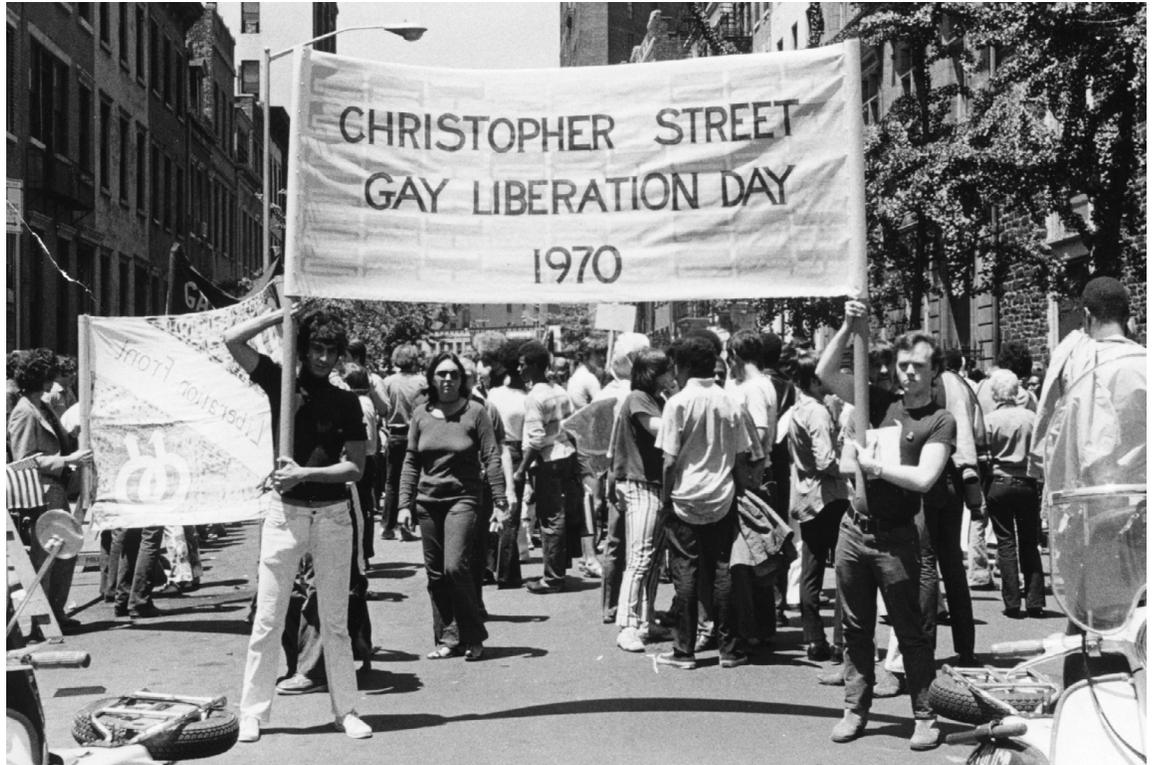


NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project



Historic Context Statement for LGBT History in New York City

PREPARED FOR



Parks, Recreation
and Historic Preservation

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Historic Context Statement for LGBT History in New York City

PREPARED BY

The NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project: Jay Shockley, Amanda Davis,
Ken Lustbader, and Andrew Dolkart

EDITED BY

Kathleen Howe and Kathleen LaFrank of the New York State Office of
Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation

PREPARED FOR

The National Park Service and the New York State Office of Parks,
Recreation, and Historic Preservation

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Project Summary

The Historic Context Statement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History in New York City (LGBT Historic Context Statement) was funded, in part, by a 2014 grant from the National Park Service Underrepresented Communities Grants administered by the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation. The New York Community Trust, Arcus Foundation, and J.M. Kaplan Fund provided additional support.

The [NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project](http://www.nyclgbtsites.org) (www.nyclgbtsites.org) researched and prepared the report, with Jay Shockley as lead author of the history chapter and contributions by Amanda Davis, Ken Lustbader, and Andrew Dolkart. Kathleen Howe and Kathleen LaFrank of the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation facilitated the federal grant, provided oversight and direction on the research and preparation of the report, and guidance on content and editing.

The NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, officially launched in 2015, is a cultural heritage initiative and educational resource. Its mission is to make an invisible history visible by identifying extant historic LGBT properties that will establish a visceral link to New York City's past, document the community's impact on American history and culture, and educate the public on what has been a largely unknown narrative (thus fostering pride and awareness).¹

In New York City, a national leader in the varied LGBT rights movements, many LGBT historic sites remain unknown and unappreciated. Beyond the well-known and recognized Stonewall, the project is identifying hundreds of existing sites from the 17th century through 2000. Up until recently, this deficit has prevented effective advocacy and educational opportunities, leaving potentially significant sites and histories unappreciated, uncelebrated, and potentially endangered.

LGBT Context Statement

As part of the 2014 federal grant, the project conducted a reconnaissance-level historic resource survey of LGBT-related sites throughout New York City and is credited with the completion of five nominations to the State and National Registers of Historic Places.² The reconnaissance survey is a base-line documentation of previously- and newly-identified sites related to LGBT history and culture, which resulted in the development

1 See www.nyclgbtsites.org for additional information about the project, mission, team, advisory committee, documented sites, and educational programs.

2 During the grant period the project completed new nominations for Julius' Bar (2016), Caffè Cino (2017), and Earl Hall, Columbia University (2018). During this period the project amended the nomination for the Alice Austen House (2018). The Bayard Rustin Residence (2016), nomination prepared by Mark Meinke and edited by Kathleen LaFrank, NYSHPO, was also listed during the grant period.

of an annotated spreadsheet of properties that appear worthy of further study. The survey builds on twenty-five years of LGBT specific research conducted by the project team. In 2017, the project launched its interactive website with a map and curated themes identifying one hundred LGBT historic and cultural locations, with descriptive text entries, contemporary and archival photographs, related ephemera, and multi-media; the project database contains many more sites that will be added as researched. The appendices and photographs represent these sites.

The primary goal of the federal grant is to increase LGBT diversity on the National Register. In spite of the historic and cultural contributions of LGBT Americans, at the time of the initial grant proposal only three sites in New York State primarily associated with LGBT history were listed on the National Register in the United States.³ Today, of the more than 93,500 sites listed on the National Register, there are seventeen LGBT-related listings throughout the United States.⁴

This report has been prepared with the goal of increasing representation and recognition of LGBT-associated sites in New York City. The city contains many sites that are unknown and in need of identification, as well as numerous sites that are already included in local, state, and federal recognition programs that can be reinterpreted with LGBT-associations.

All extant sites/addresses are in boldface throughout Chapter 2: LGBT History.

A historic context statement is a historic preservation planning tool used by advocates and federal, state, and local governments to guide in the identification, documentation, and evaluation of historic properties associated with a specific theme.⁵ Themes can range from the history of a city to a style of architecture to a cultural group. Historic context statements are composed of two primary parts: a narrative discussion of the patterns, events, cultural influences, and individuals or groups relevant to them; and technical

3 At the time of the May 2014 grant submission, there were three sites in New York State listed on the National Register: Stonewall, New York, NY (1999); Cherry Grove Community House and Theater, Cherry Grove, NY (2013); Carrington House, Cherry Grove, NY (2014).

4 The seventeen include: Stonewall, New York, NY (1999); Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence, Washington, D.C. (2011); Cherry Grove Community House and Theater, Cherry Grove, NY (2013); James Merrill House, Stonington, CT (2013); Carrington House, Cherry Grove, NY (2014); Henry Gerber House, Chicago, IL (2015); Bayard Rustin Residence, New York, NY (2016); Julius', New York, NY (2016); The Furies Collective, Washington, D.C. (2016); Casa Orgullo, San Juan, Puerto Rico (2016); Elks Athletic Club/Henry Clay Hotel, Louisville, KY (2016 amendment); Whiskey Row Historic District, Louisville, KY (2017 amendment); Pauli Murray Family Home, Durham, NC (2017); Alice Austen House, Staten Island, NY (2017 amendment); The Great Wall of Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA (2017), Caffè Cino, New York, NY (2017); and Earl Hall, Columbia University (2018). As of March 2018, the National Park Service spreadsheet includes just over 93,500 properties listed sites: <https://www.nps.gov/nr/research/index.htm> (accessed March 29, 2018).

5 For the purposes of this report, "historic properties" will be used as a catchall term for buildings, structures, objects, landscapes, sites, and historic districts.

information that serves as a guide for future identification and analysis of historic properties associated with the theme.⁶

The overarching theme of the LGBT Historic Context Statement is the development of an LGBT presence and community in New York City from the 17th century to the year 2000.

SUB-THEMES EXPLORED ARE

- New Amsterdam and New York City in the 17th and 18th Centuries
- Emergence of an LGBT Subculture in New York City (1840s to World War I)
- Development of Lesbian and Gay Greenwich Village and Harlem Between the Wars (1918 and 1945)
- Policing, Harassment, and Social Control (1840s to 1974)
- Privacy in Public: Cruising Spots, Bathhouses, and Other Sexual Meeting Places (1840s to 2000)
- The Early Fight for LGBT Equality (1930s to 1974)
- LGBT Communities: Action, Support, Education, and Awareness (1974 to 2000)
- New York City and the AIDS Epidemic (1981 to 2000)
- The LGBT Community's Impact on Arts and Culture (1850s to 2000)

Scope

The narrative discussion documents LGBT history in New York City from the 17th century through the year 2000. The geographic scope includes the five boroughs of New York City and is limited to the research documented by the reconnaissance-level historic resources survey.

That initial site-based survey is largely Manhattan- and gay and lesbian-focused. Further research will uncover more sites related to people of color, the bisexual and transgender communities, as well as those located in the boroughs of the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, and Staten Island. The outline, themes, and extant sites included in the report will be further developed and supplemented as more relevant information is found by the project and others conducting LGBT place-based research.

⁶ This synopsis is adapted from “Chapter 1. Introduction” in 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, October 2015), 1.

Diversity of the LGBT Community

The LGBT Historic Context Statement aims to provide a broad overview of the many and complex patterns, events, influences, individuals, and groups that shaped this history, based on research accumulated thus far. It is therefore not inclusive of all aspects of LGBT history or associated sites.

The LGBT community broadly encompasses all ages, races, ethnicities, nationalities, class levels, and gender identifications in the five boroughs of New York City. This report is limited by the locations identified in the reconnaissance-level historic resources survey and, as such, does not represent the entire LGBT history of New York City, nor does it entirely reflect the diversity of the various LGBT communities.

Methodology

CONDUCTING THE SURVEY AND COLLECTING DATA

The reconnaissance-level survey was undertaken during a two-year period, beginning in August 2015. Amanda Davis led the day-to-day survey tasks in collaboration with and with guidance from Andrew Dolkart, Ken Lustbader, and Jay Shockley. The survey references and builds on twenty-five years of LGBT-specific research conducted by historic preservation professionals:

- “A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks” (1994). This map of LGBT historic sites in Greenwich Village, Harlem, and Midtown was published by the Organization of Lesbian + Gay Architects and Designers (OLGAD) and is considered the first of its kind in the nation. Andrew Dolkart, Ken Lustbader, and Jay Shockley contributed to its creation.
- “Gay Pride Month 2013,” (2013); “150 Years of LGBT History” (2014); and “Taking Pride: 150 Years of LGBT History” (2015). These three illustrative guides were published online by the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC) and were co-written by Jay Shockley while serving as a senior historian at the LPC.
- Several of Jay Shockley’s designation reports – the LPC’s official documents that detail a designated landmark’s or historic district’s history and significance – since the early 1990s include LGBT history. Examples include the *Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater (Yiddish Art Theater/Yiddish Folks Theater) Building Designation Report* (1993; first use of “gay” in an LPC designation report); *East 17th Street/Irving Place Historic District Designation Report* (1998; co-written with Gale Harris; entry on Elsie de Wolfe and Elisabeth

Marbury includes first use of “lesbian” in an LPC designation report]; *Webster Hall and Annex Designation Report* (2008); and “The LGBT Presence in the South Village” essay in the LPC’s *South Village Historic District Designation Report* (2013).

- *Landscape of Liberation: Preserving Gay and Lesbian History in Greenwich Village* (1993), Columbia University graduate thesis by Ken Lustbader.
- “Preservation of LGBTQ Historic & Cultural Sites – A New York City Perspective,” written by Jay Shockley, in National Park Service, *LGBTQ Heritage Theme Study* (2016), edited by Megan E. Springate.

In addition to these sources, various books and archives were consulted and numerous community outreach events and crowd-sourcing opportunities were held. A selection of each is included below.

BOOKS AND INDIVIDUALS

- *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (1994) by George Chauncey. Chauncey is a member of the NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project advisory committee.
- *Stepping Out: Nine Walks Through New York City’s Gay and Lesbian Past* (1997) by Daniel Hurewitz.
- *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (1997) by Paula Martinac.
- *Making Gay History: The Podcast*, a contemporary podcast by Eric Marcus that features oral history interviews he conducted (beginning in the 1980s) with prominent members of the LGBT rights movement. Marcus is a member of the NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project advisory committee.
- New York City Council Member Daniel Dromm. The authors met with the council member in the fall of 2015 to discuss the survey and he shared several sites of importance to LGBT history. Council Member Dromm has been an influential LGBT activist, educator, and community organizer, particularly in the borough of Queens, since the early 1990s.
- Interviews with various writers, historians, and LGBT activists, such as Dick Leitsch, Carrie Davis, Steve Ashkinazy, Joyce Hunter, Melissa Sklarz, Kay Tobin Lahusen, Gwen Shockey, and Hugh Ryan.

ARCHIVES

- LGBT Collections, New York Public Library. The authors collaborated with Jason Baumann, Coordinator of Humanities and LGBT Collections, General Research Division, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building.
- Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library.
- Lesbian Herstory Archives, co-founded by Deborah Edel, in Park Slope, Brooklyn. Edel is a member of the NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project advisory committee.
- LGBT Community Center National History Archive, 208 West 13th Street. The authors collaborated with curator Richard C. Wandel.

COMMUNITY OUTREACH

(a selection from more than fifty public events)

- Lesbian and Gay Democratic Club of Queens, Jackson Heights, Queens (February 1, 2016)
- Queer Students of Architecture, Planning & Preservation (QSAPP), Columbia University (March 25, 2016)
- LGBT Community Center “Second Tuesdays” presentation, Greenwich Village, Manhattan (May 10, 2016)
- Harlem SAGE (a chapter of SAGE, an organization for LGBT elders) Harlem, Manhattan (May 13, 2016)
- New York Public Library presentation at the Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, Midtown Manhattan (June 7, 2016)
- Lower East Side Preservation Initiative (LESPI) presentation, East Village, Manhattan (September 13, 2016)
- Women’s, Gender, and Sexuality Council, Columbia University (September 20, 2016)
- Landmark West! presentation, Upper West Side (November 15, 2016)
- Queens LGBT Elders presentation, Jackson Heights, Queens (December 6, 2016)
- Midtown SAGE presentation, Midtown Manhattan (January 9, 2017)
- Bronx SAGE presentation, Bronx (January 11, 2017)
- Neighborhood Preservation Center presentation, Financial District, Manhattan (April 25, 2017)
- American Planning Association presentation, 2017 National Conference in New York City (May 9, 2017)

- Amos Enos Gallery, panel discussion on the history of lesbian and trans-women spaces highlighting the work of artist Gwen Shockey, Brooklyn (November 16, 2017)
- Victorian Society, NY Chapter presentation, Upper East Side (March 8, 2018)

CROWD-SOURCING

- Social media platforms (Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram) of the NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project. Suggested sites were noted and evaluated by the authors to determine significance.
- The project website also has a form that allows members of the public to suggest sites in the hopes that less-represented communities (such as people of color, bisexuals, transgender people, and those in boroughs other than Manhattan) would be documented; the authors would then evaluate each site to determine its significance.

Information from all of these sources was collected in a master list of LGBT historic sites in New York City as part of the reconnaissance survey, regardless of significance. Demolished properties were kept in a separate list. Further research and evaluation of each site helped the authors determine which properties were significant in telling the history of New York City's LGBT community. Due to the lack of existing research in the boroughs outside Manhattan, and the fact that, historically, the LGBT community first organized in large part in lower Manhattan, the results of this reconnaissance-level survey are largely found in Manhattan and largely represent the white gay and lesbian communities. However, properties associated with less-represented communities and boroughs have been sought and are included; given their rarity and the intent of the authors to ensure that the various groups were represented in the survey, special consideration was given to these properties. Preliminary research and outreach also suggests that more of these properties are extant and worthy of study.

Potentially significant properties were photographed by either Christopher D. Brazee, photography consultant, or by Amanda Davis. These photographs, mostly taken in 2016, were compared with historic photographs (in large part from the New York City Municipal Archives, the New York Public Library, and the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission) to determine if properties retained integrity from the period of significance. The architect, year of construction, or historic alteration, though not necessarily essential in determining a property's LGBT significance, were also recorded.

DETERMINING THE HISTORIC CONTEXTS

The nine historic contexts included in Chapter 2: LGBT History were developed by the authors in the fall of 2015. These were based largely on findings from the past twenty-five years of LGBT-related research undertaken by Andrew Dolkart, Ken Lustbader, and Jay Shockley, as well as a general understanding of the broad patterns of LGBT history in New York City. In addition, the historic contexts and framework included in the *Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco*, prepared by Donna J. Graves and Shayne E. Watson, was an invaluable guide.

The overall geographical area covered in this survey includes the five boroughs of New York City: the Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, Queens, and Staten Island. Given the density of LGBT historic properties in Manhattan, a few key geographical areas emerged. These include the neighborhoods of Greenwich Village, the East Village (historically part of the Lower East Side), Midtown, and Harlem. Greenwich Village and Harlem in particular have had strong associations with the LGBT community since the end of World War I (see “Theme 3: Development of Lesbian and Gay Greenwich Village and Harlem Between the Wars (1918 to 1945)” in Chapter 2: LGBT History). The authors also documented properties related to the development of an LGBT subculture in Greenwich Village since the mid-19th century (see “Theme 2: Emergence of an LGBT Subculture in New York City (1840s to World War I)” in Chapter 2: LGBT History). Geographical areas outside of these Manhattan neighborhoods include Jackson Heights, Queens, the Brooklyn waterfront, and Park Slope, Brooklyn, because research and community outreach has indicated that significant LGBT communities existed there during the period of study for this report. However, further research will need to be conducted in these neighborhoods (a sampling has been included in this survey).

Period of Study

The period of study for LGBT history in New York City begins in the 17th century, when the Dutch founded New Amsterdam, and ends in the year 2000. This late cut-off date was chosen in order to include historic properties that reflect the significant impact of prominent organizations that were founded in the post-Stonewall era (post-1969), the AIDS epidemic in the 1980s and 1990s, and more ethnically diverse groups and individuals across New York City’s five boroughs in the 1980s and 1990s. The post-Stonewall era is also significant in that the city’s LGBT community was living much more openly in society than prior to the 1969 uprising. As a result, LGBT activist and community organizations; entertainment and culture; and social, religious, health, and educational services located in the city’s historic properties became more visible to the general public.

Guidelines established for the National Register of Historic Places recommend using a fifty-year threshold for evaluating the significance of historic properties as a way to “assume historical perspective and avoid judgments based on current or recent popular trends.”⁷ However, National Register criteria for evaluation allows for recognizing historic properties of the more recent past if they are of *exceptional significance* at the national, state, or local levels.⁸ Sufficient scholarship has been produced to establish that the AIDS epidemic has been among the most significant events to shape LGBT history in New York City, the nation, and the world.⁹ Further research may also reveal that certain sites associated with organizations, groups, and individuals in the post-Stonewall era rise to the level of exceptional significance. Regardless, the authors felt that these post-Stonewall examples were important to include in the historic context statement in order to give an idea of the kinds of sites that may be eligible for National Register listing once their respective periods of significance reach the fifty years mark.

Terminology

Language and terminology for sexual orientation and gender identification are complex and have continually evolved since the late 19th century. How people defined (or did not define) themselves in the past can be different from how they might be identified today. In many cases, terminology can change within a person’s lifetime.

The first known use of the term “homosexual” dates to the mid-19th century and though it was used for most of the 20th century, the term within the community as a way to self-identify fell out of favor after the 1969 Stonewall uprising. “Lesbian” and “gay” emerged in popular usage in the early 20th century and by others later (the *New York Time*, for example, resisted abandoning “homosexual” until 1987). “Bisexual” was not as commonly used until the 1970s. “Transsexual” had been in use since the 1920s, originating as medical terminology. “Transgender” started in use in the mid-1960s and became a commonly accepted term in the 1990s for those who do not identify with the gender they were assigned at birth. “Transsexual,” though considered obsolete by some, is used as a term of self-identification by others. “Transvestite” is typically used to define men who dress as women for pleasure. Another term, “drag queen,” is still in use by gay men who wear female dress and makeup for performances, or for fun, but otherwise identify as male. In recent years, the term “queer” has become increasingly accepted as a positive way to self-identify; however, there are many people in the community who still consider it to be

7 U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service (Marcella Sherfy and W. Ray Luce, authors), *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties That Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years* (Washington, D.C.: 1998), ii.

8 Ibid.

9 The first half of this paragraph taken from Graves and Watson, 2.

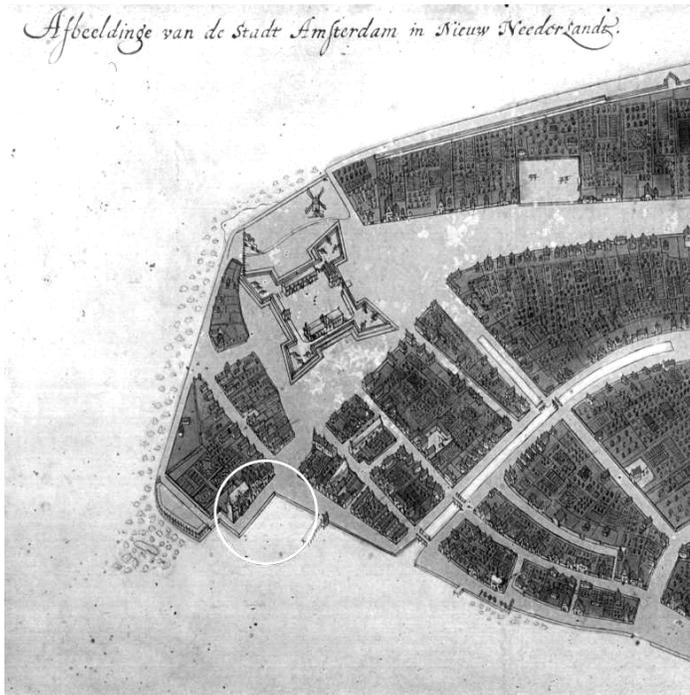
a pejorative word and therefore do not use it. Since the period of study falls largely within the time period when this term was universally considered to be derogatory, it is generally not used in this historic context statement (exceptions would be those instances when individuals or groups specifically self-identified as queer).

There are historical figures mentioned in this historic context statement who did not use any of these terms, often because they had different connotations at the time or they were not in use. To provide consistency for the reader, the terms “lesbian,” “gay,” “bisexual,” and “transgender” are used to describe individuals based on how they *might* be defined today. For example, even though Alice Austen would not have used the term “lesbian,” she identified as a woman and had an intimate long-term relationship with Gertrude Tate, which is how one might define a lesbian relationship today.

The terms “gay community” or “gay and lesbian community” were frequently used in the post-Stonewall era and were meant to be inclusive and intended to imply transgender people (in fact, transgender historical figures such as Sylvia Rivera often used “gay” in this context). In this historic context statement, “gay community” is used as an inclusive term that is also interchangeable with “LGBT community” (even though “LGBT” did not exist as a term during the period of significance). These terms are used when existing documentation indicates that (A) lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people used a particular space simultaneously or over the course of its history, or (B) there is high probability that all four groups used large gathering spaces even though no such information has been uncovered. Examples of historic resources in the latter case include public beaches, pride marches and gatherings, inclusive houses of worship, and organization and community locations.

CHAPTER 2

LGBT History



THEME 1

New Amsterdam and New York City in the 17th and 18th Centuries

"Picture of the City of Amsterdam in New Netherland" (Castello Plan), 1660. Drafted c. 1665-70. Circle added to show approximate location of "the place of execution." Courtesy of the Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, The New York Public Library.

The strong religious taboo against even the mention of homosexuality in the 17th and 18th centuries has made documentation of this period quite rare, aside from some statutes and court cases. There are three known sodomy cases involving men in Dutch New Amsterdam, resulting in two executions. In addition, in colonial and revolutionary-era New York there were several notable male figures with what would be considered today LGBT associations. It is important to note this early history, though there are currently no known extant sites, nor is it likely that there are surviving archaeological remains.

Laws were in existence throughout the 17th and 18th centuries against sodomy, even if rarely enforced. The colony of New Amsterdam, though considered more socially and religiously tolerant in general compared to other colonies, made homosexuality a capital offense under Dutch law. One of the earliest known cases was that of Harmen Meyndertz van den Bogaert, a young Dutch immigrant barber-surgeon, who rose in rank to become commissary at Fort Orange (present-day Albany) after his exploration of Mohawk country in upstate New York on a trade mission there (he is credited as the first white man to reach the Mohawk Valley). In 1647 he was accused of sodomy with his slave Tobias. Harmen and Tobias fled to upstate New York, but the fugitives were captured to be brought back for punishment. They managed to escape again, but Harmen died, falling through the ice in the Hudson River (the fate of Tobias is unknown).¹⁰

¹⁰ Michael Cooney, "The Tale of Harmen Meyndertz van den Bogaert," Upstate Earth website, April 6, 2010.

