Register of Historic Places, Old Goucher College Historic District (Expanded), Baltimore City, Maryland, #94001163, p. 14; For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1
63		Central Sales, Ltd.	1023 E. Baltimore St, Baltimore, MD	Central Sales, Ltd., was a pornographic magazine printer located in Baltimore. Its address and history are detailed in an Attorney General's Commission on Pornography report from 1986. Among its offerings were several 'physique' magazines (read: gay male pornography) such as Percy, published in 1966.	1966	ca. 1820-1900		3	B-4214: 1017-1043 E Baltimore St, in B-2784: Jonestown HD		Business & Labor; Sex, Love, and Relationships		Commercial: Office	U.S. Department of Justice. (1986). Attorney General's Commission on Pornography: Final Report, United States. Attorney General's Commission on Pornography. p. 1149 Maryland Historical Trust, 1017-1043 E Baltimore St, Baltimore City, B-4214, p. 1
64		Charles Books	1827 N Charles St Baltimore MD	Adult bookstore advertising in Gay Paper, has peep shows and videos claims "biggest selection of gay material in Baltimore" and "Doc' Johnson marital aids"	29373	ca. 1910		3	IN B-1341: North Central Historic District	IN NPS 02001606: North Central Historic District	Business & Labor		Residential; Abandoned	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, June 1980 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; National Register of Historic Places, North Central Historic District, Baltimore City, Maryland, #02001606, p. 15
65	25	Charles St Station	2302 North Charles St, Baltimore, MD	Clothing store advertising towards lesbian and bi women in Baltimore Alternative	1986	1963		3	In B4504: Old Goucher College Historic District (Expanded)	In NPS 94001163: Old Goucher College Historic District	Business & Labor		Unknown	Maryland SDAT, 2310 N Charles St, Baltimore City, 12-06-3623-028; "Business and Entertainment Guide" (1986, July). Baltimore Alternative, p. 9;
66		Charles Village area	Charles Village, Baltimore, MD	The Charles Village area of Baltimore has a long LGBTQ history.		Mostly 1895-1915		11	IN B-3736: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	IN NPS 83003629: Charles Village/Abell Historic District		Peopling places	District	National Register of Historic Places, Charles Village/Abell Historic District, Baltimore City, Maryland, #83003629, p. 2

67	94, 105, 136	Chase Brexton Clinic	1101 N Charles St, Baltimore, MD	Chase Brexton started as the Metropolitan Community Church clinic in 1978 as a volunteer-run gay men's health clinic. In 1989 it became part of the Gay Community Center in Baltimore, which grew into Chase Brexton health care. Chase Brexton expanded in 1991, adding Behavioral Health and Case Management services and in 1995 once again expanded to primary care.	2013-present	1928		6	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District; B-1669 Monumental Life		LGBTQ Health	Creating social institutions and movements; Expanding science and technology	Commercial	Walker, A. K. (2013, September 24). Chase Brexton moves to new headquarters as it expands its reach. Retrieved January 26, 2020, from http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2013-09-24/health/bs-hs-chase-brexton-move-20130920_1_chase-brexton-monumental-life-building-health-care-reform ; Gunts, E. (2012, Jul 05). Renovating historic charles st. site: Chase brexton health services to relocate in monumental life building. The Baltimore Sun Retrieved 19 Jan, 2020 from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1023693809?accountid=10750
68	94, 105, 137	Chase Brexton Clinic	241 W Chase St, Baltimore, MD	"When the health clinic of the GLCCB became independent of the center in 1989, it chose a name for the newly created organization from the names of the streets where the GLCCB was located from 1980 until 2014, at the intersection of Chase and Brexton Streets."	1980-1988	ca. 1900		6	B-1740: 241-243 W Chase St		LGBTQ Health	Creating social institutions and movements; Expanding science and technology	Residential	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p.45, Maryland Historical Trust, Kwik Car Wash, 227 W Chase St, Baltimore City, B-1739, p. 3
69	94, 105, 137	Chase Brexton Clinic	101 W. Read Street, Baltimore, MD	Chase Brexton started as the Metropolitan Community Church clinic in 1978 as a volunteer-run gay men's health clinic. In 1989 it became part of the Gay Community Center in Baltimore, which grew into Chase Brexton health care. Chase Brexton expanded in 1991, adding Behavioral Health and Case Management services and in 1995 once again expanded to primary care.	1989-1993	1926-1927	Marcellus F Wright, Richmond, VA	6	IN B-1393: Mount Vernon Local HD; B-3722 Mt. Vernon Place HD	IN NPS 71001037: Mt Vernon Place HD	LGBTQ Health	Creating social institutions and movements; Expanding science and technology	Commercial; Residential	Facelift in mount vernon. (1976, Feb 01). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/538534079?accountid=10750
70	94, 105, 137	Chase Brexton Clinic	1001 Cathedral St, Baltimore, MD	Chase Brexton started as the Metropolitan Community Church clinic in 1978 as a volunteer-run gay men's health clinic. In 1989 it became part of the Gay Community Center in Baltimore, which grew into Chase Brexton health care. Chase Brexton expanded in 1991, adding Behavioral Health and Case Management services and in 1995 once again expanded to primary care.	1993-2013	ca. 1910	Smith and May, Baltimore	6	B-1744: 1001 Cathedral St IN B-1393: Mount Vernon Local HD		LGBTQ Health	Creating social institutions and movements; Expanding science and technology	Commercial	Henderson, R. (1988, Jun 05). Support groups for AIDS victims multiply: Varied organizations provide help, counsel. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1477627240?accountid=10750 ; Bor, J. (1989, Jul 30). New U.S. guidelines for AIDS treatment may add to overload. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1637565216?accountid=10750 ; Timothy J Mullaney, S. W. (1993, Dec 04). Clinic to buy cathedral st. building: AIDS treatment center expanding. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/2121832250?accountid=10750 ; Maryland Historical Trust, 1001 Cathedral St, Baltimore City, B-1744, p. 2-4
71		Chez Claire	17 W Chase St, Baltimore, MD	Hotel with mostly gay clientele listed in 1990 Damron's guide	1990-1998	late 1860s		1, 3	B-1768: 17 W Chase St In B-1393: Mt Vernon Local HD		Business & Labor		Residential	Maryland Historical Trust, 17 W Chase St, Baltimore City, B-1768, p. 3 For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
72		Childhood home of Adrienne Rich	14 Edgevale Road, Baltimore, MD	Home of Arnold Rice Rich and Helen Jones Rich, where influential lesbian feminist poet Adrienne Rich was raised in her teen years. During this time, she attended the Roland Park Country School. Bought in 1941, Rich's parents owned the property until sold in 1969. Prior to this, they lived in an apartment on University Parkway	1941-1947	ca. 1905		8, 9	IN B-136: Roland Park Historic District	IN NPS 74002213: Roland Park Historic District	LGBTQ Art and Artists		Residential	U.S. Census, Year: 1940; Census Place: Baltimore, Baltimore City, Maryland; Roll: m-0627-01540; Page: 38; Enumeration District: 4-833; BALTIMORE CITY SUPERIOR COURT, (Land Records), 1969-1969, RHB 2530, p. 0116, MSA CE 168-12848; Maryland SDAT, 14 Edgevale Rd, Baltimore City, 27-16-4906-004
73		Cignels	10 E Lafayette Ave, Baltimore, MD	Bar advertising in Baltimore Alternative, listed in Damron's. After Hours disco, not all gay but with a large gay clientele.	1987-1990	c. 1960		1, 3	IN B-1341: North Central Historic District	IN NPS 02001606: North Central Historic District	Business & Labor		Industrial:unknown	"Bar Guide" (1987, Sep) Baltimore Alternative; "Bar Guide" (1988, Mar-Apr) Baltimore Alternative; For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
74		Cinema Follies Club	137 W North Ave, Baltimore, MD	Gay male pornographic theatre, listed in Damron's Guide. Chain from Washington, DC, employees targeted by State's Attorney's office and charged them with showing unapproved films; they were given maximum fines of \$280	1972-1979	c. 1930		1, 3, 5	IN B-1341: North Central Historic District	IN NPS 02001606: North Central Historic District	Business & Labor; Sex, Love, and Relationships		Commercial: Business	National Register of Historic Places, North Central Historic District, Baltimore City, Maryland, #02001606, p. 31; For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1; Zielenziger, D. (1978, Jun 27). Homosexual films shown without permit; theater workers fined. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/542114205?accountid=10750 ;
75		Club 1722	1722 N Charles St	After hours house club with largely gay clientele	1991-present	1890		1, 3	IN B-1341: North Central Historic District	IN NPS 02001606: North Central Historic District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Nightclub	National Register of Historic Places, North Central Historic District, Baltimore City, Maryland, #02001606, p. 15
76		Club 900/Our Place East	900 E Monument St, Baltimore, MD	As Club 900, Listed Damron's Guide as a mixed dance club open to gay men and lesbians, mixed-race crowd. Later became known as Our Place East, and was a black-owned gay club. Black Men and White Men Together held events there.	1969-1990	c. 1920		1, 3, 8			Business & Labor, LGBTQ African Americans		Vacant	Maryland SDAT, 900 E Monument St, Baltimore City, 10-09-1237-001; For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1; History of Baltimore Black Gay Community? (population, interest) - Maryland (MD) - Page 3 - City-Data Forum. (2017). Retrieved February 5, 2020, from http://www.city-data.com/forum/baltimore/2145209-history-baltimore-black-gay-community-3.html ; Egerman, Benjamin, "Interview with Louis Hughes" Maryland Rainbow History Online, accessed March 2, 2020, https://mdrainbowhs.omeka.net/admin/items/show/3 .
77		Club Atlantis	615 Fallsway, Baltimore, MD	Famously listed as John Waters' favorite place to bring guests, Club Atlantis was an all-nude male strip club located next to the city jail.	1981-2004	c. 1940		1, 3			Business & Labor; Sex, Love, and Relationships		Commercial: Gentleman's Club	Maryland SDAT, 605-615 Fallsway, Baltimore City, 05-04-1250-002; "Club Atlantis Owner Dies" (2007), OUTloud, Baltimore, MD, p.1
78		Club Baltimore Baths	1105 Cathedral ST Baltimore MD	Main gay bathhouse in Mount Vernon. Part of national chain. Raided by Baltimore City Police Department vice squad in 1969.	1969-1983	c. 1940s		1, 3, 5	B-1641: Block 494		Business & Labor; Sex, Love, and Relationships		University	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, February 1980 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; BALTIMORE CITY SUPERIOR COURT (Land Records), 1969, RHB 2515, p. 0354, MSA CE 168-12833; Vice squad detective tells of raid on steam rath. (1969, Mar 25). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/539180948?accountid=10750 BATH MANAGERS ARE FINED \$300: ARE CONVICTED OF RUNNING A DISORDERLY HOUSE. (1969, Apr 12). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/539194593?accountid=10750 For gay and lesbian guides see appendix BE-1

79		Club Bar/The Other Side	221 W Franklin, Baltimore, MD	Listed in 1966 article on ban of female impersonation in Baltimore bars. Also as popular gay bar in Damron's Guide, a travel guide for gay men, from 1966 to 1970. As The Other Side, advertising in Eastern Standard Times, 1974.	1966-1974	c. 1860s-1870s		1, 3	IN B-1262: Market Center H.D.; B-2065 221 W Franklin St	IN NPS 00000040: Market Center H.D.	Business & Labor		Vacant	Woodruff, J. E. (1966, Apr 15). CURB PLACED ON PERVERTS: FEMALE IMPERSONATORS ARE BANNED IN CITY'S BARS. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/539670138?accountid=10750 ; National Register of Historic Places, Market Center Historic District, Baltimore City, Maryland, #00000040, p. 10; For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1; (1974, Jul). Eastern Standard Times, 1(VI), Courtesy of John J. Wilcox Jr. LGBT Archives, Philadelphia, PA.
80	124	Club Fantasy	600 N Howard St Baltimore, MD	Black club with regular gay nights and popular with black gay men. Previously known as Petes. Closed 1990.	1985-1990	1915		1, 3, 8	IN B-1262: Market Center H.D.	IN NPS 00000040: Market Center H.D.	Business & Labor, LGBTQ African Americans		Vacant	Maryland Historical Trust, 600 N Howard St, Baltimore City, B-4361, p. 7; History of Baltimore Black Gay Community? (population, interest) - Maryland (MD) - Page 3 - City-Data Forum. (2017). Retrieved February 5, 2020, from http://www.city-data.com/forum/baltimore/2145209-history-baltimore-black-gay-community-3.html ; Williams, J. (2019, March 12). "Where do we go?" Baltimore's gay nightlife takes a hit with Grand Central's impending closure. Retrieved from https://www.baltimoresun.com/food-drink/bs-fe-gay-nightlife-20190306-story.html ; Thomson, N. (2016, October 15). An oral history of Baltimore club. Retrieved from https://www.waxpoetics.com/blog/features/articles/an-oral-history-of-baltimore-club/ Bar Guide. (1990, November 16). In Step: The Gay and Lesbian Guide to the Washington and Baltimore Areas, 2(23), 21, Courtesy of John J. Wilcox Jr. LGBT Archives., Philadelphia, PA
81		Club Gypsie's	4020 E Lombard St, Baltimore, MD	Placed on OUTLoud's bar guide in late 2009, interview with a bartender in 2007. By 2011, Google Street View shows new signage for a different bar.	2007-2010	1907		1, 3	B-1098: T.J. Kurdle building		Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	Bar Guide (2009, Nov 20). Baltimore OUTLoud, p. 25; "Who are the People in Your Gayborhood" (2007, Nov 9). Baltimore OUTloud, p. 6
82	7	Club Hippo/The Pink Hippopotamus/Eager Street Saloon (Daytime)	1 W Eager St, Baltimore, MD 21201	Opened in 1972. 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. Part of the Mount Vernon historic district.	1972-2016	1930-1939		1, 2, 3, 8	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District; B-1892: Hippopotamus	MHT: B-1393 Hippopotamus	Business & Labor	Creating social institutions and movements; Peopling places	Commercial: Business	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 23.; Maryland Historical Trust, Hippopotamus, Baltimore City, B-1892, p. 2; Rector, K., & Gorelick, R. (2015, May 11). The Hippo, longtime anchor of Baltimore's gay community, to close this fall. Retrieved May 26, 2019, from http://www.baltimoresun.com/features/gay-in-maryland/gay-matters/bs-bz-hippo-closing-20150511-story.html ; For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1
83		Coconuts Café	311 W Madison St, Baltimore, MD	"Hawaiian-style lesbian bar during the day, Coconuts is a fun place to hang out, play pool, watch sports, eat off of its reasonably-priced menu, and stick around for Happy Hour. Once Happy Hour is over, the DJ's start spinning and the crowd hits the dance floor. Some nights there is live music, and the 2nd and 4th Sunday there are free swing dancing lessons." Opened in 1996, closed 2009	1996-2009	1948		1,3			Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	Anonymous. (2011, April 1). Coconuts Cafe. Retrieved February 2, 2019, from https://lostwomynspace.blogspot.com/2011/04/coconuts-cafe.html ; Maryland SDAT, 311 W Madison St, Baltimore City, 11-10-0521-033; "Bar Guide" (1999, Jan) Baltimore Alternative
84		Connie's Hideaway Lounge/The Masquerade Disco	2308 Boston at Leakin Street, Baltimore, MD	Gay Bar described in UMBC article, listed in Damron's, GAIA. Moved to Haven St in 1988	1977-1987			1, 3	IN B-3704 CANTON HISTORIC DISTRICT	IN NPS 80001784: Canton Hist District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Business	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
85		Corpus Cristi Catholic Church	110 W Lafayette Ave, Baltimore, MD 21217	Meeting place for Dignity, an organization for Gay Catholics	28976	1880		3, 4	IN B-64: Bolton Hill Historic District	IN NPS 71001031: Bolton Hill Historic District	Religion and LGBTQ people	Creating social institutions and movements; Peopling places	Church	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, May 1979 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; Maryland Historical Trust, Corpus Christi Church, Baltimore City, B-78, p. 1
86		Cruising Ground, Baltimore City	Park Ave, north of Monument, Baltimore, MD	Listed as a prime cruising ground in Damron's Guide for gay men; this area has been noted as an area where gay men congregate and 'cruise' going back to the early years of the 20th century	1916-1980			1			Sex, Love, and Relationships		Street	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1; Maryland Vice Commission, Reports vol 2, Baltimore, MD 1916, p. 423.
87		Current Location of Pride Center	2530 N. Charles St. Baltimore, MD	Moved from 1000 Cathedral in August 2016	2016-present	1956		1, 2, 3	IN B-3736: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	IN NPS 83003629: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	Creating Community	Creating social institutions and movements; Shaping the political landscape	Commercial: Office	Jonathan, Dolores, & Travis. (n.d.). THE PRIDE CENTER OF MARYLAND. Retrieved January 28, 2020, from http://www.pridecentermd.org/ ; Maryland SDAT, 2530 N Charles St, Baltimore City, 12-03-3636-015
88		Current Rage Salon	3333 N Charles St Baltimore MD	Salon that held haircut benefit for the Gay Community Center	29007			3	IN B-3736: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	IN NPS 83003629: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	Business & Labor		Residential; Commercial: Business	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, June 1979 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper
89		Customs House Saloon/Le Saloon	18 Custom House Ave, Baltimore, MD	adult bookstore and bar frequented by gay men., located on Baltimore's red light district, "The Block"	1994-2000			1, 3			Sex, Love, and Relationships		Commercial: Gentleman's Club	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
90		Cyrano's/Night Owl	710 N Howard St, Baltimore, MD	Short-lived dance club, followed by after-hours club listed in Damron's Guide.	1971-1973	ca 1910		1, 3	B-4371: 710 N Howard St; IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	MHT B-4371 Northern Brokerage Real Estate	Business & Labor		Commercial: Business	Maryland Historical Trust, 710 North Howard St, Baltimore City, B-4371, p. 2.; For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1
91		David Bachrach House (Gertrude Stein)	2406-2408 Linden Avenue, Baltimore, MD	Photographer and uncle of Gertrude Stein, who lived there for a bit in 1892	1892	1880s		9	IN B-64: Bolton Hill Historic District	IN NPS 71001031: Bolton Hill Historic District; 85001947 David Bachrach House		Peopling Places	Residential	National Register of Historic Places, David Bacharach House, Baltimore, MD, #85001947, p. 2, 6
92		Deray McKesson Childhood Home	2826 Presbury St, Baltimore, MD 21216	Childhood home of Black Lives Matter activist Deray McKesson	1985-2003	Ca. 1920		2, 8			LGBTQ African Americans; Civil Rights	Shaping the Political Landscape	Residential	Maryland SDAT, 2826 Presbury St, Baltimore City, 25-06-2406-102; BALTIMORE CITY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 1985 SEB 619, pp. 0376-0378, MSA CE 164-619
93		Desperate Living: A Lesbian Newsletter	2817 Guilford Ave, Baltimore, MD	Lesbian newsletter of the 1970s published in Baltimore.	1973-1978	1895-1915		1, 2, 8	IN B-3736: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	IN NPS 83003629: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	Expressing Cultural Values; Creating Social Institutions and Movements		Residential	National Register of Historic Places, Charles Village/Abell Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #83003629, p. 2 "Desperate Living" in Periodicals Collection, Lesbian Herstory Archives, Brooklyn, New York
94		Diamond Back Room	20 W Baltimore St, Baltimore, MD 21201	Several guides from the 60s listed the Diamond Back room in the Lord Baltimore as a mixed bar, which is to say, a straight bar where gays could meet each other relatively safely.	1965-1968	1928	William L Stoddart	1	B-3720: Lord Baltimore Hotel	NPS 82001587: Lord Baltimore Hotel			Commercial: Hotel	National Register of Historic Places, Lord Baltimore Hotel, Baltimore, Md, #82001587, p. 2; For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1
95		Discount Books/Greenmount Books	3222 Greenmount Ave, Baltimore, MD	Adult bookstore advertising in Baltimore Alternative. "Rubber goods and novelty items. Video and peep shows. Open 24 hours!"	1986-2012	1991		3	IN B-5229: Waverly Main Street Historic District	IN NPS 13001029: Waverly Main Street Historic District			Commercial: Business	National Register of Historic Places, Waverly Main Street Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #13001029, p. 16; Advertisement (2009, Dec 18), Baltimore OUTLoud, p. 21; "Business and Entertainment Guide" (1986, July). Baltimore Alternative, p. 9; "Bar Guide" (2011, 14 Jan), Baltimore OUTLoud, p. 20;
96		DL Club	839 W Cross St, Baltimore, MD	Listed in Jan 2011 bar guide in OUTLoud	2011	1879	Joseph M. Cone & William Bruns	1, 3	In B-1392: Pigtown HD	In NPS 06001177: Pigtown HD	Business & Labor		Residential	National Register of Historic Places, Pigtown Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #06001177, p. 23