Two men are known to have been executed in New Amsterdam for sexual relations with boys, the crime doubly enforced, for same-sex contact as well as for assault on a minor. In 1646, Jan Creoli, a slave of African descent, was turned in to the authorities by fellow slaves for sexual assault on a 10-year-old slave boy named Manuel Congo. Creoli was convicted of sodomy (“this crime being condemned of God as an abomination”) and ordered to be “conveyed to the place of public execution, and there choked to death, and then burnt to ashes.” Manuel was flogged for his part. In 1660, Jan Quisthout van der Linde, a soldier guilty of sodomizing his servant, was sentenced “to be taken to the place of execution and there stripped of his arms, his sword to be broken at his feet, and he to be then tied in a sack and cast into the river and drowned until dead.” The boy, an orphan named Hendrick Harmensen, was punished as well – whipped for the sexual contact and ordered “sent to some other place by the first opportunity.” The **Place of Execution** at the time of Dutch settlement was on *Het Marckvelt* at the *Capske* (cape or point), the original shoreline of Manhattan. When the English settled the area it was known as Whitehall.¹¹

After English rule began in 1664, the Duke of York’s code was promulgated at that time for Long Island and Staten Island, then was extended to the Delaware River in 1676. It stated that “If any man lyeth with mankind as he lyeth with a woman, they shall be put to Death, unless one party were Forced or be under fourteen Years of age, in which Case he shall be punished at the Discretion of the Court of Assizes.” This statute apparently lapsed by 1691, but after the Revolution in 1787, the New York State Legislature passed a law explicitly enforcing the death penalty for homosexuality. Pennsylvania was the first state in 1786 to drop the death penalty as punishment for this “crime.” In 1796, New York changed its criminal code, retaining the death penalty for treason and murder, but reducing punishment to life imprisonment for previous capital offenses.¹²

A few noteworthy figures of the colonial and revolutionary periods had associations with what is now New York City. Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, corrupt royal governor of New York and New Jersey from 1702 to 1708, was reputedly the worst British governor of an American colony. Reports emerged from New York that Cornbury “rarely fails of being dresst in Women’s Cloaths every day” (1707) and that “My Lord Cornbury has and dos still make use of an unfortunate Custom of dressing himself in womens Cloaths and of exposing himself in that Garb upon the Ramparts to the view of the public; in that dress

11 Today, the place of execution would roughly be located on Whitehall Street, just south of Water and State Streets. “1646: Jan Creoli, for sodomy in slavery,” and “1660: Jan Quisthout van der Linde condemned to drown in New Amsterdam,” www.executedtoday.com website, June 25, 2014 and June 17, 2015; Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1976), 22-23.

12 Louis Crompton, “Homosexuals and the Death Penalty in Colonial America,” *Journal of Homosexuality*, vol. 1, no. 3 (1976).

he draws a World of Spectators about him and consequently as many Censures” (1709).¹³ Some historians view these assertions as politically motivated by his enemies. A portrait thought by some historians to be Lord Cornbury dressed in women’s clothing (though that is in dispute as well) is in the collection of the New-York Historical Society. Regardless, the claims against Cornbury represent an historically early discussion of cross-dressing.¹⁴

Alexander Hamilton (1755 or 1757–1804), although known as something of a womanizer, during the Revolutionary War may have had a relationship with John Laurens (1754–1782) of South Carolina, while both served as aides-de-camp to George Washington. The only evidence for this to date is a series of passionate letters written by Hamilton between 1779 and 1782. Hamilton settled with his large family in Upper Manhattan in an elegant Federal style house (1801–02), **Hamilton Grange** (fig. 1), where he lived until his death by duel in 1804.¹⁵

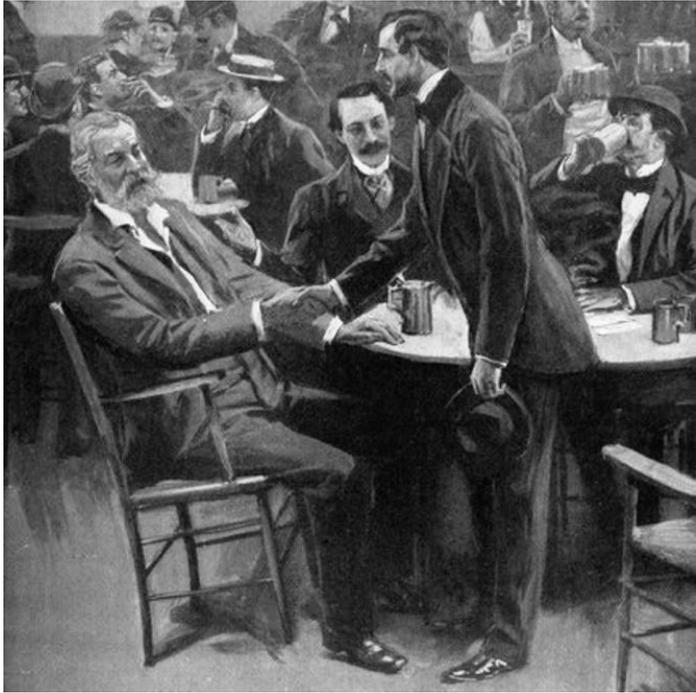
Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben (1730–1794) was another hero of the American Revolution. In 1777, as a brigade major in the Prussian military, he was threatened with prosecution for his homosexual “familiarities” with young men. In Paris, he met Benjamin Franklin, who, though aware of these charges, contacted George Washington, who was desperate for an officer to assist in instilling discipline and training in the rag-tag Continental Army. Von Steuben served as inspector general, major general, and Washington’s chief of staff. After the war, von Steuben became an American citizen and first moved to Manhattan. He was awarded a pension and properties in both New York State and New Jersey. In the 1950s, when the German-American community wanted a September holiday to celebrate its heritage, after decades of not being able to laud that heritage, Von Steuben’s birthday was selected. The first Von Steuben Day Parade, inadvertently honoring an LGBT individual of the 18th century, was held in 1958 in Ridgewood, Queens. While Von Steuben Day parades are celebrated in many cities, New York City’s is the largest in the United States.¹⁶

13 Edmund S. Morgan, “The Governor in Drag?,” *New York Review of Books*, March 5, 1998, review of *The Lord Cornbury Scandal: The Politics of Reputation in British America* by Patricia U. Bonomi.

14 Katz, 570.

15 New York City LGBT Historic Sites Project [NYCLGBTHSP], <https://www.nyclgbtsites.org/> website; Linda Rapp, “Hamilton, Alexander (1757-1804),” *GLBTQ Archive*, bit.ly/2ffDp3c; Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005); William Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2006).

16 “LGBT History Month: Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben: Gen. Washington’s ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ Case,” *Philadelphia Gay News*, Oct. 25, 2012; “Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, Gay Revolutionary War Hero,” www.homohistory.com website, May 24, 2014.



THEME 2

Emergence of an LGBT Subculture in New York City (1840s - World War I)

Walt Whitman at
Pfaff's. Source:
Harper's Magazine.

During the period from the 1840s to the 1890s in New York City, what would now be regarded as LGBT spaces emerged, though the societal identification of homosexuals as a group was not developed until the late 19th century. Sites from that period survive in New York City that were LGBT gathering places, housing accommodations, works of art, and residences and institutions of notable individuals.

Historian Jonathan Ned Katz has written on “the earliest known American crusade against sodomites” in 1842. New York’s sporting press (advocating heterosexual males’ lifestyles patronizing female prostitutes), especially *The Whip* and *The Rake*, attacked “sodomites” as upper-class older men, usually foreign, sexually preying on younger men. This heightened the awareness of a burgeoning sexual underground subculture in the rapidly expanding city, in places like saloons, music halls and parks. **City Hall Park and adjacent Broadway** was then identified as the principal location where unemployed lower-class young men could be found selling their favors. And already in the 1840s there was discussion in the newspapers about the existence of male brothels.¹⁷ Katz also documented a rare court case in which a young Irish policeman, Edward McCosker, was removed from the force (though possibly framed) in 1846 for allegedly making sexual advances to other men while on duty.¹⁸

¹⁷ Jonathan Ned Katz, *Love Stories: Sex Between Men Before Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 45-59.

¹⁸ Katz, *Gay American History*, 29-33.

The earliest known extant building with gay male associations is **Pfaff's** (fig. 7), operated from 1859 to 1864 by German-born proprietor Charles Ignatius Pfaff, which was a Rathskeller-like beer/wine cellar restaurant in the Coleman House Hotel, 645–647 Broadway, extending into the sidewalk vaults. It became a favorite haunt of the bohemians of the 1850s, including artists, writers, and actors. Walt Whitman (1819–1892), iconic in the United States and Europe as one of the first people to openly express the concept of men loving men via his poetry, was a central figure among this group from 1859 to 1862. During his Pfaff's period, around 1859, Whitman wrote twelve famously homoerotic "Calamus" poems that were included in the 1860 edition of his epochal first collection of poems, *Leaves of Grass*. A portion of Pfaff's was known as a place for men looking for other men. Although Pfaff's vault space has been destroyed, the basement, along with the rest of the hotel, survives.¹⁹ The first edition of *Leaves of Grass* had been published in July 1855. Walt Whitman and his family moved to a house at **99 Ryerson Street** (fig. 95), Wallabout, Brooklyn, just days before the first edition was published. This house and Pfaff's are the only two known extant sites in New York City associated with the great American poet.²⁰

In his pioneering book *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940*, historian George Chauncey identified the 1890s as a period in the city when one very specific, and "notorious," aspect of the emerging gay male community — the subculture of flamboyantly effeminate "fairies" — became noticed by a wider public. He posited that this subculture was more fully and publicly integrated into working-class than middle-class culture.²¹ While the Bowery, Lower East Side, and Tenderloin were the most notorious New York centers for "commercialized vice" and "homosexual rendezvous" at this time, there were also such spots on Bleecker Street in Greenwich Village.²² Upper middle-class men, in particular, and some women, were attracted to downtown, in part to witness the "depravity" of the lower classes and thus to be scandalized or titillated (or both). For example, **The Slide** (fig. 8), 157 Bleecker Street,

19 NYCLGBTHSP; Christopher D. Brazee, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, "150 Years of LGBT History," New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (June 2014); Ed Folsom and Kenneth M. Price, *Re-Scripting Walt Whitman: An Introduction to His Life and Work* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2005); Justin Martin, *Rebel Souls: Walt Whitman and America's First Bohemians* (Boston: DaCapo Press, 2014); Lehigh University, "Gray, John Frederick Schiller (1840-1891)," bit.ly/2g4AIGi; Martin D. Hyman, "Where the Drinkers & Laughers Meet' - Pfaff's: Whitman's Literary Lair," *Seaport* (Spring 1992); Stephanie M. Blalock, "A Recently Discovered Photograph of Fred Gray," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review*, vol. 29, no. 3 (2012).

20 NYCLGBTHSP; Cleveland Rodgers, "The Good Gray House Builder," *Walt Whitman Review* (December 1959); Karen Karbiner, Walt Whitman scholar, e-mail to the NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, December 10, 2017; Paul Berman, "Walt Whitman's Ghost," *The New Yorker*, June 12, 1995, pp. 98-104.

21 Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: BasicBooks, 1994), 34.

22 Within Manhattan in the late 19th century, the section considered to be the most crime-ridden was the area of western midtown that came to be called "the Tenderloin," roughly bounded by 23rd and 42nd Streets and Fifth and Seventh Avenues (by the turn of the century, it extended northward and westward).

was popularly identified by 1890 as “New York’s ‘worst dive’ because of the fairies ... gathered there.”²³ A “slide,” in prostitutes’ jargon of the time, was “an establishment where male homosexuals dressed as women and solicited men.”²⁴ Contemporary newspapers, purporting to defend the public’s morals, spotlighted the most sensational aspects of this underworld. The Slide was closed by police in 1892 and the proprietor convicted of keeping a “disorderly house.”²⁵ Another “dive,” the **Black Rabbit**, 183 Bleecker Street, was personally raided in 1900 by Anthony Comstock of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. Of this establishment, he fumed “that he has never before raided a place so wicked, and that ‘Sodom and Gomorrah’ would blush for shame at hearing to what depths of vice its habitués had descended.”²⁶

On the opposite side of the social spectrum were a number of LGBT individuals who operated within the spheres of upper New York society, politics, and culture. Sculptor Emma Stebbins (1815–1882) designed her masterpiece, **Angel of the Waters** (fig. 76), atop the Bethesda Fountain in Central Park in the 1860s, while living in Rome in an intimate same-sex relationship with Charlotte Cushman, a leading actress of the American and British stages. Stebbins was but one of a number of lesbian artists who formed a circle around Cushman. This fountain is the earliest public artwork by a woman in New York City and was the only sculpture sanctioned as part of the early design and construction phase of Central Park.²⁷ **The Emma Stebbins House** at 20 West 16th Street in Manhattan was listed on the National Register since it appears she may have lived here in the 1850s and partly in the last few years of her life.

In 1882, the Irish poet and dandy Oscar Wilde (1854–1900), not yet a playwright but making himself known for his dress style and quips, embarked on an expenses-paid tour of America. William S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan had satirized Wilde and the Aesthetic Movement in their operetta *Patience*, but when it was to transfer to New York on Broadway, producer Richard D’Oyly Carte feared that New Yorkers would not get the jokes. Wilde was enticed to travel to America and give talks on art and his decorative philosophy, dressed as their Bunthorne character. When he arrived, however, Wilde quickly turned the tour to

23 Ibid, 37

24 Ibid, 68. Chauncey suggested that The Slide, in a rowhouse basement, was so named to specifically announce its character, even though its “fairies” did not in fact dress as women.

25 “The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Community’s Presence in the South Village,” researched and written by Jay Shockley, in Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC), *South Village Historic District Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2013); NYCLGBTHSP; Daniel Hurewitz, *Stepping Out: Nine Walks Through New York City’s Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997).

26 “Black Rabbit Club is Closed Forever,” *New York Herald*, March 15, 1899, 12; “Raid on ‘The Black Rabbit,’” *New York Times*, October 6, 1900, 2.

27 NYCLGBTHSP; Andrew Dolkart, “Bethesda Fountain,” in Marilyn Symmes, ed., *Fountains: Splash and Spectacle* (Smithsonian Institution, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, 1998); Christopher D. Brazee, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, “150 Years of LGBT History,” New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (June 2014); Daniel Hurewitz, *Stepping Out: Nine Walks Through New York City’s Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997); Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997).

his advantage, selling himself and not Gilbert and Sullivan. Wilde's tour earned him fame, an extraordinary amount of press coverage, and a good deal of money. While in New York, he stayed for a few days at the **Grand Hotel** (fig. 6), 1232 Broadway, and had a session with the photographer Napoleon Sarony at his studio on the west side of Union Square. The resulting, widely seen photographs greatly enhanced his image as an aesthete and an artist.²⁸

Alice Austen (1866–1952) lived for much of her life in her early family farmhouse, “Clear Comfort” (fig. 2), now known as the **Alice Austen House**, at 2 Hylan Boulevard on Staten Island. A photography pioneer most active from the 1880s to the 1920s, she produced about 8,000 images. Among these are Austen and friends dancing together, embracing in bed, and cross-dressing, photographs that were unique for their time and have become iconic for the LGBT community. In 1899, Austen formed an intimate relationship with Gertrude Amelia Tate (1871–1962), who came to live here from 1917 until they were evicted from the property in 1945. The women were later forced to separate. The house became a public museum in 1975, though for decades the real story of the owners' lives was actively discouraged in the museum's interpretation. In recent years this policy has been reversed.²⁹ The National Register of Historic Places nomination for the Austen House was amended in March 2017 by the NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, to reflect the personal histories of Austen and Tate.

The Victorian lesbian power couple Elsie de Wolfe, often credited as America's first professional interior designer, and Elisabeth Marbury, one of the world's leading and pioneering literary agents and theatrical producers (quite unusual for a woman at the time), lived in a house at **122 East 17th Street** (fig. 3) near Union Square between 1892 and 1911. They first met in 1887, and their relationship lasted nearly 40 years. Their Sunday afternoon salons here were attended by notables connected with the worlds of the arts, society, and politics.³⁰ By coincidence, the house next door at **47 Irving Place** was, according to a 1914 biography, another place where Oscar Wilde lodged while touring America in 1882.³¹

28 NYCLGBTHSP; David M. Friedman, *Wilde in America: Oscar Wilde and the Invention of Modern Celebrity* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2014); Gale Harris and Jay Shockley, *East 17th Street/Irving Place Historic District Designation Report* (New York: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 1998).

29 NYCLGBTHSP; Alice Austen file, Lesbian Herstory Archives; Ann Novotny, *Alice's World: The Life and Photography of an American Original, Alice Austen, 1866-1952* (Old Greenwich: The Chatham Press, 1976); C. Jane Gover, *The Positive Image: Women Photographers in Turn of the Century America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988); “Her Life,” Alice Austen House website, bit.ly/2nmlUus; Lillian Faderman and Phyllis Irwin, “Alice Austen and Gertrude Tate: A Boston Marriage on Staten Island,” *Historic House Trust New York City*, 5 no. 4 (Fall 2010), p. 7.

30 NYCLGBTHSP; Christopher D. Brazee, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, “150 Years of LGBT History,” *New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission* (June 2014); Gale Harris and Jay Shockley, *East 17th Street/ Irving Place Historic District Designation Report* (New York: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 1998); Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997).

31 LPC, *East 17th Street/Irving Place Historic District Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 1998), researched and written by Gale Harris and Jay Shockley.

There were many women, either in intimate same-sex relationships or unmarried, who were among the leaders in various aspects of the Progressive Reform Movement. Other women who may have wanted to be involved in these types of activities were generally denied the opportunity due to societal expectations that they marry, have children, and maintain traditional female roles. The ones who did get involved were often very wealthy. The **Henry Street Settlement** (fig. 4) was founded by Lillian Wald and Mary Brewster in 1893. Both were trained as public health nurses (a term coined by Wald) and moved to the Lower East Side to put their knowledge to practical use. The house at 265 Henry Street was the first permanent home of the organization when it relocated here in 1895. It provided nursing, at low or no cost, to the neighborhood's poor in their homes, but they would also visit those in need in other parts of the city. Henry Street developed into a major Lower East Side institution, serving as a community center with educational and cultural offerings. Wald had relationships with other women who lived at Henry Street, as well as with several wealthy patrons.³²

Murray H. Hall (c. 1840–1901) was a Tammany politico who lived as a man for decades without his gender being questioned. Following Hall's death, however, the *New York Times* reported that Hall's "true sex" was revealed by his doctor. This attracted worldwide attention, including that of pioneering sexual psychologist Havelock Ellis. According to one source, Hall was born Mary Anderson in Scotland and around age 16 began dressing as a male, taking the name John Anderson. Anderson married young, but had a roving eye and a jealous wife who disclosed Anderson's gender to the police. Fearing arrest, Anderson fled to America in 1870 and assumed the name Murray H. Hall. In 1872, Hall married Cecilia Florence Lowe, a schoolteacher, and by 1874 Hall had established an employment agency chiefly representing domestic help. The couple moved several times but remained close to the Jefferson Market police court (now the Jefferson Market Library) since Hall was also a bail bondsman. Hall's last home and office was an upper-story apartment at **457 Sixth Avenue** (fig. 5). As a Tammany figure, Hall played poker and pool with city and state officials and political leaders and was often able to secure appointments for friends.³³

32 NYCLGBTHSP; Blanche Wiesen Cook, "Female Support Networks and Political Activism: Lillian Wald, Crystal Eastman, Emma Goldman," in Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth Hafkin Pleck, *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979); Dell Richards, *Superstars: Twelve Lesbians Who Changed the World* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1993); Elizabeth Fee, PhD, and Liping Bu, PhD, "The Origins of Public Health Nursing: The Henry Street Visiting Nurse Service," *American Journal of Public Health* (July 2010); Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997).

33 According to one source, Hall (nee Mary Anderson) was born in Scotland and about age sixteen began dressing as a man, taking the name John Anderson. Anderson married young, but had a roving eye and an angry wife who disclosed Anderson's gender to the police. Fearing arrest, Anderson fled to America in 1870 and assumed the name Murray H. Hall. "Murray Hall Fooled Many Shrewd Men," *New York Times*, Jan. 19, 1901, 3. NYCLGBTHSP; Christopher D. Brazee, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, "150 Years of LGBT History," *New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission* (June 2014); "Murray Hall Fooled Many Shrewd Men," *The New York Times*, January 19, 1901, p. 3; Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997).

Author Willa Cather, then an editor at *McClure's Magazine*, lived at **82 Washington Place** about 1908 to 1913, with her partner, Edith Lewis.³⁴

In the late 19th century in New York City, nearly half of men over the age of fifteen were unmarried. Housing options were severely limited for single men, who were seen as a threat to marriage and traditional gender roles. **The Wilbraham**, 1 West 30th Street, is a prime example of a bachelor flats building, a type of residential hotel that developed in the late 19th century exclusively for men. Historian Chauncey, in *Gay New York*, recognized these apartments as significant early private spaces for some upper middle class/professional gay men.³⁵

Housing accommodations for working-class men created by moral reformers in New York in the 19th century, intended to provide young men alternatives to supposedly licentious rooming houses, transient hotels, and such, actually provided more concentrated opportunities for men looking for the same sex: “Ironically, though, such hotels often became major centers for the gay world and served to introduce men to gay life. In an all-male living situation, in which numerous men already shared rooms, it was virtually impossible for management to detect gay couples.”³⁶ **Mills House No. 1** (1896), 156 Bleecker Street, was one desirable new living place, along the notorious strip of Bleecker Street: “its attractiveness as a residence for working-class gay men is suggested by the frequency with which its residents appeared in the magistrate’s courts” on homosexual charges.³⁷ It continued as a residence for single men, known after 1949 as the Greenwich Hotel, until the 1970s.³⁸ **The American Seamen’s Friend Society Sailors’ Home and Institute** (1907–08), 505–507 West Street, operated as a hotel with numerous amenities for seamen of the commercial merchant marine, as well as a home for indigent sailors, and was intended as an alternative to the waterfront “dives” and sailors’ boardinghouses amidst the busiest section of the Hudson River waterfront. It was called by the *New York Times* “the largest institution of its kind in the world.”³⁹

Extant Examples for Theme 2: Emergence of an LGBT Subculture in New York City (1840s to World War I. See “Appendix A: Selection of LGBT Historic Properties.” Examples that represent this theme will be noted with a “2” in the “Context Theme” column(s) of the spreadsheet.

34 Organization of Lesbian + Gay Architects and Designers (OLGAD), *A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks* (1994). Note: Some sources refer to the street as Washington Place West.

35 Chauncey, 76-86; LPC, *The Wilbraham Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2004), researched and written by Jay Shockley.

36 Chauncey, 146.

37 Ibid, 147.

38 LPC, *South Village Historic District Designation Report*.

39 LPC, *American Seamen’s Friend Society Sailors’ Home and Institute Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2000), researched and written by Jay Shockley.



THEME 3

Development of Lesbian and Gay Greenwich Village and Harlem Between the Wars (1918 to 1945)

Costume ball at Webster Hall, 1910s or 1920s. Source and photographer unknown.

Two neighborhoods in Manhattan — Greenwich Village and Harlem — emerged in the first half of the 20th century with noticeable LGBT residential populations, commercial and institutional enterprises, and visitors from around the city and the world. Due to the differing racial populations of these neighborhoods, their histories were quite different.

Greenwich Village

Greenwich Village was one of the first neighborhoods in New York City that allowed, and gradually accepted, an open gay and lesbian presence, which resulted in its emergence as an early and nationally significant LGBT enclave. New York City is fortunate in the fact that so many LGBT-associated sites are protected by historic district designations; within Greenwich Village alone there are six locally designated historic districts, four of which overlap with National Register districts, even if their LGBT histories are not officially recognized.

After a period of decline as a desirable residential neighborhood, Greenwich Village was becoming known, prior to World War I, not only for its historic and picturesque qualities and affordable housing, but also for the diversity of its population and their social and political ideas. In the 1910s, gay men and lesbians frequented the many cheap Italian restaurants, cafeterias, and tearooms that the Village became known for. After the war and increasingly in the 1920s, they appropriated their own spaces, despite some opposition from fellow Villagers. This represented the first instance in New York City of covert middle-class gay and lesbian commercial enterprises, and started the Village's reputation as its

most famous gay neighborhood. As Chauncey wrote, “the Village ... came to represent to the rest of the city what New York as a whole represented to the rest of the nation: a peculiar social territory in which the normal social constraints on behavior seemed to have been suspended and where men and women built unconventional lives outside the family nexus.”⁴⁰

In the 1910s, the block of MacDougal Street just south of Washington Square emerged as a cultural and social center of the Bohemian set, with the Liberal Club, radical feminist Heterodoxy Club, and Washington Square Bookshop. The Provincetown Playhouse, from 1916 to 1929, was a serious amateur theater, and though most famous in this period for playwright Eugene O’Neill, it was also associated with figures prominent in the gay, lesbian, and bisexual community, including Edna St. Vincent Millay, Djuna Barnes, Katharine Cornell, Tallulah Bankhead, and Eva Le Gallienne.⁴¹ **Washington Square Park** was, by the early 20th century, a popular cruising ground for gay men, and its west side became known as the “meat rack.”⁴² While West 3rd and 4th Streets had housed some of the speakeasies and tearooms run by and/or catering to New York’s burgeoning lesbian and gay community after the war, this block of MacDougal became an important LGBT nucleus, especially after a series of police crackdowns on spots elsewhere in the Village in 1924–25.

One such place on this block was “**Eve Addams’**” **Tearoom** (fig. 15), 129 MacDougal Street, a popular after-theater club run in 1925–26 by Polish–Jewish lesbian emigre Eva Kotchever (Czlotcheber), with a sign that read “Men are admitted but not welcome.” A Village columnist in 1931 reminisced that her (Eve’s) club was “one of the most delightful hang-outs the Village ever had.”⁴³ **The Black Rabbit** (unrelated to the earlier Bleecker Street establishment with the same name), 111 MacDougal Street, was another of “the Village’s gay stamping grounds,” until it was closed by the police around 1929.⁴⁴

Webster Hall (fig. 21), 119–125 East 11th Street, one of New York’s most historically and culturally significant large 19th-century assembly halls, has been the venue for countless events including conventions and political and union rallies, particularly for the working-class and immigrant populations of the Lower East Side. In the 1910s and 20s, it became famous for its Bohemian masquerade balls. It was significant as a gathering place for the city’s early 20th-century lesbian and gay community, who felt welcome to attend the balls

⁴⁰ Chauncey, 244.

⁴¹ Washington Square Bookshop was located at 135 MacDougal Street, the Liberal and Heterodoxy Clubs at No. 137, and the Provincetown Playhouse at No. 139. Of these locations, only a portion of the façade of the playhouse survives.

⁴² OLGAD.

⁴³ Chauncey, 242.

⁴⁴ Chauncey, 241.

in drag, and then sponsored their own events by the 1920s. Among the many notables who attended events here at this time were artist Charles Demuth and writer Djuna Barnes.⁴⁵

The Village attracted a large number of artistic and socially progressive residents, among them many like-minded gay men and lesbians. Edna St. Vincent Millay was the third woman to win the Pulitzer Prize for poetry (1923), and “Vincent” had a number of relationships with women before her marriage. The Village residence most associated with Millay is **75 1/2 Bedford Street** (fig. 81), where she lived from the fall of 1923 to the spring of 1925.⁴⁶

First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt had key associations with Village women beginning in the 1920s. An apartment building at **171 West 12th Street** (fig. 9) housed many influential women between 1920 and 1950, including lesbians of note: political radical Polly Porter, Democratic Party leader Mary Dewson, artist Nancy Cook and educator Marion Dickerman, who organized the Todhunter School on the Upper East Side, and the Val-Kill furniture factory in partnership with Roosevelt, on her property near Hyde Park, New York.⁴⁷ From 1933 to 1942, Roosevelt rented an apartment “haven” in the **20 East 11th Street** house of two close friends, writer Esther Lape and attorney Elizabeth Read. The couple, who lived here for over two decades, were influential suffragists, political reformers, and founders of the League of Women Voters.⁴⁸ Roosevelt maintained her own apartment at **29 Washington Square West** (fig. 13) in 1942–49.⁴⁹

Photographer Berenice Abbott (1898–1991) and her partner, Elizabeth McCausland (1899–1965), lived and worked in two flats they shared in a Village loft building at **50 Commerce Street** (fig. 11) from 1935 to 1965. An influential art critic and historian, McCausland wrote the text for Abbott’s classic photographic series *Changing New York*, published in 1939.⁵⁰

45 LPC, *Webster Hall and Annex Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 2008), researched and written by Jay Shockley; NYCLGBTHSP; Chauncey.

46 NYCLGBTHSP; Andrew S. Dolkart, *The Row House Reborn: Architecture and Neighborhoods in New York City, 1908-1929* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Christopher Gray, “For Rent: 3-Floor House, 9 1/2 Ft. Wide, \$6,000 A Month,” *The New York Times*, November 10, 1996; “Edna St. Vincent Millay,” *Poetry Foundation*, bit.ly/2eZcJIS; E-mails from Mark O’Berski, Vice President of the Edna St. Vincent Millay Society, and Holly Peppe, Edna St. Vincent Millay’s Literary Executor, to Amanda Davis; Nancy Milford, *Savage Beauty: The Life of Edna St. Vincent Millay* (New York: Random House, 2001).

47 NYCLGBTHSP; Blanche Weisen Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt*, 2 volumes (New York: Viking, 1992); Susan Ware, *Partner and I: Mary Dewson, Feminism and New Deal Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

48 OLGAD.

49 NYCLGBTHSP; “1908 Roosevelt Houses,” *Daytonian in Manhattan* blog, April 6, 2011, bit.ly/2dXJHR2; Blanche Weisen Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt*, 2 vols. (New York: Viking, 1992); Lillian Faderman, *To Believe in Women* (Boston-New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1999); “Roosevelts Rent Apartment Here,” *New York Times*, March 28, 1942; “Questions and Answers About Eleanor Roosevelt,” *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Project*, The George Washington University, n.d., bit.ly/2dQIZFW.

50 NYCLGBTHSP; “A Guide to Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks,” Organization of Lesbian + Gay Architects and Designers, 1994; Charles Hagen, “Berenice Abbott, 93, Dies; Her Photographs Captured New York in Transition,” *The New York Times*, December 11, 1991; Christopher D. Brazee, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, “150 Years of LGBT History,” New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, 2013; “Elizabeth McCausland Papers,” Archives of American Art, s.si.edu/2eiVOXs.

Djuna Barnes was a long-time resident of a modest rowhouse at **5 Patchin Place** after the publication of her lesbian novel *Nightwood* in 1936.⁵¹ St. Luke's Place with its stately houses has long been a favored address for leaders in the arts and entertainment industry. Among its famous residents were painters Paul Cadmus (1904–1999) and Jared French (1905–1988), lovers when they moved to **5 St. Luke's Place** in 1935. French married artist Margaret Hoening in 1937 and they continued to share their home with Cadmus, who was joined by a new lover, painter George Tooker (1920–2011). In 1948, their friend George Platt Lynes photographed them here. Another close friend, British author E.M. Forster, was their houseguest in 1947 and 1949, and other visitors included Tennessee Williams, Cadmus's brother-in-law Lincoln Kirstein, and Andy Warhol.⁵²

One of the most notable and enduring Village cultural institutions is the **Little Red School House** (fig. 18), often considered the city's first progressive school, founded by lesbian reform educator Elisabeth Irwin (1880–1942). As early as 1912, Irwin worked at revising public school curriculum and started her progressive "Little Red School House" curriculum in 1921. With the threat of public funding cuts, she was urged to found her own private, independent primary school. In 1932, the school moved to 196 Bleecker Street and a high school (now Elisabeth Irwin High School) at 40 Charlton Street was added in 1940. Irwin continued to direct the school until her death.⁵³ Her partner of 30 years was Katharine Anthony, a social researcher and feminist biographer. They lived nearby at **23 Bank Street** and were members of the Heterodoxy Club.⁵⁴

From the 1930s, and particularly after World War II, the area of Greenwich Village south of Washington Square continued as the location of many known bars and clubs that catered to, welcomed, or merely tolerated the LGBT community. Reflecting the not wholly hospitable climate of the post-war period, even in this neighborhood, many of these bars (largely lesbian) were located under the elevated train that ran along West 3rd Street. **Louis' Luncheon** (1930s–40s), 116 MacDougal Street, was a hangout popular with gay men and lesbians, writers, and chorus girls. **Tony Pastor's Downtown** (fig. 24; 1939–67), 130 West 3rd Street, had a mixed clientele of lesbians and tourists, some gay men, and female impersonators. Among the numerous other lesbian bars nearby were **Swing Rendezvous** (c. 1940–65), 117 MacDougal Street, also a jazz club, and **Ernie's Restaurant/ Three Ring Circus** (c. 1940–62), 76 West 3rd Street, mostly heterosexual but also attracting working-class lesbians.⁵⁵

51 OLGAD.

52 OLGAD; LPC, Pride Month slide shows, <http://www.nyc.gov/landmarks> website, 2013 and 2014.

53 NYCLGBTHSP; Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997); *South Village Historic District Designation Report* (New York: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 2013).

54 Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997), 112-113.

55 LPC, Shockley, "The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Community's Presence in the South Village."

Farther west in the Village, **Stewart's (later Life) Cafeteria** (fig. 20), 116 Seventh Avenue South, opened in 1933, quickly became a popular haunt for artistic types, including lesbians and gay men. Its plate-glass windows allowed visitors to the Village to gawk at the homosexuals inside, frequently attracting crowds.⁵⁶ In today's East Village, the Mafia-controlled **181 Club** (fig. 19; 1945–53), 181–189 Second Avenue, called “the homosexual Copacabana,” was one of the most luxurious gay and lesbian clubs in the U.S. and featured lavish shows of female impersonators.⁵⁷

Harlem⁵⁸

In the first two decades of the 20th century, Harlem emerged as Manhattan's major African American neighborhood, with some 80 percent of the borough's black population. Residents of the previous major black neighborhood in western Midtown were being forced out by the construction of Pennsylvania Station, at a time when the surplus of recently-built housing in Harlem began to be marketed to them. Job opportunities during World War I spurred a Great Migration of Southern blacks to Northern cities, including to Harlem. During the 1920s and the Harlem Renaissance, Harlem became the cultural capital of black America.

Among the new African American residents were many members of the LGBT community, and Harlem became a mecca and haven for them, rivaling Greenwich Village as a hub for gay life. Since New York was segregated, however, Harlem was the only place that African American gay men and lesbians could patronize commercial establishments, sometimes together, but usually in separate spheres. The neighborhood had many bars, nightclubs, speakeasies, and tenement rent parties attended by local residents. Harlem in certain respects was quite free-wheeling in terms of gay culture, but at the same time it was also very conservative. Class and cultural divisions in African American life, the strong presence and role of the church, and the desire by leaders to present a positive racial image to

56 NYCLGBTHSP; Darwin Porter, *Brando Unzipped* (Staten Island, NY: Blood Moon Productions, Ltd., 2006), 3-4; Federal Writers' Project, *The WPA Guide to New York City: the Federal Writers' Project Guide to 1930s New York* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982); George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Urban Culture and the Making of a Gay Male World, 1890-1940*, Diss. (New Haven: Yale University, 1989); Jane and Michael Stern, “Reporter at Large: The Cafeteria,” *The New Yorker*, August 1, 1988; “Lesbian & Gay New York Historical Landmarks Map” (New York: Organization of Lesbian and Gay Architects + Designers, 1994); *People of the State of New York v. Kurt Stade*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1936. Association of the Bar Library, City of New York; Sherwood Anderson, “Reporter at Large: Stewart's, On The Square,” *The New Yorker*, June 9, 1934; “The Life Cafeteria” *Painting the Town*, The Art of Vincent LaGambina, n.d., bit.ly/2dXhCgK.

57 The 181 Club was located in the former Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater. NYCLGBTHSP; Christopher D. Brazee, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, “150 Years of LGBT History,” New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (June 2014); Daniel Hurewitz, *Stepping Out: Nine Walks Through New York City's Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997); Jack Lait and Lee Mortimer, *U.S.A. Confidential* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1952); Jay Shockley, *Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater Designation Report* (New York: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 1993); Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in 20th-Century America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

58 See Chauncey, 244-267, and Molly McGarry and Fred Wasserman, *Becoming Visible: An Illustrated History of Lesbian and Gay Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Penguin Studio, 1998), 66-70, 75-77.

white America, all had an effect against tolerating open homosexuality in Harlem.

Adding to the complex cultural mix were the number of white LGBT visitors to the neighborhood who patronized clubs and other venues here, feeling a sense of freedom away from their own areas, something that black Harlem residents did not always have. Carl Van Vechten (1880–1964), an extremely influential white critic, novelist, photographer, and cultural arbiter, was especially noted for his advocacy of African American art and culture. He was instrumental in introducing the artists of the Harlem Renaissance to white society. According to his biographer, Edward White, “Harlem was sexually attractive to him mainly because it was a point of fusion among his homosexuality, his fascination with blackness, and his natural voyeurism.” This is especially evident in the homoerotic photographs that he took of African American men, but he was also famed for his portrait photography, including images of many lesbian and gay Harlem writers, actors, and celebrities.⁵⁹

One meeting place in Harlem for both black and white men was the **Mt. Morris Baths** (fig. 28), located in the basement of the Lohengrin apartment house at 28 East 125th Street. Originally the Mayer Baths, featuring Turkish and Russian baths, it catered to a mostly Jewish clientele and was renamed by 1915. Reflecting changes in the demographics of the neighborhood, by the 1920s African-American patrons began frequenting the baths. In 1923, Van Vechten noted in his diary that he had visited the baths, which at the time was known for its “rough trade.” Meanwhile, white arts impresario Lincoln Kirstein characterized the baths as “a rendezvous” for “notorious homosexuals, deviated perverts, and merchant semen [sic].”⁶⁰

Most of the major African American institutions relocated from elsewhere in Manhattan to Harlem. The “Colored Men’s Branch” of the YMCA, located on West 53rd Street (1901–19), was succeeded by the **West 135th Street Branch YMCA** (1918–19) at 181 West 135th Street. African-American YMCAs were the result of the YMCA’s official policy of racial segregation,

59 NYCLGBTHSP; Edward White, *The Tastemaker: Carl Van Vechten and the Birth of Modern America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014); Emile Bernard, *Carl Van Vechten and the Harlem Renaissance: A Portrait in Black and White* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); James Smalls, *The Homoerotic Photography of Carl Van Vechten: Public Face, Private Thoughts* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006); Leon Coleman, *Carl Van Vechten and the Harlem Renaissance: A Piratical Assessment* (New York: Garland, 1998).

60 NYCLGBTHSP; Alan Feuer, “Mount Morris Journal; A Gay Bathhouse in Harlem? Hey, It’s No Secret,” *The New York Times*, January 19, 2003; Aviva Stampfer, “Mt. Morris Turkish Baths (former),” *Place Matters*, July 2010, bit.ly/2dGIONH; Carl Van Vechten, Bruce Kellner, ed., *The Splendid Drunken Twenties: Selections from the Daybooks, 1922-30* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2003); Darwin Porter, *Brando Unzipped* (New York: Blood Moon Productions Ltd., 2006); Frank Jump, *Fading Ads of New York City* (New York: The History Press, 2011); George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: BasicBooks, 1994); “Heterosexual Bathhouse for Black Celebrities” and “Gay Clientele of the Mt. Morris Bathhouse,” N.D. Panache Report, bit.ly/2dGOS8T; John Loughery, *The Other Side of Silence* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1998); Martin Duberman, *The Worlds of Lincoln Kirstein* (Evanston: Northwest University Press, 2008); Michael J. Smith, *Black Men/White Men: A Gay Anthology*, (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1983), G.S. Weinerman, “Mt. Morris Baths” (poem), p. 196. Kirstein’s use of the word “semen” was clearly an erotic pun.

from the organization's beginnings in the United States in 1851 until 1946. Though excluded from white YMCAs, African Americans were encouraged to form separate branches, which became autonomous community centers. As the African-American population of Harlem rapidly increased and this facility became overcrowded, a new **135th Street Branch YMCA** (fig. 16) was constructed in 1931–32 across the street from the earlier building at 180 West 135th Street. This new branch was called at the time of its completion the largest such facility for African-American men and boys, as well as one of the best-equipped YMCA buildings, in the country. It has served as one of Harlem's most important recreational and cultural centers. With 254 dormitory rooms, this YMCA was a significant purveyor of safe and affordable accommodations, in an era when such places were difficult to find for African-American men. Over the years, both YMCA buildings had associations with many prominent figures in the Harlem and African-American communities, who lived or stayed at the YMCA, participated in its programs, served as a director, or supported it financially. These are known to have included such LGBT notables as Claude McKay, Langston Hughes (who began as a feature editor on the staff of the branch's newsletter, *The New Sign*, in 1931), Countee Cullen, and Billy Strayhorn. It was said in 1936 that "many of the best known (unmarried) men of the section live at the 'Y.' And when some out-of-towner is in the city, one can be sure of locating him there."⁶¹

Harlem developed as one of the city's most popular entertainment districts. Existing theaters began showcasing black performers, though only some of these venues welcomed black audiences. **The Apollo Theater** (fig. 10), which had operated as a burlesque house in the 1910s and 20s, was relatively late in bringing on black entertainers. Although performers such as blues singer Alberta Hunter are said to have appeared here as early as 1930, African-American performers became the rule under new ownership in 1932. Three years later, the Apollo instituted a permanent variety show format featuring leading black talent that would last until the 1970s. This was particularly important as, even through the 1950s, few major theaters across the United States featured black entertainers. Nearly every important African American entertainer played the Apollo during its heyday. Every form of popular African American entertainment – comedy, drama, dance, gospel, blues, jazz, rhythm and blues, swing, bebop, rock and roll, and soul music – was showcased here. The history of the Apollo should also be looked at through an LGBT lens, since many of the luminary performers were LGBT. These included comedian Jackie "Moms" Mabley; singers Bessie Smith, Alberta Hunter, Billie Holiday, Ethel Waters, Willie Mae "Big Mama" Thornton, Josephine Baker, Clyde McPhatter, Little Richard, Carmen McRae, Johnny Mathis, Arthur Conley, Carolyn Franklin (sister of Aretha), Billy Preston, Nona Hendryx, Teddy Pendergrass, and Luther Vandross; and gospel greats Clara Ward, Sister Rosetta Tharpe,

61 LPC, *Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) Building, 135th Street (later Harlem) Branch (now Harlem YMCA) Designation Report* (New York: City of New York, 1998), researched and written by Jay Shockley; NYCLGBTHSP; Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997); Daniel Hurewitz, *Stepping Out: Nine Walks Through New York City's Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997).

Marie Knight, Alex Bradford, Ruth Davis, Jackie Verdell, and James Cleveland. During the 1960s, a popular LGBT attraction was the Jewel Box Revue, America's first traveling troupe of gender impersonators. During an era of racial segregation, the group was particularly notable for its racially integrated cast of 25 men and one woman, master of ceremonies Stormé DeLarverie. The revue drew mixed-race audiences.⁶²

A number of prominent African-American LGBT Harlem residents were involved in the arts. During an era of racial segregation, pioneering singer and actress Ethel Waters (1896–1977) achieved stardom in theater, radio, movies, and television. Her career in New York began in 1919 when she moved to Harlem and performed at such popular venues as the Lafayette Theater (demolished) on West 132nd Street and the Lincoln Theater (façade since altered) at 58 West 135th Street. By at least 1925, Waters was living in a seven-room apartment at **580 St. Nicholas Avenue** (fig. 14) in Harlem's Sugar Hill section. The building had become one of the neighborhood's most prestigious addresses for prominent African Americans around that time.⁶³

The great jazz composer/arranger Billy Strayhorn (1915–1967) lived in a ground-floor apartment in a rowhouse at **315 Convent Avenue** (fig. 12) with his partner, jazz pianist and composer Aaron Bridgers (1918–2003), from 1939 to 1948. After Bridgers moved to Paris, Strayhorn stayed here until 1950. At the age of 23, Strayhorn got a job with the legendary Duke Ellington, and they remained highly successful collaborators for the next three decades. Strayhorn, however, lived in the older and more famous man's shadow publicly, one reason being that he was one of the rare men in the jazz world to be openly gay. As recalled by a friend of his, "the most amazing thing of all about Billy Strayhorn to me was that he had the strength to make an extraordinary decision – that is, the decision not to hide the fact that he was homosexual. And he did this in the 1940s, when nobody but nobody did that."⁶⁴ During his years in this house, Strayhorn wrote "Take the A Train," "Lush Life," and "Lotus Blossom," as well as most of the music for the musicals *Beggar's Holiday* and *Jump for Joy*. Other city residences associated with Strayhorn include **409 Edgecombe Avenue** in 1938 and **310 Riverside Drive** in 1961. Bridgers studied classical

62 NYCLGBTHSP; Anthony Heilbut, *The Fan Who Knew Too Much* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012); Christopher D. Brazee, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, "150 Years of LGBT History," New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (June 2014); Daniel Hurewitz, *Stepping Out: Nine Walks Through New York City's Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997); David Ritz, *Respect: The Life of Aretha Franklin* (New York: Back Bay Books, 2014); Gayle F. Wald, *Shout Sister Shout: the Untold Story of Rock-and-Roll Trailblazer Sister Rosetta Tharpe* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2007); Jay Shockley, *Apollo Theater Designation Report* (New York: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 1983).

63 NYCLGBTHSP; Cary D. Wintz and Paul Finkelman, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Donald Bogle, *Heat Wave: The Life and Career of Ethel Waters* (New York: HarperCollins, 2011); "Display Ad 49 – No Title," *The New York Times*, July 26, 1914, p. RD8; Emily Bernard, *Carl Van Vechten and the Harlem Renaissance: A Portrait in Black and White* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012); Ethel Waters with Charles Samuels, *His Eye on the Sparrow* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1992); New York State Census (1925) and United States Census (1930 and 1940); Stephen Bourne, *Ethel Waters: Stormy Weather* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007).

64 David Hajdu, *Lush Life: A Biography of Billy Strayhorn* (New York: North Point Press, 1996), 79.

piano, but later switched to jazz after hearing the music of famed jazz pianist Art Tatum, who would become his teacher. In 1948, he left New York for Paris, where he took on his first professional engagement as a pianist. He appeared in the movie *Paris Blues* in 1961.⁶⁵

The literary circles of the Harlem Renaissance included many writers who were gay, such as Alain Locke, Countee Cullen, Wallace Thurman, Bruce Nugent, Claude McKay, and Langston Hughes, although most kept their sexuality a secret. Several of their novels began to feature gay Harlem characters. Alexander Gumbly had a shop in the 1920s, the **Gumby Book Studio** at 2144 Fifth Avenue, where many of the great Renaissance artists and writers of the time socialized. Poet and writer Hughes (1902–1967), one of the foremost figures of the Harlem Renaissance, lived on the top floor of a rowhouse at **20 East 127th Street** (fig. 17) from 1947 to 1967, the last 20 years of his life. He also used the space as his workroom. The building was owned by Emerson and Ethel Harper, a couple he had met in the 1930s and whom he considered his adopted uncle and aunt. Hughes first came to New York to attend Columbia College in 1921–22.

He also briefly lived at the Harlem YMCA and was later a feature editor for its newsletter, *The New Sign*, beginning in 1931. His lifelong fascination with Harlem is evident in much of his writing, which often features the neighborhood and the people he encountered there. He would later be referred to as the “Poet Laureate of Harlem.”⁶⁶

One legendary annual gay New York event, and one of the largest, was the Hamilton Lodge Ball, sponsored since 1869 by a Harlem Odd Fellows lodge chapter. By the 1920s, it was often referred to as the “Faggots Ball,” since it featured many men and women in drag. It attracted thousands of white spectators, as well as the disapproving eye of the local Harlem press. Unfortunately, the lodge building where the balls were held is no longer extant.⁶⁷

Extant Examples in Theme 3: Development of Lesbian and Gay Greenwich Village and Harlem Between the Wars (1918 to 1945). See “Appendix A: Selection of LGBT Historic Properties.” Examples that represent this theme will be noted with a “3” in the “Context Theme” column(s) of the spreadsheet.

65 NYCLGBTHSP; Hajdu; Christopher D. Brazee, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, “150 Years of LGBT History,” New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (June 2014);

66 NYCLGBTHSP; Arnold Rampersad, *The Life of Langston Hughes: Volume II: 1941-1967, I Dream a World*, second edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Audre Lorde, *I Am Your Sister: Black Women Organizing Across Sexualities* (New York: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, 1986); “Langston Hughes,” *LGBTQA Resource Office*, University of Illinois–Springfield, bit.ly/2fjpOoG; LPC, *Langston Hughes House Designation Report* (New York: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 1981), prepared by Marjorie Pearson.

67 Chauncey, 257-263.



THEME 4

Policing, Harassment, and Social Control (1840s to 1974)

Participants of the Stonewall uprising in front of the bar, June 29, 1969. Photo by Fred W. McDarrah. Gift of The Estate of Fred W. McDarrah.

The history of the LGBT community in New York City in the 19th and 20th centuries was one in which there was constant harassment, oppression, discrimination, bias, and social control by the combined forces of the police, government, organized religion, censors, anti-vice organizations, criminals, families, and psychiatric professionals.

As previously indicated, historian Jonathan Ned Katz found “the earliest known American crusade against sodomites” in 1842, when New York’s sporting press attacked “sodomites” as a burgeoning sexual underground subculture in places like **City Hall Park and adjacent Broadway**, where unemployed lower-class young men could be found selling their favors. In the 1890s, as the subculture of flamboyantly effeminate “fairies” and working-class “fairy” dives became noticed by a wider public, contemporary newspapers, anti-vice societies, and moral reformers led the charge to have them closed. The Slide and the Black Rabbit, 157 and 183 Bleecker Street, were two such places, closed in 1892 and 1900. Police activity spread to other locations as well. George Chauncey found that raids by the Society for the Suppression of Vice in 1919–20 produced the arrests of numerous gay men at the popular Everard Baths at 28 West 28th Street [see below]. He also noted that as early as 1921 police were sent into Central Park to entrap and to arrest gay men, including in mass sweeps. In 1923, New York State revised its statutes to include, for the first time, “homosexual solicitation” — any solicitation for a “crime against nature or other lewdness” — as “disorderly conduct.” Courts interpreted this to even ban public assembly by homosexuals.⁶⁸

68 Ibid. 172.

During the 1920s, as the visibility of the gay and lesbian community in Greenwich Village increased, police harassment was a constant threat. Raids in 1924 and 1925 closed a number of establishments frequented by the community, forcing some to relocate. “**Eve Addams’ Tearoom**, 129 MacDougal Street, the popular club run in 1925–26 by Polish–Jewish lesbian emigre Eva Kotchever (Czlotcheber), was raided by police after allegedly receiving “many complaints about objectionable persons visiting the tea room.” Much of the testimony centered on the alleged non–gender–conforming dress and behavior of the patrons. Kotchever was convicted of obscenity (for *Lesbian Love*, a collection of her short stories) and disorderly conduct and was deported.

The **Black Rabbit**, 111 MacDougal Street, was also closed by the police around 1929. At the very popular **Stewart’s Cafeteria**, 116 Seventh Avenue South, in 1935 the manager was convicted of operating a “public nuisance” and “disorderly house” and “openly outraging public decency” by allowing objectionable behavior in the interior and large crowds to gather outside. Specifically, the district attorney’s complaint cited “certain persons of the homosexual type and certain persons of the Lesbian type, to remain therein and engage in acts of sapphism and diverse other lewd, obscene, indecent and disgusting acts” and that the cafeteria was “used as a rendezvous for perverts, degenerates, homosexuals and other evil–disposed persons.”⁶⁹

Early 20th century censors, excited about “controversial” subjects being explored in New York’s theaters, focused mainly on sexuality — in particular, homosexuality and interracial relationships. In 1927, the New York Legislature passed the Wales Padlock Law, which made illegal “depicting or dealing with, the subject of sex degeneracy, or sex perversion” and stipulated that offending theaters could be closed. (Similarly, Hollywood movies were subjected to the infamous Motion Picture Production (Hays) Code of 1930.) Although the New York law was not often enforced and was protested by the theater community, it had a huge and censorious effect on the Broadway stage. In 1945, the lesbian drama *Trio*, at the **Belasco Theater** (fig. 22), was the last Broadway show impacted by the law, which remained on the books until 1967. Lesbian and gay characters did manage to make it to Broadway, however, often in the works of lesbian and gay playwrights.⁷⁰

Laws curtailing homosexual activities were enacted or more strongly enforced beginning in the 1930s. After Prohibition the New York State Liquor Authority (SLA) in 1934 was granted the power to revoke the licenses of bar owners who “suffer or permit [their] premises to become disorderly.” Though legislators deliberately declined to define “disorderly,” the SLA considered the mere presence of gay people at a bar to be so defined. A bar could lose

69 William Copeland Dodge, New York District Attorney, *People of the State of New York against Kurt Stade*, New York Supreme Court (1936), 9.

70 NYCLGBTHSP; LPC, *Belasco Theater Designation Report* (New York: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 1987), prepared by Janet Adams; Kaier Curtin, *We Can Always Call Them Bulgarians* (Boston: Alyson Publics., 1987).

its liquor license if caught serving such “criminals.” The Mafia thus opened establishments under the ruse of being members-only “bottle clubs” that did not need a license, and a vicious cycle began of Mafia-police payoffs in Manhattan and Brooklyn.