97		Downtown Club/Mary's/Allegro	1101 Cathedral St, Baltimore MD	Long-running disco operating throughout seventies, reopened eighties as piano bar; listed Damron's Guide as "Downtown Club" then "Mary's Downtown Club". This club in the early 1970s tried to keep black gay men away, but ultimately failed completely.	1969-2000	20th C		1, 3	B-1641: Block 494	MHT: B1641, Block 494	Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, June 1979 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
98		The Drinkery	205 W Read St, Baltimore, MD	Small, working class gay bar in Mt Vernon, listed in Damron's Guide from opening in 1972. Briefly lost its liquor license in 2016 due to complaints from boutique hotel nearby that it negatively affected their business, but had decision reversed after complaints of conflicts of interest.	1972-present			1, 3	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	In MHT B-1393 Mount Vernon Local HD	Business & Labor; LGBTQ Law		Commercial: Bar	"Longtime Baltimore gay bar loses liquor license" (2016, 19 Mar) Washington Blade, retrieved 2 Feb 2020 from http://www.washingtonblade.com/2016/05/19/longtime-baltimore-gay-bar-the-drinkery-loses-liquor-license/ ; Case, W. "The Drinkery's liquor license renewed after liquor board reverses decision" (2016, 02 Jun). Baltimore Sun. Retrieved 28 Jan 2020 from http://www.baltimoresun.com/entertainment/music/midnight-sun-blog/bal-the-drinkery-liquor-board-reverses-decision-2016-story.html ; For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
99	60	Druid Hill YMCA	1609 Druid Hill Ave, Baltimore, MD	Much like YMCA's everywhere, the Druid Hill YMCA had already acquired a reputation for the activities that happened therein. A 1931 Baltimore Afro American article covering a "Pansy Ball" remarks, "...the invitations were distributed among the handsome youths who frequent the Y.M.C.A. and adjacent lunchrooms..."	1916-?	1916		1,8	IN B-1373: Old West Baltimore Historic District	IN NPS 04001374: Old West Baltimore Historic District	LGBTQ+ African Americans; Sex, Love, and Relationships		Commercial: Health Club	Matthews, R. (1931, Mar 21). '31 DEBUTANTES BOW AT LOCAL "PANSY" BALL: MEN OF NEUTER GENDER FROLIC IN STUNNING WOMEN'S GOWNS. CROWDS AT HALL BASS VOICE, BIG FEET BETRAY THIRD SEX. Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/530928858?accountid=10750 ; Matthews, R. (1931, Mar 21). '31 DEBUTANTES BOW AT LOCAL "PANSY" BALL: MEN OF NEUTER GENDER FROLIC IN STUNNING WOMEN'S GOWNS. CROWDS AT HALL BASS VOICE, BIG FEET BETRAY THIRD SEX. Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/530928858?accountid=10750 ; Prudente, T. (2016, June 03). The Y in Druid Hill turns 100: A century of swim lessons for West Baltimore. Retrieved June 25, 2020, from https://www.baltimoresun.com/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-ci-ymca-anniversary-20160603-story.html
100		The Earle Theatre	4845 Belair Rd, Baltimore, MD	Adult Theatre that catered to gay community in mixed-race area. Served as a cruising spot as well. Closed 2006	1986-2006	1937		1, 3			Business & Labor		Commercial: Theatre	History of Baltimore Black Gay Community? (population, interest) - Maryland (MD) - Page 3 - City-Data Forum. (2017). Retrieved February 5, 2020, from http://www.city-data.com/forum/baltimore/2145209-history-baltimore-black-gay-community-3.html ; Maryland SDAT, 4845 Belair Rd, Baltimore City, 26-43-5937-012E
101	98	Earliest meeting location of Baltimore Gay Alliance	928 North Charles Street, Baltimore, MD	"The home of Dana Rethmeyer was located [at] 928 North Charles Street, the location of some of the earliest meetings of the Baltimore Gay Alliance. BGA was the parent of the GLCCB."	1975	c. 1860		2, 3	B-1889: 928 North Charles St; IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	In MHT B-1393: Mount Vernon Local HD, B-1889	Creating Community	Creating social institutions and movements; Shaping the political landscape	Residential	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 16.; Maryland Historical Trust, 928 North Charles Street, Baltimore City, B-1889, p. 2.
102		Eastern Ave	3100-4900 Eastern Ave, Baltimore, MD	In the 1970s and prior, Eastern Ave in Highlandtown was known as a location where young men—often underage—hustled nightly. Multiple Baltimore Sun articles discussed the area's notoriety, noting license plates from New York, DC, and elsewhere were a common sight.	1960s-1980s			1, 5			Sex, Love, and Relationships	Peopling Places	District	"Teenage male hustlers on Baltimore's streets problem for police and social workers" (1975, Nov 13). The News (Cumberland, MD). p. 11; "Parent blames courts for 'hustling' boys" (1975, Nov 14). The News (Cumberland, MD). p. 5. WJZ. (1982). iTeam Investigations: Male Prostitution in Highlandtown. Baltimore, Maryland. Available online at https://vimeo.com/341587909
103		Eastern Standard Times	2441 Maryland Ave, Baltimore, MD	Long-running gay newspaper from Baltimore	1974-1977	ca. 1890		1, 3	In B-4504: Old Goucher College HD	In NPS 94001163: Old Goucher College Historic District	Creating Community; Health	Peopling places; Creating social institutions and movements	Residential; Commercial: Business	(1974, May 25). Eastern Standard Times, 1(IV), Courtesy of John J. Wilcox Jr. LGBT Archives, Philadelphia, PA; National Register of Historic Places, Old Goucher College Historic District (Expanded), Baltimore City, Maryland, #94001163, p. 6;
104		Eastpoint Mall	7839 Eastpoint Mall, Baltimore, MD 21224	A 1976 sting operation arrested 17 men over the course of a week in a single bathroom on the 3rd floor of a department store after "complaints from shoppers about homosexuals."	1976	1956		1, 5			Sex, love, and relationships; LGBTQ Law		Commercial: Shopping Center	2 arrested in men's room. (1976, Mar 13). The Sun (1837-1993) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/538495039?accountid=10750 ; Eastpoint Mall. (2019, November 28). Retrieved January 28, 2020, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eastpoint_Mall
105		Eddie's Bar	102 Water St, Baltimore, MD	Listed in Damron's Guide, 1965-1974. Entire "Gay Power" article from 1974 about it and how great it is. Says it's been around for 17 years without problems.	1956-1974	1904	Wills and Mason	1, 3	B-1235: 102 Water St; In B-3935: Business and Government Historic District	IN 87002065: Business and Government Historic District	Business & Labor; Creating Community		Commercial: Restaurant	Woodruff, J. E. (1966, Apr 15). CURB PLACED ON PERVERTS: FEMALE IMPERSONATORS ARE BANNED IN CITY'S BARS. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/539670138?accountid=10750 ; Maryland Historical Trust, 102 Water St, Baltimore City, B-1235, p.1.; For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1
106	56	Edgar Allen Poe House	203 Amity Street, Baltimore, MD	"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."										
106		Eddie's Shopping Bag	726 S Broadway, Baltimore, MD	After becoming famous through her work with John Waters and Divine, Edith Massey opened a thrift shop first in Mt Vernon, then Fells Point that was a touchstone for countercultural types of all sorts, but especially gays. From the 1980s onward, she and Jean Hill sold risqué greeting cards featuring them and scantily clad male models.	1976-1984	1870-1910		3, 9	In B-3714: Fells Point Historic District	IN NPS 86003777: Fells Point Historic District	Business and Labor; LGBTQ Arts and Artists	Peopling Places; Expressing Cultural Values; Developing the American Economy	Commercial: Restaurant	National Register of Historic Places, Fells Point Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #86003777, p. 34. Trashy Travels: John Waters Movie Locations & Other Divine Dirt. (2011, October 24). Retrieved February 18, 2020, from https://www.facebook.com/trashytravels/photos/a.293243850692937/309085499108772/
107		Fifteen West	15 W Eager St, Baltimore	Much beleaguered after-hours club listed in Damron's. Opened, closed, reopened several times between 1988 and 2008	1988-2008	19th century		1, 3	B-1894: 13-15 W Eager St. In B-1393: Mt Vernon Local HD		Business & Labor		Commercial	Maryland Historical Trust, 13-15 West Eager St, Baltimore City, B-1894, p. 3 For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
108		First and Franklin Presbyterian Church	808 Park Avenue, Baltimore MD	Gay-friendly church	29707	1859	Nathan Gibson Starkweather	4	B-12: First Presbyterian Church & Manse; IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	NPS 73002186	Religion and LGBTQ people	Creating Institutions and Movements	Church	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, May 1981 issue of the Gay Paper; National Register of Historic Places, First Presbyterian Church & Manse, Baltimore, Maryland, National Register #73002186 pp 2-3

109	142	First Conference on the Black Community and AIDS	Baltimore Convention Center, 1 W Pratt St, Baltimore, MD 21201	In October 1985, AIDS activists, HERO and others worked to create a conference aimed at building support for AIDS education within various parts of black communities in Maryland. Keynote speaker Congressman Louis Stokes of Ohio urged black churches to take the lead, as did pastors with HERO's 'minority task force'. As the crisis was unfolding, this was one of the early moments of understanding of AIDS' disparate impact among black men.	31338	1979	NBBJ Seattle, Washington (Cochran, Stephenson & Donkervoet Baltimore, Maryland	2, 6, 8			LGBTQ Health; LGBTQ African Americans	Expanding Science and Technology;	Commercial: Convention Center	Burns, M. K. (1985, Oct 19). Doctor gives black community advice on AIDS in talk at convention center. The Sun (1837-1993) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/535597566?accountid=10750 ; Archived Copy: Baltimore Convention Center Facts. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://web.archive.org/web/20051123042739/http://www.bccenter.org/about/facts.html
110		First showing of the Names Project Quilt at a Museum	10 Art Museum Drive, Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, MD	"Portions of the Names Project Quilt were on display at the Baltimore Museum of Art during the 1988 Pride Festival, which was held in the dell of Wyman Park adjacent to the Baltimore Museum of Art. This was the first time the quilt was shown at a museum."	1988	1929	John Russell Pope	6, 9	B-112: Baltimore Museum of Art		LGBTQ Health	Expressing Cultural Values	Museum	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p.53.; Baltimore Museum of Art. (2019, November 20). Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baltimore_Museum_of_Art
101		The Flamboyant	38 S Eutaw St, Baltimore, MD, 21201, USA	Listed in 1966 article on banning female impersonation in bars and in Damron's Guide as a lesbian bar.	1966-1969	1870-1879		1, 3	MHT B-5202 36-38 S. Eutaw St	MHT B-5202 36-38 S. Eutaw St	Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	Woodruff, J. E. (1966, Apr 15). CURB PLACED ON PERVERTS: FEMALE IMPERSONATORS ARE BANNED IN CITY'S BARS. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/539670138?accountid=10750 ; For gay and lesbian guides see Appendix BE-1
111		Frankie & Ronnie's Bar/Unicorn	2218 Boston Street Baltimore MD	Bar advertising in Gay Paper. Previously listed as both "Franks" and "Fay's Mistake" in Damron's Guide. Later would be known as The Unicorn.	1973-1999			1, 3	IN B-3704 CANTON HISTORIC DISTRICT	IN NPS 80001784: Canton Hist District	Business and Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, May 1979 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; "Business and Entertainment Guide" (1986, July). Baltimore Alternative, p. 9; "Bar Guide" (1999, Jan) Baltimore Alternative; For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1
112		Frans	2127 E Pratt St, Baltimore, MD	Bar listed in GAIA's and Damron's guide. Listed in GAIA as "Older crowd, unsophisticated atmosphere and very friendly"	1983-1989			1, 3	IN B-3703: Butcher's Hill HD	IN NPS 82001582: Butcher's Hill HD	Business & Labor		Commercial	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
113		Frederick Douglass High School	1601 N. Calhoun Street, Baltimore, MD, 21212	Frederick Douglass High School was important for many early LGBTQ African American luminaries, advocates, and performers in Baltimore. Lucy Diggs Slowe, an advocate of Black women's education, award-winning tennis player, and the first Dean of Women for Howard University, graduated in 1904, organized an alumni group in Washington, DC when she was attending university, and in 1907 came back to teach history at Douglass for several years before returning to Washington in 1915. For the last fifteen years of her life, she lived with her partner, Harlem Renaissance playwright Mary P. Burrell. During this time, Douglass was known as the Colored High School, a name that would be changed when the building was greatly expanded in 1923. During the Pansy Balls--extravagant drag balls covered in the Baltimore Afro-American in the late 1920s until the late 1930s--several articles noted the number of Douglass students and graduates participating. Perhaps the most successful performer to come out of Baltimore's "Pansy Craze" was "Mother" Joe Smothers, a graduate of Douglass who got his start performing in school choirs and plays. "Mother Joe" was known for his effeminate voice, bleached blonde hair, and heavy makeup. He went from performing in the many theatres of Upton and Penn North to hosting a weekly radio show, and then on to Harlem where he regularly performed at the Cotton Club, Ubangi Club, the Apollo, and other theatres of the Harlem Renaissance. In a darker time for LGBTQ people, Douglass High School still played a role--in 1955, at the height of the "Lavender Scare," there were three large raids on places gay men gathered in the city. The first was an interracial group of men at one's home for a New Years Eve party. This led to two others--a raid on the popular white gay bar the Pepper Hill Club and another at the home of "the Friendship Club": a group of young black gay men, all either recent graduates or older students at Douglass, who had rented a rowhome where they could gather and enjoy one another's company.	1900-1955	1923	Owens and Sisco	8, 9	In B-1373: Old West Baltimore HD and B-4434: Sandown-Winchester/Penn North HD	NPS 89000412: Frederick Douglass High School	LGBTQ African Americans		Residential	"Slowe, Lucy Diggs (1885-1937)". Encyclopedia.com. 2002. Retrieved February 5, 2020 HIGH SCHOOL COMMENCEMENT. (1904, Jun 25). Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/530261689?accountid=10750 Special to The Afro-American Ledger. (1907, Mar 02). ALUMNI ORGANIZED. Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/530287981?accountid=10750 SCHOOLS OPENED. (1908, Sep 19). Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/530285566?accountid=10750 "PANSY" BALL: MEN OF NEUTER GENDER FROLIC IN STUNNING WOMEN'S GOWNS. CROWDS AT HALL BASS VOICE, BIG FEET BETRAY THIRD SEX. Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/530928858?accountid=10750 ; Matthews, R. (1932, Nov 12). LOOKING AT THE STARS: BILL ROBINSON. Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/530906996?accountid=10750 ; Matthews, R. (1936, May 30). LOOKING at the STARS: CONFESSION big stage names. Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/531131087?accountid=10750 ;
114		Gallery One Bar	1735 Maryland Ave, Baltimore, MD	"The Pride festival was held in Wyman Park from 1988 until 1996. During those years, the parade was held on Maryland Avenue. The parade began at the Gallery Bar and ran north to the park." Long running gay bar in Station North district. Listed 1966-1969 as Nelli's in Damron's Guide (a travel guide for gay men), it reappears in 1975 as Gallery Bar.	1968-present	ca. 1885		1, 3	IN B-1341: North Central Historic District	IN NPS 02001606: North Central Historic District	Business and Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p.51. The Gallery was also an early advertizer in the Gay Paper, GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, May 1979 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper. See also http://www.citypaper.com/news/features/bcp-cms-1-1701135-migrated-story-cp-2014-06-11-fea-20140610-story.html ; National Register of Historic Places, North Central Historic District, Baltimore City, Maryland, #02001606, p. 30.; For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1
115		Gaslamp Disco	917 Cathedral Street, Baltimore MD	"Baltimore's Only After Hours Gay Disco" open 12AM to 4AM. Closed by 1984, when the building is sold after going into foreclosure	1980-1984	c. 1859		1, 3	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District; B-1881: 917 Cathedral St	MHT B-1881	Business and Labor		Residential; Vacant?	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, November 1980 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; Maryland Historical Trust, 917 Cathedral Street, Baltimore, Maryland, B-1881; BALTIMORE CITY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 1984, SEB 378, pp. 0300-0304, MSA CE 164-378, Baltimore Alternative (1986, July). p. 8;
116	94	Gay Community Center of Baltimore	2133 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD	Period of Significance: 1978-1980. The health clinic and meeting space for the GCCB was located in the basement of this building from 1978 through 1980. This clinic and meeting space, as well as the switchboard and publication that had been housed in the basement of Gail Vivino's home, were unified in one location in 1980 when the GCCB purchased 241 West Chase Street.	1978-1980			1, 3, 6	In B4504: Old Goucher College Historic District (Expanded)	In NPS 94001163: Old Goucher College Historic District	Creating Community	Creating social institutions and movements; Shaping the political landscape	Commercial: Association	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 25.
117	94	Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Community Center of Baltimore and Central Maryland	241 West Chase St., Baltimore, MD	Period of Significance: From 1980. In 1980, the Gay Community Center of Baltimore purchased this building, unifying their services here (health center, meeting space, switchboard, newsletter). In 1985, the name was changed to the Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Baltimore.	1980-2015			1, 3, 6	B-1740: 241-243 W Chase St; In B-1393 Mount Vernon Local HD	B-1740: 241-243 W Chase St; In B-1393 Mount Vernon Local HD	Creating Community	Peopling places; Creating social institutions and movements	Commercial: Association; Residential	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 32.
118	73	Gertrude Stein Home	212 East Biddle Street, Baltimore MD	"Iconic lesbian writer Gertrude Stein lived here at 212 East Biddle Street from 1897 until 1900 with her brother Leo while she was in medical school at Johns Hopkins. She experienced her first romantic relationship with another woman during her time in Baltimore. In late 1899 or early 1900, she became enmeshed in a tortured love triangle, falling in love with Bryn Mawr College graduate, May Bookstaver, who was romantically involved with one of Gertrude's fellow medical students, Mabel Haynes."	1897-1900			9	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District; B-1608: 212 E Biddle Street	MHT B-1608	LGBTQ Art and Artists	Expressing cultural values; Peopling places	Residential	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 15.
119		Go West Bar/Mardi Gras	228 Park Ave, Baltimore MD	Bar advertising in Gay Paper and Alternative. Became known as Mardi Gras sometime in late 80s or 90s.	1979-2001	ca. 1920		1, 3	IN B-1262: Market Center H.D.	IN NPS 00000040: Market Center H.D.	Business and Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, August 1979 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; Untitled (1986, Oct-Nov). Baltimore Alternative. p. 2; "Bar Guide" (1999, Jan) Baltimore Alternative; Maryland SDAT, 226-228 Park Ave, Baltimore City, 04-10-0597-026
120		Grace & St Peters Episcopal Church	709 Park Avenue, Baltimore MD	Meeting Place for Gay and Married Men's Association	29403	1859	J. Crawford Neilson	3, 4	B-59: Grace & St Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church and School IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	In MHT B-1393 Mount Vernon Local HD	Sex, Love, and Relationships		Church	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, July 1980 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; St. Peter's Church - An Episcopal Church. (n.d.). Tour. Retrieved from http://graceandstpeter.org/tour

121		Grand Central	1001 N Charles St, Baltimore, MD	Long-running gay club in Mt Vernon with multiple floors and stages. Center of much gay activity in Baltimore for years. Announced closing 3/4/19	1991-2020	"Mid 1850s"		1, 3	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District; B-1774: Dilly's Luncheonette	MHT B-1774	Business and Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	Maryland Historical Trust, Dilly's Luncheonette (Central Station, Grand Central), Baltimore, Maryland, B-1774; Williams, J.-J. (2019, June 30). Grand Central, possibly Baltimore's largest gay nightclub, to close under new owners. Retrieved January 8, 2020, from https://www.baltimoresun.com/food-drink/bs-fe-grand-central-sold-20190304-story.html
122		Great American Melting Pot	904 N Charles St, Baltimore, MD	Long-running restaurant serving largely gay and lesbian clientele from mid 80s until early 2000s	1985-2001	c. 1870		1, 3	B-1884: 904 N Charles St In B-1393: Mt Vernon Local HD		Business & Labor		Commercial	Maryland Historical Trust, 904 N Charles St, Baltimore City, B-1884, p. 2 For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
123		Halfway House Operated by GCCB President Harvey Schwartz	15 West Madison St, Baltimore MD	According to January 1981 issue of the Gay Paper, Harvey Schwartz GCCB president ran a halfway house on 15 West Madison in late 70s	1970s	1941		1, 2	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	IN NPS 71001037: Mt Vernon Place HD	LGBTQ Spaces and Places	Creating Social Institutions and Movements	Residential	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, January 1981 issue of the Gay Paper; Maryland SDAT, 15 W Madison St, Baltimore City, 11-10-0524-010
124		Harbor Place	201 E Pratt St, Baltimore, MD	Cruising ground in Damron's	1987-1993			1			Sex, Love, and Relationships		Plaza	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
125		Harbor View Café	1730 Thames St, Baltimore, MD	Listed in 1973-1974 issues of Lesbian Newsletter Desperate Living as a lesbian bar. Cat's Eye Pub, the current (Jan 2020) business at that location, claims to have opened there in 1975	1974-1975			1, 3	In B-3714: Fells Point Historic District	IN NPS 86003777: Fells Point Historic District	Business and Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
126		Harmon's Pub	3230 E Fairmont Ave, Baltimore, MD	Neighborhood gay bar listed in Damron's	2001			1, 3	In B-1337: Patterson Park/Highlandtown HD	In NPS 02001623: Patterson Park/Highlandtown HD	Business & Labor		Commercial: Tavern	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
127		Helen's Disco Playpen (Fish & Hunt Club)	2213 Harford Road, Baltimore MD	Disco advertising in Gay Paper	29342			1, 3		VACANT/CONDEMNED	Business and Labor		Vacant	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, May 1980 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper
128	94, 102	HERO, Baltimore's First Aids Service and Education Organization and Former Location of Chase Brexton Clinic	101 West Read Street, Baltimore, MD	"HERO [Health Education Resource Organization], Baltimore's first AIDS service and education organization (founded in 1983), was located on the eighth floor of the Medical Arts Building at 101 West Read Street. Closed amidst financial issues 2008.	1983-2008	1926-1927	Marcellus F Wright, Richmond, VA	1, 3, 6	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	IN NPS 71001037: Mt Vernon Place HD	LGBTQ Health	Expanding Science and Technology	Commercial: Business	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 41; Facelift in mount vernon. (1976, Feb 01). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/538534079?accountid=10750
129	144	Holiday House	6427 Harford Rd, Baltimore, MD	Filming location for John Waters' 2004 "A Dirty Shame", where it was the biker bar that "Ursula Udders" danced at	2004			9				Expressing Cultural Values	Commercial: Restaurant	Trashy Travels: John Waters Movie Locations & Other Divine Dirt. (2012, April 25). Retrieved February 18, 2020, from https://www.facebook.com/trashytravels/photos/a.158206437530013/445860398764614/
130		Home of Lesbian Activist Gail Vivino and location of GCCB switchboard and Gay Paper	2745 N. Calvert Street, Baltimore MD	"Lesbian activist Gail Vivino was a Johns Hopkins medical school dropout who was employed by the Baltimore City Community Relations Commission. In 1977, she opened the basement of her home at 2745 North Calvert Street to GCCB's information and referral switchboard and a newspaper, the Gay Paper, operated by the center. The switchboard and the newspaper remained there until the center purchased a building at 241 West Chase Street in 1980."	1977-1980			2	IN B-3736: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	IN NPS 83003629: Charles Village/Abell Historic District		Creating social institutions and movements	Residential	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 24.
131		Howard Bar	713 Howard St, Baltimore, MD	Listed Damron's Guide, a travel guide for gay men, from 1974-1976, noted as popular with black gay men	1974-1976	19th c		1, 3	B-1949: 713 N Howard St	In MHT B-1393: Mount Vernon Local HD	Business & Labor, LGBTQ African Americans		Commercial: Office	For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1; Maryland Historical Trust, 713 Howard, Baltimore City, B-1949, p. 3.
132		Howard St Book Store	700 Howard, Baltimore, MD	Adult bookstore listed Damron's Guide	1974	ca 1830		3	B-4366: House of Burgess Antiques and Interior		Business & Labor		Residential	Maryland Historical Trust, The House of Burgess Antiques and Interior, 700 N Howard St, Baltimore City, B-4366, p. 2
133		Icebreakers	133 North Ave, Baltimore, MD	Bar advertising in In Step. Opening announcement indicates there used to be a bar called the Pump House there.	1990-1994	1920		1, 3	IN B-1341: North Central Historic District	IN NPS 02001606: North Central Historic District	Business & Labor		Vacant; Commercial: Tavern	National Register of Historic Places, North Central Historic District, Baltimore City, Maryland, #02001606, p. 31 Bar Guide. (1990, November 16). In Step: The Gay and Lesbian Guide to the Washington and Baltimore Areas, 2(23), 21. Courtesy of John J. Wilcox Jr LGBT Archives, Philadelphia, PA For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
134	121	J.J. Gallagher's Bar	1722 Fleet St, Baltimore MD	"Gallagher's was another hot spot. It appears on the 1979 map as J.J. Gallagher's Pub at 1722 Fleet St., but was reopened at 940 S. Conkling St. in 2000 by Vera Mosley and Sue Webster. Abby Nevenhouse remembers it as "the lesbian Cheers." "I'd go there and see somebody I knew," she says. It was there that she joined the just-formed Charm City Boys, Baltimore's drag king troupe." Closed in 2007.	1979-2007			1, 3	In B-3714: Fells Point Historic District	IN NPS 86003777: Fells Point Historic District	Business and Labor		Residential	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, June 1979 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; Drabinski, K. (2016, July 19). The history of Baltimore's lesbian bar scene. Retrieved January 23, 2020, from http://www.citypaper.com/news/features/bcp-072016-feature-baltimore-lesbian-bars-20160719-story.html
135		Jack's LA Sauna	3501 St Paul St, Baltimore, MD	Listed Damron's Guide as a "massage parlor" and "modeling service." In 1983, police declared it a "front for homosexual prostitution" and issued a warrant charging conspiracy to violate perverted practice laws against the business' owner and namesake, Jack Carlos Gilbert.	1976-1983	1951		1, 3, 5			Sex, Love, and Relationships; Business and Labor		Residential	Gilbert, P. (1983, Jan 25). "Police hunt spa owner on prostitution charges." The Evening Sun (Baltimore, MD), p. 21; For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1; Apartment for Rent Baltimore: Marylander Apartments. (2020, February 17). Retrieved February 16, 2020, from https://www.apartmentfinder.com/Maryland/Baltimore-Apartments/The-Marylander-Apartment-Homes-Apartments-qtentfny
136		Jacki Randall's Charm City Tattoo	300 S Monroe St., Baltimore, MD	"The East's only lesbian owned & operated tattoo parlor" Tattoo parlor of Jacki Randall, lesbian cartoonist, artist, and figure in 1990s "Sex Wars".	2007-present			8, 9			LGBTQ Art and Artists	Expressing Cultural Values	Commercial	Advertisement (Jan. 2, 2009). Baltimore OUTloud. p. 6. Accessed at http://baltimoreoutloud.com/wp/wp-content/uploads/010209_web.pdf
137		James Stokes	Baltimore City Detention Center, 954 Forrest, Baltimore, MD, 21202	Gay prisoner James Stokes was a frequent writer to Detroit-based Gay Liberator newspaper in the early 1970s. After having his request to receive the paper and an American Indian paper denied, he filed suit against the warden to reverse the decision.	1971-1974	1907	Charles M. Anderson	1, 2, 5	B-1072: Maryland Penitentiary		Law and LGBTQ Communities	Shaping the Political Landscape	Jail	"Censorship suit" (1974, Feb 1), The Gay Liberator; Detroit, MI. Iss. 34, p. 4;
138		Jay Bee's Saloon	2204 Fleet St, Baltimore	Listed Damron's Guide	1978	1880		1, 3	IN B-3704 CANTON HISTORIC DISTRICT	IN NPS 80001784: Canton Hist District	Business & Labor		Residential	Maryland SDAT, 2204 Fleet St, Baltimore City, 01-04-1785-012 For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
139		Jays on Read St	225 W Read St, Baltimore, MD	Gay piano bar in Mt Vernon. Noted as opening summer 2006 in Jan 2007 issue of OUTloud. Last seen in OUTloud's bar guide August of 2014.	2006-2014			1, 3	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District		Business and Labor		Vacant	https://foursquare.com/v/jays-on-read/4adfc57ef964a520567d21e3 ; Charing, S. "Singing and Smiling at the Piano, Matthew Sparkles at Jay's (2007, 5 Jan) Baltimore OUTloud p. 1; "Bar Guide" (2014, 8 Aug), Baltimore OUTLOUD, p. 29.
140		JB's Itl Do Bar/ Visions	110 South Haven St, Baltimore, MD	Gay bar advertising in Baltimore Alternative and In Step.	1988-1990			1, 3			Business and Labor		Commercial: Bar	"Bar Guide" (1988, Mar-Apr) Baltimore Alternative Bar Guide. (1990, November 16). In Step: The Gay and Lesbian Guide to the Washington and Baltimore Areas, 2(23), 21. Courtesy of John J. Wilcox Jr LGBT Archives, Philadelphia, PA
141		Jeff's Place	610 W. Lexington St, Baltimore, MD	Bar advertising in In Step	1990			1, 3	IN B-1262: Market Center H.D.	IN NPS 00000040: Market Center H.D.	Business & Labor, LGBTQ African Americans		Vacant	Bar Guide. (1990, November 16). In Step: The Gay and Lesbian Guide to the Washington and Baltimore Areas, 2(23), 21. Courtesy of John J. Wilcox Jr LGBT Archives, Philadelphia, PA
142		Joanne's	620 Dolphin St, Baltimore, MD	Black club in rowhouse with multiple floors, straights on one, LGBT on other	1990	1918		1, 3, 8	IN B-1373: Old West Baltimore Historic District	IN NPS 04001374: Old West Baltimore Historic District	Business & Labor, LGBTQ African Americans		Vacant	History of Baltimore Black Gay Community? (population, interest) - Maryland (MD) - Page 3 - City-Data Forum. (2017). Retrieved February 5, 2020, from http://www.city-data.com/forum/baltimore/2145209-history-baltimore-black-gay-community-3.html ;
														Maryland SDAT, 620 Dolphin St, Baltimore City, 17-02-0412-047

143		Joe Smothers Home	1816 Madison Ave, Baltimore, MD	"Mother" Joe Smothers was the biggest act to come out of Baltimore during the "Pansy Craze" of the early 1930s. He performed in and out of drag, wore heavy eyeliner and lipstick while walking around the city, and hosted a radio show briefly before moving to Harlem and performing at the Cotton Club. The 1930 census lists him living here. Smothers was a sensation in Philadelphia, headlining major shows until he was arrested for "running a disorderly house" after police busted in on him and a number of other men smoking marijuana in a hotel room there.	1930-1935			8, 9	IN B-1373: Old West Baltimore Historic District; B-4491 Madison Park HD	IN NPS 04001374: Old West Baltimore Historic District	LGBTQ Art and Artists; LGBTQ African Americans	Expressing Cultural Values	Residential	the United States, 1930. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1930. T626, 2,667 rolls. Census Place: Baltimore, Maryland; Page: 6B; Enumeration District: 0597; FHL microfilm: 2340592 Radio Round-up. (1932, Sep 10). Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/530948386?accountid=10750 RADIO ROUND-UP: AMOS AND ANDY PATER FILLS ELEVEN VOLUMES EACH BOOK IS THE SIZE OF AN ENCYCLOPEDIA. (1932, Dec 03). Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/530947052?accountid=10750 Photo News. (1934, Jan 27). Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/531049846?accountid=10750 Matthews, R. (1934, Mar 03). CLOTHES MAKE THE WOMAN as well as: THE MAN but the modistes play queer pranks sometimes, pansies prove. Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/531042239?accountid=10750 NITE CLUBBING IN BALTIMORE: WITH THE RAMBLER. (1934, Aug 04). Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/531034394?accountid=10750
144	87-88, 136	John Money House	2106 E Madison St, Baltimore, MD	John Money is known for starting the Gender Identity clinic at Johns Hopkins University, which was the first place to conduct gender confirmation surgery in the United States.	1979-2002	1905	6	IN B-5162: East Monument HD	IN NPS 09001061: East Monument HD	LGBTQ Health; Transgender History	Expanding Science and Technology; Shaping the political landscape	Residential	Maryland SDAT, 2104 E Madison St, Baltimore City, 07-13-1605-020; 1993-2002 White Pages. Little Rock, AR, USA: Axiom Corporation.; BALTIMORE CITY SUPERIOR COURT (Land Records), 1979, WA 3782, pp. 0711-0714, MSA CE 168-14102	
145	75, 87-88, 135	Johns Hopkins University Hospital: Gender Identity Clinic and Phipp's Psychiatric Clinic	600 N. Wolfe St., Baltimore, MD	From 1912 to 1914, psychiatrist and creator of the "homosexual panic" theory, Edward J. Kempf, was employed at the Phipp's Psychiatric Clinic. The Gender Identity clinic was started in 1965 by John Money, a pioneer of trans-affirming psychology along with endocrinologists and surgeons, the Gender Identity Clinic was the first clinic to perform gender-affirmation surgery in the United States in 1966. Money and others at the GIC introduced such terms as "gender identity," "sexual orientation," and advocated for a view of gender and sexuality as spectrums related not only to biology but socialization as well.	1912-1979	1877-1889	Cabot and Chandler	6	B-122 Johns Hopkins Hospital Buildings	NPS 75002094 Johns Hopkins Hospital Complex	LGBTQ Health; Transgender History	Expanding Science and Technology; Shaping the political landscape	Commercial: Hospital	National Register of Historic Places, Johns Hopkins Hospital Complex, Baltimore, Maryland, #75002094
146		Karyl Norman: Saint Patrick's Church	319 S Broadway, Baltimore, MD 21231	Cited by Sun as where noted drag performer Karyl Norman "got his start" in amateur performances. A national star during the "Pansy Craze" for female impersonators, Norman's sexuality was known to those who worked with him. He recorded numerous albums as "The Creole Fashion Plate" throughout the 1920s and 1930s.		1897	9	In B-3714: Fells Point Historic District (Expanded)	IN NPS 86003777: Fells Point Historic District	LGBTQ Arts and Artists	Expressing Cultural Values	Church	Back in his home town, norman steers clear of "press agent stuff": Female impersonator says he is baseball fan, not designer of his gowns. (1922, May 30). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/544468266?accountid=10750 ; National Register of Historic Places, Fells Point Historic District (Expanded), Baltimore, Maryland, #86003777 p 25	
147		Lambda Rising Bookstore	241 West Chase Street, Baltimore, MD	"Lambda Rising, an LGBT bookstore, was located on the first floor of the GLCCB from 1986 [I think this date is incorrect, I remember seeing papers about Lambda Rising around when the building was being renovated, 1980] until 2008."	1980-2008		1, 3	B-1740	MHT B-1740	Business & Labor; Creating Community	Creating social institutions and movements; Expressing cultural values; Developing the American economy	Residential	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p.52.	
148		Lamp Lighter Bar	4 E Cross Street, Baltimore, MD	Bar advertising in Gay Paper	29707	1859-1861	Williams and Samuel S Addison	1, 3	B-3321: 4-6 E Cross St; In B-3713 Federal Hill Historic District	In NPS 70000859: Federal Hill Historic District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, May 1981 issue of the Gay Paper; Maryland Historical Trust, 4-6 E Cross St, Baltimore, MD, B-3321 p. 4
149		Leather Underground	136 W. Read St, Baltimore, MD	Fetish and leather store in Mt Vernon. Opened after closure of Chained Desires, which was also a fetish store, and prior to that, a fetish club also called Leather Underground.	1979-present		3	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	In MHT B-1393 Mount Vernon Local HD	Business & Labor; Sex, Love, and Relationships	Expressing cultural values	Commercial: Business	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p.74.	
150	119	Leon's	870 Park Ave, Baltimore, MD	"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."	1957	c 1890s	1, 3	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	In MHT B-1393 Mount Vernon Local HD	Business & Labor	Developing the American Economy; Peopling Places	Commercial: Bar	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 16.	
151		Lesbian Feminist Ida Brayman Collective	950 Homestead Street, Baltimore, MD	"The women of the lesbian Ida Brayman Collective of the early 1970s lived in this house at 950 Homestead Street in Waverly."	early 1970s	1924	1, 2, 8				Peopling places; Creating social institutions and movements	Residential	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 13. Maryland SDAT, 950 Homestead St, Baltimore City, 09-02-4096-018	
152		Location of 1979-81 Gay Pride "Block Party"	31st Street and Barclay St Baltimore MD	Early pride celebrations before the festival moved to Charles Plaza in 1981	1979-1981		2	IN B-3736: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	IN NPS 83003629: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	LGBTQ Spaces and Places	Creating Social Institutions and Movements; Expressing Cultural Values; Shaping the political landscape	Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, May 1979 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper	
153		Location of 1981 Pride Festival	Charles Plaza, Baltimore, MD		1981	1959	RTKL Associates	2			LGBTQ Spaces and Places	Creating Social Institutions and Movements; Expressing Cultural Values; Shaping the political landscape	plaza	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 27.; Dorsey, John; Dilts, James D. (1981). A Guide to Baltimore Architecture (Second ed.). Centreville, Maryland: Tidewater Publishes. pp. 50–53.
154		Location of LGBT Festivals from 1988-1996	Wyman Park Dell, Baltimore, MD	"The dell of Wyman Park served as the home for Baltimore's annual LGBT pride festivals from 1988 until 1996. From 1983 until 1987, the festival was held in the 200 block of West Chase Street where the GLCCB was located. Growth of the event led to its relocation to Wyman Park. Further growth and drainage problems in the dell prompted another relocation, to Druid Hill Park in 1997."	1988-1996		2				LGBTQ Spaces and Places	Creating Social Institutions and Movements; Expressing Cultural Values; Shaping the political landscape	Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p.50.
155	94, 98	Louis Hughes Home	1039 W Barre St, Baltimore, MD	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.	1980-2000	ca. 1900	2, 3, 4, 6, 8	In B-3701: Barre Circle HD	In NPS 83002926: Barre Circle HD	LGBTQ African Americans, Religion and LGBTQ people, Civil Rights	Shaping the Political Landscape, Peopling places, Creating Social Institutions and Movements	Residential	830Young, P. "REMARKS FROM THE GRAND OPENING CEREMONIES OF THE GAY COMMUNITY CENTER" (1978). BGA Gayzette, Baltimore, MD. Retrieved 2/12/20 from https://www.chasebretton.org/sites/default/files/ChaseBretton%201970s%20News.pdf National Register of Historic Places, Barre Circle Historic District, Baltimore City, #83002926, p 8. Benjamin Eggerman (22 Feb, 2020) interview with Louis Hughes.	

156	28	Lucy Diggs Slowe House	1916 Druid Hill Ave, Baltimore, MD	In 1909, shortly after graduating from Howard University, Lucy Diggs Slowe returned to Baltimore to teach English in a high school. During this time, this is one of the addresses she had listed as her residence.	1908-1912			8	In B-1373: Old West Baltimore HD	IN NPS 04001374: Old West Baltimore Historic District	Civil Rights; LGBTQ African Americans		Residential	Ancestry.com. U.S. City Directories, 1822-1995 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011.
157	89	Luther Allen Home	3509 N Calvert St, Baltimore, MD	Luther Allen was an early activist and funder for gay and lesbian rights with the Mattachine Society, writing frequently for the Mattachine Review in the 50s and 60s, and corresponding with the Ladder. He corresponded frequently with members who were involved in cities that had chapters such as Los Angeles, Washington, DC, and New York. He seems to be the only person from Baltimore who did so. He helped run the Robert Lindner Foundation, dedicated to promoting the ideas of this Baltimore-based psychologist who advocated decriminalizing homosexuality in the 1950s.	1950-1969	1924	Flournoy & Flournoy	2	In B-5084: Oakenshawe HD	IN NPS 03001293: Oakenshawe HD	Civil Rights; LGBTQ Law; LGBTQ Health	Peopling places; Shaping the Political Landscape	Residential	National Register of Historic Places, Oakenshawe Historic District, Baltimore City, Maryland, #03001293 p. 6; (1961) Maryland - White Pages - Baltimore - November. Maryland. p. 17 [Image] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/usteledirec05154/ ; (1969) Maryland - White Pages - Baltimore - DecemberA through MOYD. Maryland. [Image] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/usteledirec05154/ ; Tomesson, W., & Allen, L. (1960, October). (H. Call, Ed.)Mattachine Review, 6(10); Luther Allen, "Reformers can be cruel," Mattachine Review, Mar-Apr 1955, p. 31; Sears, J. T. (2006). Behind the Mask of the Mattachine: The Hal Call Chronicles And the Early Movement for Homosexual Emancipation. Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press, p. 388;
158		Lynn's	774 Washington Blvd Baltimore MD	Bar advertising in Gay Paper, Alternative, and In Step	1979-1990			1, 3	IN B-1394: Pigtown Historic District	IN NPS 06001177: Pigtown Historic District	Business & Labor		Residential	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, May 1979 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; "Business and Entertainment Guide" (1986, July). Baltimore Alternative, p. 9; Bar Guide. (1990, November 16). In Step: The Gay and Lesbian Guide to the Washington and Baltimore Areas, 2(23), 21. Courtesy of John J. Wilcox Jr LGBT Archives, Philadelphia, PA
159	64	Mamie Gwinn House	33 E. Mt. Vernon Pl, Baltimore, MD	Mamie Gwinn was a philanthropist and professor who was a part of Mary Elizabeth Garrett's "Friday evening group" which helped fund the creation of Johns Hopkins' Medical school as well as numerous other institutions mostly focused on women's education. She lived with M. Carey Thomas, the first female Dean of Faculty of Bryn Mawr College, until she eloped with Alfred Hodder, another professor at the school. This tumultuous affair is the inspiration for Gertrude Stein's novel, "Fernhurst."	1860-1940				IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	IN NPS 71001037: Mt Vernon Place HD		Creating Social Institutions and Movements; Shaping the political landscape	Residential	Baltimore, Maryland, City Directory, 1873, Ancestry.com. U.S. City Directories, 1822-1995 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011.; Rupp, L. A desired past : a short history of same-sex love in America. Chicago University Press: 1999. p. 90-91.; M. Carey Thomas. (2020, April 20). Retrieved May 14, 2020, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M._Carey_Thomas ; queerplaces: Mamie Gwinn (n.d.) Retrieved March 14 from http://www.elisarolle.com/queerplaces/kimno/Mamie%20Gwinn.htm
160		Martick's	214 West Mulberry Street, Baltimore, MD	Famed bohemian restaurant, established as early meetup spot for young LGBTQ people. On Damron's Guide in early 1960s as a "mixed" bar.	1955-2008	1852		1, 3, 9	B-2067: Martick's Restaurant Francais; IN B-1262: Market Center H.D.	IN NPS 00000040: Market Center H.D.	Business & Labor		Vacant	Pousson, Eli. "Martick's Restaurant". Explore Baltimore Heritage, https://explore.baltimoreheritage.org/items/show/667 . For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1
161		Memorial Episcopal Church	1407 Bolton St, Baltimore, MD 21217	Meeting place for "Gay Married Men's Association" forum on "Parents who are Gay...problems of both custodial and non-custodial parents"	28946	1860-1864	Edmund G Lind & John Murdock	3, 4	B-67: Johns Memorial Protestant Episcopal Church, IN B-64: Bolton Hill Historic District	IN NPS 71001031: Bolton Hill Historic District	Religion and LGBTQ people	Creating social institutions and movements; Peopling places	Church	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, April 1979 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; Maryland Historical Trust, Johns Memorial Protestant Episcopal Church, Baltimore, Maryland, B-67, p. 2
162		Mens Room	202 W Read St, Baltimore, MD	Gay men's clothing store advertising in Baltimore Alternative	1986			3	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	IN MHT B-1393 Mount Vernon Local HD	Business & Labor		Unknown	"Business and Entertainment Guide" (1986, July) Baltimore Alternative. p. 9;
163	131	Metropolitan Community Church	2233 St. Paul St, Baltimore, MD	"The Metropolitan Community Church was located at 2233 St. Paul Street from 1976 until 1978. The building had previously served as a manufacturing site for artificial limbs. In 1978, the building also served as the first home of a gay men's health clinic. The clinic there became a part of the Gay Community Center of Baltimore from 1978 to 1989, and in 1989 became the independent Chase Brexton Services."	1976-1978			4	In B4504: Old Goucher College Historic District (Expanded)	IN NPS 94001163: Old Goucher College Historic District	Religion and LGBTQ people	Creating social institutions and movements; Peopling places	Residential	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 14.
164	130	Metropolitan Community Church of Baltimore	401 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland	current location of MCC	1998	1961		4	In B-3732 Seton Hill HD	IN NPS 75002099: Seton Hill HD	Religion and LGBTQ people	Creating social institutions and movements; Peopling places	Church	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 29. See also http://www.mccbaltimore.org/ ; Maryland SDAT, 401 W Monument St, Baltimore City, 11-08-0500-007
165		Mink Stole	628 Colorado Ave, Baltimore, MD	Mink Stole (born Nancy Paine Stoll), another of Waters' remarkable troupe, grew up in the Wyndhurst neighborhood of Baltimore before achieving fame and fortune? as an actress. She now lives in the same neighborhood.	1947-1967			9			LGBTQ Art and Artists	Expressing cultural values; Peopling places	Residential	BALTIMORE CITY SUPERIOR COURT (Land Records), 1946-1946, MLP 6951, p. 0422, MSA CE 168-6959
166	73	Monumental Elks Lodge #3	1528 madison ave baltimore md	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".	1927-1935	1859-1860		1, 3, 8	Baltimore City CHAP Landmark Designation, 2013; IN B-1373: Old West Baltimore Historic District	IN NPS 04001374: Old West Baltimore Historic District	Art & Artists; LGBTQ African Americans	Expressing Cultural Values	Commercial: Business	Twilight sex draws 200 at annual ball. (1935, Feb 23). Afro-American (1893-1988)Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/531069594?accountid=10750 ; for more on Monumental Elks #3, see appendix BE-2
167	144	Motormouth Maybelle's Record Shop	203 W Saratoga St, Baltimore, MD	Another famous filming location from the iconic 1988 "Hairspray," this was where Motormouth Maybelle had her record store in between filming the segregated broadcasts of the "Corky Collins Show"	1988	circa 1875		9	IN B-1262: Market Center H.D.; B-4383 Top Dog Custom Jewelry	IN NPS 00000040: Market Center H.D.	LGBTQ Art and Artists	Expressing cultural values; Peopling places	Commercial: Business	Maryland Historical Trust, Top Dog Custom Jewelry, Baltimore, Maryland, B-4383, p. 2; Trashy Travels: John Waters Movie Locations & Other Divine Dirt. (2012, April 21). Retrieved February 18, 2020, from https://www.facebook.com/trashytravels/photos/a.222271424456847/442514285765892/?type=3
168		Moveable Feast	901 N. Milton Avenue, Baltimore, MD	Founded in 1989 to serve meals to AIDS patients at their homes. In 2003, the service was expanded to include breast cancer patients. In 2006 they moved to their current residence, a historic warehouse at 901 N. Milton Ave. By 2012, Moveable Feast has increased their service to care for individuals who have a life threatening illness.	2006-present	1914-1915	Frank & Kavanaugh	3, 6	B-5140: L. Grief & Bro., Inc. Manufactory	NPS 07001284 L. Grief & Bro, Inc.	LGBTQ Health	Expanding Science and Technology	Commercial: Warehouse	Our Story: Moveable Feast - Baltimore, MD. (n.d.). Retrieved January 23, 2020, from http://www.mfeast.org/about-moveable-feast/our-story/ ; National Register of Historic Places, L. Grief & Bro., Inc. Manufactory, Baltimore, Maryland, #07001284 p. 14
169	60	Mt Vernon YMCA	24 W Franklin St, Baltimore, MD 21201	Mentioned repeatedly from page 35-50 of Robert Scully's 1932 novel, "A Scarlet Pansy", the main character, read alternately as genderqueer, trans, non-binary, or effeminate and gay, is seduced by multiple men working or staying at the Y. Like many of the LGBTQ novels of the time, it had a hidden meaning as a guidebook, offering readers the names and locations of areas, bars, and places to stay that would be conducive to a gay, queer and/or trans readership. Decades later, Damron Guide for gay men noted it was still a good place to go.	1931-1980	1907-1908	Joseph Evans Sperry	1	B-2001: Central YMCA	IN NPS 87000622: Cathedral Hill HD	Sex, Love, Relationships		Commercial: Hotel	Maryland Historical Trust, Central YMCA, Baltimore City, B-2001, p. 11 Scully, R. (2016). Scarlet Pansy. Fordham University Press.