Many popular LGBT spots were owned and controlled by the Mafia, such as the **181 Club** (1945–53), “the homosexual Copacabana” at 181–189 Second Avenue. **Tony Pastor’s Downtown** (1939–67), 130 West 3rd Street, had a mixed clientele of lesbians and tourists, some gay men, and female impersonators. Raided on morals charges in 1944 for permitting lesbians to “loiter” on the premises, Pastor’s survived apparently with mob backing. The SLA, however, finally revoked its liquor license in 1967 because, in the homophobic language of the agency, it had “become disorderly in that it permitted homosexuals, degenerates and undesirables to be on the license premises and conduct themselves in an offensive and indecent manner.”⁷¹ The **Music Box** (c. 1950–72), 121 West 3rd Street, was one of the places under surveillance by the F.B.I. In a 1955–56 investigative report of “notorious types and places of amusement” in the Village, it stated “A majority of the bars and restaurants in this area cater to lesbians and homosexuals, quite a few of whom reside in the area and are not inhibited in the pursuit of their amorous conquests. In the bars and restaurants there will also be found a segment of the tourist trade who go to the Village to observe the lesbians and queers at play and to enjoy the atmosphere of the ‘gay life.’”⁷²

After World War II, many men and women returned to, or moved for the first time to, New York City. The relaxation of social mores during this period, however, was accompanied by a political conservatism that culminated in the McCarthy era anti-Communist witch-hunts. There was a parallel “lavender scare” in which there was a ban on LGBT individuals in the military, and LGBT teachers, college and university professors, and government workers lost their jobs. The future gay rights leader Franklin Kameny was born and raised in a semi-detached house at **103–17 115th Street** (fig. 35) in Richmond Hills, Queens, where his activism was formed. After he was dismissed from his position as an astronomer in the U.S. Army Map Service in Washington, D.C., in 1957, he became one of the chief strategists of the gay rights movement.

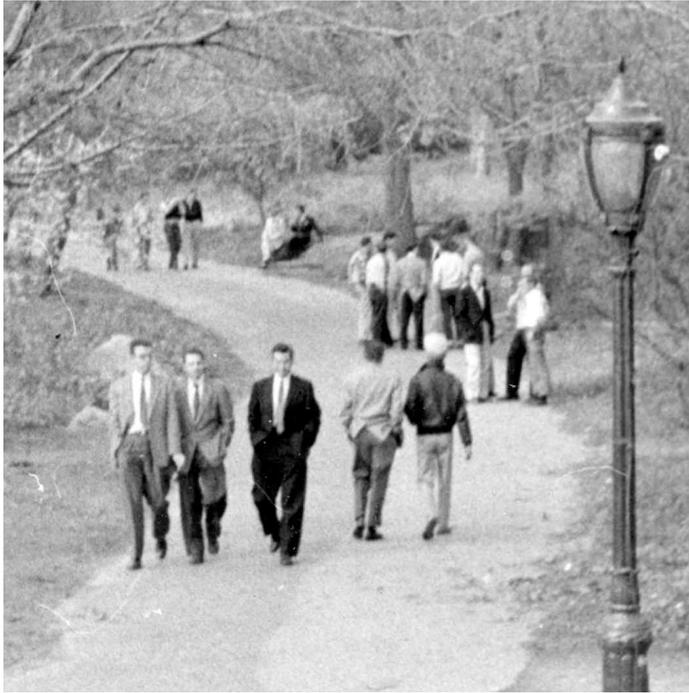
Police harassment of gay bars continued to be a top concern of the LGBT community in New York in the 1960s, second only to police entrapment of gay men, according to the Mattachine Society of New York, one of the city’s first gay rights groups. For instance, in bars where LGBT people went, they could not touch, dance together, make direct eye

71 “Liquor License is Revoked at Tony Pastor’s Night Spot,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1967, 15. NYCLGBTHSP; Daniel Hurewitz, *Stepping Out: Nine Walks Through New York City’s Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997); Jay Shockley, “The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Community’s Presence in the South Village,” *South Village Historic District Designation Report* (New York: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 2013).

72 F.B.I., “Notorious Types and Places of Amusement” (April 1956), cited in <http://www.outhistory.org> website (October 2013).

contact, or wear clothes perceived to be of the opposite gender without fearing arrest. Members of the LGBT community also suffered harassment, discrimination, and oppression from families, organized religion, psychiatric professionals, and government. The American Psychiatric Association categorized homosexuality as a mental illness until 1973, and transgender people were classified as having gender identity disorder. LGBT Americans mostly lived their lives in secrecy for fear of arrest, losing families, jobs, or homes. For women, people of color, youth, and those who were gender nonconforming, it was even more challenging. LGBT people found it difficult to find positive information pertinent to their lives due to censorship of literature and the lack of such materials available in libraries.

Extant Examples for Theme 4: Policing, Harassment, and Social Control (1840s to 1974). See “Appendix A: Selection of LGBT Historic Properties.” Examples that represent this theme will be noted with a “4” in the “Context Theme” column(s) of the spreadsheet.



THEME 5

Privacy in Public: Cruising Spots, Bathhouses, and Other Sexual Meeting Places (1840s to 2000)

Cruising in the
Ramble, 1950s.
Photographer
unknown. Courtesy
of the LGBT
Community Center
National History
Archive.

The wide variety of societal restrictions imposed on gay men, and the limited options for finding other men (compared to options commonly available to heterosexuals) led in part to men looking for sex, romance, and friendship in public places, such as streets, parks, piers, beaches, bathhouses, and public toilets. These were popular, easily accessible “democratized” spaces – available to all, without as many obvious indicators of economic or social status. Many men were attracted to the possibility of encounters with strangers, including at times with men who did not identify as gay. These spaces, however, were still subject to policing, arrest and entrapment, and possible physical danger from criminals and men hoping to inflict harm on gay men, and disease.

New York’s busy street life afforded countless opportunities for public “cruising” and for men to socialize and meet. Men often cruised in proximity to areas of gay activity/interest — for example, near the theaters on West 42nd Street; around department stores such as **Bloomingdale’s**, where many gay men worked; under the elevated train lines; or on streets where gay-oriented bars and restaurants were located. Gay men traversed to the western terminus of **Christopher Street** (fig. 27) for decades, to the piers along West Street for sexual encounters. Long established with seamen-oriented waterfront taverns, by the early 1970s this area became a nucleus for bars catering to a gay clientele, and the adjacent

streets filled with gay men.⁷³ The waterfront in Brooklyn had a similar history. Public toilets in such locations as libraries, subway stations, parks, train and bus stations, and department stores achieved a level of notoriety for sexual encounters among men. By 1921, some 38 percent of arrests for homosexuality in New York City were in subway restrooms.⁷⁴

Parks in New York served as an extension of that street life, though with the added benefits of more seclusion and contact with nature. **City Hall Park** and adjacent Broadway was a known area for men looking for sex with other men by 1842. By the early 20th century, **Washington Square Park** in Greenwich Village was known as a popular cruising ground for gay men, and its west side was called the “meat rack.” Chauncey, in *Gay New York*, identified **Central Park** (fig. 25) as a major gay men’s social center and cruising ground. He found that at the turn of the 20th century men met next to Belvedere Castle; by the 1910s benches near Columbus Circle had become a prominent pickup site, and in the 1920s the lawn at the north end of the Ramble was so popular that it was nicknamed “the Fruited Plain.”⁷⁵ In the 1920s and 30s, areas heavily trafficked by gay men were south of 72nd Street, near Columbus Circle, Bethesda Fountain, and the walkway from the southeastern corner of the park to the Mall, known as “Vaseline Alley” or “Bitches’ Walk.”⁷⁶ The Ramble remained a highly popular, secluded spot for outdoor sex for decades, despite the numerous arrests and gay-bashings there.⁷⁷ Sections of **Riverside Park** on the Upper West Side, **Bryant Park**, **Battery Park**, and **Prospect Park** in Brooklyn were other places gay men went. In the late 20th century, a second meeting place also acquired the nickname “Vaseline Alley.” This one was on **37th Road** in Jackson Heights, Queens, near a strip of gay bars.

Historically, New York City beaches have also been popular public social gathering places for the LGBT community, especially in the era before air-conditioning was widely available. LGBT people claimed and appropriated certain sections as their own. Located on a mile-long section of Rockaway Peninsula in Queens, Jacob Riis Park was redesigned in the 1930s under the direction of New York City Parks Commissioner Robert Moses.

73 NYCLGBTHSP; Carl Swanson, “Manhattan’s West Side Piers, Back When They Were Naked and Gay” *New York Magazine* (November 18, 2015), nym.ag/2faEVSy; George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: BasicBooks, 1994); Jay Shockley, *Weehawken Street Historic District Designation Report* (New York: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 2006); Jonathan Weinberg, “City-Condoned Anarchy” *Leslie Lohman Museum of Gay and Lesbian Art Exhibition Essay* (April-May 2012), bit.ly/2f1rwMt; Jonathan Weinberg, “Cruising the Waterfront” *Art in America* (May 1, 2015), bit.ly/1LC8VhI; Petronius (pseud.), *New York Unexpurgated* (New York: Matrix House, 1966); Queer Pier, Forty Years A Project of FIERCE, bit.ly/2fUPdb0; Wayne Hoffman, “The Great Gay Way,” *Village Voice*, June 14, 2004; Will Kohler, “Homo History – Sex: Christopher Street, the Trucks, and the West Side Highway Piers A Sexual Wonderland,” *Back2Stonewall* (July 1, 2016), bit.ly/2fMtmmI.

74 McGarry and Wasserman, 183.

75 Chauncey, 182-183.

76 Terms such as “the Fruited Plain,” “the meat rack,” or “Vaseline Alley” all refer to places where gay men might seek sex. The terms are innuendos that would be familiar to the gay community.

77 NYCLGBTHSP; Chauncey; Daniel Hurewitz, *Stepping Out: Nine Walks Through New York City’s Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997); Doug Ireland, “Rendezvous in the Ramble,” *New York Magazine*, July 24, 1978.

When the park reopened in 1937, Moses hoped that it would be a more democratic version of Jones Beach due to its easy accessibility by public transportation and cars. By the 1940s the easternmost end of **Riis Park Beach** (fig. 30) had become a documented well-known destination for mostly white gay men to sunbath and cruise. Lesbians also claimed a nearby area of the beach by the 1950s. By the 1960s, this area became increasingly popular with a diverse LGBT presence, including African-American and Latino/a men and women. During the 1960s this area of the beach became clothing optional and was affectionately referred to as “Screech Beach” due to the gay presence.⁷⁸ **Orchard Beach** (fig. 29), the only public beach in the Bronx and sometimes called “the Bronx Riviera,” has long served as a popular recreational, meeting, and cruising place for the LGBT community, particularly for people of color.⁷⁹

Bathhouses were places where gay men felt safe to have sex and make social connections in an all-male environment, for the most part outside the presence of the police. One of the most legendary of New York’s bathhouses, the **Everard Baths** (fig. 26), was a refuge for gay men probably since its opening in 1888, but, as documented by Chauncey, from at least World War I until its closing in 1986. This commercial “Russian and Turkish” bathhouse had a prime location in the heart of the neighborhood known as the Tenderloin, with its many theaters and other entertainment venues, hotels and bachelor flats, restaurants, brothels, and sex resorts.⁸⁰ In its earliest years it had a wealthy and middle-class clientele and an international renown. By the 1920s, the Everard was still considered one of the major Turkish bathhouses in Manhattan. George Chauncey found that anti-vice raids here in 1919–20 produced the arrests of numerous gay men. By World War II the clientele was virtually exclusively gay, with a number of celebrated patrons. A tragic fire struck in 1977, when nine men died and the upper two floors were destroyed. The bathhouse was rebuilt and reopened, but the Everard closed for good in 1986 as an anti-AIDS measure.⁸¹ Between the 1920s and 2003, when it was also closed by New York City officials, the **Mt. Morris Baths** was an important social center for gay African American men and one of the longest operating bathhouses in the city. Until the 1960s, it was the only gay bathhouse in the city to admit African American men due to overt discrimination.

In the early 20th century, cafeterias, such as **Stewart’s** and **Horn & Hardart** automats, were inexpensive and relatively unregulated places to meet and linger, particularly for

78 NYCLGBTHSP; Chauncey; Hugh Hagius, ed., *Swarant Nerf’s Gay Guides for 1949* (New York: Bibliogay Publications, 2010); Kelly Hankin, *The Girls in the Back Room* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Perry Brass, “Lost Gay New York: Riis Beach a.k.a., Screech Beach,” *Queer New York* June 25, 2010, bit.ly/2ex9H5z; Petronius (pseud.), *New York Unexpurgated* (New York: Matrix House, Ltd., 1966).

79 NYCLGBTHSP; Chauncey.

80 Within Manhattan in the late 19th century, the section considered to be the most crime-ridden was the area of western midtown that came to be called “the Tenderloin,” roughly bounded by 23rd and 42nd Streets and Fifth and Seventh Avenues (by the turn of the century, it extended northward and westward).

81 NYCLGBTHSP; Chauncey; Hurewitz; *Gaedicker’s Sodom-on-Hudson* (Spring 1949); Steven Welch, “Fire in the Everard Baths,” *StevenWarRan* blog, July 15, 2014, bit.ly/2fQCnXw.

poorer LGBT people. Some other types of commercial establishments – theaters, clubs, bars, and adult bookstores — attracted gay men looking for sexual encounters. North of Christopher Street, in the meatpacking district of Greenwich Village, a specific type of LGBT nightlife – very late and usually sexual — emerged. *The New York Times* in 2001 commented that “the meatpackers have long coexisted with people attracted by the area’s relative remoteness, narrow streets and gritty atmosphere. Partly because there were few legal residences in the district, a raucous night life began flourishing in the 1970s, catering at first to gay men, then expanding its audience.”⁸²

Extant Examples for Privacy in Public: Cruising Spots, Bathhouses, and Other Sexual Meeting Places (1840s to 2000). See “Appendix A: Selection of LGBT Historic Properties.” Examples that represent this theme will be noted with a “5” in the “Context Theme” column(s) of the spreadsheet.

82 “After Blood and Guts, Seeking Landmarks Glory,” *New York Times*, June 4, 2001.



THEME 6

The Early Fight for LGBT Equality (1930s to 1974)

Marsha P. Johnson and Sylvia Rivera, co-founders of the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR), in the 1973 Pride March. Photo by Leonard Fink. Courtesy of the LGBT Community Center National History Archive.

The struggle to stem the forces of oppression, and to begin the long fight to achieve some measure of human and civil rights for the LGBT community in New York City, began in earnest with the creation of several “homophile” organizations in the mid- to late-1950s. Several pioneers of gay and transgender rights, however, had earlier associations with New York. The many issues addressed in these years included the policies of the State Liquor Authority, police entrapment of gay men, and the desire for freedom from arrest or persecution, freedom of LGBT people to peaceably assemble, LGBT-safe spaces free from the Mafia and the bar scene, job security, the right for LGBT youths and students to meet, and the right to obtain LGBT-positive literature. The 1969 Stonewall Uprising in Greenwich Village was a key turning point in the history of the LGBT civil rights movement in the U.S. The uprising dramatically changed the nearly two-decade-old movement by inspiring LGBT people throughout the country to assertively organize on a broader scale. In the immediate aftermath of Stonewall in the early 1970s, numerous rights organizations were formed in New York, including several of national significance. The majority of important sites associated with this period are extant.

The Society for Human Rights, founded in 1924 in Chicago by the Bavarian-born Henry Gerber (1892–1972), was the first American homosexual rights organization. Gerber had been an American soldier occupying Germany following World War I and had come in contact with the rights movement there. Within a year of its creation, the society disbanded due to Gerber’s arrest, and, although he was acquitted, he lost his post office job. Gerber re-enlisted and spent much of the 1930s on **Governors Island** (fig. 38) in

New York, where he wrote essays on homosexuality and published several newsletters. He continued the fight for gay rights for the rest of his life.⁸³

Another pioneer was trans woman and Bronx native Christine Jorgensen, who lived in a house at **2847 Dudley Avenue** (fig. 32), in the Throgs Neck neighborhood, with her family from her birth in 1926 until the early 1950s. Jorgensen, who was born George William Jorgensen Jr., noted in her autobiography that she knew by age four or five that she did not identify as male. In April 1950, several years after serving in World War II, Jorgensen left for Denmark to begin the process of gender reassignment. Treatments started in August of that year and the first of three operations took place in September 1951. Her story was made public when the *New York Daily News* published a front-page article entitled “Ex-GI Becomes Blonde Beauty” in December 1952, and further press made her a household name across the United States and one of the most famous people in the world. When she finally returned to New York in March 1953, an unprecedented 300 reporters met her at Idlewild (now John F. Kennedy) Airport. Reporters hounded her parents at their house for information, which forced them to stay with nearby relatives.⁸⁴

The Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis (DOB) — both founded in California, in 1950 in Los Angeles and 1955 in San Francisco, respectively — became the earliest and leading homophile groups in New York as well. The term “homophile” was then in common use for gay and lesbian organizations. In the conservative post-World War II era they were considered quite radical for campaigning for the rights of gay men and lesbians to simply exist openly in society without fear of arrest or persecution. The Mattachine Society of New York was formed in December 1955 by Tony Segura and Sam Morford, and the Daughters of Bilitis, New York Chapter, was founded in 1958 by Barbara Gittings and Marion Glass. Among the important issues they raised were the roles of government, religion, and psychiatry as major agents of oppression, and DOB chapter president Gittings called on libraries to be positive forces for change by offering appropriate books for young people grappling with their sexuality. The Mattachine Society’s offices were located in **1133 Broadway** (fig. 43) from at least April 1959 to July 1968. Soon after its founding, DOB New York shared Mattachine’s space until September 1961. Under the innovative leadership of president Dick Leitsch (who was in that role from 1964 to 1972), Mattachine challenged the State Liquor Authority’s ban on serving gay people at what became known as the Sip-In at **Julius’ Bar** in April 1966 [see below] and worked to stop police entrapment of

83 NYCLGBTHSP; Christopher D. Brazee, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, “150 Years of LGBT History,” New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (June 2014); Daniel Hurewitz, *Stepping Out: Nine Walks Through New York City’s Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997); St. Sukie de la Croix, “Henry Gerber: Ahead of His Time,” *The Gay History Project*, bit.ly/2g2SNj6; “Henry Gerber,” *National Park Service*, bit.ly/2fX3zlw.

84 NYCLGBTHSP; Ben White, “Ex-GI Becomes Blonde Beauty,” *New York Daily News*, December 1, 1952; Christine Jorgensen, *Christine Jorgensen: A Personal Autobiography*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Cleis Press, c. 2000); *Christine Jorgensen*, bit.ly/2t4gliaY; Susan Stryker, introduction to *Christine Jorgensen: A Personal Autobiography*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Cleis Press, c. 2000).

gay men. Mattachine worked behind the scenes with political officials, such as Mayor John V. Lindsay and Commission on Human Rights chairman William H. Booth, to reduce oppressive policies against the community. These actions helped to improve the lives of LGBT New Yorkers and paved the way for future political work. By at least 1965, East Coast Homophile Organizations (ECHO) shared Mattachine's offices. This was due to the fact that its conference in September of that year was in New York, at the **Barbizon Plaza Hotel**, and that Leitsch was the conference coordinator. Founded in 1963, ECHO was the first regional American federation of gay rights groups. ECHO sponsored the famous July 4th Annual Reminders at Independence Hall in Philadelphia from 1965 to 1969, which were significant and early demonstrations that LGBT people were American citizens and deserved equal rights.⁸⁵

Initially part of the Mattachine Society of New York, which sponsored neighborhood discussion groups, the West Side Discussion Group (WSDG) became a separate organization in 1956. It dropped its affiliation with Mattachine in 1965 after more militant leaders such as Leitsch took over Mattachine. WSDG thus became an older and more conservative group within the homophile movement. Mattachine activist Randy Wicker in 2002 reminisced that "our largest committee, 'the West Side Discussion Group,' was really mainly a social club. They held socials once a week (Wednesday nights) where people could meet and mingle in a setting quite different from a gay bar. Ironically, WSDG survived for years and years after the Mattachine Society had disappeared. ... People loved to have somewhere to go to have a lively discussion, socialize and mingle in the middle of the week." In its early years, WSDG met in members' apartments, but as membership grew they sought out their own space. WSDG's longest home, from 1972 to 1978, was the **West Side Discussion Group Center** (fig. 51) at 37 Ninth Avenue in the Meatpacking District.⁸⁶

Queens native Franklin ("Frank") E. Kameny (1925–2011) is considered one of the country's most significant gay rights pioneers whose activism transformed the LGBT rights movement. With the exception of his time in the army in 1943–46, Kameny lived in his family home at **103–17 115th Street** (fig. 35) in Richmond Hill, Queens, from the year he was born

85 NYCLGBTHSP; "1969 The Year of Gay Liberation: The Mattachine Society of New York and Daughters of Bilitis," The New York Public Library, on.nypl.org/2gteZx; Hurewitz; Marcia M. Gallo, *Different Daughters: A History of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Rise of the Lesbian Rights Movement* (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2007); New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, research files.

86 Other meeting locations included Freedom House (c. 1960-66), 20 West 40th Street (demolished); the Corduroy Club (1967-69), which WSDG established; the Church of the Holy Apostles (1969-71); 348 West 14th Street (c. 1971-72); 26 Ninth Avenue (1978-80); Greenwich House (1980-82), 27 Barrow Street; and what is now known as the LGBT Community Center (c. 1985), 208 West 13th Street. NYCLGBTHSP; Hurewitz; David Carter, *Stonewall: the Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004); John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: the Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, research files; The West Sider (1968-87); "Randolfe Wicker: From Pot to the Days of Wine and Cloning," interview by Raj Ayyar, *Gay Today*, bit.ly/2gyf6up.

until 1948, when he left to attend Harvard University. His early life in this home is where his interests and beliefs related to his academic career and activism were formed. It was here, before the age of seven, that he became interested in science and astronomy. It was also here, during a dinner conversation at age 15, where he first formulated and articulated the position that eventually became his modus operandi related to activism. He attended Richmond Hill High School and Queens College. After his father died in 1958, Kameny's mother continued to live at this address and he would frequently stay here when visiting New York until she sold the house in 1979. In 1957, Kameny, who worked in Washington, D.C., as an astronomer for the Army Map Service, was fired by the federal government for being gay, based on an arrest involving another man years earlier in San Francisco. He fought the dismissal by suing the government in federal court, eventually taking the case to the U.S. Supreme Court. He became the first to do so on the grounds of sexual orientation. The lower court's ruling was upheld, ending his career as a civil servant and an astronomer. As a result, he became an LGBT activist for the rest of his life. Kameny's contributions to LGBT equality include co-founding the Mattachine Society of Washington, D.C., in 1961 and founding ECHO in 1963; co-organizing the Annual Reminders in 1965 with Craig Rodwell; and working with Barbara Gittings to successfully have the American Psychiatric Association's classification of homosexuality as a mental illness overturned in 1973. In 1970, Kameny was in New York to march in the first Pride March with the Mattachine Society of Washington. Kameny is also acknowledged for influencing the federal government's decision to lift its ban on the employment of gay and lesbian employees in 1975, a challenge he pursued for almost two decades. Two years later he became the first openly gay person to run for Congress. He also took credit for coining the term "Gay is Good," although others used it during the 1960s.⁸⁷

In 1966, Columbia University became the first collegiate institution in the United States, and possibly the first in the world, with an LGBT student group. In the fall of that year, sophomore Robert Martin (using the pseudonym Stephen Donaldson) founded the Student Homophile League. The small group had the support of the university chaplain and, thus, gained meeting space in **Earl Hall** (fig. 48). The university granted the group a charter in April 1967 with the stipulation that it not organize social events. A subsequent front-page article in the *New York Times* resulted in outrage from hundreds of alumni; one wrote "Tolerance has its limits. Let the pansies go elsewhere." By 1970, Columbia's gay student group had become the more activist Gay People at Columbia-Barnard, which sought to "present as complete a view as possible of the contemporary gay experience:

87 NYCLGBTHSP, David Carter interview and e-mail message to Ken Lustbader, October 22, 2016; David Dunlap, "Franklin Kameny, Gay Rights Pioneer, Dies at 86," *New York Times*, October 12, 2011; Eric Marcus, *Making History: The Struggle for Gay and Lesbian Equal Rights, 1945-1990* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992); "Frank Kameny," *LGBT History Month*, bit.ly/2eHfwxH; Lou Chibaro, Jr., "The Scientific Activist," *Washington Blade*, July 12, 2002; Mark Meinke, "Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, D.C.: Washington, D.C., Historic Preservation Office, September 12, 2011), bit.ly/2dGdDmE.

socially, educationally and politically.” The group provided social services and held “rap sessions” in the dormitories to discuss gay issues. Its most popular activity was monthly Friday–night dances, beginning in 1970, held in the dome of Earl Hall, which welcomed the entire college–age gay community of New York. This popular event continued until at least the early 1980s here. The group still exists as the Columbia Queer Alliance (CQA) and hosts “First Friday” dance events in Alfred Lerner Hall. In 1971, gay students, led by Morty Manford (later the head of the Gay Activists Alliance, and son of PFLAG founder Jeanne Manford [see below]), requested space for a gay lounge. Although denied permission by the university, the group took over an unused space in the basement of the Furnald Hall dormitory. The lounge eventually was recognized by the university and the space is still in use, now known as the Stephen Donaldson Queer Lounge.⁸⁸ Earl Hall was listed on the National Register as part of the NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project in March 2018.