170		Murder of Cookie Carter	Ellicott Driveway and Baltimore St, Baltimore, MD	The body of a young black transgender woman, Cookie Carter, was discovered here having multiple gunshot wounds. Major coverage in the Afro, although the case was never closed. The city's response was to crack down further on LGBTQ people, banning all 'female impersonation' from city bars and stepping up patrols targeting sex workers.	24209	1941		5	B-4160: Leakin Park		LGBTQ African Americans; LGBTQ Law; Transgender history		Parkway	Paige, S. "Youth in dress, wig slain" (1966, 12 Apr), The Afro-American, Baltimore, Md, p. 1 "Cookie's' slayer at large: impersonators banned in bars" (1966, 19 Apr), The Afro-American, Baltimore, Md, p.5 Maryland Historical Trust, Leakin Park, Baltimore City, B-4610, p. 24
171		Neptune's Saloon	2126 Maryland Ave, Baltimore, MD	Bar listed in 1987 Alternative issue	1987			1, 3			Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	"Bar Guide" (1987, Sep) Baltimore Alternative;
172		New Masquerade/Sue Ellen's/Zeons	504 South Haven, Baltimore, MD	Bar advertising in Baltimore Alternative--formerly the Masquerade. Listed in Damron's Guides	1986-1997	1940s		1, 3	IN B-5169: Brewers Hill Historic District	IN NPS 14001070: Brewers Hill Historic District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Business	National Register of Historic Places, Brewers Hill Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #14001070, p. 11; Baltimore Alternative (1986, July), p. 4; "Business and Entertainment Guide" (1986, July). Baltimore Alternative, p. 9; For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
173		Numbers	2312-4 Boston St, Baltimore, MD	Bar advertising in Baltimore Alternative and In Step, listed in Damron's, GAIA's	1983-1993	1890		1, 3	IN B-3704 CANTON HISTORIC DISTRICT	IN NPS 80001784: Canton Hist District	Business and Labor		Commercial: Business	"Business and Entertainment Guide" (1986, July). Baltimore Alternative, p. 9; "Bar Guide" (1988, Mar-Apr) Baltimore Alternative; Maryland SDAT, 2312 Boston St, Baltimore City, 01-05-1849-031; Bar Guide. (1990, November 16). In Step: The Gay and Lesbian Guide to the Washington and Baltimore Areas, 2(23), 21. Courtesy of John J. Wilcox Jr LGBT Archives, Philadelphia, PA For gay and lesbian Guides, see appendix BE-1
174		O'Dells	21 E North Ave, Baltimore MD	Legendary Baltimore House club, known to have nights and areas of the bar for LGBTQ+ people. "by the early '90s, Miss Tony had become a fixture of O'Dells and Club Fantasy... if you called Miss Tony a faggot, you were going to get your ass whooped by a bunch of dudes that sold drugs on Edmondson Avenue. Hip-hop is so homophobic; how this occurred, you can't ever explain it." Closed in 1992 after years of pressure from city, revoking liquor license and private club permit, and seeking an injunction to close the club.	1979-1992	Circa 1925		1, 3, 8	IN B-1341: North Central Historic District	IN NPS 02001606: North Central Historic District	Business & Labor, LGBTQ African Americans		Commercial: Restaurant	National Register of Historic Places, North Central Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #02001606, p. 32; History of Baltimore Black Gay Community? (population, interest) - Maryland (MD) - Page 3 - City-Data Forum. (2017). Retrieved February 5, 2020, from http://www.city-data.com/forum/baltimore/2145209-history-baltimore-black-gay-community-3.html ; Thomson, N. (2016, October 15). An oral history of Baltimore club. Retrieved from https://www.waxpoetics.com/blog/features/articles/an-oral-history-of-baltimore-club/
175		O'Henry's	15 E Centre St, Baltimore, MD	Listed as a popular "mixed" bar, which is to say, nominally straight bar where gay men could meet each other, in Damron's Guide. The Sun notes it was a divey haunt for Peabody Students when discussing its reopening after 5 years of being closed	1974-1975	1850		1, 3	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District; B-3882: 15 E Centre St	IN NPS 71001037: Mt Vernon Place HD	Business & Labor		Commercial: Business	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1; Maryland Historical Trust, 15 E. Centre Street, Baltimore City, B-3882, p. 2; Large, E. (1983, Apr 29). O'Henry's, old peabody students' haunt, to reopen. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/535735039?accountid=10750
176		Old Oak Tavern	641 S. Montford Avenue, Baltimore, MD	Back when Canton was gay bar central, this location was first Stars and Stripes, briefly Pegasus, and later the Old Oak Tavern. Closed in 1992 after owner died of AIDS complications	1984-1992			1, 3	IN B-3704 CANTON HISTORIC DISTRICT	IN NPS 80001784: Canton Hist District	Business and Labor; LGBTQ Health		Commercial: Restaurant	"Bar Guide" (1988, Mar-Apr) Baltimore Alternative; "John R. Macauley" (1992, Dec 30), The Baltimore Sun, p. 17 Bar Guide. (1990, November 16). In Step: The Gay and Lesbian Guide to the Washington and Baltimore Areas, 2(23), 21. Courtesy of John J. Wilcox Jr LGBT Archives, Philadelphia, PA
177		Open Fly	519 Gorsuch Ave, Baltimore, MD	Bar advertising in In Step	1990			1, 3	IN B-5229: Waverly Main Street Historic District	IN NPS 13001029: Waverly Main Street Historic District	Business & Labor		Vacant	
178		Open House	227 W 29th St, Baltimore, MD	Listed as popular after hours mixed bar, restaurant, and cafe in Damron's and GAIA's Guide.	1975-1989	1950		1, 3	IN B-5299: Remington HD	IN NPS SG100000526: Remington HD	Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	For gay and lesbian Guides, see appendix BE-1; Maryland SDAT, 227 W 29th St, Baltimore City, 12-02-3650C-018; Classified ad 3 -- no title. (1980, Jul 10). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/538198348?accountid=10750
179		Original Home of the Gay Student Alliance of JHU	Johns Hopkins University News-Letter Office, Baltimore, MD	"John[s] Hopkins University's News-Letter Office was the original home of the Gay Student Alliance of JHU in the 1970s."	1970s	circa 1875		1, 3			Creating social institutions and movements; Peopling places		University	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 27. History of the Homewood Campus. (2012, December 10). Retrieved January 23, 2020, from https://archive.is/20121210095039/http://www.library.jhu.edu/collections/specialcollections/archives/buildinghist.html

180		Our Place/Club Bunn	608 W Lexington St, Baltimore, MD 21201	Long-running black gay dance club, strip club, and bar catering primarily to black patrons. Shuttered after 30+ years following city removal of liquor license in 2018-2019. This was in response to a major campaign by the University of Maryland, who owns all the buildings on that block and claimed it was a 'hotbed of crime' that endangered their students.	1989-2019			1, 3, 8	IN B-1262: Market Center H.D.	IN NPS 00000040: Market Center H.D.	Business & Labor, LGBTQ African Americans		Vacant	History of Baltimore Black Gay Community? (population, interest) - Maryland (MD) - Page 3 - City-Data Forum. (2017). Retrieved February 5, 2020, from http://www.city-data.com/forum/baltimore/2145209-history-baltimore-black-gay-community-3.html ; Redmond-Palmer, B. (n.d.). Club Bunn's Faces Liquor License Challenge. Retrieved February 5, 2020, from https://baltimoreoutloud.com/wp/club-bunn-faces-liquor-license-challenge/ ; "Where do we go? Baltimore's gay nightlife takes a hit with Grand Central's impending closure. Retrieved from https://www.baltimoresun.com/food-drink/bs-fe-gay-nightlife-20190306-story.html ; Bar Guide. (1990, November 16). In Step: The Gay and Lesbian Guide to the Washington and Baltimore Areas, 2(23), 21. Courtesy of John J. Wilcox Jr LGBT Archives, Philadelphia, PA For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1	
181		Owl's Nest	105 E Madison St, Baltimore, MD	Listed Damron's Guide as an LGBTQ oriented coffeeshop and restaurant open late	1974			1, 3	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	IN NPS 71001037: Mt Vernon Place HD	Business & Labor		Unknown, vacant, residential?	For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1	
182		Parade route of Pride Festival from 1988 to 1996	Maryland Avenue, Baltimore, MD	"The Pride festival was held in Wyman Park from 1988 until 1996. During those years, the parade was held on Maryland Avenue. The parade began at the Gallery Bar and ran north to the park."	1988-1996			2			LGBTQ Spaces and Places	Creating Social Institutions and Movements; Expressing Cultural Values; Shaping the political landscape	Street	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p.51.	
183		Paradise Inn/Black Gay Pride 1986	1302 Laurens St, Baltimore, MD	Gay bar advertising in Baltimore Alternative and In Step. October 1986 Alternative issue indicates Black Gay Pride day was held outside. Activist Louis Hughes notes that it was known as a gay bar since at least 1974. Still around, not sure if gay	1974-1990	c. 1920		1, 3, 8	IN B-1373: Old West Baltimore Historic District	IN NPS 04001374: Old West Baltimore Historic District	Business & Labor, LGBTQ African Americans		Commercial: Restaurant	Lambert, G. (1986, Oct) "Black Gay Pride day held in West Baltimore." Baltimore Alternative, p. 1; "Bar Guide" (1988, Mar-Apr) Baltimore Alternative.; Bar Guide. (1990, November 16). In Step: The Gay and Lesbian Guide to the Washington and Baltimore Areas, 2(23), 21. Courtesy of John J. Wilcox Jr LGBT Archives, Philadelphia, PA Maryland SDAT, 1302 Laurens St, Baltimore City, 15-11-0036A-003; Benjamin Egerman (Feb 20, 2020). Interview with Louis Hughes.	
184		Paradox	1310 Russell St, Baltimore, MD	Legendary warehouse dance club with large gay following. Multiple gay nights a week. Listed in Damron's Guide	1998-2012	1940		1, 3			Business & Labor		Warehouse	Maryland SDAT, 1310 Russell St, Baltimore City, 21-09-0969-001 For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1	
185		Park Avenue Pharmacy	1535 Park Avenue, Baltimore MD	Pharmacy advertising in Gay Paper "Featuring Banana Boat/Suntan Products" and a shirtless man. Still operating, unknown if LGBTQ+ owned.	29373	1880		3	B-520: 1535 Park Avenue IN B-64: Bolton Hill Historic District	IN NPS 71001031: Bolton Hill Historic District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Business	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, June 1980 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; Maryland SDAT, 1535 Park Ave, Baltimore City, 14-01-0369-018	
186		Parker's Bar	704 N. Howard Street, Baltimore MD	Bar advertising in Gay Paper, listed in Damron's guide as being predominantly black clientele	1975-1980	Circa 1850		1, 3, 8	B-4368: A.T. Jones & Sons, IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	MHT B-4368: A.T. Jones & Sons	Business & Labor, LGBTQ African Americans		Commercial: Business	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, June 1979 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1	
187		Paul Cameron on WJZ	WJZ Studios, 3725 Malden Ave, Baltimore	Weeks before a vote on extending civil rights protections to LGBT people, media outlet WJZ took it upon themselves to invite a disgraced psychologist named Paul Cameron to come on the the channel and give extreme homophobic views an air of scientific respectability. Numerous activists, as well as the American Psychological Association (which had expelled him for misrepresenting findings to comply with far-right homophobic politics) had written the station requesting they not air him, stating, "Asking his views on homosexuality is tantamount to soliciting advice from Hitler on Jewish issues." While on air, he was quoted as saying "Homosexuality is not a disease, it's a bad and dangerous habit. Homosexuals have compromised our blood supply. A gay man coughing on your salad may cause you to get AIDS. Children are seduced by their lesbian teachers into homosexuality. We must close our borders, both in and out of the country, to homosexuals." The bill failed shortly afterwards.	1984	1949		2, 5				Civil Rights; LGBTQ Law	Shaping the Political Landscape	Commercial: TV Station	Coberly, G. (1984, Nov 24). But the show goes on; homophobe's baltimore TV visit protested. Gay Community News, 12, 1. Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/199345759?accountid=14696 ; Maryland SDAT, 3725 Malden Ave, Baltimore City, 13-04-3357C-020
188	98	Paulette Young Home	2732 Guilford Ave, Baltimore, MD, 21218	Paulette Young was the first president of the Gay Community Center of Baltimore (now the Pride Center); while nearly all other community centers were run by white gay men, Baltimore's founding group was a diverse one in terms of both gender and race, and decided that Young, an African American Lesbian, would make the best choice for president.	1980-1985			1, 2, 3, 8	IN B-3736: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	IN NPS 83003629: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	LGBTQ+ African Americans, Civil Rights	Shaping the Political Landscape; Peopling places, Creating Social Institutions and Movements	Residential	Young, P. "REMARKS FROM THE GRAND OPENING CEREMONIES OF THE GAY COMMUNITY CENTER" (1978), BGA Gayzette, Baltimore, MD. Retrieved 2/12/20 from https://www.chasebretton.org/sites/default/files/ChaseBretton%201970s%20News.pdf	
189		The Phoenix	1 W Biddle St, Baltimore, MD	2000s gay bar	2004-2009	1883		1, 3	B-1653 1 W Biddle St, In MHT B-1393 Mount Vernon Local HD	MHT B-1653 1 W Biddle St, In MHT B-1393 Mount Vernon Local HD	Business & Labor		Commercial: Business; Residential	Maryland Historical Trust, 1 West Biddle St, Baltimore, Maryland, B-1653, p. 3;	
190	144	Pink Flamingos final scene	Read and Tyson St, Baltimore	Perhaps the most well-known scene from any of John Waters' films, this is the location where Divine eats a freshly expelled piece of dog excrement.	1972			9	IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	In MHT B-1393 Mount Vernon Local HD	LGBTQ Art & Artists	Expressing Cultural Values	Street	Filming Locations for John Waters' Pink Flamingos (1972), in Baltimore, Maryland. (n.d.). Retrieved February 17, 2020, from https://www.movie-locations.com/movies/p/Pink-Flamingos.php	
191	144	Pink Flamingos House	3900 Greenmount Ave, Baltimore, MD	"The most disgusting address in the world," this is the home of Connie and Raymond Marble in John Waters breakout 1972 "Pink Flamingos." It is also where filmmaker Waters and star Mink Stole lived at the time of filming.	1972			9	IN B-3654: Guilford Historic District	IN NPS 01000745: Guilford Historic District	LGBTQ Art & Artists	Expressing Cultural Values	Residential	Filming Locations for John Waters' Pink Flamingos (1972), in Baltimore, Maryland. (n.d.). Retrieved February 17, 2020, from https://www.movie-locations.com/movies/p/Pink-Flamingos.php	
192	122	The Port Hole/Zippers	511 Gorsuch Avenue, Baltimore MD	Long running gay bar in Waverly. Later known as Zippers. Listed in Damron's. One of two bars successfully challenged by Black Men and White Men Together on their discriminatory practices on who got let in.	1980-1995	ca 1900		1, 2, 3, 8	IN B-5229: Waverly Main Street Historic District	IN NPS 13001029: Waverly Main Street Historic District	Business & Labor		Vacant	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, December 1980 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; Bar Guide. (1990, November 16). In Step: The Gay and Lesbian Guide to the Washington and Baltimore Areas, 2(23), 21. Courtesy of John J. Wilcox Jr LGBT Archives, Philadelphia, PA For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1	

193		Port in a Storm Lesbian Bar	4330 E Lombard St, Baltimore MD	Long running lesbian bar in Highlandtown, among the last lesbian bars to close in Baltimore.	1988-2015	1890s-1900s		1, 3	In MHT B-5174 Kresson St Residential District	In MHT B-5174 Kresson St Residential District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p.71.; Maryland Historical Trust, Kresson Street Residential District, Baltimore City, B-5174, p. 2
194		Port in a Storm Lesbian Bar Fells Point location	1723 Fleet Street Baltimore MD	Bar advertising in Gay Paper. Vacant for many years after bar moved to Highlandtown in mid-80s, building is now a laundromat.	1981-1985			1, 3	In B-3714: Fells Point Historic District	IN NPS 86003777: Fells Point Historic District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Business	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, February 1981 issue of the Gay Paper
195		Public Appearances Salon	1210 N Charles Street, Baltimore MD	Salon that does facials and manicures for gay men. Building now real estate office.	29190	1880s		3	B-1535 1210 N Charles St 1979; In MHT B-1393 Mount Vernon Local HD	B-1535 1210 N Charles St 1979; In MHT B-1393 Mount Vernon Local HD	Business & Labor		Commercial: Business	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, December 1979 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; Maryland Historical Trust, Queen Anne Belvedere Apartments & Shoppes, Baltimore, Maryland, B-1535, p. 1
196		Randy's Sportsman Bar	412 Park Ave Baltimore, MD	Gay bar advertising in Baltimore Alternative and In Step. Known as Park Sportsman's Bar in late 80s. At the time of its closure due to suspected arson in 2007, was known as city's longest-running black gay bar.	1988-2007	19th. C		1, 3, 8	B-2059: Sportsman Bar; IN B-1262: Market Center H.D.	IN NPS 00000040: Market Center H.D.	Business & Labor, LGBTQ African Americans		Abandoned	Maryland Historical Trust, Sportsman Bar, Baltimore City, B-2059. p. 2.; Keys, K. "Fire forces closure of Sportsman Bar" (2007, Mar 30) Baltimore OUTloud; Baltimore, MD. p. 1
197		Rawlings Conservatory	Rawlings Conservatory, Druid Hill Park Baltimore MD	Gay Paper said the area in front of the greenhouse in Druid Hill Park was a "popular cruising grounds for Black gay people." This was also an area that was targeted by law enforcement. Prior to this, occasional arrests were made going back to the 1930s of men getting intimate together at this part of Druid Hill Park.	29434	1888	George A. Frederick	1, 5	B-5095: Druid Hill Park Conservatory, IN B-56 Druid Hill Park HD	NPS 73002183 Druid Hill Park HD 1973	Sex, Love, and Relationships; LGBTQ African Americans		Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, August 1980 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper; National Register of Historic Places, Druid Hill HD, Baltimore, Maryland, #73002183, p. 17; MEN MADE LOVE IN PARK; BOTH DRAW FINES: POLICE SURPRISE QUEER SPOONERS IN CAB AT 2:00 A.M. (1932, Jul 23). Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/530959734?accountid=10750
198		Read Street Books and Coffee	229-231 Read St, Baltimore, MD	Lesbian bookstore opened in 2007; Google Street View shows open still in 2011, closed 2013	2007-2011	1830s		1, 3, 8	In B-1393: Mount Vernon Local HD		Business & Labor		Unknown	Keys, K. "Lesbian Bookstore Reviving Read Street" (2007, 3 Aug), Baltimore Outloud, p. 9
199		Regency of Baltimore Baths	17 E Franklin St, Baltimore, MD	Private bathhouse listed in 1972 Damron's Guide	1972	1906		1, 3	B-2085: Florists Exchange Building	In NPS 87000622: Cathedral Hill Historic District, 1987	Business & Labor; Sex, Love, and Relationships		Commercial	Maryland Historical Trust, Florist Exchange/Jennings Building, Baltimore, MD, B-2085, p. 1; For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1
200	99, 141	Rev. Dolores Berry/Baltimore Coalition of Black Gay Women & Men	426 Winston Ave., No. 12, Baltimore, MD	The Baltimore Coalition formed in 1979 following the creation of the National Coalition of Black Gay Men and Lesbians. The initial meeting was held at the apartment of Reverend Dolores Berry, a prominent lesbian minister and gospel singer with the MCC who was involved in black LGBTQ+ activism and life until her death in 2018.	1979	1960		2, 3, 8			Civil Rights: Creating Community; LGBTQ African Americans; Religion and LGBTQ	Peopling places; Creating social institutions and movements	Residential	MCC (2018, April 4). Metropolitan Community Churches. Retrieved February 7, 2020, from https://www.mcccchurch.org/mcc-loses-a-prophet-and-a-healer-celebrates-the-life-of-rev-dolores-p-berry/; Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015; Winston Courts Apartments - Baltimore, MD. (2020, February 17). Retrieved February 16, 2020, from https://www.apartments.com/winston-courts-baltimore-md/6me5rjv/
201		Rowan Tree	1633 S Charles St, Baltimore, MD	Gay-adjacent "neighborhood bar." Advertiser in OUTloud	2002-present	1888	Henry Schauburg	1, 3	In B-5139: Riverside HD	In NPS 0800358: Riverside HD	Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	National Register of Historic Places, Riverside Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #0800358. p. 37.; Info - The Rowan Tree. (n.d.). Retrieved February 17, 2020, from http://rowantreebmore.comcastbiz.net/info.shtml
202		Sadies Show Bar	702 S Broadway, Baltimore, MD	Listed Damron's Guide as a Lesbian bar friendly to gay men.	1974-1975			1, 3	In B-3714: Fells Point Historic District	IN NPS 86003777: Fells Point Historic District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1
203		Sappho's	100 Abermarle, Baltimore, MD	Listed Damron's and GAIA's Guides and UMBC article	1978-1983			1, 3, 8	IN B-2784: Jonestown Historic District	IN B-2784: Jonestown Historic District			Residential	For gay and lesbian Guide, see appendix BE-1
204		Satellite Bar and Lounge	1900 Aliceanna St, Baltimore, MD	Per 1970 Baltimore Sun article, bar "openly catering to homosexual crowd" told to watch its closing time by liquor board. Listed in Damron's Guide, 1972-1977	1969-1977			1, 3, 5	In B-3714: Fells Point Historic District	IN NPS 86003777: Fells Point Historic District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1; O'Donnell, J.,B. (1970, Sep 11). Bar serving homosexuals warned over complaints. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/541222852?accountid=10750
205		Sherman's News Agency	332 Park Ave, Baltimore, MD	Countercultural bookstore that carried gay papers and magazines.	1970-1989	19th c		3	B-2120: 328-332 Park Ave; IN B-1262: Market Center H.D	IN NPS 00000040: Market Center H.D.	Business & Labor		Vacant	Abe Sherman's Newsstand/Bookstore. (2014, January 13). Retrieved February 16, 2020, from http://www.baltimoreorless.com/2014/01/abe-shermans-newsstandbookstore/; Maryland Historical Trust, 328-332 Park Avenue, Baltimore City, B-2120, p. 3
206		Sherry's Bar	238 S Broadway, Baltimore, MD 21231	"Lesbian bar Sherry's was located on Broadway in Upper Fells Point. The front was a straight bar; the back room was the lesbian space." Still operating.	1975-1978	before 1851	Edward Robinson	1, 3, 8	IN B-5123: Upper Fells Point District	IN NPS 07001034: Upper Fells Point Historic District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 23.; National Register of Historic Places, Upper Fells Point Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #07001034, p. 37; For gay and lesbian guides, see BE-1; Pietila, A. (1975, Oct 31). Licenses of 6 nightclubs suspended for 3 to 9 days. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/538552998?accountid=10750

207		Shot Tower Bar	4 N High Street, Baltimore MD	"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.	1961-1985				1, 3, 8	IN B-2784: Jonestown Historic District	In MHT B-2784 Jonestown HD	Business & Labor		Commercial: Association	Drabinski, K. (2016, July 19). The history of Baltimore's lesbian bar scene. Retrieved January 23, 2020, from http://www.citypaper.com/news/features/bcp-072016-feature-baltimore-lesbian-bars-20160719-story.html ; LIQUOR BOARD SUSPENDS TEN BAR LICENSES: SIX CASES ARISE OUT OF POLICE CRACKDOWN ON PROSTITUTION. (1961, Dec 15). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/542468733?accountid=10750 For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1; Classified ad 38 -- no title. (1985, Jul 07). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/535618417?accountid=10750
208		Silas White Home	928 Calvert St, Baltimore, MD	Silas White is a long-time Baltimore activist for LGBTQ+ communities, especially black LGBTQ+ people. One of the founders of the Baltimore Gay Alliance in 1975, he served as the organization's first treasurer, a frequent speaker, organizer, and staffer for the switchboard.	1975-1990	1864-1865			2, 3, 8	B-2405: 928 Calvert St In B-1393: Mt Vernon Local HD		LGBTQ African Americans	Shaping the Political Landscape, Creating social institutions and movements	Residential	Benjamin Egerman, "Interview with Silas White" Maryland Rainbow History Online, accessed March 1, 2020, https://mdrainbowhs.omeka.net/admin/items/show/1 . Maryland Historical Trust, 108 E Read St, Baltimore City, B-2392, p. 3 GLCCB Series 1 Box 1 Gay Paper 1979-1981, May 1979 issue of the Gay Community Center Paper. History of the Homewood Campus. (2012, December 10). Retrieved January 23, 2020, from https://archive.is/20121210095039/http://www.library.jhu.edu/collections/specialcollections/archives/buildinghist.html
209		Site of Dances to Support Gay Community Services	Glass Pavilion at Levering Hall, Johns Hopkins University, 3400 N Charles St Baltimore MD	Featuring DJ Michael Waugh, clearly a local gay celebrity who also was a DJ on gay cruise parties departing from Light Street in the Inner Harbor. Members of the early Baltimore Gay Alliance describe this dance as a major step that showed the support of the community.	28976		1972-1974 addition to 1928-1929 building	Orig. Edward L Palmer	1					University	
210		Site of First Pride Rally	Baltimore's Washington Monument	"Baltimore's Washington Monument was the site of the first Pride rally in 1975. In 1984, a crowd of gay rights supporters, many wearing masks, gathered here in support of Baltimore City Council Bill 187, the gay rights bill. The demonstrators marched to the Inner Harbor where they held a candlelight vigil in front of the Maryland Science Center."	1975	1815-1829		Robert Mills	2	B-6: Washington Monument and Mt Vernon Square IN B-1393 Mt Vernon Local Hist District	IN NPS 71001037: Mt Vernon Place HD	LGBTQ Spaces and Places	Creating Social Institutions and Movements; Expressing Cultural Values; Shaping the political landscape	Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 22.; National Register of Historic Places, Mt Vernon Place Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #71001037, p. 11
211		SM Leathers	1729 Maryland Ave, Baltimore, MD	Leather store next to Gallery Bar	1986-	ca. 1880			3	IN B-1341: North Central Historic District	IN NPS 02001606: North Central Historic District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	National Register of Historic Places, North Central Historic District, Baltimore City, Maryland, #02001606, p. 30.; Baltimore Alternative (1986, July), p. 7;
212		Snugs/Club Mitchell	1003 E Pratt St., Baltimore, MD	Opened in 1979 as a lesbian dance bar. In 1960s, was already known as a lesbian bar named "Snugs Tavern" before changing hands. Later became straight-ish Club Orpheus in 1991. Listed as both Snugs and Club Mitchell in Damron's Guide	1964-1991	c. 1820-1840			1, 3, 8	IN B-5121: Little Italy Historic District	IN 01001213: South Central Avenue Historic District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Business	ChaplinChaplin. (1979, Jun 15). It's ladies night every night: In club mitchell's disco, the 'YMCA' look is short hair and long pants. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/535449147?accountid=10750 ; Giuliano, M. (1991, Jan 11). Orpheus club opens in little italy. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1797909572?accountid=10750 ; The history of Baltimore's lesbian bar scene. Retrieved January 23, 2020, from http://www.citypaper.com/news/features/bcp-072016-feature-baltimore-lesbian-bars-20160719-story.html ; National Register of Historic Places, South Central Avenue Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #01001213. p. 33 For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1;
213		Sonar	407 E Saratoga St, Baltimore, MD	Dance club with gay clientele listed in Damrons; shut down in 2012 when owner indicted (later convicted) on drug deal and money laundering charges.	2006-2011	1940			1, 3			Business & Labor		Commercial: Storefront	Maryland SDAT, 407 E Saratoga St, Baltimore City, 04-12-1303A-10 Case, W. (2012, July 10). Music venue Sonar closes for good. Retrieved March 2, 2020, from https://www.baltimoresun.com/food-drink/bal-music-venue-sonar-closes-for-good-story.html For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
214		Spectrum	2000 Eastern Ave, Baltimore, MD 21231	Following Atlantis' closure in 2004, another 'nude male entertainment' club opened up. Open in 2007, by 2008 is no longer a bar but a male revue available for rental. In July of 2010 they stop paying for their website.	2007-2010				1, 3			Business & Labor		Commercial: Tavern	St. John, A., "Alexander's New World," (2007, 5 Jan), Baltimore OUTLoud, p. 19; "Spectrum" (2007, 14 Sep) Baltimore OUTLoud, p. 26; Internet Archive: Spectrummen.com. (2010, June 6 capture). Retrieved February 8, 2020, from https://web.archive.org/web/20100105110244/http://www.spectrummen.com/ ; Internet Archive: Spectrummen.com. (2010, July 12 capture). Retrieved February 8, 2020, from https://web.archive.org/web/20100712083442/http://www.spectrummen.com/
215		St Clare's Church	714 Myrth Ave, Essex, MD 21221	After a 1989 event by the Gay and Lesbian Community Center was abruptly cancelled, organizers challenged this to the Baltimore County Human Rights Commission, eventually leading to the commission adopting protections from discrimination on the basis of sexuality the following year.	1989				2, 5			LGBTQ Law, Civil Rights, Religion and LGBTQ People		Church	Robert A Erlanson Baltimore County Bureau of The Sun. (1989, Nov 02). Homosexuals file complaint with balto. co. panel. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1637548270?accountid=10750
216		St Mary's Seminary	5400 Roland Ave, Baltimore, MD 21210	In 1977, two students were "asked to withdraw" from the Catholic seminary for homosexuality. One of the students disputed this, the other openly acknowledged it. The head of the seminary refused to acknowledge they had been expelled, claiming they had left on their own accord.	1977	1929		Maginnis and Walsh, Boston, MA	4, 5			Religion and LGBTQ people		Church	2 alleged homosexuals quit st. mary's. (1977, Feb 25). The Sun (1837-1993) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/541105964?accountid=10750 ; History & Mission. (n.d.). Retrieved February 16, 2020, from http://www.stmarys.edu/seminary/about-us/history-mission/
217		St Mary's, Madison, and Biddle St	Madison St between St. Mary's and Biddle St (940 Madison St), Baltimore, MD	A 1931 Afro American article notes this as an area where (implied African American)"Pansies" can be found cruising for men"	1931				1, 11	B-1373: Old West Baltimore Historic District	IN NPS 04001374: Old West Baltimore	LGBTQ African Americans, Sex, Love, and Relationships		District	Little, W. (1931, Nov 21). BALTIMORE'S RED LIGHTS. Afro-American (1893-1988) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/530893885?accountid=10750

218		St. John's United Methodist Church	2640 St. Paul St., Baltimore, MD	Period of Significance: 1972-1974, 1980-1981, 1985-1989. St. John's has been the home of Baltimore's oldest LGBT religious organization, the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC), on three separate occasions. Baltimore's MCC was founded in 1972 and spent until 1974 at St. John's. St. John's was home to the MCC again from 1980 to 1981 until a fire nearly destroyed the building, and again from 1985 through 1989. In addition, The Muses, a lesbian theatre company, held shows here.	1972-1989	1900	B.F. Owens	4	IN B-3736: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	IN NPS 83003629: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	Religion and LGBTQ people	Creating social institutions and movements	Church	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 29.; National Register of Historic Places, Charles Village/Abell Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #83003629, p. 14 2640 Space. (n.d.). About Us. Retrieved February 16, 2020, from https://www.2640space.net/about
219		Stallion Inn/Jonathan's	2318 Fleet St, Baltimore, MD	Listed in Damron's Guide, 1978 as serving a young crowd and a place to pick up 'rough trade'. 1979 Baltimore Sun Classified shows building being sold, but in 1985, is listed in GAIA'S GUIDE as "Spectacular drag shows/6 video screens/their Christmas Dinner Party was for gay and lesbian parents and their children!"	1978-1985			1, 3	IN B-3704 CANTON HISTORIC DISTRICT	IN NPS 80001784: Canton Hist District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1; Maryland SDAT, 2318 Fleet St, Baltimore City, 01-05-1786-019; Classified ad 6 -- no title. (1979, Feb 05). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/536836604?accountid=10750
220		The Stickle Home	2905 Pinewood Ave, Baltimore, MD	Key filming location in John Waters' 2004 "A Dirty Shame", where the entire Stickle family at the center fo the film live.	2004	1927		9			LGBTQ Art & Artists	Expressing Cultural Values	Residential	Trashy Travels: John Waters Movie Locations & Other Divine Dirt. (2010, September 10). Retrieved February 16, 2020, from https://www.facebook.com/trashytravels/photos/a.158206437530013/158206477530009/?type=3 ; Maryland SDAT, 2905 Pinewood Ave, Baltimore City, 27-34-5493-021
221		Sweet Lips Disco	1300 S Hanover St, Baltimore, MD	Listed in Damron's Guide for gay men in 1980. Sun shows transfer of liquor license to "Sweet Lips Inc" at this address in 1977 and from it in 1982.	1977-1982	c. 1880s		1, 3	In B-5139: Riverside HD	In NPS 08000358: Riverside HD	Business & Labor		Residential	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1; National Register of Historic Places, Riverside Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #08000358, p. 6.; Legal notice 1 -- no title. (1977, Oct 31). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/542183678?accountid=10750 Classified ad 49 -- no title. (1982, Feb 28). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/538087774?accountid=10750
222		The Horse You Came in On Tavern	1626 Thames, Baltimore, MD	Known as the last place Edgar Allen Poe was seen alive, this bar was listed as a young, hip mixed bar and restaurant in Damron's.	1974-1977	1775		1, 3	B-4221: The-Horse-You-Came-In-On, In B-3714: Fells Point Historic District	IN NPS 86003777: Fells Point Historic District	Business & Labor		Commercial: Tavern	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1; The Horse You Came In On Saloon. (n.d.). STORY. Retrieved February 16, 2020, from https://www.thehorsebaltimore.com/story
223	144	The Turnblad Residence	100 N Luzerne Ave, Baltimore, MD	Perhaps the most famous character from a John Waters film, Tracy Turnblad (Ricki Lake) and her parents (Jerry Stiller and Divine) lived in the Highlandtown (really, Patterson Park) neighborhood in this house.	1988			9	IN B-1337: Patterson Park/Highlandtown HD	IN 02001623: Patterson Park/Highlandtown HD	LGBTQ Art & Artists	Expressing Cultural Values	Residential	Filming Locations for John Waters' Hairspray (1988), in Baltimore. (n.d.). Retrieved February 16, 2020, from https://www.movie-locations.com/movies/h/Hairspray-1988.php
224	130	Unity Fellowship Church of Baltimore	4007 Old York Rd, Baltimore, MD 21218	Current location of Unity Fellowship Church, an LGBTQ+ congregation that upholds a Black Protestant tradition.				4			Religion and LGBTQ people; LGBTQ+ African Americans	Expressing Cultural Values	Religious	Unity Fellowship Church of Baltimore. (n.d.). Retrieved June 25, 2020, from http://www.ufcb.org/
225	96	Women: A Journal of Liberation	3011 Greenmount Ave, Baltimore, MD	Prior to moving to 3028 Greenmount Ave, this is where the Journal Women: A Journal of Liberation was published. Submissions were requested to be sent to Women, c/o Dee Anne Pappas at this location.	1969-1970	ca. 1900, altered ca. 1970		2, 3, 8	IN B-5229: Waverly Main Street Historic District	IN NPS 13001029: Waverly Main Street Historic District		Creating Social Institutions and Movements; Expressing Cultural Values	Commercial: Business	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 19.; National Register of Historic Places, Waverly Main St Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #13001029, p. 22
226		Women's Express	413 Southway, Baltimore, MD	Lesbian newsletter released monthly	1987-1990	1925		1, 3, 8	In B-3654: Guilford HD	In B-3654: Guilford HD		Expressing Cultural Values; Creating Social Institutions and Movements	Residential	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1 "Women's Express," in Periodicals Collection, Lesbian Herstory Archives, Brooklyn, New York National Register of Historic Places, Guilford Historic District, Baltimore, Maryland, #01000745, p. 22
227	98	Women's Growth Center	1110 St Paul St, Baltimore, MD	"The Women's Growth Center, a feminist therapy collective with many lesbian therapists and clients, was established in 1973. WGC was located at 2641 North Charles Street from 1986 until 2000. Since that time, it has been located at 5209 York Road. Between 1980 and 1985, it was located at 339 East Twenty-fifth Street. From 1973 to 1979, it was at various locations."	1976	1870-1872	E. Francis Baldwin and Bruce Price	1, 3, 8	B-1670: Christ Protestant Episcopal Church in B-1393: Mount Vernon Local HD		LGBTQ Health	Creating Social Institutions and Movements; Peopling Places	Commercial: Business; Residential	Maryland Historical Trust, Christ Protestant Episcopal Church, Baltimore, B-1670
228	98	Women's Growth Center	339 E. 25th Street, Baltimore MD	"The Women's Growth Center, a feminist therapy collective with many lesbian therapists and clients, was established in 1973. WGC was located at 2641 North Charles Street from 1986 until 2000. Since that time, it has been located at 5209 York Road. Between 1980 and 1985, it was located at 339 East Twenty-fifth Street. From 1973 to 1979, it was at various locations."	1980-1985	1900		1, 3, 8			LGBTQ Health	Creating Social Institutions and Movements; Peopling Places	Commercial: Business; Residential	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 39.; Maryland SDAT, 339 East 25th Street, Baltimore City, 12-14-3827-042
229	98	Women's Growth Center	2641 N. Charles Street Baltimore MD	"The Women's Growth Center, a feminist therapy collective with many lesbian therapists and clients, was established in 1973. WGC was located at 2641 North Charles Street from 1986 until 2000. Since that time, it has been located at 5209 York Road. Between 1980 and 1985, it was located at 339 East Twenty-fifth Street. From 1973 to 1979, it was at various locations."	1986-2000	1920		1, 3, 8	IN B-3736: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	IN NPS 83003629: Charles Village/Abell Historic District	LGBTQ Health	Creating Social Institutions and Movements; Peopling Places	Residential	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, pp. 39.; Maryland SDAT, 2641 N Charles Street, Baltimore City, 12-03-3840-016
230	98	Women's Growth Center	5209 York Rd Baltimore MD	"The Women's Growth Center, a feminist therapy collective with many lesbian therapists and clients, was established in 1973. WGC was located at 2641 North Charles Street from 1986 until 2000. Since that time, it has been located at 5209 York Road. Between 1980 and 1985, it was located at 339 East Twenty-fifth Street. From 1973 to 1979, it was at various locations."	2000-present	c. 1875	possibly Col. Lawrence McCabe	1, 3, 8	B-2891: McCabe Mansion	MHT B-2891: McCabe Mansion	LGBTQ Health	Creating Social Institutions and Movements; Peopling Places	Commercial: Office	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 39.; Maryland Historical Trust, McCabe Mansion, Baltimore City, B-2891, p. 3
231	87	Women's Law Center	2225 N Charles St, Baltimore, MD	Listed in 1976 newsletter from Lesbian Community Center	1976	1955		1, 3, 8	In B4504: Old Goucher College Historic District (Expanded)	In NPS 94001163: Old Goucher College Historic District		Creating Social Institutions and Movements; Peopling Places	Commercial: Business	Maryland SDAT, 2221-2225 N Charles St, Baltimore City, 12-08-3819-011
232	98	Women's Liberation Center	101 East 25th St., Baltimore, MD	Period of Significance: 1974-1978. This location was the first home of the Lesbian Community Center of Baltimore, from 1974 until it moved to Greenmount Ave. in 1978. Many small nonprofit organizations had their offices on Twenty-Fifth Street during this time, leading to the nickname for the stretch of Twenty-fifth Street between Howard Street and Greenmount Avenue as "Nonprofit Row."	1974-1978			1, 2, 3, 8	In B4504: Old Goucher College Historic District (Expanded)	In NPS 94001163: Old Goucher College Historic District		Creating social institutions and movements	Commercial: Restaurant	Kelley, Louise Parker. LGBT Baltimore. Images of Modern America. Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 2015, p. 18.
233		Wyatt's Saloon	1614 Eastern Avenue, Baltimore, MD	Gay bar advertising in Baltimore Alternative	1986	1890		1, 3	In B-3714: Fells Point Historic District	IN NPS 86003777: Fells Point Historic District	Business & Labor		Residential	Maryland SDAT, 1614 Eastern Ave, Baltimore City, 03-08-1435-019; "Business and Entertainment Guide" (1986, July). Baltimore Alternative, p. 9;