The **Corduroy Club** (fig. 34), 240 West 38th Street, was a private social club started in 1966, and it was this building, from 1967 through 1971, that offered the largely older lesbian and gay community an alternative to the bar scene, holding such events as dances, card parties, plays, movies, and dinners. By 1968 it had a membership of over one thousand. The club was founded by members of the WSDG. The Corduroy Club also hosted a number of other early LGBT organizations, including the DOB, Mattachine Society, and the Student Homophile League. *Gay Scene Guide* in 1969 listed it as “a bottle club — bring your own drinks for set-ups. Nice cleanly–run establishment... It’s a quiet and reserved club, crowded weekends.” Activist Craig Rodwell described it in his periodical *Hymnal* as “probably the only legitimate private club in New York City.” In 1970 the Mattachine Society’s *Guidebook* called it the “oldest and finest legitimately private gay club in the city,” noting that an existing member must sponsor another’s membership. The Corduroy Club was a significant effort by the pre–Stonewall LGBT community in New York to have a social space that was outside of the control of the Mafia, New York State Liquor Authority regulations, and police arrests and entrapment. Online writer Max Verga reminisced that “I first became involved with the West Side Discussion Group, many of whose members were also associated with the Mattachine Society and Corduroy Club... The West Side Discussion Group met at the time in the headquarters of the Corduroy Club.” He continued, “Its weekly discussions covered a wide range of issues, including ways to meet people, the question of monogamy, and even gay humor. Today it’s hard to imagine the importance of providing such a forum, but in those days repression and secrecy were the rule.” In April 1969, the meeting of the Eastern Regional Conference of Homophile Organizations (ERCHO) was held at the

88 NYCLGBTHSP; Ann Kansfield, “Early Rumblings: A Two Part History of the Student Homophile League and Gay People at Columbia” [paper in fulfillment of Women’s Studies major, 1998; Columbia University Archive, Box 224, file 10]; Bill Retherford, “Under the Rainbow,” *Columbia Magazine* (Summer 2016), 32-38; Columbia University Archives, “Earl Hall,” box 211, folder 3; “Gay Students at Columbia,” box 224, folders 10-11.

Corduroy Club and at NYU's Loeb Student Center. Former DOB New York president Ruth Simpson recalled that local precinct cops began harassing DOB and the club about the Certificate of Occupancy for 240 West 38th Street in the fall of 1970.⁸⁹

Judson Memorial Church (fig. 39) at 55 Washington Square South was one site in the 1960s–70s for lesbian and gay political gatherings. In 1966, a Greenwich Village protest arose against the Lindsay administration's "Operation New Broom," which attempted to "clean up" the Washington Square area by raiding gay bars, restaurants, and bookstores, and by entrapping gay men. Chief Inspector of Police Sanford Garelick attended a community meeting at Judson on March 31, 1966, which was attended by a number of members of the Mattachine Society. Randy Wicker and Craig Rodwell confronted Garelick, who denied that the police had a policy of entrapment. However, an incident that same night at Julius' Bar and additional negative publicity later forced the mayor to issue an order ending entrapment.⁹⁰

Julius' Bar (fig. 40; known by that name by around 1930), 159 West 10th Street, had continuously operated as a bar here since the mid-19th century. Though still a mixed bar, it started to attract a gay clientele by the 1960s, despite the bar's management policy of not encouraging the presence of gay men. On April 21, 1966, an event later known as the "Sip-In" was organized by members of the Mattachine Society. Inspired by civil rights sit-ins in the South, they set out to challenge the State Liquor Authority's discriminatory policy of revoking the licenses of bars that served known or suspected gay men and lesbians. The publicized and photographed event — at which they were refused service after intentionally revealing they were "homosexuals" — was one of the earliest pre-Stonewall public actions for LGBT rights, as well as a big step forward in the eventual development of legitimate LGBT bars in New York City, crucial to creating a sense of community and cultivating political action in an era of discrimination. The publicity attracted favorable public support and the attention of the New York City Commission on Human Rights and caused the SLA to publicly disavow its policy. Julius' Bar, which remains in operation, was listed on the National Register of Historic Places as part of the NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project in April 2016, in time for the 50th anniversary of the Sip-In.

Gay rights activist Craig Rodwell, an active member of the Mattachine Society, established America's first gay and lesbian bookstore in 1967 in a storefront at 291 Mercer Street in an apartment building on the corner of Waverly Place. He named it the **Oscar**

89 NYCLGBTHSP; Hurewitz; Foster Gunnison, Jr. Papers, New York Public Library; Mattachine Society, *Guidebook* (1968-70); Max Verga, "Bear in Mind: A Personal Matter of Pride," *Bent* (July 2001), bit.ly/2ge4cNa; New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, research files; William Beardemphl, "Parries and Thrusts," *Vector* (April and August 1968).

90 NYCLGBTHSP; Hurewitz; Carter; Chuck Stewart, *Proud Heritage: People, Issues and Documents of the LGBT Experience* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2015).

Wilde Memorial Bookshop (fig. 45), after the most prominent gay person he could think of. Opened on Thanksgiving Day, November 24, 1967, it stocked books and periodicals that dealt with LGBT issues in a positive manner, modeled after the Christian Science reading rooms he had grown up with. Rodwell had been a participant in the Julius' Sip-In in 1966, and he was later an organizer in 1970 of the city's first Pride March [see below]. Planning meetings for the march took place in the Mercer Street store as well as in his apartment at **350 Bleecker Street**. In 1973, Rodwell moved the bookshop, which also operated as a vital community center, to **15 Christopher Street**. He sold it in 1993, just before his death, and the store remained in business until 2009.⁹¹

The **Stonewall Inn** (fig. 47) is considered one of the most significant sites associated with LGBT history in New York City and the entire country; it was the scene of events that inspired a more activist phase of the modern struggle for the civil rights of LGBT Americans. In a pattern of harassment of gay establishments, the New York City police raided the Mafia-run Stonewall in the early hours of Saturday, June 28, 1969. The bar, technically a sign-in club, was particularly popular with a younger crowd and was one of the few bars that allowed dancing. The reaction of the bar's patrons, street youth, and neighborhood residents that assembled in the street was not typical of these kinds of raids. Instead of dispersing, the crowd became increasingly angry and began chanting and throwing objects as the police arrested the bar's employees and patrons. Reinforcements were called in by the police, for a time barricaded inside the bar, and for several hours they tried to clear the streets while the crowd fought back. The initial raid and the rebellion that ensued led to demonstrations and conflicts with law enforcement over the course of six days (to July 3) outside the bar, in nearby Christopher Park, and along neighboring streets. At its peak, the crowds included several thousand people. The events of Stonewall, as the uprising is most commonly referred to, marked a major change in the struggle for "homophile rights" in the U.S. Although this struggle did not actually begin at Stonewall, as a number of groups in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other cities had already been organizing and demonstrating for their equal rights in the 1950s and 1960s, Stonewall is regarded by many as the single most important event that inspired the development of a more activist LGBT civil rights movement. The uprising galvanized LGBT people throughout the country to vocally and assertively demand their civil rights and to organize, so that within two years of Stonewall, LGBT rights groups had been started in nearly every major city in the U.S. The Stonewall Inn has been officially recognized by local, state, and federal governments as the first listing of a site for its

91 NYCLGBTHSP; Craig Rodwell Papers, New York Public Library, Manuscripts Division; Fred Sargeant, e-mails to NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, November-December 2017; *Gay is Good*, *Queen's Quarterly*, Summer 1969, 38-39, 51; Jim Downs, *Stand By Me: The Forgotten History of Gay Liberation* (New York: BasicBooks, 2016); Larry Gross, *Up From Invisibility: Lesbians, Gay Men, and the Media in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Tony Guild, "Unique Homophile Bookshop!," *National Insider*, May 5, 1968, 9.

significance to LGBT history: National Register of Historic Places, 1999; National Historic Landmark, 2000; New York City Landmark, 2015; and National Monument and New York State Historic Site, 2016.⁹²

In the immediate aftermath of Stonewall, the first LGBT activist organization was the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), founded in July 1969 at **Alternate U.** (fig. 37), a free counterculture school and leftist political organizing center in Greenwich Village. Founded around 1966 by Tom Wodetski, Alternate U. had several classrooms in a former dance studio on the second floor of 69 West 14th Street/530 Sixth Avenue. While GLF used Alternate U. for many of its activities through December 1970, its general meetings were held at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Chelsea. GLF's February 1970 newsletter stated the New Leftist nature of the group: "The Gay Liberation Front is a militant coalition of radical and revolutionary homosexual men and women committed to fight the oppression of the homosexual as a minority group and to demand the right to the self-determination of our own bodies." *Gay Flames*, a GLF publication, observed that "Gay Liberation is trying to build an alternative to the bars/baths/cruising scene which has become a way of life for so many homosexuals, particularly homosexual males. Gay night at Alternate U. is part of that effort." Friday night classes listed in the publication included medical, legal, demonstration, gay squatters, racism, gay history and literature, sexism, exploration of roles and identity, and Marxism and political workshop. Protests were organized here against politicians and *The Village Voice* (which refused to print the word "gay" in ads), and meetings were held here in the aftermath of the Snake Pit raid.

In March 1970, less than a year after Stonewall, the police raided the after-hours bar the **Snake Pit** (fig. 49) at 213–215 West 10th Street. Fearing another street confrontation, they detained over 160 people at the local police station at **135 Charles Street**, west of the bar. Immigrant Diego Vinales, apparently fearing deportation, attempted to escape by jumping out of a window but was impaled on an iron fence below. Appalled at his possible death (he actually survived), the still-young Gay Activists Alliance and Gay Liberation Front quickly assembled a protest march from Christopher Park to the police station, as well as a candlelight vigil at St. Vincent's Hospital where he had been taken. Flyers read "Any way you look at it - that boy was PUSHED. We are ALL being pushed." This protest, which received media coverage, demonstrated the strength of the recently formed gay rights organizations and inspired many more people to become politically active.⁹³

92 NYCLGBTHSP; David Carter, Andrew Scott Dolkart, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, "Stonewall," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (New York, January 1999); David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004); Martin Duberman, *Stonewall* (New York: Dutton, 1993); Christopher D. Brazee, Corrine Engelbert, and Gale Harris, *Stonewall Inn Designation Report* (New York: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 2015); Franklin Kameny, "Stonewall: Myth, Magic and Mobilization," *Public Radio International*, 1994; Fred W. McDarrah and Timothy S. McDarrah, *Gay Pride: Photographs from Stonewall to Today* (New York: A Capella Books, 1994); Lillian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Penguin, 1991).

93 NYCLGBTHSP; Hurewitz; Carter; Aelarsen, "Stonewall: There's Got to Be a Morning After," *An Historian Goes to the Movies* blog (October 2015), bit.ly/2gtBR1i.

One of the most popular GLF activities at Alternate U. was the weekly dances, which provided a rare opportunity for LGBT people to openly dance together. Some of these were sponsored by GLF women and by Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR), formed by Marsha P. Johnson and Sylvia Rivera in the fall of 1970. Gay Youth, founded in 1970 by Mark Segal for members under the age of 21, met here and also had dances.⁹⁴ Though of brief duration (December 1970–1971), the utopian **Gay Community Center** (fig. 24), started by GLF and STAR, was located at 130 West 3rd Street (formerly Tony Pastor’s Downtown). It served as an LGBT social center, with such activities as classes and discussion groups. GLF held Sunday meetings and dances here, which were formerly at the Church of the Holy Apostles and Alternate U. This was also the headquarters of Radicalesbians, spun off from the male-dominated GLF in 1970, and the meeting place of Gay Youth. A theft of funds forced the center to close in 1971.⁹⁵

The Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) was formed in December 1969 when a number of members, led by James (Jim) W. Owles, Martin Robinson, and Arthur Evans, broke away from the more radical Gay Liberation Front. The exclusive purpose of GAA, the leading and largest American gay liberation political activist organization of the early 1970s, was to advance LGBT civil and social rights. It lobbied for the passage of local civil rights laws, banning police entrapment and harassment, the creation of fair employment and housing legislation, and the repeal of sodomy and solicitation laws. Perhaps GAA’s most famous tactic was the “zap,” a direct, public confrontation with a political figure regarding LGBT rights, designed to gain media attention. GAA was the first group to adopt the lambda as a gay symbol in 1970. Many of the group’s activities were planned at a former firehouse at **99 Wooster Street** (fig. 36) in SoHo that served as its headquarters from May 1971 to 1974. The firehouse was New York’s most important LGBT political and cultural community center during these years. It hosted numerous social events, particularly weekly Saturday night dances (crowds were said to be as large as 1,500 people), which provided income for the group’s activities, and “Firehouse Flicks,” a Friday night movie series selected by activist and film buff Vito Russo. The building was also used by Lesbian Feminist Liberation, Gay Youth, the Gay Men’s Health Project, and the Catholic group Dignity. The Black Lesbian Caucus, one of GAA’s subcommittees, later became the Salsa Soul Sisters. The firehouse was also the site of Jonathan Ned Katz’s seminal play *Coming Out: A Documentary Play About Gay Life & Liberation in the U.S.A.* in June 1972. An October 1974 arson destroyed the interior of the firehouse and GAA was evicted. Of the fire, GAA president Morty Manford stated that it was “part of a wave of harassment against gays.” GAA disbanded in 1981.⁹⁶

94 NYCLGBTHSP; Hurewitz; Carter; Federal Bureau of Investigation, GLF files.

95 NYCLGBTHSP; Shockley, “The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Community’s Presence in the South Village”; Stephan Cohen, *The Gay Liberation Youth Movement in New York: “An Army of Lovers Cannot Fail”* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

96 NYCLGBTHSP; Hurewitz; Christopher D. Brazee, Gale Harris, and Jay Shockley, “150 Years of LGBT History,” New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (June 2014); Laurie Johnston, “Arson Destroys Gay Activist Site,” *New York Times*, October 16, 1974, 19.

The **Church of the Holy Apostles** (fig. 33) at 296 Ninth Avenue in Chelsea served as one of the most important meeting places in New York City for organizations of the early post-Stonewall gay rights movement, particularly from 1969 to 1974. Its Episcopalian rector, Father Robert Weeks, was instrumental in allowing this to happen, in part because his church was financially strapped and needed the rental income that groups could provide. In the fall of 1967, Weeks had coordinated a gathering of regional Episcopal priests which put forth one of the first religious declarations that homosexuality was morally neutral. He also presided over a number of early gay marriages (“services of friendship”) and participated in the protest led by the GLF and GAA after the police raid on the Snake Pit in March 1970, also praying for the injured Diego Vinales at St. Vincent’s Hospital [see below]. One of the earliest LGBT events at Holy Apostles (in the parish hall) was the First New York City All-College Gay Mixer on May 2, 1969, sponsored by Columbia University’s Student Homophile League. The first LGBT group to meet here regularly, from August 1969 to 1971, was the WSDG, which held weekly meetings and dances. GLF held its weekly Sunday meetings here from December 1969 to December 1970, also using Alternate U. for dances and events, and then moving to the Gay Community Center. Gay Youth had its social meetings here until 1972. The first dance for GLF women was held here in June 1970. GAA had its Thursday meetings and its dances here between January 1970 and May 1971, when it moved to the firehouse. Lesbian Liberation, a committee of GAA, was formed here.⁹⁷

The **Women’s Liberation Center** (fig. 52) was a meeting and community space for numerous women’s organizations, including lesbian groups. Originally located at 36 West 22nd Street, starting in April 1970, the center moved to a city-owned, former firehouse at 243 West 20th Street in the summer of 1972. It appears that it was located here until 1987. In 1973, Lesbian Feminist Liberation, a lesbian rights organization, began meeting here. The group, which had originally been the Lesbian Liberation Committee within the male-dominated GAA, was founded a year earlier by Jean O’Leary. The group sought to bring attention to such issues as the difficulties divorced lesbian mothers faced in trying to keep custody of their children. It also worked to make lesbians more visible at political rallies and Pride Marches. The Lesbian Feminist Liberation constitution stated “We must dedicate our energies primarily to discovering ourselves and our special causes and acting as our own spokeswomen, to promoting ourselves everywhere, at all times, as lesbian women.” While headquartered at the Women’s Liberation Center, the group took part in a number of activist events in 1973. In August, for example, it led a 200-person demonstration — featuring a large lavender female dinosaur — at the American Museum of Natural History on Central Park West to protest the museum’s tendency to depict females of all species as subservient. The center was also home to the Lesbian Switchboard, an evening telephone

97 NYCLGBTHSP; Hurewitz; Carter; Federal Bureau of Investigation, GLF files; Lillian Faderman, *The Gay Revolution: the Story of the Struggle* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015).

service, from 1972 to 1987. The volunteer-staffed switchboard provided counseling, referrals, and information about events and organizations of interest to the lesbian community. When this building underwent renovations in October 1987, the switchboard moved to the Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center (now the LGBT Community Center) at 208 West 13th Street in Greenwich Village. It would remain there until it closed in December 1997.⁹⁸

At the one-year anniversary of Stonewall, in June 1970, a group led by Craig Rodwell, owner of the Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookshop, planned what became the first annual **Pride March** (then known as the Christopher Street Liberation Day March). The marchers first gathered on Washington Place between Sheridan Square and Sixth Avenue. From Greenwich Village they followed a route up Sixth Avenue to Central Park, where the march ended with a “Gay-In” in the Sheep Meadow. This incredibly brave, for the time, public march ended up attracting thousands of participants, much to the surprise of the organizers.⁹⁹

Three religious congregations with primarily LGBT members were formed in New York in 1970–73, all at the **Church of the Holy Apostles**. In July 1970, Father Weeks turned over the church for Sunday afternoon services to the pioneering Church of the Beloved Disciple, “a church for gay people.” Beloved Disciple was founded by Father Robert M. Clement, a former priest in the Polish National Catholic Church and the first openly gay priest to participate in the Christopher Street Liberation Day March in 1970, and his lover, John Noble. Clement officiated over a same-sex “union ceremony” at Holy Apostles in April 1971. Clement and Noble were married at 33 Wooster Street in July 1971 by Troy Perry, who had founded the Metropolitan Community Church in Los Angeles in 1968 as a Protestant denomination to minister to the spiritual needs of the LGBT community at a time when most Protestant churches did not welcome openly gay members. New York’s City Clerk Howard Katz, incensed at these “illegal marriages” by Clement and Weeks, threatened arrest. GAA

98 NYCLGBTHSP; Laurie Johnston, “2 Groups Seeking A Firehouse Here,” *New York Times*, October 28, 1973; Marc Stein, *Rethinking the Gay and Lesbian Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Paula Martinac, *The Queerest Places: A National Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1997); Women’s Liberation Center research file, Lesbian Herstory Archives.

99 NYCLGBTHSP; Carter; Faderman; Will Kohler, “June 28, 1970 — From Liberation to Pride: The 45th Anniversary of the Christopher Street Liberation Day March,” back2stonewall.com, June 28, 2015; Fred Sargeant, “1970: A First-Person Account of the First Gay Pride March,” *The Village Voice*, June 22, 2010; Lilli Vincenz, “Gay and Proud” video, June 28, 1970; Donn Teal, *The Gay Militants* (New York: Stein & Day, 1971).

held one of its most famous and creative “zaps” at Katz’s office in the Municipal Building — an engagement party for two same-sex couples, complete with wedding cake.¹⁰⁰ In 1972 the Metropolitan Community Church of New York (MCCNY) began Sunday evening services at Holy Apostles, led by Howard Wells, who became the first openly gay student at Union Theological Seminary. MCCNY actively supported the campaign to establish a Lesbian and Gay Community Center (now the **LGBT Community Center**) in New York. MCCNY worshiped at the **Metropolitan-Duane United Methodist Church** (now The Church of the Village) c. 1977 to 1988, and at the Center c. 1983 to 1994. Since that time, the church has occupied a building at **446 West 36th Street** (fig. 58).¹⁰¹ The third congregation formed at Holy Apostles had its official start in 1973, when Jacob Gubbay, a Jewish man from India, saw an ad for a gay Passover Seder to be held there, which he volunteered to lead. Less than a year later he was successful in negotiating space for a gay synagogue to host Friday night services at Holy Apostles. The congregation, later officially named Congregation Beit Simchat Torah, held services there until it found a permanent home in **Westbeth Artists’ Housing** from July 1975 to 2016.¹⁰²

Liberation House (fig. 41) was an early post-Stonewall health services center for the LGBT community, co-founded by Leonard Ebreo and novelist Alice Bloch in 1972 (at the time, Bloch also served as an editor for *The Lesbian Tide*, the first national lesbian newspaper). They signed a cheap lease for the central storage area in the basement of a tenement at 247 West 11th Street. Run by volunteers, Liberation House hosted women’s and men’s groups, a coming out group, and an S & M group. Ebreo, together with Marc Rabinowitz and Perry Brass, established the Gay Men’s Health Project here after holding an open community forum on gay men’s health at **Washington Square United Methodist Church** in 1972. According to Brass, it was the first clinic for gay men on the East Coast and the first group of any kind to use the words “gay men” in its name. The clinic educated men about their bodies and the importance of using condoms (previously associated only with preventing pregnancy) to protect against sexually-transmitted diseases. “There were no places even to ask questions about gay sexuality, the physical aspects of it as well as the emotional

100 NYCLGBTHSP; Erin L. Nissley, “Local NEPA Priest Started LGBT Church in 1970s,” *The Times-Tribune*, July 12, 2015, bit.ly/2gKge0W; Heather R. White, “The Church of the Holy Apostles” (Sept. 2016) and “Gay Rites and Religious Rights: New York’s First Same-Sex Marriage Ceremony,” in Kathleen T. Talvacchia, Michael F. Pettinger, and Mark Larrimore, eds., *Queer Christianities: Lived Religion in Transgressive Forms* (New York: NYU Press, 2015); Moshe Shokeid, *A Gay Synagogue in New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); “MCCNY History,” Metropolitan Community Church of New York, bit.ly/2g3RdN5; “Our History,” Congregation Beit Simchat Torah, bit.ly/2f5NhNh; “Rev. Howard Wells,” The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Religious Archives Network, bit.ly/2ghaMPN; “Thirty-five Years Ago Today: Integrity Celebrates Thirty Five Years of Ministry of the Reverend Dr. Ellen Barrett,” *Walking with Integrity Blog* (January 9, 2012), bit.ly/2gsSGgB.

101 NYCLGBTHSP; David W. Dunlap, *From Abyssinian to Zion: A Guide to Manhattan’s Houses of Worship* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); “Buildings Projected,” *Real Estate Record and Guide*, April 9, 1887, p. 465; “Alterations,” *Real Estate Record and Guide*, January 27, 1894, p. 147.

102 NYCLGBTHSP; Shokeid; “Our History.”

aspects that were often totally dismissed,” said Brass in 2013. In 1983, the clinic became part of the Callen-Lorde Community Health Center in Chelsea, which still operates. Beginning in January 1972, the Gay Switchboard of New York rented space from Liberation House. Members of GAA, the recently defunct GLF, and others helped foster its creation. Volunteers gave information, referrals, and advice over the phone and soon handled over 400 calls per week. According to one of its pamphlets, the switchboard received a large percentage of calls for information on local and out-of-town bars, discos, organizations, and dances, but also had listings for gay or “straight but sympathetic” doctors, therapists, lawyers, dentists, travel agents, and businesses.¹⁰³

An unassuming house at **33-23 171st Street** (fig. 42) in Flushing, Queens, was the longtime home of Jeanne (1920–2013) and Jules Manford (1919–1982) — important early allies of the LGBT community — and their children, beginning in the 1950s. Their son Morty Manford (1950–1992) was a veteran of the 1969 Stonewall uprising, an LGBT rights activist, and one-time president of GAA. Jeanne, a Queens native, was a schoolteacher at nearby Public School 32. She first garnered public attention in April 1972 after writing a letter to the editor of the *New York Post* about her outrage at the police for not protecting her gay son when he was beaten during a GAA “zap” at the Hilton Hotel in Manhattan. The letter, which sparked discussion about anti-gay violence, included a striking statement for its time: “I have a homosexual son and I love him.” Two months later, Jeanne walked alongside Morty in the Christopher Street Liberation Day March. In an iconic photo, Jeanne holds a sign that reads, “Parents of Gays: Unite in Support for our Children.” This action was extraordinary at the time, since the vast majority of people still clung to many negative perceptions about the LGBT community. It was not until a year later, for example, that the American Psychiatric Association finally removed homosexuality from its list of mental disorders. In a 1989 interview with historian Eric Marcus, Morty stressed the importance of his mother’s involvement in that march, “The symbolic presence that my mother provided was a sign of great hope that parents *can* be supportive. That the people we’re closest to, whom we love the most, need not be our enemies; [they] can be our supporters.” The unexpected response Jeanne received from gay and lesbian youth, who pleaded with her at the march to talk to their parents, led her and her husband to form Parents of Gays (POG) in 1973, the first support group of its kind in the nation. The group met regularly at the **Metropolitan-Duane United Methodist Church** at 201 West 13th Street in Greenwich

103 NYCLGBTHSP; Hurewitz; Duncan Osborne, “What They Gave, What We Lost,” *Gay City News* (May 1-7, 2006), bit.ly/2eNWvsl; Gay Switchboard of New York records, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library; Perry Brass, “A Prophecy Before Our Time: The Gay Men’s Health Project Clinic Opens in 1972,” New York Public Library blog (November 7, 2013), on.nypl.org/2eDa5iQ, and “A Prophecy Before Our Time: The Gay Men’s Health Project Clinic Opens in 1972, Part Two: A Wasted Opportunity,” New York Public Library blog (December 20, 2013), on.nypl.org/2eCrRra.

Village from 1973 to c. 1996, but also held meetings in their house. Soon after, chapters began forming around the country and POG was renamed Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG). Jeanne and Jules made numerous television appearances and spoke at the WSDG, the Queens Borough Public Library, and elsewhere.¹⁰⁴

The National Gay Task Force, the first national gay rights organization, was established in New York in 1973 with the intention of bringing the LGBT rights movement into the national mainstream of American civil rights. Some of the founders were former GAA members disaffected by that group's internal squabbles and included Dr. Bruce Voeller, Barbara Gittings, Frank Kameny, Dr. Howard Brown, Arthur Bell, Ron Gold, Nathalie Rockhill, and Martin Duberman. The "establishment" organization played a crucial role in helping to draft local gay rights bills across the United States, repeal sodomy laws, and encourage LGBT visibility. Its headquarters from October 1973 to 1986 was on the fifth floor of **80 Fifth Avenue** (fig. 44). Renamed the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force in 1985, it moved to Washington, D.C. in 1986. Today it is known as the National LGBTQ Task Force.¹⁰⁵

Extant Examples for The Early Fight for LGBT Equality (1930s to 1974). See "Appendix A: Selection of LGBT Historic Properties." Examples that represent this theme will be noted with a "6" in the "Context Theme" column(s) of the spreadsheet.

104 NYCLGBTHSP; Eric Marcus, "Jeanne and Morty Manford" podcast, *Making Gay History*, May 13, 1989, bit.ly/2ITr9sb; Jane H. Lii, "A Movement Misses Its Nurturing Mother," *New York Times*, November 3, 1996; Jeanne Manford Papers, New York Public Library; Liam La Guerre, "Flushing Gay Rights Activist Honored with Street Co-Naming," *Queens Courier*, April 27, 2014, bit.ly/2f16EeF.