234		Wyman Park	Wyman Park Dell, Baltimore, MD	In 1978, The Baltimore Sun describes a meeting at the Gay Community Center with BPD officers complaining about entrapment of gay men around Wyman Park, described by one GCC officer as a cruising ground for roughly 20 years. Baltimore Alternative later issued concern about gay-bashers travelling to Wyman park in order to rough up those cruising.	1958-1986	1911	John Charles Olmsted & Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.	1, 5			LGBTQ Law		Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	Mahan Rykiel Associates, Wyman Park Master Plan (2006), p. 8; Bolton hill man bound by slayer. (1978, Nov 17). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/542075508?accountid=10750 "Wyman Park" (1986, July). Baltimore Alternative, p. 1; "Wyman Park - the beatings go on" (1986, August) Baltimore Alternative, p. 1;
235	134	The Ynot Lot	4 W North Ave, Baltimore, MD	This empty lot with a stage has been the site of numerous vigils and remembrances for Black Transgender women who have been lost to violence such as Bailey Reeves in 2019. It has also served as a starting point for annual Transgender Day of Remembrance rallies and marches.				2, 5	IN B-1341: North Central Historic District	IN NPS 02001606: North Central Historic District	Transgender History, LGBTQ+ African Americans		Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	Baltimore Sun. (2019, September 07). At vigil for transgender teen killed in Baltimore, LGBTQ community stresses unity in face of violence. Retrieved June 25, 2020, from https://www.baltimoresun.com/news/crime/bs-md-ci-cr-17-year-old-transgender-teen-killed-20190907-dvsu63crwlf7pmqtub3rx13e-story.html
Baltimore County Sites														
236		Anne K Stradasuskas House	400 Celeste Ave, Essex, MD 21221	In 1998, openly lesbian deputy Anne K Stradasuskas was elected Sheriff of Baltimore County. This is the house she lived in during her term.	1999-2002	1953		2				Shaping the Political Landscape	Residential	Maryland SDAT, 400 Celeste Ave, Marlyn Glenn, Baltimore County, 15-1522450170; Anne K. Stradasuskas. (2019, November 18). Retrieved February 5, 2020, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anne_K_Stradasuskas ; BALTIMORE COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 2005, SM 22050, pp. 0427-0432, MSA CE 62-21905
237		Beating of Chrissy Lee Polis	6300 Kenwood Ave, Rosedale, MD	On April 18, 2011, Chrissy Lee Polis, a transgender woman, was brutally beaten while onlookers laughed at a McDonald's in Rosedale, Maryland, just northeast of the city limits of Baltimore. A video of the beating was posted online and went viral. The attack had been conducted by teenage girls, aged 14 and 19. They were both prosecuted. The case heightened awareness of violence against transgender people in Maryland and protests were conducted.	2011	1951		2, 5			Transgender History		Commercial: Restaurant	Maryland SDAT, 3600 Kenwood Ave, Rosedale, Baltimore County, 14-210006646; Beating of Chrissy Lee Polis. (2020, January 28). Retrieved January 30, 2020, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beating_of_Chryssy_Lee_Polis
238	46-47	Benjamin Banneker Homestead	300 Oella Ave, Catonsville, MD, 21228	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."	1731-1806			8	BA-1141: Benjamin Banneker Homestead, site		LGBTQ African Americans			Maryland Historical Trust, Benjamin Banneker Homestead site, Catonsville, Baltimore County, BA-1141
239	85	Cruising Raids, Loch Raven Restroom	12101 Dulaney Valley Road, Phoenix, MD	Raided in 1966, 20 men arrested by cops hiding in drop-tile ceiling.	1966			1, 5			Sex, love, and relationships: LGBTQ Law			"2 Men given probation: were among 20 charged with perverted sex acts" (1966, 30 Jun), The Sun, Baltimore, MD, p.32
240	143	Divine's Childhood Home	1425 Franke Ave, Lutherville Timonium, MD	This is the home that gay icon, muse to John Waters, most beautiful woman alive Divine spent his teenage years in. It was here that he met John Waters, who he would achieve fame with later.	1960-1965			9	In BA-2211: Lutherville Historic District	In NPS 72000568: Lutherville Historic District	LGBTQ Art and Artists	Expressing Cultural Values	Residential	BALTIMORE COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 1972-1974, OTG 5280, pp. 0572-0573, MSA CE 62-5135
241	144	Divine's Gravestone	Prospect Hill Cemetary, 701 York Rd, Towson, MD 21204	Divine, the "muse" of John Waters and star of his early films, was every bit a gay icon and remains so to this day. His gravestone in Towson remains a sight of pilgrimage for people to pay their respects.	1988-present			9	BA-2478: Prospect Hill Cemetery		LGBTQ Art and Artists	Expressing Cultural Values	Object	Hughes, L. (n.d.). A Visit to the Gravesite of Divine. Retrieved February 12, 2020, from http://www.dreamlandnews.com/divine/gravesite.shtml
242		Heathcote Women's Community	21300 Heathcote Rd, Freeland, MD 21053	According to a 1983 issue of "Lesbian Connection," Heathcote Women's Community was "a new wom'n's community/retreat center, 35 miles north of Baltimore. We have/are: 4 lesbians with a feminist perspective, support for political involvement, strong ties with Baltimore wom'n's community, 35 acres of woods, meadow, stream in a land trust, 6 buildings, organic gardens, bees, wood and solar heat, electricity/plumbing, camping and indoor space. We are developing the retreat center (facilities for up to 50) as a business to support the place and members. Local jobs are possible with wom'n landscaping company, wom'n's printing shop. Long and short term commitment. We welcome: visitors, new members, all women of all colours and persuasions, girl and boy children. It's a wonderful place and we want to share it!" Posted advertisement in 1988. According to the still-operational community's website, it was founded in 1965 and has changed the composition of the group numerous times over the years. During the 80s, it appears it was a lesbian feminist retreat.	1983-1988	1877		1, 3, 8, 10	BA-182: Heathcote Mill			Creating social institutions and movements; Expressing cultural values	Residential	"Heathcote Women's Community" (1983) Lesbian Connection, East Lansing, MI. Vol 6, iss 3, June/July 1983. p. 24; "Heathcote Women's Community" (1988) Lesbian Connection, East Lansing, MI. Vol 10, Iss 6, May/June 1988. p. 13-14; Heathcote Celebrates its 50th Anniversary. (2015, November 13). Retrieved February 14, 2020, from http://www.heathcote.org/cms/content/heathcote-celebrates-its-50th-anniversary ; Maryland Historical Trust, Heathcote Mill, Freeland, Baltimore County, BA-182, p. 3
243		Hidden Valley Farm B&B	1419 Mt Carmel Rd, Parkton, MD	Gay and lesbian oriented B&B in rural Baltimore County	1998	1970		3, 10			Business & Labor		Residential	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1; Maryland SDAT, 1415 Mt Carmel Rd, Parkton, Baltimore County, 07-160001236
244	142	John Waters Childhood Home	313 Morris Avenue - Lutherville Timonium, MD 21093	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.	1946-1964	1852	Dr John G Morris	9	BA-64 Oak Grove; In BA-2211: Lutherville Historic District	In NPS 72000568: Lutherville Historic District; MHT BA-64 Oak Grove	LGBTQ Art and Artists	Expressing cultural values; Peopling places	Residential	Maryland Historical Trust, Oak Grove, Lutherville, Baltimore County, Maryland, BA-64
245		Kevin Clash Childhood Home	710 New Pittsburg Ave Dundalk, MD 21222	Professional puppeteer, known mostly for the character Elmo, grew up in Dundalk in the historically black Turner Station neighborhood.	1960-1979	1941	Hilyard Robinson	9	In MHT BA-3056: Turner Station's African American Survey District	In MHT BA-3056: Turner Station's African American Survey District	LGBTQ Art and Artists; LGBTQ African Americans	Expressing Cultural Values	Residential	Maryland Historical Trust, Turner Station African American Survey District, Dundalk, Baltimore County, Maryland, BA-3056 p 9, 46, Kevin Clash. (2020, January 27). Retrieved January 29, 2020, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kevin_Clash .
246	77, 89	Robert Lindner House	409 S Rolling Rd, Catonsville, MD	Robert Lindner was an early advocate of decriminalizing sodomy and viewing homosexuality as normal sexual behavior. He was most famous for his book "Rebel Without a Cause," which was adapted into the 1955 film of the same name. After his death, local Mattachine activist Luther Allen started the Robert Lindner Foundation to promote his views.	1948-1956	1948		2, 6	In BA-3182: Central Catonsville and Summit Park HD	In NPS 06001186: Central Catonsville and Summit Park HD	LGBTQ Health, Civil Rights	Expanding science and technology	Residential	"Robert M Lindner" Ancestry.com. Pennsylvania, Veteran Compensation Application Files, WWII, 1950-1966 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015.; Maryland SDAT, 409 S Rolling Rd, Catonsville, Baltimore County, 01-0106000561

247		Sharon Harris Home (Coalition of Gay Sisters)	8321 Mindale Ct B, Gwynn Oak, MD, 21244	"It was during that time that Sharon [Harris] and her girlfriend founded the Coalition of Gay Sisters in Columbia, Maryland. (Bonnie Quesenberry, a local friend that many of us share, was also a member of that group.)" According to public records, this is the address Sharon Harris lived at in 1980, when the group and newsletter were active. According to a piece in a 1977 issue of Lesbian Connection, "COGS is attempting to focus its energy on consolidating the resources of both the Washington, DC and Baltimore lesbians into a community which is responsive to all lesbians in the metropolitan, suburban, and rural areas of Maryland." According to that article, they met on Wednesday nights in "the Other Barn" in the village of oakland mills in Columbia.	1977-1982	c. 1978		1, 3				Creating social institutions and movements; Expressing cultural values	Residential	March 9, 2012 - Before the Beach by Bob Yesbek. (2012, March 9). Retrieved January 18, 2020, from https://www.campreboth.com/letters/2012/march-9-2012-beach-bob-yesbek ; Ancestry.com. U.S. Public Records Index, 1950-1993, Volume 1 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010; Untitled ("This is in response...") (1977, Jul), Lesbian Connection, East Lansing, MI. Vol. 3, Iss. 3. p. 21;
248	76, 136	Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital	6501 N. Charles Street, Towson, Md	"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. 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. Sullivan was himself gay, although he was professionally closeted (in this era, no admittedly homosexual psychologist could have found employment). He met James Inscow 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 Inscow Sullivan."	1922-1930	1862-1891		6	BA-211: Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital Main Building	NPS 71000369: Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital and Gate House		LGBTQ+ Health	Hospital	
249	144	The Davenport Home	105 Othoridge Rd, Lutherville-Timonium, MD 21093	A key location in Waters' 1974 Trash tour de force "Female Trouble", the story begins with Dawn Davenport becoming a teenage runaway on Christmas after not getting those cha-cha heels.	1974			9				LGBTQ Art & Artists	Residential	Trashy Travels: John Waters Movie Locations & Other Divine Dirt. (2011, March 1). Retrieved February 18, 2020, from https://www.facebook.com/trashytravels/photos/a.222273067790016/222286931121963/
250		The Tent Party of 1967	208 N Branch Rd, Dundalk, MD	Site of epic gay party in 1967 that led to homeowner being shot, is considered by OUTloud as a key moment in Baltimore's early gay rights history.	1967	1943		1				Expressing Cultural Values	Residential	LGBT HISTORY MONTH • The Dundalk Tent Party of 1967. (n.d.). Retrieved February 16, 2020, from http://baltimoreoutloud.com/wp/the-undalk-tent-party-of-1967/ ; Maryland SDAT, 208 N Branch Rd, Dundalk, Baltimore County, 12-1219027240
251		Towson Books	516 York Rd, Towson, Md	Bookstore listed in Damron's guide for gay men as a place to meet others, listed in GAIA's as having both gay/lesbian and feminist titles.	1978-1984	1929		1, 3	BA-1456: Towson Tavern (Site)			Business & Labor	Commercial: Business	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1; Maryland Historical Trust, Towson Tavern (Site), Towson, Baltimore County, BA-1456, p. 6
Calvert County Sites														
Includes significant demolished sites														
252		Bayhill Market	7544 Bayside Rd, Chesapeake Beach, Md	Gay or gay-adjacent market, cafe, and home accent shop listed in Damron's	2008			1, 3, 10				Business & Labor		For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
253	124	Cruising Ground, North Beach	Lynwood T Kellam Memorial Recreational Park, Gordon Stinnett Ave, Chesapeake Beach, MD	Listed in Damron's Guide	1978-1980			1, 10				Sex, Love, and Relationships	Park	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
254		The Gold Key (Demolished)	5th & Chesapeake st, North Beach, MD	Pre-stonewall summer joint for Baltimore and Washington's gay communities. Known for drag balls. Listed in Damron's Guide 1965-1979. Mentioned as being robbed in 1960 in Baltimore Sun.	1960-1979			1, 3, 10	In CT-219: North Beach Survey District			Business & Labor	Demolished	"2 Held in looting of slot machines" (1960, Nov 22) Baltimore Sun, p. 36.; "Slots meant big money" (1968, 30 Jun), Baltimore Sun, p. 229
Cecil County Sites														
255		Crystal Beach Manor	11 Park St, Earleville, MD 21919	Noted as site of large gay and lesbian picnic and retreat sponsored by the Renaissance, a gay bar in Wilmington, DE, called the "Renaissance anniversary beach picnic" in 1981 issue of Philadelphia Gay News. Article implies that this was a recurring event.	9-13-1981			1, 8, 10				Sex, Love, and Relationships, LGBTQ Spaces and Places	Landscape: Beach	Broderick, F. "Trash" (1981, Sep 18), Philadelphia Gay News; Philadelphia, PA, p. 5. Courtesy of the John J. Wilcox Archives at the William Way LGBT Center, Philadelphia, PA.
Carroll County Sites														
256		Paramount Video	Crossroad Shopping Center, 625 Baltimore Blvd, Westminster, MD	Adult bookstore advertising in Baltimore Alternative. Faced serious repression starting on August 8, 1986 after anti-gay supreme court case encouraged Maryland cops to crack down on sites targeted by religious right. Police raided bookstore and seized materials for "test case"	1983-1988	1979		1, 3, 5, 10				Sex, Love, & Relationships; LGBTQ Law	Commercial: Business	Steve Kelly Sun, S. C. (1986, Aug 16). Porn store banished in carroll: Closing is enforced with threat of trial. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/910719820?accountid=10750 ; Maryland SDAT, 625 Baltimore Blvd, Westminster, Carroll County, 07-044577; "Business and Entertainment Guide" (1986, July), Baltimore Alternative, p. 9;
257	84	Whittaker Chambers Farm	East Saw Mill Rd., Westminster, Maryland	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.	1941-1961	1900		5, 10		NR: May 17, 1988; NHL: May 17, 1988		Crime, Punishment & The Law; Sex, Love & Relationships	Residential; Rural Properties	
Charles County Sites														
258		Gay and Lesbian Christian Fellowship of Maryland	8815 Dement Ct, Waldorf, MD, 20601	Reverend Brian Scott founded the Gay and Lesbian Christian Fellowship and ran it from his Waldorf home. Shortly after discovering this, the church in Bel Air which ordained him voted overwhelmingly to strip him of ordination and expell him from the congregation. GLCF ran notices in many regional newspapers in Maryland, and chapters existed in Western Maryland as well as the Eastern Shore.	1983-1990	1983		1, 3, 4				Religion and LGBTQ people	Residential	"Homosexual Social Club planned" (1983, 26 Aug), The Star-Democrat, Easton, Maryland, p. 5; "Minister Kept in the dark about job" (1984, 11 Dec), The Star Democrat, Easton, MD, p. 3; "Gay minister's ordination is revoked" (1984, 17 Dec), The Daily Times, Salisbury, MD, p. 3; CHARLES COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 1983-1983, PCM 898, pp. 0177-0178, MSA CE 52-917, Maryland SDAT, 8815 Dement Ct, Waldorf, Charles County, 06-121152

Dorchester County Sites														
259	75	Murder of William Andrews	Cambridge Cemetery, Cambridge, MD 21613	In December of 1952, a brutal gay-bashing occurred when 23-year-old John Dobson followed 41-year-old William Andrews to a secluded area and then robbed and murdered him claiming it was natural as Andrews had made "indecent advances" towards him. The gay panic defense was successful in lowering his conviction from 1st to 2nd degree murder.	12/07/1955			5, 10	D-199: Cambridge Cemetery		LGBTQ Law	Cemetery	"Shore man held in slaying of truck driver" (1952, Dec 08) The Evening Sun, Baltimore, MD, p. 42; "Dobson case in hands of jury" (1953, Feb 4). The Star-Democrat (Easton, MD). p. 30; "Dobson given 15-yr sentence in slaying" (1953, Feb 06) The Star-Democrat (Easton, MD), p. 1;	
Frederick County Sites														
260		AIDS Hospice at Glade Valley Manor House	98 Glade Blvd, Walkersville, MD	involved in real estate while engaged in an adult foster care program. While doing this program, the Department of Health and Human Services contacted Gary and asked if he would be able to take in people with AIDS, a possibility he was interested in. "I couldn't stand these stories about people dying with no one around them. A lot of my friends went that way in '85 or '86. My best friend from college died alone. So we found an old manor house that was pretty secluded and private and turned it into a hospice." At any time, there were one or two people with AIDS living there. DHSS offered some funding to support them and to support those in hospice care, but it was not much. There was significant pushback against the hospice, including young people running through the property screaming anti-gay slurs and throwing rocks through windows. The town of Walkersville meanwhile had been attempting to find ways to shut the hospice down through permitting or zoning. Both the DHSS and the Maryland State police offered support to the hospice, threatening to sue the town and holding a community meeting with people from the Homeowners Association to make it clear that they were legally liable if they failed to protect Schwartz's property rights from their children's harassment and vandalism. In the 1990s, state agencies lost or misapplied funds, and Schwartz was unable to pay to continue the hospice. He had been forced to do a significant amount of work that was supposed to be handled by social workers and other professionals such as administering IVs, arranging prescriptions, counting pills, and more. The Ryan White Act funds that were supposed to be going to hospice care had, he was told, been spent on state employee salaries. The hospice folded in 1995.	1988-1995	ca. 1890		3, 5, 6			LGBTQ Health; LGBTQ Law	Creating social institutions and movements;	Residential	Egerman, Benjamin (2019, Jun 25). Phone interview with Gary Schwartz. Maryland SDAT, 98 Glade Rd, Walkersville, Frederick County, 26-484510
261	133	Cruising Raids, Frederick	I-270 Scenic Overlook, Frederick, MD, (39.349167, -77.390056)	From the 1980s onward, Frederick county police repeatedly organized 'stings' on gay men meeting each other for sex here, sending undercover police to arrest men who proposition them for an 'indecent act,' which is to say, gay sex, against the law in Maryland until 2001.	1992-1999	1987		1, 5, 10			Sex, love, and relationships; LGBTQ Law	Landscape: Rest Stop	Kempner, M., "Officials dedicate overlook to Byron" (1987, 26 May), Frederick News, Frederick, Md., p. 1, Gregg, J., "4 men arrested for homosexual activity" (1994, 09 Jun), The News, Frederick, MD, p. 2; "2 Men charged with indecent exposure" (1998, 06 Jul), Frederick News, p. 2; Gregg, J. "Deputies to lock up overlook" (1992, 22 Sep), Frederick News, p. 9	
262		Dublin Roasters	1780 N Market St, Frederick, MD 21701	Like Frederick Coffee Company, this café has more recently supported LGBTQ+ communities in the Frederick area, and is lesbian owned.	2000-present	1987		1, 3			Business & Labor	Creating social institutions and movements; Developing the American economy	Commercial: Restaurant	Egerman, Benjamin (2019, May 6). Phone interview with Katherine Jones. Maryland SDAT, 1780 N Market St, Frederick, Frederick County, 02-148501
263	122, 142	Frederick Coffee Company	100 N East St, Frederick, MD 21701	For many years, starting in the late 70s or early 80s, this café was lesbian-owned and would host monthly get-togethers of the Pleides, a group of lesbian women in Frederick.	1980-2019	1952		1, 3	In F-3-39: Frederick HD	IN NPS 88000713: Frederick HD	Business & Labor	Creating Institutions and Movements	Commercial: Restaurant	Egerman, Benjamin (2019, May 6). Phone interview with Katherine Jones. Maryland SDAT, 100 N East St, Frederick, Frederick County, 02-032198
264	63	Hood College	401 Rosemont Ave, Frederick, MD	"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" Hood College was a women's college until admitting male students in 1971.	1893-1971	1897-1957	Culler, Lloyd Clayton; Hamme, John Bentz; Bowers, Charles Fritz; Hopkins, Henry Powell; Harrison, Mertz and Emlen	1, 8	F-3-189: Hood College HD	NPS 02001581: Hood College HD	Sex, Love and Relationships; LGBTQ Spaces and Places	Peopling places	University	National Register of Historic Places, Hood College Historic District, Frederick, Frederick County, Maryland, #02001581. History. (n.d.). Retrieved June 25, 2020, from https://www.hood.edu/discover/about-college/history
265		Talons	5854 Urbana Pike Frederick MD 21704	Gay bar Talons was opened in 1994, and plagued from the beginning by aggressive protests by the KKK and conservative neighbors. In 1996, the Klan claimed victory when it closed; patrons argued the closure was due to patron fears of violence.	1994-1996			1, 3, 5, 10			Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	Robb, J. (1994, Jul 27) KKK members protest gay bar. The News (Frederick, Md.). p. 1 KKK protests gay bar. (1994, Sep 6). The News (Frederick, MD). p. 2 Charlie's Place to Open (1996, Apr 9). The News (Frederick, Md.). p. 11
266		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.	1967-1969	1907	Wyatt and Nolting, Baltimore	5, 6	F-6-21B: Victor Cullen Old Administration Building	NPS 90001228: Victor Cullen Center Old Administration Building 1990	LGBTQ Law		Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	National Register of Historic Places, Victor Cullen Old Administration Building, Sabillasville, Frederick County, Maryland, #90001228, p. 4; VICE PROBE SET AT REFORMATORY: AGNEW PERSONALLY TO VISIT SABILLASVILLE FACILITY. (1967, May 11). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/53946344?accountid=10750 ; Bennett, S. A. (1967, May 20). ESCAPER ASKS FOR RETURN: YOUNG INMATE WANTS TO GO BACK TO VICTOR CULLEN. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/539400059?accountid=10750
Harford County Sites														
267		Calvary Baptist Church of Bel Air	206 Courtland Pl, Bel Air, MD 21014	After learning he had founded and ran the Gay and Lesbian Christian Fellowship of Maryland, deacons at the church which had ordained Brian Scott requested him to step down, and several years later, expelled him from the church.	1981-1984	1972		4, 5			Religion and LGBTQ people		Church	"Minister Kept in the dark about job" (1984, 11 Dec), The Star Democrat, Easton, MD, p. 3; "Gay minister's ordination is revoked" (1984, Dec 17), The Daily Times, Salisbury, MD, p. 3; Maryland SDAT, 206 Courtland Place, Bel Air, Harford County, 03-004562