105 NYCLGBTHSP; Hurewitz; Faderman; National LGBTQ Task Force, bit.ly/1vLQuT7.



THEME 7

LGBT Communities: Action, Support, Education, and Awareness (1974 to 2000)

Lesbian Herstory Archives coordinators gathering for the opening of the new location in Park Slope, Brooklyn, 1993 (cropped). Photo by Saskia Scheffer. Courtesy of the Lesbian Herstory Archives.

After the early efforts at organizing and fighting for LGBT rights from the 1950s into the early 1970s, the ever more visible and growing LGBT community gradually began to establish permanent community and support centers, educational and religious institutions, and organizations dedicated to its many diverse groups. Neighborhoods throughout the city with large numbers of LGBT residents and commercial establishments continued to emerge.

Education

The **Institute for the Protection of Lesbian and Gay Youth** (fig. 54; IPLGY) was founded in 1979 in the 144 East 36th Street apartment of Dr. Emery S. Hetrick (1931–1987), a psychiatrist, and Dr. A. Damien Martin (1933–1991), a professor at New York University. They gathered a group of concerned adults to discuss at-risk LGBT youth in New York City affected by homophobia, physical abuse, homelessness, chronic truancy and a high school dropout rate, and involvement in sex work. As Dr. Martin stated, “Blacks, Jews, and Hispanics are not thrown out of their families or religion at adolescence for being black, Jewish, and Hispanic. Gay and lesbian kids are.” Up until 1983, they continued to meet at their apartment, and also had meetings at various locations including the Washington Square United Methodist Church, 133–135 West 4th Street, and the LGBT Community Center. In 1983, with private support from Hetrick and Martin, IPLGY began providing direct services to address the physical, social, educational, and therapeutic needs of LGBT youth. After a gift from an anonymous donor was matched with its first public grant from the New

York State Division for Youth, IPLGY leased an office at 112 East 23rd Street. It continued to offer and expand its social services by providing LGBT youth counseling and a drop-in center. IPLGY also provided educational training throughout the city, with a street outreach crew that worked at night on the piers in Greenwich Village. To address chronic truancy of LGBT youth — who were afraid to attend schools for fear of harassment and violence — the Harvey Milk High School (HMHS) was established, in collaboration with the New York City Department of Education. It became the first public high school in the country for youths victimized because of their sexual orientation or gender expression. HMHS opened on April 15, 1985, at the Washington Square United Methodist Church and in the fall relocated to the LGBT Community Center. By early 1986, IPLGY realized that operating HMHS offsite was too challenging. As a result, the institute relocated to a larger space next door at 110 East 23rd Street in order to accommodate its offices and create a separate classroom space for HMHS. IPLGY was renamed the Hetrick–Martin Institute in 1988. HMHS became a fully accredited public school in 2002.¹⁰⁶

The Gay, Lesbian & Straight Education Network (GLSEN) began in 1990 when a small group of public school teachers in Massachusetts sought to improve an educational system in which LGBT students faced chronic discrimination and bullying. GLSEN evolved into a national organization in 1995 with multiple chapters, and its headquarters was moved to New York. The Center for LGBTQ Studies (CLAGS), part of The Graduate Center of City University of New York (CUNY), was established in 1991. The first university-based research center in the United States, it is dedicated to the study of historical, cultural, and political issues of vital concern to LGBT individuals and communities. The Trevor Project, founded in 1998 by the creators of the Academy Award-winning short film *Trevor*, is the leading national organization providing crisis intervention and suicide prevention services to LGBT youth between the ages 13 to 24. As part of the project, New York has a community of volunteers supporting its mission to end LGBT youth suicide.

New York City experienced the “Children of the Rainbow” curriculum controversy in 1991–92. After a black man was killed in a white neighborhood in Bensonhurst, Brooklyn, in 1989, a group of city teachers and administrators wrote a first-grade curriculum which sought to teach respect for the city’s various racial and ethnic groups. Only three of the curriculum’s 443 pages had any references to gay men and lesbians, though staff at the Hetrick–Martin Institute served as advisors. The new curriculum infuriated many parents and school board and clergy members. Richard Burns, then executive director of the LGBT Community Center, said “the basic lesson of this curriculum is to teach children to love thy neighbor — at the earliest possible age...but it has been framed by the right as a larger political issue.” One positive result of the controversy was that it encouraged an openly gay Queens public

106 NYCLGBTHSP; Andy Humm, e-mail to Ken Lustbader, August 11, 2016; Joseph P. Merlino and Jack Drescher, eds., *American Psychiatry and Homosexuality: An Oral History* (Harrington Park Press, 2007); Joyce Hunter, personal interview with Ken Lustbader, December 2016; Steve Ashkinazy, personal interview with Ken Lustbader, September 2016.

school teacher, Daniel Dromm, to become politically active (he currently serves as a New York City Councilmember), and led to the creation of several Queens LGBT organizations [see below].¹⁰⁷

Gay & Lesbian Community Services Center

(now LGBT Community Center)

The Lesbian & Gay Community Services Center (now **Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community Center**; fig. 57), 208 West 13th Street, was organized in 1983 and took title to an entire former school building in Greenwich Village in 1984. A focal point for LGBT activities in the Metropolitan area, the center welcomes more than 300,000 visitors each year and is used by over 400 community groups to host meetings, social and cultural events, and health-based programs. The center witnessed the founding of many significant groups, such as GLAAD (formerly Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation) in 1985, ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) in 1987, and Queer Nation in 1990. The important community service group Senior Action in a Gay Environment (SAGE), (now Services & Advocacy for Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual & Transgender Elders), founded in 1979, met here for over 20 years. For Stonewall's 20th anniversary in 1989, the center presented *Imaging Stonewall*, a site-specific installation of 50 artworks that included a mural by Keith Haring in the second floor men's room (restored 2012). In 1990, the LGBT Community Center Archive was established under the curatorship of Rich Wandel and now houses thousands of papers, periodicals, correspondence, and photographs donated by individuals and organizations. Today, the center remains a major forum for politicians and political groups, an important center for cultural events, and a gathering place for the LGBTQ community in times of trouble and celebration.¹⁰⁸

Lesbian Organizations

The **Lesbian Herstory Archives** (fig. 56), housing the world's largest collection of materials by and about lesbians and their communities, was established in 1974 in the Upper West Side apartment of Joan Nestle and Deborah Edel. It moved in 1993 to a rowhouse at 484 14th Street in Park Slope, Brooklyn. A combined research facility, museum, and community center, it owns a vast library of books and journals, subject and organizational files,

107 Queens Museum, "The Lavender Line: Coming Out in Queens" (June 2017).

108 NYCLGBTHSP; Asian Lesbians of the East Coast and Las Buenas Amigas research files, Lesbian Herstory Archives; "Center History," LGBT Community Center, bit.ly/2fg7Lzi; Brazee, Harris, and Shockley, "150 Years of LGBT History"; David Dunlap, "Sale of Site to Homosexuals Planned," *New York Times*, December 20, 1983, pB5; E-mail from Carrie Davis re: Gender Identity Project, March 1, 2017.

unpublished papers, conference proceedings, reference tools, audio-visual materials, art, and ephemera.¹⁰⁹

The Lesbian Avengers was founded in New York City in 1992 by Ana Simo, Sarah Schulman, Maxine Wolfe, Anne-christine d'Adesky, Marie Honan, and Anne Maguire. A direct action grassroots group that employed media-savvy tactics, it focused on issues considered vital to lesbian survival and visibility, such as fighting for civil rights and opposing homophobic initiatives. The group quickly grew nationwide after the avengers organized a Dyke March for lesbian visibility on the eve of the Lesbian and Gay March on Washington in 1993 that mobilized some 20,000 lesbians. The avengers' most visible legacy is the annual New York City Dyke March, held since 1993 on the eve of the Pride March.

Transgender Activism

At the U.S. Open in 1977, its last year at the **West Side Tennis Club** (fig. 65) in Forest Hills, Queens, Renée Richards became the first trans woman to compete in a professional tennis tournament. The Sunnyside, Queens, native underwent gender reassignment surgery in 1975. As controversy grew over whether she should be allowed to compete in women's tournaments a year later, the United States Tennis Association made a chromosome test mandatory for female entrants for the first time in its history. Richards sued, and the New York Supreme Court ultimately ruled in her favor.¹¹⁰

Transy House (fig. 63) was a transgender collective operated by Rusty Mae Moore and Chelsea Goodwin from 1995 to 2008 in a rowhouse at 214 16th Street in Park Slope, Brooklyn. It provided shelter for trans and gender non-conforming people in need, served as a center for trans activism, and was the last residence of pioneering rights activist Sylvia Rivera.¹¹¹

People of Color

The black and Latina lesbian group Salsa Soul Sisters, credited as the nation's oldest black lesbian organization, was founded in 1974 by the Reverend Dolores Jackson, Sonia Bailey, Harriet Alston, and others. The group grew out of the Black Lesbian Caucus, which

109 NYCLGBTHSP; Brazee, Harris, and Shockley, "150 Years of LGBT History"; Deborah Edel, co-founder of the Lesbian Herstory Archives; "History," Lesbian Herstory Archives, bit.ly/2fgHdA2; Winnie McCroy, "Lesbian Herstory Archives Turns 35," *Edge Media Network*, February 5, 2009, bit.ly/2fm2Hlh.

110 NYCLGBTHSP; Robin Herman, "'No Exceptions,' and No Renée Richards," *The New York Times*, August 27, 1976; Sara Lentati, "Tennis's Reluctant Transgender Pioneer," *BBC Magazine*, June 26, 2015, bbc.in/2f1Cxn1.

111 NYCLGBTHSP; Deborah Rudacille, *The Riddle of Gender: Science, Activism, and Transgender Rights* (New York: Anchor Books, 2005); Stephan L. Cohen, *The Gay Liberation Youth Movement in New York: "An Army of Lovers Cannot Fail"* (New York: Routledge, 2008); "Sylvia Rivera," Sound Portraits Productions, www.soundportraits.org, 1999; Z.A. Martohardjono, *Changing House*, Frameline, 2009.

originally formed in 1971 as a subcommittee of the Gay Activists Alliance. From 1976 to 1987, Salsa Soul Sisters met in the parish house of **Washington Square United Methodist Church** (fig. 64). “There was no other place for women of color to go and sit down and talk about what it means to be a black lesbian in America,” said member Candice Boyce. As an alternative to bars where lesbians of color had historically faced discrimination, the sisters’ space here provided welcoming social events and weekly meetings on topics such as racism and single lesbian parenting. The group also published the quarterly magazines *Azalea: A Magazine by Third World Lesbians* (1977) and *Salsa Soul Gayzette* (1982), all of which were written by and about lesbians of color, and formed the Jemima Writers Collective. In 1987, the Salsa Soul Sisters moved to the LGBT Community Center and later changed its name to African Ancestral Lesbians United for Societal Change (AALUSC).¹¹²

Black and White Men Together was founded in San Francisco in 1980, adding a New York City Chapter in 1981, in order to fight for an LGBT community and an America free of racism and homophobia. It has been known since 1985 as Men of All Colors Together. Gay Men of African Descent, founded in 1986 in New York City by the Pentecostal Reverend Charles Angel, is the oldest and largest African-American organization dedicated exclusively to the well-being of black gay American men. It has worked to address issues unique to black gay men facing AIDS, homophobia, and racism, through educational, social, and political mobilization.

The Audre Lorde Project (ALP) was founded in Brooklyn in 1994 for LGBT people of color and named for the lesbian poet and activist Audre Lorde. ALP was first initiated by Advocates for Gay Men of Color, a multi-racial network of HIV policy advocates. The vision expanded to innovative, unified community strategies to address the multiple issues impacting LGBT people of color communities. ALP moved into its home in the parish house of the **Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church**, Fort Greene, in 1996.

Religion

A number of churches in New York City have been positive and progressive allies of the LGBT community. One example was Washington Square Methodist Episcopal Church in Greenwich Village. From 1973 to 1984, the Reverend Paul M. Abels was head pastor — in 1977, he became the first openly gay minister in the country with a congregation in a major Christian denomination. He also performed “covenant ceremonies” for LGBT couples who were forbidden by law to marry. Although his bishop called for his removal, both regional and national church authorities ruled in his favor. However, in 1984, the Rev. Abels left

112 NYCLGBTHSP; Salsa Soul Sisters Research File, Lesbian Herstory Archives; Third World Gay Women, Inc., “Salsa Soul Sisters Pamphlet,” *Greenwich Village History*, bit.ly/2ddFjLG; “Third World Women’s Gay-Zette,” Fifth Issue, January 1977.

the ministry amidst continuing criticism over his homosexuality. The church and parish house provided space for LGBT groups, such as the Gay Liberation Front, Harvey Milk High School, and the Metropolitan Community Church of New York. In 1972, openly gay health experts led an open community forum to an audience of nearly 100 gay men about the dangers of sexually transmitted diseases, which encouraged the founding of the Gay Men’s Health Project at Liberation House soon after. The first-ever rehearsal for the New York City Gay Men’s Chorus was held here in 1979.¹¹³

For many years the Catholic Church continued to be a major impediment to the rights of the LGBT community. Cardinal John J. O’Connor opposed city and state legislation guaranteeing LGBT rights, including Mayor Ed Koch’s Executive Order 50, issued in 1980, requiring all city contractors, including religious entities, to provide non-discriminatory (including “sexual orientation or affectional preference”) services with regards to housing, public accommodations, and employment. O’Connor likewise opposed the city’s Gay Rights Bill, which was finally passed in 1986, 15 years after it was first proposed. The Catholic Church annually supported the Ancient Order of Hibernians’ decision to exclude the Irish Lesbian and Gay Organization from marching under its own banner in the St. Patrick’s Day Parade. Dignity/New York, a chapter of DignityUSA, the nationwide organization of gay Catholics, met at the **Roman Catholic Church of St. Francis Xavier**, at 46 West 16th Street, beginning in 1979. It was expelled in 1987 after O’Connor prohibited Dignity from holding masses in any parish within the archdiocese.

Hate Crimes

Hate crimes and murders have been committed against the LGBT community over the decades. The **Ramrod** (fig. 59), 394 West Street, a popular 1970s Hudson River waterfront leather bar, was the site of one of Greenwich Village’s most notoriously homophobic crimes in 1980, when a former transit officer fired into the bar, killing two men and wounding six others.¹¹⁴

The New York City Anti-Violence Project, the largest such group in the United States, was created in 1980 by community activists in Chelsea in response to a series of brutal attacks against gay men. It operated as a volunteer organization until 1984, when the first full-time executive director was hired. Its full-time staff provided professional counseling

113 NYCLGBTHSP; Bruce Lambert, “The Rev. Paul Abels Dies at 54; Gay Pastor Lead ‘Peace’ Church,” *The New York Times*, March 14, 1992; David Deitcher, ed., *The Question of Equality: Lesbian and Gay Politics in America Since Stonewall* (New York: Scribner, 1995); Larry Rohter, “New York Offering Public School Geared to Homosexual Students,” *New York Times*, June 6, 1985; Perry Brass, “A Prophecy Before Our Time: The Gay Men’s Health Project Clinic Opens in 1972,” New York Public Library blog (November 7, 2013), on.nypl.org/2eDa5iQ; “Rev. Paul Abels,” *The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Religious Archives Network*, bit.ly/2f6m2ix.

114 NYCLGBTHSP; Hurewitz; Jay Shockley, *Weehawken Street Historic District Designation Report* (New York: LPC, 1993).

to survivors of hate violence, intimate partner violence, sexual violence, and HIV-related violence. From 1993 to 2003, the Anti-Violence Project shared a building at **647 Hudson Street** with the Empire State Pride Agenda, founded in 1990, which became the largest statewide lesbian and gay political advocacy and civil rights organization in the United States.¹¹⁵

The 1990 murder of a 29-year-old Puerto Rican gay man, Julio Rivera, by three men “hunting homos” at a playground in Jackson Heights, Queens, galvanized the LGBT community in Queens into action [see below] In his memory, a “**Julio Rivera Corner**” (fig. 55) street sign was installed in 2000 just outside the school property at the southwest corner of 37th Avenue and 78th Street. Annual vigils are held here.¹¹⁶ The suspicious 1993 death of transgender activist Marsha P. Johnson, found floating in Hudson River, inspired the documentary film *Pay It No Mind: The Life and Times of Marsha P. Johnson*. In 1997, the murder of Ali Forney, a gender non-conforming teenage prostitute in Harlem, was one of several that took place in the neighborhood over the course of 14 months. The present-day Ali Forney Center, established 2002, was named in memory of Forney, who had also worked as an LGBT advocate, handing out condoms to prevent AIDS, for example.

Professional Groups

In 1982, the first meeting of the Gay Officers Action League (GOAL) was held in the basement of **St. Joseph’s Roman Catholic Church** (fig. 60), 371 Sixth Avenue, in Greenwich Village. The meeting, attended by eleven officers from the New York City Police Department, was organized by Sergeant Charles H. Cochrane at a time when gay police officers did not feel comfortable coming out and when they suffered from discrimination and harassment. A year earlier, Cochrane testified in support of the city’s gay rights bill, which made him the first officer in the history of the NYPD to publicly announce that he was gay.¹¹⁷

115 Jay Shockley, *Gansevoort Market Historic District Designation Report* (New York: LPC, 2003).

116 NYCLGBTHSP; Andy Humm, “Tears for Julio Rivera 25 Years After his Murder,” *Gay City News*, July 9, 2015; Bill Parry, “Julio Rivera’s 1990 Murder to Be Remembered in Jackson Heights,” *Gay City News*, June 30, 2015; David Gonzalez, “At Site of Gay Man’s Murder, a Street Corner Acknowledges Its Past,” *New York Times*, March 20, 2016; Jeremiah Moss, “Julio of Jackson Heights,” *Jeremiah’s Vanishing New York*, March 18, 2011; Joseph P. Fried, “2 Accomplices Guilty of Murder in ‘Gay Bashing’ Case in Queens,” *New York Times*, November 21, 1991; Luis Gallo, “Julio Rivera and the Making of a Hate Crime,” *Latino USA*, June 24, 2016; Richard Shpuntoff, *Julio of Jackson Heights*, documentary, 2016.

117 NYCLGBTHSP; Michael Scotto, “Greenwich Village Street Named After Man Considered NYPD’s First Publicly Gay Officer,” *The New York Times*, June 17, 2016.

Queens

For decades, Jackson Heights has been home to one of the largest LGBT communities in New York City, but the borough was often typified as socially conservative, the home of the bigoted TV character Archie Bunker. A number of LGBT organizations did form, including the Gay Activists Alliance in Jamaica, the Gay Human Rights League in Flushing, Gay Friends & Neighbors/Queens, and the Lesbian and Gay Political Action Committee of Queens, all of which unified to support the passage of the Gay Rights Bill in 1986. Current City Councilmember Daniel Dromm has called Julio Rivera’s murder in 1990 part of “Queens’s Stonewall,” stating that “If it wasn’t for Julio the Queens LGBT movement would not have gotten as far as it has gotten. Julio did not die in vain. He changed people’s lives.” Outraged that the police labeled the murder as drug-related and assigned the case to an out-of-town detective, Rivera’s loved ones, the Latino community, groups such as Queer Nation and the New York City Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project, and hundreds of LGBT New Yorkers held a candlelight vigil in the neighborhood. This and other advocacy efforts ultimately made Rivera’s case the first gay hate crime to be tried in New York State. Dromm was then a Sunnyside public schoolteacher. His reaction to Rivera’s death and to the “Children of the Rainbow” curriculum controversy in 1991–92, caused him to become politically active. In 1993, he and activist Maritza Martinez co-founded the first Queens Pride Parade and Festival. Other important Queens organizations formed around this time were Queens Gays and Lesbians United (1991), Queens Pride House (1993), and the Lesbian and Gay Democratic Club of Queens (1994).¹¹⁸

Extant examples for LGBT Communities: Action, Support, Education, and Awareness (1974 to 2000). See “Appendix A: Selection of LGBT Historic Properties.” Examples that represent this theme will be noted with a “7” in the “Context Theme” column(s) of the spreadsheet.

118 Queens Museum.



THEME 8

New York City and the AIDS Epidemic (1981 to 2000)

ACT UP activists near City Hall, 1989. Courtesy of the Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library.

The LGBT community in New York and nationwide faced a devastating threat in the 1980s from a lethal virus that killed tens of thousands of people, affected many aspects of American life, and caused severe political setbacks to maintaining hard-fought rights gained in the 1960s and 70s.¹¹⁹ Against all odds, the LGBT community rallied, using many of the rights organizations and skills that had been forged in previous years, and formed a new network of advocacy groups and social service organizations which entered the public discussion about health policies in unprecedented ways. As succinctly expressed by historian John D’Emilio, “through the imperative of mounting an effective response to the epidemic, the movement has achieved a level of sophistication, influence and permanence that activists of the 1970s could only dream about.”¹²⁰ In the process, new degrees of solidarity developed between gay men and lesbians, and the various organizations gained the involvement of greater numbers of people of color.

A mysterious “rare cancer” first called Gay-Related Immunodeficiency (GRID) was reported in 1981 in a number of gay men in New York and California. After it was realized that other groups also faced it, the disease was renamed Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) in 1982. In the early years, as the scientific and medical establishment grappled with obtaining basic knowledge of the causes of the disease and how it spread and the U.S. was expressing a dramatic level of panic, gay men’s sexuality came under attack, not only from society at large but also at times within the community.

119 See McGarry and Wasserman, 221-241.

120 John D’Emilio, *Making Trouble: Essays on Gay History, Politics, and the University* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 262.

A homophobic media and moralistic politicians inflamed the situation. The *New York Native* was one of the few publications that responsibly covered the crisis and provided a forum with the latest medical information. The federal government was excruciatingly slow in taking on any meaningful role in addressing this public health crisis, and the state and city were not much better. Due to this lack of response, the LGBT community was forced to take control in all aspects of confronting the AIDS epidemic. By the late 1980s, New York City alone had one-quarter of the nation's AIDS cases and deaths, and the majority of people with AIDS by the end of the decade were people of color.

Playwright and author Larry Kramer (b. 1935) is credited by many for helping to catalyze the first meaningful response to the AIDS epidemic as co-founder of Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC) and, later, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP).¹²¹ The origins of GMHC can be traced to Kramer's apartment at **2 Fifth Avenue** (fig. 68). On August 11, 1981, Kramer convened a group of friends for a discussion by Dr. Alvin Friedman-Klein on the "gay cancer," and the group raised \$6,600 for medical research. On January 4, 1982, a group of six men who had been at the earlier meeting — Kramer, Nathan Fain, Lawrence Mass, Paul Popham, Paul Rapoport, and Edmund White — reconvened in Kramer's apartment and officially formed GMHC, the first AIDS service organization in the world. At that meeting they also discussed raising further funds for research and planned GMHC's first major event.¹²²

Melvin "Mel" Cheren (1933–2007) was an innovative record executive who co-founded West End Records in 1976, which became one of the most influential music labels at the peak of disco music in the 1970s.¹²³ Deeply affected by the AIDS crisis, Cheren offered his **218 West 22nd Street** (fig. 69) home to the recently formed GMHC, which used it as its first office in 1982–84. GMHC occupied the second and third floors, eventually taking over two-thirds of the building.¹²⁴ Cheren had also been in 1977 one of the initial financial backers of the popular disco Paradise Garage (demolished), 84 King Street, which was founded and owned by his former boyfriend Michael Brody (?–1987). GMHC's first fundraiser in April

121 Kramer was well known for his screenplay of *Women in Love* (1969) and controversial book *Faggots* (1978). His later literary achievements as playwright include *The Normal Heart* (1985) and its sequel *The Destiny of Me* (1992).

122 NYCLGBTHSP; David Rosen, "Larry Kramer Playwright & Activist 1935 – ," David Rosen Writes, 2016, bit.ly/2d0sZhR; "Gay Men's Health Crisis Records: Overview," New York Public Library Archives & Manuscripts, N.D., on.nypl.org/2daDt1o; Joseph Neese, "Exclusive Interview with the Founder of Gay Men's Health Crisis," MSNBC, December 9, 2014.

123 He is credited with inventing the 12-inch single and the purely instrumental B-side, which allowed a DJ to extend a dance song infinitely.

124 When GMHC relocated in 1985, Cheren converted the building into the Colonial House Inn, a gay-oriented guesthouse, which is still in operation. NYCLGBTHSP; Hurewitz; Dennis Hevesi, "Rodger McFarlane, Who Led AIDS-Related Groups, Dies at 54," *The New York Times*, May 18, 2009; Gary Taubes, "Who Still Dies of AIDS, and Why," *New York Magazine*, June 8, 2008; Gene Graham, *The Godfather of Disco 2007*, bit.ly/2dSs97B; "Hotel History/Our Founder," *Colonial House Inn*, bit.ly/2dQM9lu; Jon Pareles, "Paradise Garage: A Gay Club That Forever Changed Night Life," *The New York Times*, June 18, 2000; Maureen Dowd, "For Victims of AIDS, Support in a Lonely Siege," *New York Times*, December 5, 1983.

1982, called Showers, was held at the Paradise Garage and raised over \$50,000.¹²⁵ In the late 1980s, Cheren founded 24 Hours for Life, a not-for-profit organization that raised funds from the music industry to benefit the AIDS crisis. Cheren, who lost 300 friends to the epidemic, died of pneumonia in 2007, a month after being diagnosed with AIDS.

While at the West 22nd Street location, Roger McFarlane, GMHC's first executive director, oversaw what became a sophisticated social service agency with a board of directors, 500 volunteers, and increasing political power. GMHC became the model AIDS organization for the world. In its first year, it established the world's first AIDS hotline and distributed some 250,000 copies of its "Health Recommendation Brochure" at gay bars. People with AIDS were ostracized and faced new waves and types of discrimination, and AIDS provided a convenient excuse for renewed levels of homophobia against the entire LGBT community. In response, GMHC offered support groups, a buddy program, legal and financial counseling, meals and activities for people with HIV and AIDS, and created educational and "safe-sex" materials. On May 18, 1986, GMHC sponsored the first AIDS Walk, which started at a rally at **Damrosch Park**, at the southwest corner of the Lincoln Center complex. The walk has been a major annual fundraising and memorial event ever since.¹²⁶ Today, GMHC is the world's leading provider of HIV and AIDS prevention, care, and advocacy, with its main offices at **446 West 33rd Street**.

Other new organizations filled specific community health needs. Today's Callen-Lorde Community Health Center is the only primary care center in New York City created specifically to serve LGBT communities. It opened its doors in 1983 at the Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center in Greenwich Village with the nation's first community-based HIV clinic under the name of Community Health Project. It was, however, the result of a merger between the older counter-cultural St. Mark's Community Clinic and the Gay Men's Health Project, whose clinic, founded in 1972 at **Liberation House** at 247 West 11th Street, was the first for gay men on the East Coast. The People with AIDS Coalition, formed in 1985 in New York, sought to combat the ignorance, fear, and hostility that had accompanied the disease from its onset. It adopted the acronym PWA for People with AIDS to replace what were regarded as pejorative stereotypical terms "victims," "sufferers," and "patients."

In December 1985, seeking to slow the spread of AIDS, the New York City Department of

¹²⁵ The impact of the AIDS epidemic and changes in music, as well as the fact that Brody was diagnosed with AIDS, affected the Paradise Garage. On September 26, 1987, the club closed two months before Brody died. NYCLGBTHSP; Alan Fierstein and Richard Long, "Paradise Garage: State-of-the-Art Discotheque Sound Systems." *Acoustilog*, no date, bit.ly/2dOLt5l; Ben Barna, "Memories of the Paradise Garage, From Those Who Dance There," *New York Times*, May 9, 2014; Bill Bernstein, with forward by Nona Hendryx, *Disco: The Bill Bernstein Photographs* (London: Reel Art Press, 2015); "Friday Night Fever: Paradise Garage," *Bowery Boys*, October 5, 2007, bit.ly/2dBODDk; Jon Pareles, "Larry Levan, 38; His Tastes Shaped Dance-Club Music," *New York Times*, November 11, 1992; Jon Pareles, "Paradise Garage: A Gay Club That Forever Changed Night Life," *New York Times*, June 18, 2000; Tess Nicolaou, "Revisit the Glory Days of the Paradise Garage with These Amazing Photos." *Pulse Radio*, April 20, 2016, bit.ly/2dymoxM; "This is the Paradise Garage," *Disco-Disco*, bit.ly/2dvXa6J.

¹²⁶ NYCLGBTHSP.

Health took the controversial position of forcing the closing of bathhouses and other places where “high-risk sexual activities” were reported. The famous, longtime **Everard Baths** was closed for good in April 1986 by Mayor Ed Koch as an anti-AIDS measure. The **Mt. Morris Baths** was one of the few that remained open by discouraging public sex and educating its clientele about HIV/AIDS. It served an important social service with its emphasis on sex education during a period when there were few AIDS/HIV outreach programs for gay men of color and men who did not identify as gay but had sex with men.¹²⁷ Gay men themselves developed the concept of “safe sex” in part as a means to promote the sexual health of the community. But it was also a significant political response, not only to conservative politicians who blocked any government-funded information but also to a society at large that appeared to wish that the gay community would simply disappear.

By the late 1980s, the AIDS epidemic had impacted the lives of hundreds of thousands of people globally. New York City’s LGBT community was among the hardest hit, with infections and deaths occurring at an alarming rate. Larry Kramer left GMHC in 1983 due to conflicts with the board. Government inaction, and his frustration with GMHC’s and the LGBT community’s tepid response to the devastation from the AIDS epidemic, prompted him to give an impassioned speech on March 10, 1987 at the Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center in Greenwich Village. As a result, the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) was formed a few days later as a grassroots political action group that sought to bring widespread attention to the AIDS crisis. Its style of direct-action politics and civil disobedience, accompanied with bold media-savvy graphics (“Silence = Death” became its motto), is credited with changing the course of research and treatment, thereby saving people’s lives. Its biggest historic impact — the intervention into the medical and scientific bureaucracies — in effect turned a community of “victims” into activist experts.

In 1989, ACT UP held two successful demonstrations at the **New York Stock Exchange** (fig. 66), 11 Wall Street, to protest the high price of the AIDS drug AZT, the only approved AIDS drug at the time, which was unaffordable to most people living with HIV. One of its biggest fights was against Burroughs Wellcome, the pharmaceutical company that manufactured the high-priced drug. On September 14, 1989, ACT UP led a noon rally of 350 people in front of the Stock Exchange, targeting Burroughs Wellcome and other companies that it felt were profiteering from the AIDS epidemic (the demonstration was planned to coincide with similar actions held in San Francisco and London that day). “[ACT UP]...set off hundreds of fog horns which echoed through the narrow streets of [Lower] Manhattan, drawing people as high up as the 30th floors of buildings to their windows,” reported *Outweek Magazine*. Separate from the noon rally, ACT UP members Peter Staley, Lee Arsensault, Greg Bordowitz, Scott Robbe, James McGrath, and two other members who served as photographers, infiltrated the Stock Exchange that morning. Chaining

127 In 2003, however, city officials closed the facility due to alleged structural problems.

themselves to the VIP balcony, they dropped fake \$100 bills onto the trading floor and disrupted the opening bell for the first time in history. Their photographs were given to the Associated Press and the story went national. As a result of these demonstrations, Burroughs Wellcome lowered the price of AZT four days later.¹²⁸ Queer Nation was founded at New York's LGBT Community Center in March 1990 by ACT UP AIDS activists who wished to increase LGBT visibility and were outraged by the escalation of violence against LGBT people in the streets of New York and the continued existence of anti-gay homophobia and discrimination in the culture at large.

The response to the AIDS crisis by the religious institutions of New York City was as conflicted as their attitudes towards, and treatment of, the LGBT community in general. The Catholic Church, in particular, was controversial but sometimes caring. Cardinal John J. O'Connor was infamous for condemning homosexual acts and for opposing condom distribution to prevent AIDS. Some 4,500 members of ACT UP and Women's Health Action and Mobilization (WHAM) demonstrated outside St. Patrick's Cathedral, Fifth Avenue and East 51st Street on December 10, 1989 — one of the largest demonstrations against the Catholic church in New York City (placards had messages such as "Cardinal O'Connor Loves Gay People...If They are Dying of AIDS").

Cardinal O'Connor approved the opening in 1985 of a specialized AIDS unit in the failing **St. Clare's Hospital**, 426 West 52nd Street. St. Clare's became the first state-designated AIDS center, the first facility in the state to treat only AIDS. St. Vincent's Hospital (demolished), at Sixth Avenue and West 11th Street in Greenwich Village, opened a "hospice without walls" for AIDS in 1984.¹²⁹ By 1986, one-third of St. Vincent's 350 beds was filled by AIDS patients, and it was designated one of the city's AIDS clinical care centers. Located in the neighborhood that was the epicenter of the disease in New York City, St. Vincent's soon became the central facility in the city's AIDS crisis.¹³⁰

128 NYCLGBTHSP; ACT UP/NY Records, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library; Andrew Miller, "Burroughs Cuts AZT Price 20 Percent," *OutWeek Magazine*, October 1, 1989, p12; Carol Hall and Paul Marinaccio, "AIDS-Drug Protest Takes Floor," *New York Newsday*, September 15, 1989, front page; Christine Corman, "How Much for a Reprieve from AIDS?" *Time*, October 2, 1989, p21; Michelangelo Signorile, "AIDS Activists Storm Stock Exchange, Halting Trading," *OutWeek Magazine*, September 24, 1989, p10-11, 57; William Power, "New York Stock Exchange Steps Up Security in Aftermath of AIDS Protest," *Wall Street Journal*, October 11, 1989, C9.

129 In 2010, after 161 years of continuous operation, St. Vincent's closed due to ongoing financial troubles, representing a significant loss of LGBT history in Greenwich Village. A portion of the complex was demolished by 2014 and replaced with new residential buildings. Today the entire complex, including both the new and historic buildings, contain luxury condominiums. The history of the central role that St. Vincent's played during the AIDS epidemic is recognized at the nearby New York City AIDS Memorial at St. Vincent's Triangle, which was dedicated in 2017 (at West 12th Street and Greenwich Avenue).

130 "Help for AIDS Patients Planned by Archdiocese," *NYT*, Aug. 21, 1985; "State Will Shift Inmates With AIDS to St. Clare's," *NYT*, Jan. 10, 1987; "New York to Turn Hospital Into AIDS Center," *NYT*, May 28, 1987; "St. Clare's Is In Turmoil Over State's AIDS Plan," *NYT*, May 30, 1987; "AIDS Helps Recue Ailing Hospital," *NYT*, Nov. 22, 1987; "Out of Cash, St. Vincent's Is Set to Close," *NYT*, Feb. 6, 2010; Andrew Boynton, "Remembering St. Vincent's," *The New Yorker*, May 16, 2013.

The former **rectory of St. Veronica’s Roman Catholic Church**, at 657 Washington Street in the Village, was selected to become a hospice for homeless AIDS patients and the facility opened in December 1985. **St. Joseph’s R.C. Church**, 371 Sixth Avenue, an open and welcoming parish with a strong focus on social justice issues, has been one of the Catholic churches most welcoming to the city’s LGBT community. Every year during LGBT Pride Month in June the church holds a special mass in memory of those lost to AIDS. Of the non-Catholic churches, **Judson Memorial Church** on Washington Square, with a progressive activist congregation, became one of New York’s first compassionate churches with the emergence of AIDS. It hosted an AIDS support group and conducted many memorial services, something that many other New York churches refused to do.

Many of the LGBT community’s institutions and popular venues became involved in countless ways in aspects related to the epidemic. The **LGBT Community Center** has served as a space for remembrance, both in times of struggle and celebration. In 1988, it partnered with Heritage of Pride to hold the Quilt Workshop, during which friends and family of those who died of AIDS created 1,200 panels, which later became part of the nation-wide NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt. The Pyramid Club, 101 Avenue A in the East Village, became a defining venue in the 1980s for avant-garde music and “politicized” drag performers such as Lypsinka, Lady Bunny, and RuPaul, and sponsored early benefit concerts for AIDS.

Rivington House (fig. 70), a converted former public school at 45 Rivington Street on the Lower East Side, was opened in 1995 as the largest residential healthcare facility for people with AIDS in New York City and, perhaps, in the nation. Equipped with 219 beds and an outpatient treatment center, it was originally considered an end-of-life nursing home for most of its clients; length of stay was 12 to 15 days and the death rate stood at nearly 50 percent. By 1997, new drug therapies were prolonging the lives of many people living with AIDS and, as a result, the death rate at Rivington House declined by 20 percent and the length of stay increased to 120 days.¹³¹

The ultimate impact of AIDS on the life and culture of New York City is incalculable. A number of neighborhoods, including Greenwich Village and Chelsea, were very hard hit. So many lives were lost, including a high number of significant artists of all types — the dance community was particularly devastated. Despite this, some artists, even those dying of AIDS, devoted their efforts to addressing the epidemic. Just one example was Keith Haring. With his art already receiving international recognition, he began working in a fifth-floor studio at **676 Broadway** (fig. 67) in 1985. It would remain his workspace until his death from AIDS-related complications five years later. During this period, he created

131 It closed in 2014. NYCLGBTHSP; Bruce Lambert, “A Rare Warm Welcome for an AIDS Project,” *The New York Times*, December 26, 1993; Joyce Mendelsohn, *The Lower East Side Remembered and Revisited*, second edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Lynda Richardson, “An AIDS Nursing Home Finds It Is No Longer the Last Stop,” *The New York Times*, January 25, 1997.

pieces in support of gay rights and for the fight against AIDS. He also created numerous murals around the world. In 1989, a year after he was diagnosed with AIDS, he established at this location the Keith Haring Foundation, which continues to shape Haring's artistic legacy as well as support children's and AIDS charities.¹³² In 2017, the history of AIDS and the massive loss of lives was recognized in the New York City AIDS Memorial at St. Vincent's Triangle, Greenwich Avenue and West 12th Street.

Extant examples for New York City and the AIDS Epidemic (1981–2000). See "Appendix A: Selection of LGBT Historic Properties." Examples that represent this theme will be noted with a "8" in the "Context Theme" column(s) of the spreadsheet.

¹³² NYCLGBTHSP; "Bio," "Murals Map," and "Pop Shop," The Keith Haring Foundation, bit.ly/1lFiddb; Brazee, Harris, and Shockley, "Taking Pride: 150 Years of LGBT History"; John Gruen, *Keith Haring: The Authorized Biography* (New York: Prentice Hall Press, 1991).



THEME 9

The LGBT Community's Impact on Arts and Culture (1850s to 2000)

Richmond Barthé,
circa late 1920s/
early 1930s.
Harmon Foundation
Collection/
National Archives,
Washington, D.C.
(ARC identifier:
559178)

New York City has long been considered one of the leading American and international centers for arts and culture. The arts, especially theater, constitute one of New York's primary economic forces. Since at least the mid-19th century, the LGBT community has had a significant and disproportionate impact on all aspects of the city's cultural heritage. This has included the fields of Broadway, Off-Broadway, and Off-Off-Broadway theater; dance; classical and popular music; visual arts; photography; fashion; interior design; architecture; culinary arts; and poetry and literature.

Recognizing LGBT Arts and Culture

Despite the wealth of large cultural contributions attributed to New York City LGBT artists, linking them to specific venues alone may not be sufficient for National Register listing. Carnegie Hall, for example, has welcomed performers and audiences representing numerous different nationalities, ethnicities, cultural and social groups, and artistic expressions. Its multi-cultural programming is key to its national significance as a great public performance space. The fact that many LGBT artists performed here is just one part of its story. It is, however, highly significant within the context of the history of the LGBT community in the city and nation that Carnegie Hall was host to such a large number of gay performers. It is thus appropriate to include that contribution in such nominations where appropriate, particularly since that aspect of history has been hidden for so long.

Certain LGBT-associated places have a higher priority for listing on the National Register because they relate directly to important themes in LGBT history. Caffè Cino, for example,

was a venue where gay playwrights were specifically encouraged to develop their craft and break taboos at a time when the depiction of homosexuality on the stage was illegal. Likewise, the workshop or studio of an important LGBT artist such as Richmond Barthé, an African-American sculptor who gained prominence during the Harlem Renaissance, and Keith Haring, whose work spoke to or for the gay community during the AIDS crisis, fits in this category. For the homes of those who made important contributions to all aspects of our history and culture, there are three considerations: the primary significance of the person's art; establishing that the person was LGBT and had a significant association with this residence; and establishing any links between that person and themes of LGBT history and culture.

In many instances, LGBT individuals in the arts and culture in New York City were part of personal, social, and professional circles within the LGBT community that provided inspiration, influence, and financial support in order for them to create and sustain careers. These included personal partners, teachers and mentors, patrons and impresarios, and fellow artists, writers, designers, and architects. This was particularly important in a world of pervading personal and professional discrimination and homophobia.

A few examples of such significant circles in New York City would include: the classical music world of Virgil Thomson, Aaron Copland, Marc Blitzstein, Leonard Bernstein, and Ned Rorem; the Broadway theater circle of Oliver Smith; the ballet world of Lincoln Kirstein; the dance and musical worlds of Merce Cunningham and John Cage; the Off-Off Broadway theater circles of Joe Cino, Charles Ludlam, and Ellen Stewart; male and female African-American entertainers at the Apollo Theater; LGBT curators at the Museum of Modern Art; the architecture and interior design professional connections of Philip Johnson, Paul Rudolph, Elsie de Wolfe, and Ogden Codman; male and female writers and artists of the Harlem Renaissance; and the literary, theater, and civil rights circles of James Baldwin and Lorraine Hansberry.

Purpose of This Chapter

This chapter aims to provide a broad overview of the events, influences, individuals, and groups that are associated with arts and culture in New York City, based on research accumulated thus far and therefore is limited by the locations identified in the reconnaissance-level historic resources survey. As such, it does not represent the entire LGBT history of each specific sub-theme and more research will be needed to identify additional individuals and places. A number of the persons listed in the following section were previously mentioned since those themes provide a chronological overview of LGBT context in New York City. They are repeated here to illustrate how to identify and evaluate New York City history through an LGBT lens.

Theater

New York City theaters have long featured the work of LGBT actors, directors, playwrights, and the various associated professions, as well as performers in its cafes and clubs, and LGBT patrons have always frequented these venues. One of the world's leading and pioneering female, theatrical producers, beginning in the 1890s, was Elisabeth Marbury (1856–1933), who lived near Union Square [see Theme 2]. “First Lady of the Theater” Katharine Cornell (1893–1974) and her husband, director–producer Guthrie McClintic (1893–1961), lived from 1922 to 1951 in a Midtown townhouse at **23 Beekman Place** [fig. 71; see Paul Rudolph House below] near the East River. Their house was called a “veritable theatrical museum” by a guest who visited them in the 1940s. The couple had one of the most famous Broadway “lavender marriages” (a marriage in which one or both partners are gay) of their time.¹³³ Cornell lived on the third floor while McClintic lived on the fourth. Regarded as one of the leading actresses of Broadway, Cornell performed in such plays as *Candida* (1924), *The Green Hat* (1926), *The Letter* (1927), *The Age of Innocence* (1928), *The Barretts of Wimpole Street* (1931), *Lucrece* (1932), and *Romeo and Juliet* (1934). McClintic produced and directed most of Cornell's work; their last play together before his death was *Dear Liar* (1960). McClintic was also a sought-after director of Broadway productions starring other performers, directing adaptations and contemporary works.¹³⁴

Oliver Smith (1918–1994), called “one of the most prolific and imaginative designers in the history of the American theater” by the *New York Times* was also a co-director of the American Ballet Theater. A 25–time Tony Award nominee, he created the original sets for such Broadway shows as *My Fair Lady* (1956), *Auntie Mame* (1956), *Brigadoon* (1957 revival), *Camelot* (1960), and *Hello Dolly!* (1964) and such ballets as *Rodeo* (1942), *Fancy Free* (1944) and *Fall River Legend* (1948). Smith purchased a Brooklyn Heights residence at **70 Willow Street** (fig. 91) in 1953. He was associated with a prominent group of gay writers, artists, and intellectuals, and perhaps influenced by his time at February House (a noted gay commune that once stood at 7 Middagh Street, since demolished), he established his own home as a center of gay culture in Brooklyn, where his studio was in the attic.¹³⁵ Smith was the set designer for the celebrated Broadway musical *West Side Story* (1957) at the **Winter Garden Theater** (fig. 97), 1634 Broadway, which is particularly notable for the fact that all of the major members of the creative team were gay, lesbian, or bisexual: Jerome Robbins, who directed and choreographed the show; Leonard

133 Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne were another such famous theater couple.

134 NYCLGBTHSP; Billy J. Harbin, Robert A. Schanke, and Kimberly Bell Marra, *The Gay and Lesbian Theatrical Legacy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005); Brazee, Harris, and Shockley, “Gay Pride Month 2013”; Martinac.

135 NYCLGBTHSP; Brazee, Harris, and Shockley, “Gay Pride Month 2013”; Jack Anderson, “Oliver Smith, Set Designer, Dead at 75,” *New York Times*, Jan. 25, 1994, B9; Joshua Barone, “A Son's Sleuthing, A Father's Archive and a Lost Brooklyn,” *New York Times*, July 22, 2016, C21.

Bernstein, who wrote the music; Arthur Laurents, the librettist; Stephen Sondheim, the lyricist; Irene Sharaff, the costume designer; and Larry Kert, the male lead.¹³⁶

Celebrated playwright Lorraine Hansberry (1930–1965) moved into an apartment at **337 Bleecker Street** (fig. 86) in Greenwich Village in 1953, shortly after she married Robert B. Nemiroff. Around the time the couple separated in 1957, she joined the Daughters of Bilitis homophile organization and penned (only using her initials) several essay-length letters about such topics as sexual identity, feminism, and homophobia in its publication, *The Ladder*. In 1960, using a portion of the profits from her wildly successful play *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959), the first African-American woman’s work seen on Broadway, Hansberry purchased 112 Waverly Place near Washington Square as her residence. She became involved with one of the building’s tenants, Dorothy Secules, and the two remained partners until Hansberry’s premature death from cancer five years later. In “Sweet Lorraine” (1969), her friend James Baldwin explained the significance of *A Raisin in the Sun*, “I had never in my life seen so many black people in the theater. And the reason was that never before, in the entire history of the American theater, had so much of the truth of black people’s lives been seen on the stage. Black people had ignored the theater because the theater had always ignored them.” The play had its Broadway premiere at the Ethel Barrymore Theater and was later moved to the Belasco Theater. In 1961, a movie version starred Sidney Poitier.¹³⁷

In the 1950s, Greenwich Village and the East Village became the cradle of what became the Off-Broadway and Off-Off Broadway theater movements. The former **Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater**, 181–189 Second Avenue, one of the most tangible reminders of the heyday of Yiddish theater in 20th-century New York, was particularly renowned as the Phoenix Theater from 1953 to 1961. Co-founded by Norris Houghton, a gay man, it featured the work of such notable LGBT artists as director Tony Richardson and performers Montgomery Clift, Will Geer, Farley Granger, Eva Le Gallienne, and Roddy McDowell.¹³⁸

Caffe Cino (fig. 77), 31 Cornelia Street in Greenwich Village, is widely recognized as the birthplace of Off-Off-Broadway theater and is also highly significant for its role in the development of gay theater at a time when it was still illegal to depict homosexuality on stage. [The Step-by-Step Guide in the Evaluation Framework chapter uses Caffe Cino as the example of how to evaluate a property for official recognition.] In 1958, Joe Cino

136 NYCLGBTHSP; Anthony W. Robins, ed., *Winter Garden Theater Designation Report* (New York: LPC, 1988); Charles Kaiser, *The Gay Metropolis: The Landmark History of Gay Life in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997); Emanuel Levy, Vincente Minelli, *Hollywood’s Dark Dreamer* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2009); Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, *Gay LA: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians* (New York: BasicBooks, 2006)

137 NYCLGBTHSP; Audre Lorde, *I Am Your Sister: Black Women Organizing Across Sexualities* (New York: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, 1986); Brazee, Harris, and Shockley, “150 Years of LGBT History”; Hurewitz; James Baldwin, “Sweet Lorraine,” [1969] in *Lorraine Hansberry in Her Own Words: To Be Young, Gifted and Black*, adapted by Robert Nemiroff (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), xviii.

138 NYCLGBTHSP; Shockley, *Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater Designation Report*.

(1931–1967) rented a ground–story commercial space here, originally intending to operate a coffeehouse with art displayed on the walls. He then allowed patrons to stage small avant–garde theatrical performances. This became one of New York’s first significant venues to feature the works of unknown playwrights, which were often experimental, controversial, or campy and produced on very small budgets. Cino’s partner, Jon Torrey, worked as the electrician and, early on, as the lighting designer. By July 1961, Johnny Dodd took over as the lighting designer and became known for his innovative work here. Many of the Cino’s early productions featured gay characters or subject matter. The staging of Lanford Wilson’s *The Madness of Lady Bright* in 1964 was both the Cino’s breakthrough hit and an early play to deal explicitly with homosexuality. Caffe Cino provided an important platform for newly emerging gay playwrights such as Doric Wilson, H.M. Koutoukas, Robert Heide, William M. Hoffman, Lanford Wilson, Tom Eyen, Jeff Weiss, Ronald Tavel, Jean Claude van Itallie, David Starkweather, Charles Stanley, Paul Foster, and Robert Patrick and for directors such as Marshall W. Mason, Tom O’Horgan, and Neil Flanagan. The most successful production here was George Haimsohn and Robin Miller’s *Dames at Sea*, which was directed by Robert Dahdah in 1966. The coffeehouse itself also served as a significant meeting spot for gay men. It closed in 1968, a year after Cino’s suicide following Torrey’s accidental death.¹³⁹ Caffe Cino was listed on the National Register as part of the NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project in November 2017.

La Mama Experimental Theatre Club was founded in 1961 by Ellen Stewart and opened at 74 East 4th Street in the East Village in 1969. Today it is widely considered the oldest, most influential, and most prolific of all the off–off–Broadway stages and has prominently featured the work of LGBT artists since its inception. Though commercial theater has never been its focus, a number of La Mama plays achieved success on Broadway, including Harvey Fierstein’s *Torch Song Trilogy*, and its resident director, Tom O’Horgan, later produced the influential hit *Hair*. Among the many notable playwrights and directors associated with La Mama have been Jean–Claude van Itallie, Tom Eyen, Lanford Wilson, William Hoffman, Charles Ludlam, Terence McNally, Joseph Chaiken, John Vacarro, Marshall Mason, and Meredith Monk.¹⁴⁰

139 NYCLGBTHSP; Billy J. Harbin, Kim Marra, and Robert A. Schanke, “Joseph Cino,” *The Gay & Lesbian Theatrical Legacy : A Biographical Dictionary of Major Figures in American Stage History in the Pre-Stonewall Era* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007); Brazee, Harris, and Shockley, “Gay Pride Month 2015”; Hurewitz; Martinac; Robert Heide, “Magic Time at the Caffe Cino,” *New York Native*, May 6–19, 1985, 29–30; Wendell C. Stone, *Caffe Cino: The Birthplace of Off-Off-Broadway Theater* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005).

140 Jay Shockley *Aschenbroedel Verein* [later *Gesangverein Schillerbund*/ now *La Mama Experimental Theatre Club*] *Building Designation Report* (New York: LPC, 2009).