268		Edgewood Book Store	209 Edgewood Rd, Edgewood, MD	Throughout the 1980s, the Harford County police and sheriff's office, as well as the State's Attorney and FBI, aggressively seized materials in a number of raids on four adult book stores, explicitly seeking to drive them out of business. Many were in coordination with a local chapter of the American Family Association, a "family values" group which objected to obscenity and the presence of materials aimed at gay men (which would have likely been the only gay anything available in the area) Many served as places to meet other men for sex. This spawned numerous legal challenges on freedom of speech grounds	1981-1992	ca. 1946		3, 5	MHT HA-1954: 201-213 Edgewood Road	MHT HA-1954: 201-213 Edgewood Road	Sex, love, and relationships; LGBTQ Law		Commercial: Business	Maryland Historical Trust, 201-213 Edgewood Road, Edgewood, Harford County, HA-1954, p. 5.; Adult films seized in city, harford. (1981, Jan 13). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/536003086?accountid=10750 ; Carol L Bowers, S. w. (1989, Jul 23). Cassilly seeks court order to seize 'obscene' materials. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1637441361?accountid=10750 ; Alan J Craver, S. w. (1991, Mar 31). Raid on adult bookstore yields no leads in killing. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1798038645?accountid=10750
269		Highway Craft, Gift, and Book Store	1239 S Philadelphia Blvd, Aberdeen, MD	Throughout the 1980s, the Harford County police and sheriff's office, as well as the State's Attorney and FBI, aggressively seized materials in a number of raids on four adult book stores, explicitly seeking to drive them out of business. Many were in coordination with a local chapter of the American Family Association, a "family values" group which objected to obscenity and the presence of materials aimed at gay men (which would have likely been the only gay anything available in the area) Many served as places to meet other men for sex and were listed in gay guides. This spawned numerous legal challenges on freedom of speech grounds	1981-1992	1974		1, 3, 5			Sex, love, and relationships; LGBTQ Law		Commercial: Business	Adult films seized in city, harford. (1981, Jan 13). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/536003086?accountid=10750 ; For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1 Maryland SDAT, 1239 S Philadelphia Blvd, Aberdeen, Harford County, 02-059967
270	60	Howard Calder	4166 Federal Hill Road, Jarrettsville, MD	A trans man marries a cis woman, and explains his situation thus in 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 this, Calder moved to Richmond, Va, and lived as Howard Calder, and in 1902 moved to Florida where he is buried as Hiram Calder.	3/18/1889	c. 1835-1855		5, 10	MHT HA-1141, Martin Calder House	MHT HA-1141, Martin Calder House	Transgender History	Peopling Places	Residential	HANNA AND HIS BRIDE. (1889, Mar 18). The Sun (1837-1993) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/535135989?accountid=10750 ; Untitled (1902, Aug 17). The Dispatch (Richmond, VA), p. 16; "Calder had fine lot in cemetery" (1914, Jul 23). The Times (Tampa, FL), p. 9; Maryland Historical Trust, Martin Calder House, Jarrettsville, Harford County, HA-1141, p. 3.
271	73	Ladew Gardens	3535 Jarrettsville Pike, Monkton, MD 21111	Befriended many "A-List" homosexuals at the time. Pictures exist of Ladew canoeing, but his sexuality is not mentioned in his biography on the Ladew Gardens website.	1950-1971	17th-20th centuries		9	HA-1245: Ladew Topiary Gardens and Ladew House	NPS 76001002 1976		Peopling places	Private park	Terry. (2013, August 1). Harvey S. Ladew II. Retrieved January 20, 2020, from http://gayinfluence.blogspot.com/2013/08/harvey-s-ladew-ii.html ; National Register of Historic Places, Ladew Topiary Gardens and Ladew House, Jarrettsville, Harford County, Maryland, #76001002;
272		U.S. Books	3011 Pulaski Highway, Edgewood, MD	Throughout the 1980s, the Harford County police and sheriff's office, as well as the State's Attorney and FBI, aggressively seized materials in a number of raids on four adult book stores, explicitly seeking to drive them out of business. Many were in coordination with a local chapter of the American Family Association, a "family values" group which objected to obscenity and the presence of materials aimed at gay men (which would have likely been the only gay anything available in the area) This spawned numerous legal challenges on freedom of speech grounds. In this bookstore in particular, the murder of a 17-year-old who had gone to have sex with another man nearby brought further repression. In March of 1991, state police enacted a sting where they arrested nine people and charged them with lewdness, as well as charging one with a drug violation for having removed a label from the anti-retroviral medication for HIV/AIDS. There is still an adult video store there. Listed in Damron's Guide.	1981-1992	1940		1, 3, 5, 10			Sex, love, and relationships; LGBTQ Law		Commercial: Business	Maryland SDAT, 3011 Pulaski Hwy, Edgewood, Harford County, 01-099353; Carol L Bowers, S. w. (1989, Jul 23). Cassilly seeks court order to seize 'obscene' materials. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1637441361?accountid=10750 ; Alan J Craver, S. w. (1991, Mar 31). Raid on adult bookstore yields no leads in killing. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1798038645?accountid=10750
273		Wide Horizons Unlimited, Inc	2103 Bel Air Rd, Fallston, MD	Throughout the 1980s, the Harford County police and sheriff's office, as well as the State's Attorney and FBI, aggressively seized materials in a number of raids on four adult book stores, explicitly seeking to drive them out of business. Many were in coordination with a local chapter of the American Family Association, a "family values" group which objected to obscenity and the presence of materials aimed at gay men (which would have likely been the only gay anything available in the area) Many served as places to meet other men for sex. This spawned numerous legal challenges on freedom of speech grounds	1981-1992	1978		1, 3, 5, 10			Sex, love, and relationships; LGBTQ Law		Commercial: Business	Maryland SDAT, 2101 Bel Air Rd, Fallston, Harford County, 03-055833 Carol L Bowers, S. w. (1989, Jul 23). Cassilly seeks court order to seize 'obscene' materials. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1637441361?accountid=10750 ; Elise Armacost, S. w. (1989, Jul 30). Adult bookstore files suit to recover seized material. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1637561481?accountid=10750 ; Alan J Craver, S. w. (1992, Apr 05). Owner of adult bookstore fined, must cloak magazines. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1976697392?accountid=10750
Howard County Sites														
274	123	"Pickle Park"	Maryland Rest Stop, Scaggsville, MD 20723	Well known as a gay cruising spot since the late 1970s from the Damron's Guide, in 1988 Maryland Highway patrol organized a crackdown resulting in numerous arrests. Baltimore Sun coverage ran under the headline, "Police go undercover to root out homosexual activity"	1978-1988			1, 5			Sex, love, and relationships		Landscape: Park	Jay Apperson, S. w. (1988, Apr 24). Rest area becomes arrest area: Undercover state police target illegal homosexual activity on 1-95. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1491832321?accountid=10750 ; Twigg, R. (1988, Apr 22). 8 arrested on sex counts at rest stop near laurel. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1477613008?accountid=10750 ; Jay Apperson, S. w. (1988, Dec 14). 1-95 rest stop crackdown effective, police, SHA say. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/1474384888?accountid=10750 ; For gay and lesbian guides, see Appendix BE-1

275		Coalition of Gay Sisters (COGS)	5851 Robert Oliver Pl, Columbia, MD 21045	"It was during that time that Sharon [Harris] and her girlfriend founded the Coalition of Gay Sisters in Columbia, Maryland. (Bonnie Quesenberry, a local friend that many of us share, was also a member of that group.)" According to a piece in a 1977 issue of Lesbian Connection, "COGS is attempting to focus its energy on consolidating the resources of both the Washington, DC and Baltimore lesbians into a community which is responsive to all lesbians in the metropolitan, suburban, and rural areas of Maryland." According to that article, they met on Wednesday nights in "the Other Barn" in the village of oakland mills in Columbia. Listed in GAIA's Guide 1978-1985, and their newsletter shows their meetings and events largely took place there.	1977-1985	1947		1, 8				Creating social institutions and movements; Expressing cultural values	Residential	"March 9, 2012 - Before the Beach by Bob Yesbek. (2012, March 9). Retrieved January 18, 2020, from https://www.campreboth.com/letters/2012/march-9-2012-beach-bob-yesbek ; Untitled ("This is in response...") (1977, Jul), Lesbian Connection, East Lansing, MI. Vol. 3, iss. 3. p. 21; For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1 Oakland Mills, Columbia, Maryland. (2019, November 8). Retrieved February 14, 2020, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oakland_Mills,_Columbia,_Maryland Coalition of Gay Sisters Newsletter, Volume 7, October, 1979. Gay and Lesbian Periodicals Collection, New York Public Library Special Collections."
276	100	Howard County Courthouse	8360 Court Ave, Ellicott City, MD	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. This measure passed in 1975, a year before the county government moved administrative operations to a new building.	1975	1840-1843		3	HO-51: Howard County Courthouse	In NPS 78001467: Ellicott City HD	LGBTQ Law	Shaping the political landscape	Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	Maryland Historical Trust, Howard County Courthouse, 8360 Court Avenue, Ellicott City, Howard County, HO-51.
277	94-95	Howard High School	8700 Old Annapolis Rd, Ellicott City, MD 21043	In May of 1973, 10 students were suspended for distributing "Changes", a political magazine published by the Columbia-based "Peer" collective. Amongst the contents drawing ire were "five pages" on gay liberation. Ten more were suspended in June. After this, the Maryland Highway Administration and other government entities moved to evict the PEER collective and disrupt their ability to publish. Both the suspensions and the eviction were challenged by the ACLU of Maryland	1973	1952		2, 5	DOE-HO-0010: Howard High School		LGBTQ Law	Expressing cultural values; Shaping the political landscape	Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	Maryland Historical Trust, Howard High School DOE, Ellicott City, Howard County, Maryland, DOE-HO-0010; Pietila, A. (1973, Jul 22). Howard underground newspaper wallows in controversy. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/541311922?accountid=10750
278		National Security Agency	9800 Savage Rd Fort Meade, MD 20755	In 1961, the defection of Bernon Mitchell and William Martin to the USSR was a national scandal. The NSA, along with Joe McCarthy and others involved in the "Lavender Scare," quickly claimed they were a gay couple and used this to justify further purges of gays and lesbians from any and all government posts.	1961	1957	US ACE Baltimore District	5	MHT AA-2510-1: Building 9800	MHT AA-2510-1: Building 9800	LGBTQ Law		Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	Maryland Historical Trust, Building 9800, Ft Mead, Anne Arundel County, Maryland, AA-2510-1, p. 3
279		Patuxent	7555 Waterloo Road, Jessup, MD	Gay panic at this prison led to extensive investigation and was one reason for prison reforms throughout the 1960s and 1970s.	1968-1972	1955		5, 6			LGBTQ Law		Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	"Judge Told of deviates at Patuxent" (1968, May 1). Evening Times (Cumberland, MD). p. 13; Patuxent Institution Annual Report, 2019, accessed 23 Jan, 2020 at https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:mFthw0jpi4J:https://www.dpsc.state.md.us/publicinfo/publications/pdfs/pax_annual_report_2016.pdf+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=us&client=firefox-b-1-d ; Hendricks, T. (1968, May 1). "Patuxent inmates complain of mixing with deviates." Baltimore Sun. p. 8; Miller, S. (1970, Jun 19) "Annapolis conference helped officials do something for better prisons" Baltimore Sun, p. 29; Rodeheffer, J. (1971, Aug 3) "Inmates cite perversion." Baltimore Sun, p. 32
280		PW's Sports Bar	9855 Washington Blvd. N. Suite N, Laurel, MD	Advertised as friendly, neighborhood gay bar between Baltimore and DC. Closed after loss of liquor license in 2015, now straight bar/restaurant.	2006-2017	1985		1, 3			Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	Maryland SDAT, 9855 SE Route 1, Laurel, Howard County, 06-492061; Charing, S. (2015, June 17). PW's loses liquor license. Retrieved February 17, 2020, from https://www.washingtonblade.com/2015/06/17/pws-loses-liquor-license/
281		River Hill High School	12101 Clarksville Pike (Route 108), Clarksville, MD 21029	Suspension of 2 young women in 2004 for shouting "end homophobia" and kissing each other. National media ensued.	2004	1993		2, 5				Shaping the Political Landscape	Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	Maryland SDAT, 12101 Clarksville Pike, Clarksville, Howard County, 15-103507 Healy, C. (2004, Jan 20). Kissed out of school. The Advocate, . 49. Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/215753616?accountid=10750
282		Trucker's Motel & Bar	7401 Assateague Dr, Jessup, Maryland 20794	Cruisy mixed bar, restaurant, and motel in Damron's	1985-1989	1979		1, 3			Sex, Love, and Relationships		Commercial: Motel	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1 Maryland SDAT, 7401 Assateague Dr, Jessup, Howard County, 06-442358
283	95	Wilde Lake High School	5460 Trumpeter Rd, Columbia, MD 21044	Following 20 students suspensions in Ellicott City the year prior, in 1974 three students at Wilde Lake High School in Columbia were suspended for handing out the magazine "Changes," which was deemed inappropriate due to its promotion of gay liberation.	1974	1970-1971		2, 5				Expressing cultural values	Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	3 suspended in circulating youth tabloid. (1974, Apr 11). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/538980433?accountid=10750 ; Pietila, A. (1973, Jul 22). Howard underground newspaper wallows in controversy. The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/541311922?accountid=10750 ; Wilde Lake High School. (2020, January 19). Retrieved February 16, 2020, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wilde_Lake_High_School
Montgomery County Sites														
284		1995 Montgomery Pride	Valley Mills Special Park, 1620 East Randolph Road, Colesville, MD 20904	In 1995, the organization Gay and Lesbian Interests Consortium of Montgomery County held a pride celebration here, the first for the county. 1996 saw another, which was held at Lake Needwood Park in Gaithersberg	34863						LGBTQ Spaces and Places	Creating social institutions and movements; expressing cultural values; peopling places	Park	Boin, S., "Gay Pride festival to draw 500" (1995, 3 Jun). The News, Frederick, Maryland, p. 7
285	110	Bruce Williams	326 Lincoln Ave, Takoma Park, MD	First openly gay elected official to any public office in Maryland, Virginia, or DC. 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	1993-2015	1926						Shaping the Political Landscape	Residential	Maryland SDAT, 326 Lincoln Ave, Takoma Park, Montgomery County, 13-01068595; Brown, B. (2015, July 21). Takoma Park mayor not to run. Retrieved January 3, 2020, from https://takomavoices.com/2015/07/21/takoma-park-mayor-not-to-run/

286		Cadmus Books I	7898 Georgia Ave, Silver Spring, MD	Adult bookstore listed in Damron's.	1990	1939				Business & Labor		Commercial	Maryland SDAT, 7898 Georgia Ave, Silver Spring, Montgomery County, 13-00962877 For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
287		Cadmus Books II	11236 Georgia Ave, Wheaton, MD	Adult bookstore listed in Damron's.	1990	1958		In M: 31-65: Triangle Park Survey District		Business & Labor; Sex, Love, and Relationships		Commercial: Storefront	Maryland Historical Trust, Triangle Park Survey District, Wheaton, Montgomery County, M:31-65. p. 10. For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
288		Collin Martin Home	115 Primrose St, Chevy Chase, MD 20815	Openly gay Major League Soccer player Collin Martin was raised in Chevy Chase, MD	1994-2012	1928		In MHT: M: 35-99 Chevy Chase Survey District	In MHT: M: 35-99 Chevy Chase Survey District	LGBTQ Sport and Leisure	Peopling Places	Residential	Maryland SDAT, 115 Primrose St, Chevy Chase, Montgomery County, 07-00469618; MONTGOMERY COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 1990-1990, BAS 9467, pp. 0675-0677, MSA CE 63-9425; Collin Martin. (2020, February 9). Retrieved February 10, 2020, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Collin_Martin ;
289		Dana Beyer House	8 E Irving St, Chevy Chase, MD 20815	Transgender activist and political candidate ran for Maryland Assembly in 2014 against openly gay incumbent Richard Madaleno. Executive director of Gender Rights Maryland.	2003-2014	1905	Leon Dessez	IN M: 35-13: Chevy Chase Village Survey District; M: 35-99: Chevy Chase Survey District		Transgender History	Shaping the Political Landscape	Residential	Maryland Historical Trust, Chevy Chase Village Survey Historic District, Chevy Chase, Montgomery County, p. 85; MONTGOMERY COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 2003, MQR 24782, pp. 0694-0711, MSA CE 63-24736, Michael Gold (January 30, 2014). "Two LGBT candidates will go head-to-head in Md. Senate race". Baltimore Sun. Retrieved January 28, 2020
290		Daniel Veatch Childhood Home	8102 Postoak Rd Potomac MD 20854	Childhood home of openly gay olympic swimmer Daniel Veatch	1965-1982	1963				LGBTQ Sport and Leisure		Residential	Maryland SDAT, 8102 Postoak Rd, Potomac, Montgomery County, 04-00093674; "Daniel H Veatch" Ancestry.com. U.S. Public Records Index, 1950-1993, Volume 2 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010.
291		De Lounge	11305 Georgia Ave, Wheaton, MD	Gay bar, lounge and restaurant listed in Damron's	2006-2010					Business & Labor		Commercial: Storefront	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1 De Lounge - Wheaton, MD. (n.d.). Retrieved March 2, 2020, from https://clubzone.com/places/de-lounge-wheaton-md/
292	111-112	Heather Mizeur House	7200 Maple Ave, Takoma Park, MD	First elected to MD general assembly in 2007 and became first open LGBTQ person to run for governor in a major party primary in 2014. Currently runs Miz Maryland podcast.	2005-2013	1923		IN M: 37-3: Takoma Park HD	IN NPS 76001008: Takoma Park HD		Shaping the Political Landscape	Residential	MONTGOMERY COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records) 2005, MQR 30370, pp. 0756-0761, MSA CE 63-30324; MONTGOMERY COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 2014, LEK 48220, pp. 0239-0244, MSA CE 63-48177; Heather Mizeur. (2020, January 11). Retrieved May 29, 2019, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heather_Mizeur ; Maryland SDAT, Takoma Park, Montgomery County, 13-01061220
293	98	Joan Biren House	810 Gist Ave, 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.						LGBTQ Art and Artists	Peopling places; Creating social institutions and movements; Expressing Cultural Values	Residential	
294		Joanna Lohman Home	13316 Locksley Lane, Silver Spring, MD 20904	Openly lesbian retired soccer player and olympian Joanna Lohman was raised in Silver Spring, MD.	1985-1999	1964				LGBTQ Sport and Leisure	Peopling places	Residential	MONTGOMERY COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 1985, HMS 6730, pp. 0694-0695, MSA CE 63-6688 Maryland SDAT, 13316 Locksley Ln, Silver Spring, Montgomery County, 05-00323824
295		MCC of Rockville	501 Mannakee St, Rockville, MD	Gay church in Rockville. Moves to 15817 Barnesville Rd in 1997.	1990-1995	1964				Religion and LGBTQ People	Peopling Places	Church	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1 Maryland SDAT, 501 Mannakee St, Rockville, Montgomery County, 04-00235948
296		MCC of Rockville	15817 Barnesville Rd, Rockville, MD	Gay church in Rockville. Located 501-Mannakee St 1990-1995	1997			In M: 13-33: Blocktown		Religion and LGBTQ People	Peopling Places	Church	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
297		Mo Rocca Home	5512 Jordan Road, Bethesda, MD	Openly gay humorist and Emmy-winning writer and correspondent Mo Rocca was raised in this Bethesda home.	1970-1990	1957				LGBTQ Art & Artists	Peopling places	Residential	"Marcel X Rocca", Ancestry.com. U.S. Public Records Index, 1950-1993, Volume 1 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. MONTGOMERY COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 1990, BAS 9557, pp. 0878-0881, MSA CE 63-9515; Maryland SDAT, 5512 Jordan Rd, Bethesda, Montgomery County, 07-00662681
298	103, 135	National Institutes of Health	9000 Rockville Pike, Bethesda, MD	Launching the "Storm the NIH" protest, 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.		1938-1940		M: 35-9 : National Institutes of Health, Bethesda Campus	MHT M:35-9	LGBTQ Health	Creating social institutions and movements; Expanding science and technology	Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	Chronology of Events. (2016, October 27). Retrieved January 23, 2020, from https://www.nih.gov/about-nih/what-we-do/nih-almanac/chronology-events ;
299		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.	1972-1974	1963				LGBTQ Law, Civil Rights	Shaping the Political Landscape	Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	Maryland SDAT, 4610 Renn St, Rockville, Montgomery County, 13-00954354; Joe Acanfora. (2020, February 4). Retrieved February 17, 2020, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joe_Acanfora
300	101	R.M. Coggin House	4509 Bennion Road, Silver Spring, MD 20906	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.	1981-2014	1946		M: 31-23 : Veirs Mill Village Subdivision	In MHT M:31-23 Veirs Mill Village Subdivision		Shaping the Political Landscape	Residential	Maryland SDAT, 4509 Bennion Rd, Silver Spring, Montgomery County, 13-01173932; Robert Mitchell "Judge" Coggin Collection, Rainbow History Project Digital Collections, accessed February 17, 2020, https://archives.rainbowhistory.org/items/show/1348 .
301		Rachel Carson House	11701 Berwick Road, Silver Spring, Maryland	Period of Significance: 1956-1964. Environmentalist Rachel Carson, known for her book, "Silent Spring," lived in this house in Silver Spring from when she had it built in 1956 until her death in 1964. During the summers in Maine, Carson had an intimate relationship with Dorothy Freeman between 1952 and 1964.	1956-1964	1956	Rachel Carson	M:33-13 Rachel Carson House	NR/NHL 91002058: Rachel Carson House, Decembe 4, 1991	Art & Artists; Sex, Love & Relationships	Expressing cultural values	Residential	National Register of Historic Places, Rachel Carson House, Silver Spring, Montgomery County, Maryland, #91002058 p. 6
302		Rebecca Sugar Home	6 Sussex Road, Silver Spring, MD, 20910	Rebecca Sugar, animator and writer of cartoon series "Steven Universe" and "Adventure Time," who identifies as a non-binary and bisexual was raised in Silver Spring, MD.	1989-2005	1989				LGBTQ Arts and Artists		Residential	Maryland SDAT, 6 Sussex Rd, Silver Spring, Montgomery County, 13-01050807; MONTGOMERY COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 1989, HMS 8860, pp. 0208-0210, MSA CE 63-8818; Rebecca Sugar. (2020, February 16). Retrieved February 16, 2020, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rebecca_Sugar
303	111	Richard Madaleno	11117 Dewey Road, Kensington, MD	Ran in democratic party primary for governor in 2018, second LGBTQ candidate to do so. Served as general assembly delegate from 2003-2007, and state senator from 2007 to present.	2003-2018	1955					Shaping the Political Landscape	Residential	Maryland SDAT, 11117 Dewey Rd, Kensington, Montgomery County, 13-01261203

304	95-96	Sandy Spring Friends School	16923 Norwood Road, Sandy Spring, Maryland	Site of 1969 Women's Liberation Conference, a foundational moment for many Women's movement activists and Lesbian activists regionally and nationwide.	1969	1961					Creating Social Institutions and Movements	School	Sandy Spring Friends School. (2019, November 1). Retrieved February 16, 2020, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sandy_Spring_Friends_School ; National Women's Liberation Conference (2016, September 15). Retrieved February 16, 2020, from https://www.cwluherstory.org/organizing/national-womens-liberation-conference	
305	97, 142	Sisterfire	Takoma Park Junior High School, 7611 Piney Branch Rd, Takoma Park, MD	Started in 1982, Sisterfire was a women's festival held each year in Takoma Park. Held until 1989, the festival was a touchstone for many of the area's lesbian, bisexual, and queer women.	1982-1989	1938	Pierson and Wilson				LGBTQ Art and Artists	Expressing Cultural Values; Creating Social Institutions and Movements	Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	Wartofsky, A. (2018, July 6). Sisterfire, a D.C. Women's Festival From the '80s, Is Being Resurrected This Weekend. Retrieved February 25, 2020, from https://www.washingtoncitypaper.com/arts/music/blog/21012317/sisterfire-returns-for-smithsonian-folkife-festival Stern, F. (1999, September 27). History of the Takoma Park Junior High School. Retrieved February 25, 2020, from http://www.takomapark.info/library/reference/tphistory/stern.html
306		Susan Silber House	304 Mississippi Ave, Silver Spring	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.	1981-present	1981					LGBTQ Law, Civil Rights	Shaping the Political Landscape	Residential	Maryland Pro Bono Resource Center. (2018). The 20th Annual Maryland Partners for Justice Conference Biographies. Retrieved February 16, 2020, from https://probonomd.org/training-events/conference/partnersforjustice-bios/ ; MONTGOMERY COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 1981, HMS 5743, pp. 0627-0628, MSA CE 63-5701 Maryland SDAT, 304 Mississippi Ave, Takoma Park, Montgomery County, 13-01079873
307	114	Takoma Park Historic District	Takoma Park, MD						NPS 76001008, 1976		LGBTQ Spaces and Places		District	
308		Westwood Cafe	8233 Georgia Ave, Silver Spring	Listed in Damron's Guide as a "Mixed" bar, which is to say, nominally straight bar where gay men could meet each other.	1980	1927-1928					Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1; Maryland Historical Trust, 8233-8235 Georgia Ave Determinations of Eligibility, Silver Spring, Montgomery County, DOE-MO-0223
309	103	Whitman-Walker Clinic of Southern Maryland	7676 New Hampshire Ave, Takoma Park, MD, 20912	In 1992, following passage of the Ryan White CARE Act which dedicated federal grants to AIDS/HIV prevention and treatment, DC's LGBTQ+ health and AIDS/HIV clinic opened a location in the Maryland suburbs of the district. In the early 2000s, declining financial support for HIV/AIDS treatment led to serious financial problems for Whitman-Walker, and it was forced to close the Suburban Maryland Clinic on September 30, 2005.	1992-2005	1969					LGBTQ Health	Creating social institutions and movements; Expanding science and technology	Commercial: Business	Maryland SDAT, 7676 New Hampshire Ave, Adelphi, Montgomery County, 13-03170928; Whitman-Walker Clinic. (n.d.). Our History. Retrieved February 16, 2020, from https://www.whitman-walker.org/our-history
310		Womansphere Music and Art Festival	7300 Macarthur Blvd, Glen Echo, MD 20812	In 1975, a women's art and music festival was held at Glen Echo Park in the northern suburbs of DC. It was advertised in Lavender Woman, a lesbian newsletter, and had as headliners Cris Williamson, Lily Tomlin, and Judy Collins.	8/14/1975 - 8/17/1975	1891-1947		M: 35-41: Glen Echo Park HD	NPS 84001850: Glen Echo Park HD		LGBTQ Art and Artists	Expressing Cultural Values; Creating Social Institutions and Movements	Landscape: Park	"Conferences" (1975, 2 Apt), Lavender Woman; Chicago, IL. Vol 4, Iss 2. p. 16; National Register of Historic Places, Glen Echo Park, Glen Echo, Montgomery County, #84001850, p. 1-4
Prince George's County Sites														
311		Bowie State	Bowie State University, 14000 Jericho Park Rd, Bowie, MD, 20715, USA	In 2016, Bowie State became the first Historically Black College or University (HBCU) to have an LGBTQ studies program and center, and was recognized by LGBTQ+ and academic groups for their leadership	2016	1973		1, 3, 8	PG-71A-21: Bowie State	MHT PG:71A-21	African American LGBTQ History	Creating Social Institutions and Movements; Expressing Cultural Values	University	Maryland Historical Trust, Bowie State University, Bowie, Prince George's County, PG:71A-21, p. 27; Bowie State University Leads the Pack for HBCU LGBTQ Inclusion and Diversity. (2016, March 03). Retrieved May 14, 2020, from https://diverseeducation.com/article/81897/
312		Greenbelt Park	6565 Greenbelt Rd, Greenbelt, MD 20770	Cruising ground listed in Damron's Guide	1985-2008			1		(Park is managed by NPS)	Sex, Love, and Relationships		Park	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
313		Homophile Social League	5601 Longfellow St, #301, Riverdale, MD, 20840	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."	1970-1972	1940		1, 3				Shaping the political landscape; expressing cultural values	Residential	Homophile Social League Newsletter, Vol. 1, Iss. XI, November 1970. Motive (Feminist) (1972, 1 Jan); Nashville, TN. Vol 32, Iss 2, p. 68; "Gay Blade, volume 1, number 5," Rainbow History Project Digital Collections, accessed February 16, 2020, https://archives.rainbowhistory.org/items/show/403 . Oak Ridge Apartments Apartments - Riverdale, MD. (2020, February 17). Retrieved February 16, 2020, from https://www.apartments.com/oak-ridge-apartments-riverdale-md/h0hr823/
314	129	New Ways Ministry	3312 Buchanan #302, Mt. Rainier, MD 20822;	LGBTQ+ Catholic group, published multiple books and a newsletter called Bondings, which ran 1981-1998. Founded by Sister Jeannine Gramick in 1977. Barred in 1984 from the Archdiocese of Washington	1978-1998	1947-1948	Corning and Moore	3, 4	PG:68-124 Queenstown Apartments	MHT PG:68-124 Queenstown Apartments	Religion and LGBTQ people	Creating social institutions and movements	Apartment complex	Maryland Historical Trust, Queenstown Apartments, Mount Rainier, Prince George's County, Maryland, PG:68-124, p. 2-5
315		Route One News	106 Washington Boulevard, Laurel, MD	Adult bookstore advertising in Baltimore Alternative. "Over 25 booths for your viewing pleasure!"	1986-1988			1, 3	In MHT PG:LAU-1 Laurel HD and PG:LAU-17: Eastern Main St HD	In MHT PG:LAU-1 Laurel HD and PG:LAU-17: Eastern Main St HD	Sex, Love, and Relationships		Commercial: Business	"Business and Entertainment Guide" (1986, July). Baltimore Alternative, p. 9;
316		University of Maryland, McKeldin Library	McKeldin Library, College Park, MD	A crackdown on cruising in the mid 1970s brought a surprising amount of tension to the student gay association, whose opinions on whether cruising was appropriate or not in the school library were split.	1976	1958	Henry Powell Hopkins and Allan Burton	1, 5	MHT PG:66-35 University of Maryland, College Park	MHT PG:66-35 University of Maryland, College Park	Sex, Love, and Relationships		University	Mac to Millennium. (n.d.). Retrieved 20 January, 2020 from https://www.lib.umd.edu/macmil/letm . Gross, L. (1976, Nov 9). "Library tightens bathroom security." The Diamondback (College Park, Md.) p. 1.
317	93	University of Maryland, Stamp Student Union	3100 Stamp Student Union, University of Maryland, College Park, MD	Period of Significance: 1970-? 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 was listed as a major cruising site in the Damron's Guide for Men from 1978-1980.	1970	1954		1, 2, 3, 5	PG:66-35 University of Maryland, College Park	MHT PG:66-35 University of Maryland, College Park		Creating social institutions and movements; Peopling places	University	Mac to Millennium. (n.d.). Retrieved January 23, 2020, from https://www.lib.umd.edu/macmil/lets For Gay and Lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
Queen Anne's County Sites														

318	123	Cruising Raids, Queen Anne's County	404 Hayden Rd, Centreville, MD 21617	Together with the Easton Star-Democrat, the Maryland State Police pulled a standard raid on a cruising spot here in 1983. Names were published the next day, with special attention paid to schoolteachers. Other arrests continue to happen here until the changing of the state's sodomy laws in 2000-2001	1983-1999						Sex, love, and relationships; LGBTQ Law		Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	Emory, P. (1983, May 24) "Six awaiting trial after police raid," The Star-Democrat (Easton, MD), p. 1; Emory, P. (1983, Jul 5). "Three men enter guilty pleas in raid on gay meeting ground." The Star-Democrat (Easton, MD), p. 5; Sullivan, D. (1992, Nov 13). "Coleman charged with sex solicitation." The Star-Democrat (Easton, MD), p. 1; Surowiec, Konrad, "Charges put on inactive docket" (1999, Apr 15) The Star-Democrat (Easton, MD), p. 1	
319		Release of Elizabeth Michelle Ward	500 Little Hut Dr, Centreville, MD 21617	In 1989, after deciding she could not be housed either in a male or a female prison, jail officials asked to release trans woman Elizabeth Michelle Ward from their detention. After a publicized court hearing, judge Thomas Sisk Jr. agreed to let her complete her sentence for a weapons charge under house arrest.	1989	1988					Transgender History; LGBTQ Law		Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	Maryland SDAT, 500 Little Hut Dr, Centreville, Queen Anne's County, 03-024474 "Transsexual gets jail at home" (1989, Nov 9) The Evening Sun, Baltimore, Maryland. p. F10	
St. Mary's County Sites															
320	108	Naval Air Station Patuxent River (Shane Ortega)	Patuxent River, MD	Transgender military activist and bodybuilder Shane Ortega was born into an army family which was stationed here.	1987						MHT SM-357: U.S. Naval Air Station Patuxent River	MHT SM-357: U.S. Naval Air Station Patuxent River	Transgender History, LGBTQ Military Service	Military	Shane Ortega. (2019, July 27). Retrieved February 25, 2020, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shane_Ortega
321	37	St John's Site Museum at Historic St. Mary's City	47645 Margeret Brent Way, St Marys City, MD 20686	Archaeological site at historic St Mary's City which displays the foundation of home where Margeret Brent petitioned the colony government	1639-1650						In SM-29: St. Mary's City	NPS 69000310: St Mary's City HD		Public Buildings, Structures, and Sites	
Talbot County Sites															
322	54	Rebecca Primus School	7011 Hopkins Neck Rd, Easton, Maryland	In 1865, Rebecca Primus, daughter of a prominent free Black family in Hartford, CT, moved to Royal Oak in order to serve as teacher to a Freedman's School there. For the next four years, while teaching, she wrote letters to Addie Brown, her love in Hartford. Scholarship in the past years has made a strong case that their letters represented not just a friendship, but a romantic and sexual partnership. In 1869, Rebecca moved back to Hartford; the school building burned down in 2005 and was replaced with a home.	1865-1869	1867					DEMOLISHED, in T-1182 Royal Oak Survey District	DEMOLISHED	LGBTQ African Americans	DEMOLISHED	Maryland Historical Trust, Royal Oak Survey District, Royal Oak, Talbot County, Maryland, T-1182, p. 16 Primus, R., Brown, A., & Griffin, F. J. (2001). 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.
Washington County Sites															
323		Cruising Ground, Downtown Hagerstown	5 Potomac & S Summit Streets, Hagerstown, MD	Cruising ground listed in Damron's Guide	1985-2006						IN WA-HAG-158: Hagerstown HD	IN NPS 93001551: Hagerstown Historic District	Sex, Love, and Relationships	District	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
324		Cruising Ground, Hagerstown Bus Depot	31 E Antietam St, Hagerstown, Md	Cruising ground listed in Damron's Guide	1985-1989	1947					WA-HAG-240: Hagerstown Bus Terminal IN WA-HAG-158: Hagerstown HD	IN NPS 93001551: Hagerstown Historic District	Sex, Love, and Relationships	Commercial: Storefront	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1 Maryland Historical Trust, Hagerstown Bus Terminal, Hagerstown, Washington County, WA-HAG-240, p. 2
325	119	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. Listed in Damron's Guide	1974-1982	circa 1917					WA-HAG-077 -- Colonial Hotel IN WA-GAH-158: Hagerstown HD	IN NPS 93001551: Hagerstown Historic District	Business & Labor	Residential	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1; Maryland Historical Trust, Colonial Hotel, Hagerstown, Washington County, WA-HAG-77, p. 4; Eastern Standard Times, 1(VI), Courtesy of John J. Wilcox Jr. LGBT Archives, Philadelphia, PA. Egerman, Benjamin (2019, Jan 29). Phone interview with David Wiles.
326		Elk Ridge Ranch	2406 Chestnut Grove Rd, Sharpsburg, MD 21782	For some time in the 1970s, the land around the John Brown House and Farm was the site of the Elk Ridge Ranch, an all-gay campground and dance venue. Run by Steve Belschner and James Sickafus, they purchased land around the farmhouse and used it for campgrounds and parties. Lasted several years, working through hostility with neighbors, keeping safe from the law, until one of the "anything goes" barnhouses burned to the ground.	1972-1977	1951							Business and Labor, LGBTQ Places	Peopling Places; Expressing Cultural Values; Developing the American Economy	Egerman, Benjamin (2019, June 23). Phone interview with Steve Belschner.
327		Gay Nineties/Headquarters	41 N Potomac St, Hagerstown, MD	Prior to the 1974 opening of the Bull Ring at 59 S Potomac St, this was the sole gay bar in Hagerstown and likely the only explicitly gay bar for 75 miles in any direction. Listed in Damron's Guide for the years shown, advertisements in LGBTQ publications match, although it is likely the bar predates 1973. Multiple interviews conducted imply the bar was often unsafe to enter or exit and wasn't very highly regarded. Reopened briefly in the late 1990s as "Headquarters."	1973-1975; 1998-2000	"early-mid nineteenth century"	Unknown				WA-HAG-029: 41-45 N Potomac St; In WA-HAG-158: Hagerstown HD	IN NPS 93001551: Hagerstown Historic District	Business and Labor	Peopling places	Commercial: Restaurant Maryland Historical Trust, 41-45 N Potomac Street, Hagerstown, Washington County, Maryland, WA-HAG-029; For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1; "Bar Guide" (1999, Jan) Baltimore Alternative
328		Hagerstown Pride	1 W Washington St, Hagerstown, MD	In 2016, Hagerstown held its first LGBTQ+ pride event, now a yearly occurrence.	2016						WA-HAG-158: Hagerstown HD	NPS 83002964 Hagerstown Commercial Core HD	LGBTQ Spaces and Places	plaza	Egerman, Benjamin (2019, Apr 4-10). Phone interview and email correspondence with Al Feldstein.
329		Justin Vivian Bond Childhood Home	219 Pangborn Blvd, Hagerstown, MD	Cabaret performer extraordinaire, Tony award nominee, trans activist and star of stage and screen Mx Justin Vivian Bond grew up on the edge of Hagerstown before moving to New York to attend college and then start their illustrious career.	1963-1981	1959							LGBTQ Art and Artists; Transgender History	Residential	Maryland SDAT, 219 Pangborn Blvd, Hagerstown, Washington County, 22-001027; WASHINGTON COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 1963, GMS 398, p. 0424. MSA CE 18-348
330	144	The Lodge	21614 National Pike, Boonsboro, MD 21713	Opened as the Deer Lodge in the mid-80s, has since become the main go-to spot for LGBTQ bargoers in western MD and areas thereabout.	1986-present								Business & Labor	Expressing Cultural Values	Commercial: Bar
331		Now, Voyager	139 N Mulberry St, Hagerstown, MD	Bar listed in 1987 Alternative issue and 1989 GAIA's Guide	1987-1989						In WA-HAG-158: Hagerstown HD	In NPS 93001551: Hagerstown HD	Business & Labor	Commercial: Tavern	"Bar Guide" (1987, Sep) Baltimore Alternative; For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
Wicomico County Sites															
332		Cruising Raids, Salisbury, MD	Phillip Morris Drive and Rt 50, Salisbury, MD	Several times in the 1990s, police organized stings on gay men meeting for sex at this small park.	1998-1999									Landscape: Park	Bouchelle, H. (1998, Jun 23) "Police Crack Down on area rest stops." The Daily Times (Salisbury, MD). p. 3; "Police Beat" (1999, Oct 6). The Daily Times (Salisbury, MD). p. 3;
333		Cruising Raids, Salisbury, MD	N Park Drive and Memorial Plaza, Salisbury, MD	Several times in the 1990s, police organized stings on gay men meeting for sex at this small park.	1998									Landscape: Park	Untitled (1999, Dec 24). The Daily Times (Salisbury, MD). p. 5; Bouchelle, H. (1998, Jun 23) "Police Crack Down on area rest stops." The Daily Times (Salisbury, MD). p. 3

334	124	Firing of Sharon Powell (Salisbury Mall, Demolished)	600 Glen Ave, Salisbury, MD 21804	In 1976, Sharon M Powell, a transgender woman awaiting gender-confirmation surgery, was hired as a clerk at Read's pharmacy in the Salisbury Mall and then fired on her first day when her license read as male. She filed a lawsuit in court for sex discrimination under the civil rights act. In 1977, a district judge dismissed the case before trial.	1976-1977	1968		2, 5, 10			LGBTQ Law; Transgender History		Demolished	Man fired after beginning sex change loses anti-discrimination suit here. (1977, Sep 05). The Sun (1837-1994) Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/docview/540864969?accountid=10750 ; Salisbury Mall (Maryland). (2019, December 24). Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salisbury_Mall_(Maryland)
335	145	Jim Ireton Jr Home	203 W Philadelphia Ave, Salisbury, MD 21801	Home of Jim Ireton, first openly gay mayor of the city of Salisbury on Maryland's Eastern Shore during his mayorship.	2009-2015	1966		2, 10				Shaping the Political Landscape	Residential	WICOMICO COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT (Land Records), 2006, MSB 2644, pp. 0588-0591, MSA CE 100-2657. Lavers, M. K. (2016, April 20). Two LGBT congressional candidates on Maryland ballot. Retrieved February 25, 2020, from https://www.washingtonblade.com/2016/04/20/two-lgbt-congressional-candidates-on-md-ballot/
336		Salisbury News Agency	618 S Salisbury Rd, Salisbury, MD	"cruisy" adult book store noted in Damron's Guide as a place to go for gay titles and potentially to meet someone.	1985-2008			1, 3, 10			Sex, Love, and Relationships		Commercial: Storefront	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1
337		Stabbing of Leon Maxfield	Salisbury Municipal Park, 755 S Park Dr, Salisbury, MD, 21804, USA	In 1992, 15-year-old Victor Torres and a friend, in his words, "Went fag-bashing", beating unconscious and stabbing to death 27-year-old Leon Maxfield after asking him to follow them for sex. Torres was tried and found guilty of first degree murder.	33834	1925		5, 10	WI-581: Municipal Park		LGBTQ Law		Landscape: Park	Willbert, T, "Youth guilty in Salisbury murder", (1992, Mar 3) The Daily Times, Salisbury, Maryland, p. 1; Maryland Historical Trust, Municipal Park, Salisbury, MD, WI-581, p. 6
Worcester County Sites														
338		Daisey's Anchor Bar	501 S Baltimore Ave, Ocean City, MD	Listed in Damron's Guide as a "Mixed" bar, which is to say, nominally straight bar where gay men could meet each other. Famously rough & tumble bar.	1978-1980	c. 1930		1, 3, 10			Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1; Maryland SDAT, 501 S Baltimore Ave, Ocean City, Wicomico County, 10-026660.; Ocean City, Maryland - Then & Now Lot 45 Part Two. (n.d.). Retrieved February 6, 2020, from http://www.ocmuseum.org/content.php/site/general_article/ocean_city_maryland_then_now3
339		Fager's Island	201 60th St, Ocean City, MD 21841	Listed in Damron's Guide as a "Mixed" bar, which is to say, nominally straight bar where gay men could meet each other.	1978-1980	1975		1, 3, 10			Business & Labor		Commercial: Restaurant	For gay and lesbian guides, see appendix BE-1; Maryland SDAT, 201 60th St, Ocean City, Wicomico County, 10-074991