Al Carmines, gay associate minister at the activist **Judson Memorial Church** on Washington Square from 1962 to 1981, led Judson into becoming a home to avant-garde arts groups, including the Judson Poets Theater, one of the earliest of the Off-Off-Broadway theater movement, and the Judson Dance Theater.¹⁴¹ Charles Ludlam's Ridiculous Theatrical Co., founded in 1967 and moved to **1 Sheridan Square** in 1978, was one of New York's most innovative and influential Off-Off-Broadway theater troupes. Ludlam died of AIDS in 1987.¹⁴² Formed in 1980, **WOW (Women's One World) Café Theatre** (fig. 99) is one of the premiere centers for lesbian, women's, and transgender theater in New York. It was located in a storefront space at 330 East 11th Street in 1982–84 and has performed at 59–61 East 4th Street since 1984.¹⁴³

Dance

New York City acquired the Shriners' Mecca Temple, at 131 West 55th Street, in 1943 and converted it into a theater. **City Center** (fig. 80) has been especially significant in the history of American dance, and has numerous associations with LGBT artists. This was the first home of the New York City Ballet, founded as Ballet Society in 1946 (and re-named two years later) by George Balanchine and Lincoln Kirstein. Kirstein was determined to see ballet become a major art form in the United States. He brought Balanchine to America in 1933 to establish the School of American Ballet and a related company. In 1966 the Joffrey Ballet became a resident company, founded by Robert Joffrey and his partner, resident choreographer Gerald Arpino. Joffrey was intent on creating a company with a modern American sensibility. The diverse repertory that he developed included contemporary ballets that reflected social and political issues, pioneering modern dance/ballet fusions; and carefully researched restorations of classic 20th-century ballets. The company was known for the diversity of its dancers, including many gay men, such as the African-American dancers Gary Chryst and Christian Holder, and Ashley Wheater, who is now the Chicago-based company's director. In 1972, the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater, founded by Alvin Ailey in 1958, became a resident dance company at City Center. The company's repertoire often explores the African-American experience. In 1976, after City Center dropped residency affiliations with dance companies, it became the 55th Street

141 NYCLGBTHSP; Robert Simonson, "Al Carmines, Head of Judson Poets Theatre and Totem of Off-Off-Broadway Movement, Dies at 69," *Playbill*, August 15, 2005, bit.ly/2fzyGoo.

142 NYCLGBTHSP; Lortel Archives, Internet Off-Broadway Database; Bevy Rosten, review of David Kaufman's *The Theatrical Life and Times of Charles Ludlam*, *New York Times*, February 16, 2003; Steven Samuels, ed., *Ridiculous Theatre: Scourge of Human Folly* (New York: Theatre Communications Group, Inc., 1992).

143 NYCLGBTHSP; WOW Café Theater, bit.ly/2gtYo1U.

Dance Theater. Joffrey and Ailey continued to perform here as did the companies of choreographers Alwin Nickolais, Merce Cunningham, Louis Falco, Elliot Feld, Murray Louis, and Paul Taylor.¹⁴⁴

New York State Theater at Lincoln Center (fig. 85), opened in 1964, was designed specifically as the new home of New York City Ballet. When Jerome Robbins decided to leave Broadway in the mid-1960s for ballet, he choreographed for the company, creating such seminal ballets as *Dances at a Gathering* (1969) and *The Goldberg Variations* (1971).¹⁴⁵

From 1971 until it disbanded in 2010, the Merce Cunningham Dance Company was housed in the former penthouse auditorium of **Westbeth Artists' Housing** (fig. 96; former Bell Telephone Laboratories) along the Hudson River waterfront at 55 Bethune Street. After studying with Martha Graham, Merce Cunningham (1919–2009) became a leading figure in the development of modern dance in America. In 1944 Cunningham had his first solo performance to music by John Cage. Cage was Cunningham's partner until his death in 1992; they lived nearby at **107 Bank Street**. Cunningham established his dance company in 1953, choreographing over 200 works, many in collaborations with visual artists, notably including Robert Rauschenberg.¹⁴⁶

Music

Completed in 1891, Andrew Carnegie's Music Hall, 881 Seventh Avenue, was opened as the new home for the Oratorio Society of New York, with a five-day musical festival during which Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, one of the world's foremost composers of the day, conducted several of his own works. Often considered one of the premiere centers of American musical life and history, **Carnegie Hall** (fig. 79) has continually featured the work and performances of countless LGBT artists. Few had as close an association with the hall as Leonard Bernstein, who appeared more than 430 times between 1943 and 1990, as conductor, pianist, composer, and educator. Dimitri Mitropoulos was the conductor of the New York Philharmonic between 1950 and 1957, until he became the victim of McCarthy-era homophobia. Other conductors here included Jeffrey Tate and Michael Tilson Thomas. Premieres of classical works by LGBT composers Samuel Barber, Benjamin Britten, Aaron

144 NYCLGBTHSP; Charles C. Savage, *City Center 55th Street Theater Designation Report* (New York: LPC, 1983); Jennifer Dunning, *Alvin Ailey: A Life in Dance* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1996); Sasha Anawalt, *The Joffrey Ballet: Robert Joffrey and the Making of an American Dance Company* (New York: Scribner, 1996).

145 NYCLGBTHSP.

146 Jay Shockley *Bell Telephone Laboratories Complex Designation Report* (New York: LPC, 2011); NYCLGBTHSP; Richard Kostelanetz, ed., *Merce Cunningham: The Modernizing of Modern Dance* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Roger Copeland, *Merce Cunningham: The Modernizing of Modern Dance* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

Copland, Virgil Thomson, David Diamond, Marc Blitzstein, Gian Carlo Menotti, Ned Rorem, and John Corigliano were conducted here. Innumerable LGBT performers have ranged from pianists Vladimir Horowitz and Van Cliburn, to dancer Isadora Duncan, leading Wagnerian heldentenor Lauritz Melchior, popular singers Chris Williamson, Meg Christian, and Rufus Wainwright, opera countertenor David Daniels, and the New York City Gay Men's Chorus.¹⁴⁷

Brooklyn-born Aaron Copland (1900–1990), known as the “Dean of American Music,” was one of the most influential and popular figures of 20th-century classical music. His most significant city residence was a modest tenth-floor studio — furnished with a piano — at the **Hotel Empire** (fig. 72) at 44 West 63rd Street from 1936 to 1947. During this incredibly prolific period, Copland completed a number of important works, some of which are among the cornerstones of 20th-century American music. A selection of compositions completed while in residence at the Hotel Empire include *Billy the Kid* (1938), *Fanfare for the Common Man* (1942), *Lincoln Portrait* (1942), *Rodeo* (1942), *Appalachian Spring* (1944), and *Symphony No. 3* (1944–46). Copland was given New York Music Critics Circle Awards for the latter two works; *Appalachian Spring*, composed for choreographer Martha Graham's ballet in 1944, also earned him a Pulitzer Prize in music. In addition to his work, he was a mentor to many gay composers, including Leonard Bernstein in the late 1930s and early 1940s (the two were briefly lovers). In 1938, Copland helped establish the American Composers Alliance — and was its president from 1939 to 1945 — to promote and publish American contemporary classical music. Today it is the oldest national organization of its kind. He also co-founded the American Music Center in 1939.¹⁴⁸

During the heyday of Harlem's **Apollo Theater** as a showcase for black performers from the 1930s into the 1970s, nearly every important African-American entertainer played here, including many LGBT stars [see Theme 3]. The great jazz composer/arranger Billy Strayhorn and his partner, jazz pianist and composer Aaron Bridgers, lived together in Harlem in 1939–48 [see Theme 3].

The first theater to open at Lincoln Center was **Philharmonic Hall** (later Avery Fisher Hall and now David Geffen Hall). On September 23, 1962, Leonard Bernstein conducted the inaugural concert, which included a new piece, *Connotations*, by Aaron Copland. Besides Copland, other composers attending the opening-night concert were Samuel Barber, Henry Cowell, and Virgil Thomson. The **Metropolitan Opera House** opened on September 16, 1966, with the world premiere of an opera for which all of its creators were gay —

147 NYCLGBTHSP; Hurewitz; “Performance History Search,” Carnegie Hall, bit.ly/2fu1QIM.

148 NYCLGBTHSP; “Aaron Copland: Timeline of a Musical Life,” Aaron Copland House, bit.ly/1ua8leL; Aaron Copland, and Elizabeth B. Crist and Wayne Shirley, eds., *The Selected Correspondence of Aaron Copland* (New Canaan: Yale University Press, 2008); Carol J. Oja and Judith Tick, eds., *Aaron Copland and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Howard Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life & Work of an Uncommon Man* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1999).

Barber's *Antony and Cleopatra* — in a controversial production by Franco Zeffirelli, who not only wrote the libretto and directed, but also designed the lavish sets and costumes. The production was conducted by Thomas Schippers and choreographed by Alvin Ailey.¹⁴⁹

LGBT dance clubs in Manhattan had an influence on American music in the 1970s–80s including the following two locations. **Studio 54** (fig. 94; 1977–86), 254 West 54th Street, was one of the world's most famous discos with its fusion of gay, bisexual, and straight patrons. Paradise Garage (1977–87), 84 King Street, was one of the most important and influential clubs in New York City with a devoted patronage composed of sexual and ethnic minorities (primarily African-American gay men). With resident DJs as the center of attention, it influenced dance, music, and culture both nationally and internationally as the birthplace of the modern nightclub. [see Theme 8].

Visual Arts

Sculptor Emma Stebbins' *Angel of the Waters* (1860s) atop the Bethesda Fountain in Central Park was the earliest public artwork by a woman in New York City [see Theme 2]. Alice Austen was a photography pioneer on Staten Island, most active from the 1880s to the 1920s [see Theme 2]. Photographer Berenice Abbott lived with her partner in a Village loft building from 1935 to 1965 [see Theme 3]. Artists Paul Cadmus, Jared French, and George Tooker lived together at **5 St. Luke's Place** in the Village starting in 1935 [see Theme 3].

The Museum of Modern Art (fig. 89; MoMA), founded in 1929, has been at its current midtown Manhattan location at 11 West 53rd Street since 1939. Over the decades, the museum has employed many LGBT curators who were highly influential on the American art scene. These have included future architect Philip Johnson, Monroe L. Wheeler, William S. Lieberman, Arthur Drexler, Frank O'Hara, and Waldo Rasmussen. MoMA held the first major career retrospective exhibition on the photography of Berenice Abbott (1970) and the first American exhibition on architect and furniture designer Eileen Gray (1980). Vito Russo, who worked in the Film Circulation Department in 1971–73, later produced a pioneering book on the images of homosexuality in American films, *The Celluloid Closet* (1981). Russo lived at 401 West 24th Street in Manhattan from mid-1969 until his death from AIDS in 1990.¹⁵⁰

149 NYCLGBTHSP; Peter G. Davis, "Tragedy of 'Anthony and Cleopatra,'" *New York Times*, January 11, 2009, sec. 2, p. 27.

150 NYCLGBTHSP; "Another Modern Art: Dance and Theater," *Museum of Modern Art*, [mo.ma/2fAwNaw](https://www.moma.org/2fAwNaw); "Architectural Chronology," *Museum of Modern Art*, [mo.ma/2g51ybU](https://www.moma.org/2g51ybU); "Barr, Alfred H[amilton], Jr." and "Johnson, Philip [Cortelyou]," *Dictionary of Art Historians*, bit.ly/2gykf5U; Douglas C. McGill, "Monroe Wheeler, Board Member of Modern Museum, Is Dead at 89," *New York Times*, August 16, 1988; Elspeth Brown, "Queer Desire and Cold War Homophobia," *Art Blart*, bit.ly/2gtZ1lJ; Grace Glueck, "William Lieberman, 82, Prominent Curator, Dies," *New York Times*, June 3, 2005; Joseph Giovannini, "Arthur Drexler, 61, Authority on Architecture," *New York Times*, January 17, 1987; MoMA Oral History Project, Interviews with Elizabeth Shaw (October 1991), Waldo Rasmussen (November 1994), and William S. Lieberman (April 1993).

In 1960, Andy Warhol (1928–1987), then an unknown artist who was making his living as an illustrator for I. Miller Shoes, purchased a rowhouse at **1342 Lexington Avenue** (fig. 73) on the Upper East Side. He needed a house in order to store his artwork, which was not selling, and his growing collections. He lived here until 1972 (although he retained ownership until he died), when his lover, interior designer Jed Johnson, found a larger townhouse at **57 East 66th Street**. During the years that he lived on Lexington Avenue, Warhol had his first major gallery shows, established his so-called Factory and became a leading force in avant-garde art, film, and performance. Most significantly, he created some of his iconic pop art pieces, including the Campbell soup can and Coke bottle works and portraits of iconic American celebrities. These images were produced as single paintings and silk screens and as works with multiple, repeated images.¹⁵¹

Westbeth Artist’s Housing, residential and work space for artists, opened in 1970 and has been home to many LGBT artists, including Barton Lidice Beneš and experimental filmmaker Barbara Hammer. Keith Haring had his first solo New York City exhibition in the ground-floor gallery in 1981.¹⁵² He later worked in a studio at **676 Broadway** from 1985 until his death from AIDS-related complications in 1989 [see Theme 8]. After the front portion of the former **Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater** was converted into apartments, two residents were photographer Peter Hujar (1973–87), who lived in a loft vacated by performer and Warhol Superstar Jackie Curtis and created portraits there for which he became known, and artist David Wojnarowicz (1980–92).

The two buildings that compose the **Equitable Center** (fig. 93) at 1281 Sixth Avenue were planned to contain significant works of public art. Three of these are by Scott Burton, dating from 1984–86. An art critic and performance artist, Burton turned to furniture design in the mid-1970s and this soon developed into what he called “pragmatic sculptures,” public art installations that bridged the divide between high art and furniture. He died of AIDS in 1989.¹⁵³

151 NYCLGBTHSP; Fred Guiles, *Loner at the Ball: The Life of Andy Warhol* (New York: Bantam Press, 1989); Jay Shockley, *Hardenbergh/Rhineland Historic District Designation Report* (New York: LPC, 1998).

152 NYCLGBTHSP; “Barton Lidice Benes, 69, Provocative Artist,” *New York Times*, June 19, 2012, A24; “Bio,” Barbara Hammer, bit.ly/2et66rp; “Edward Field,” Poets.org, bit.ly/2dUwDgS; William Harris, “An Existential View of Despair: John Jasperse Ponders What’s Next After the End of a World Plagued by AIDS and Indifference,” *New York Times*, May 2, 1999, sec. 2, 12.

153 NYCLGBTHSP; Nancy Princenthal, “High Style, Clear Form, Sharp Edge,” *Art in America*, March 11, 2013; Roberta Smith, “Scott Burton, Sculpture Whose Art Verged on Furniture, Is Dead at 50,” *New York Times*, January 1, 1990.

Culinary Arts

Star chef James Beard and his partner, architect Gino Cofacci, purchased a house at **167 West 12th Street** in 1973. The ground-floor interior was re-designed for the kitchen, site of Beard's famous classes and cooking demonstrations, and the building later became the James Beard Foundation.¹⁵⁴

Fashion and Interior Design

Elsie de Wolfe is often credited as America's first professional interior designer. In 1897–98, she began to redecorate and simplify the interiors of her residence at **122 East 17th Street** [see Theme 2], gaining experience and publicity that enabled her to launch her career in 1905. Ogden Codman (1863–1951) was an influential early 20th century interior designer and residential architect. He is well-documented as active in the homosexual subculture of the 19th and early 20th centuries in Boston, New York, and Europe, along with such friends as architects Arthur Little and Ralph Adams Cram. In 1893, Codman began his architectural practice in New York, where he designed numerous town houses. The Parisian-influenced residence he designed for himself in 1912–13 is located at **7 East 96th Street**. Among his most distinguished accomplishments was the publication *The Decoration of Houses* (1897) with novelist Edith Wharton.¹⁵⁵

Arnold Scaasi (1930–2015) is best known for his evening wear designs worn by first ladies, socialites, and celebrities, primarily during the 1960s through the 1980s. Before Scaasi was 30, he won the prestigious Coty Fashion Critic's Award for best designer of the year and his designs were covered in *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*. In 1954 he reversed the spelling of his last name (Isaacs) to give it a more European flair and two years later launched his own ready-to-wear house garnering immediate notice. In 1959, Scaasi began showing his extravagant and influential ready-to-wear collections at his residence at **26 West 56th Street** (fig. 74). In 1996, Scaasi was given the Lifetime Achievement award by the Fashion Council of America.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ OLGAD.

¹⁵⁵ LPC, Pride Month slide shows.

¹⁵⁶ NYCLGBTHSP; Alexandra Jacobs, "Arnold Scaasi Dies at 85; Dressed Stars and Socialites," *The New York Times*, August 4, 2015; "American Collections: 7th Avenue Frenzy for Fall Nears End," *New York Times*, June 11, 1959; "American Collections: Ebullient Designer With Sense of Drama," *New York Times*, June 10, 1960; "American Collections: Scaasi Designs Draw Crowd's Bravos," *New York Times*, November 11, 1960; Arnold Scaasi, *Women I've Dressed (and Undressed)* (Scribner: 2004); Gale Harris, *E. Hayward and Amelia Parsons Ferry House Designation Report* (New York: LPC, 2009); "Investor Takes East Parcel," *New York Times*, June 17, 1959; Nan Robertson, "Scaasi a Diminutive Man, But Thinks in Big Terms," *New York Times*, June 10, 1959; Scaasi American Couturier. Museum of Fine Arts Boston, bit.ly/2dKZrWZ.

Literature

Long-time Brooklyn resident, and journalist for some 15 years in Brooklyn and Manhattan, Walt Whitman (1819–1892) and his family had just moved into a house at **99 Ryerson Street** in the Wallabout neighborhood when the first edition of his epochal first collection of poems, *Leaves of Grass*, was published in July 1855. [He worked on getting the book ready for publication in a nearby print shop that is no longer extant.] Whitman’s poetry was then considered controversial by some for its sensuality, and a later edition of *Leaves* included his famously homoerotic “Calamus” poems expressing male–male love. These made Whitman iconic in the United States and Europe as one of the first people to openly express the concept of men loving men. Despite being altered, the house on Ryerson Street is one of only two known extant sites in New York City associated with the great, but peripatetic American poet; its integrity needs to be further evaluated. The other is **Pfaff’s** in Manhattan, where Whitman was part of the circle of Bohemians in 1859–62 [see Theme 2].

Author Willa Cather, then an editor at *McClure’s Magazine*, lived on Washington Square from about 1908 to 1913 [see Theme 2]. The openly bisexual poet Edna St. Vincent Millay (1892–1950) established herself as a central figure in Bohemian Greenwich Village. Known to her friends as “Vincent,” Millay was an early member of the Provincetown Players, a theater group that performed just south of Washington Square Park. In 1923, Millay became the third woman to receive the Pulitzer Prize for poetry for *The Ballad of the Harp-Weaver* [see Theme 3].

In 1920, English-born poet Elsa Gidlow (1898–1986) moved from Canada to New York City, where she lived for six years. She first wrote for *Pearson’s Magazine*, a progressive publication that covered literature, politics, and the arts in the first quarter of the 20th century. While today Gidlow is largely associated with the San Francisco Bay Area, in the early 1920s, she lived in an apartment in a converted Chelsea rowhouse at **447 West 22nd Street** (fig. 82), where she likely wrote her groundbreaking book of openly lesbian poetry *On a Grey Thread* (1923). The book, which she dedicated to her first lesbian love, is considered by literary historians to be the first of its kind to be published in North America.¹⁵⁷

Carl Van Vechten (1880–1964) was an extremely influential critic, novelist, photographer, and cultural arbiter, especially noted for his advocacy of African–American art and culture. Although married, Van Vechten had many long-term gay relationships and his sexuality was an open secret during his life. In 1924 Van Vechten moved into a large, elegant apartment at **150 West 55th Street** (fig. 78). Van Vechten was instrumental in introducing the artists of the Harlem Renaissance to white society [see Theme 3].

¹⁵⁷ NYCLGBTHSP; Arlene Lev Istar, “Gidlow, Elsa (1898-1986),” GLBTQ Archive, bit.ly/2e6ikY6; Elsa Gidlow, *Elsa, I Come with My Songs: The Autobiography of Elsa Gidlow* (San Francisco: Booklegger Press, 1986); New York City Directory, 1925; Shayne E. Watson and Donna J. Graves, “Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco,” for the City and County of San Francisco, October 2015, bit.ly/2fIAGii.

Writer Djuna Barnes was a long-time resident of a rowhouse at **5 Patchin Place** in Greenwich Village after the publication of her lesbian novel *Nightwood* in 1936 [see Theme 3]. Poet and writer Langston Hughes, one of the foremost figures of the Harlem Renaissance, lived in a rowhouse in Harlem from 1947 to 1967, the last 20 years of his life [see Theme 3].

The **San Remo Café** (fig. 92) was a working-class Greenwich Village Italian restaurant and bar that operated from about 1925 to 1967. It was located on the ground floor of a tenement building at 189 Bleecker Street, corner of MacDougal Street. Though mob-owned and not especially welcoming, it became a famous Bohemian hangout in the late 1940s and 50s that attracted a mixed Beat and gay clientele, including among its most prominent patrons many artists, writers, dancers, and actors. These included such gay luminaries as Tennessee Williams, Gore Vidal, James Baldwin, Allen Ginsberg, William Burroughs, W.H. Auden, Chester Kallman, Harold Norse, John Cage, Larry Rivers, Frank O'Hara, Montgomery Clift, and Merce Cunningham. One of the San Remo's most famous legends is Vidal picking up Jack Kerouac here and taking him to the Chelsea Hotel.¹⁵⁸

From around 1955 to 1965, Truman Capote (1924–1984) rented the garden apartment of theater designer Oliver Smith's house at **70 Willow Street** in Brooklyn Heights. In 1959, Capote published an essay called "A House on the Heights" about his stay here, which opened with the lines "I live in Brooklyn. By choice." During these years, he wrote his best-known works, *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (1958) and *In Cold Blood* (1966).¹⁵⁹

Through his writing, televised appearances, and public speaking here and abroad, author and activist James Baldwin (1924–1987) became a critical voice for the civil rights movement and brought attention to racial issues in the United States. He took part in the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom and the 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery voting rights march, for example, and wrote about the work of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the sit-ins and other civil rights events taking place in the South. Baldwin's unease with racism in this country led him to live most of his adult life as a self-described "transatlantic commuter." While he lived primarily in France, he often featured New York, including his native Harlem, in his work and resided in a number of apartments here. In 1958–61, he lived at **81 Horatio Street** in Greenwich Village. In 1965, at the height of his

158 NYCLGBTHSP; Shockley, "The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) Community's Presence in the South Village"; Dan Foley, "The Ghosts of Greenwich Village #2: The San Remo Café," *The Last Bohemians* blog, May 15, 2011, bit.ly/2gL9ksl.

159 NYCLGBTHSP; Brazee, Harris, and Shockley, "Gay Pride Month 2013"; Joshua Barone, "A Son's Sleuthing, A Father's Archive and a Lost Brooklyn," *New York Times*, July 22, 2016, C21.

fame, he bought a remodeled rowhouse at **137 West 71st Street** (fig. 84) on the Upper West Side, which he owned until his death. As the first major black writer since the Harlem Renaissance who spoke and wrote about same-sex relationships, Baldwin inspired a new generation of LGBT African American writers in the 1950s and '60s. Beginning with his second novel, the groundbreaking *Giovanni's Room* (1956), Baldwin became known for exploring the then-taboo subjects of homosexuality, bisexuality, and interracial relationships in his writing. Gay or bisexual characters also featured in his novels *Another Country* (1962), *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone* (1968), and *Just Above My Head* (1979). The latter two novels were published during his association with West 72nd Street.¹⁶⁰

Self-described “black, lesbian, feminist, mother, poet warrior” Audre Lorde (1934–1992), her partner of 21 years, Frances Clayton, and their children lived in a house at **207 St. Paul's Avenue** (fig. 75) in Stapleton, Staten Island, from 1972 to 1987. Lorde was an acclaimed, prolific writer of books of poetry and non-fiction, essays, and articles for scholarly journals, who became internationally renowned as a lecturer and civil rights activist, especially for women of color. A selection of notable works written during this time include *Coal* (1976), *The Black Unicorn*, (1978), *The Cancer Journals* (1980), and *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name* (1982). Lorde was a professor of English at John Jay College and held the prestigious post of Thomas Hunter Chair of Literature at Hunter College. In 1980, she was among a group of women who co-founded Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, which published work by and about women of color.¹⁶¹

Architecture

Philip Johnson (1906–2005) was one of the most influential American architects of the 20th century. In his later years, Johnson was publicly open about his personal life. He lived with his partner, art collector and critic David Whitney (1939–2005), for many decades in his masterpiece, the Glass House, in New Canaan, Connecticut. In 1930 Johnson had traveled to Germany with fellow Harvard student Henry-Russell Hitchcock, who had recently written an article on modern architecture. A 1932 exhibition at the **Museum of Modern Art** and its catalogue, curated and written by Hitchcock and Johnson, was highly influential in introducing recent trends in modern European and American architecture to the American public, and the term “international style” was coined. That year, Johnson funded MoMA's

160 NYCLGBTHSP; Hurewitz; Martinac; Brazee, Harris, and Shockley, “150 Years of LGBT History”; David Leeming, *James Baldwin: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1994); Douglas Field, *James Baldwin* (Devon, UK: Northcote House Publishers, 2011). W.J. Weatherby, *James Baldwin: Artist on Fire* (New York: Dutton Adult, 1989).

161 NYCLGBTHSP; Alexis De Veaux, *Warrior Poet: A Biography of Audre Lorde* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004); Barbara Smith, “A Press of Our Own: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 1989; Brazee, Harris, and Shockley, “150 Years of LGBT History”; Eric L. Haralson, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Poetry: The Twentieth Century* (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2001); Gale Harris, *St. Paul's Avenue-Stapleton Heights Historic District Designation Report* (New York: LPC, 2004).

new Department of Architecture and became its first curator, until 1934. Johnson later became an architect and designed MoMA's Grace Rainey Rogers Annex (1951; demolished), Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Sculpture Garden (1953); and the east wing, garden wing, and enlarged sculpture garden (1964) [see MoMA above]. Johnson's notable work in New York City includes the **Rockefeller Guest House** (1949–50), 242 East 52nd Street, one of the first in New York to reflect the influence of Mies van der Rohe and the International Style; the interior spaces for the **Four Seasons Restaurant** (1958–59), located at 99 East 52nd Street in the Seagram Building, considered one of the most elegant International Style interiors in the country; the **New York State Theater** (1964), Lincoln Center; and the **New York State Pavilion** (fig. 90; 1964), New York World's Fair, Flushing Meadows–Corona Park, Queens.¹⁶²

In 1961, Paul Rudolph (1918–1997), architect and chairman of the Department of Architecture at Yale University, began renting at **23 Beekman Place** (fig. 72; the former Cornell/McClintic Residence) by the East River in Midtown. It became his primary residence in 1965. After purchasing the building in 1976, the openly gay Rudolph converted it into apartments and added a remarkable, sculptural penthouse completed in 1982. This work is emblematic of the architectural contribution of the LGBT community to American architecture and Rudolph's acclaim as one of America's most innovative 20th-century architects. Rudolph lived here for the rest of his life; in his last years, he converted his bedroom into a small atelier and worked from this location.¹⁶³ Rudolph was part of a social and professional circle of gay men associated with the Museum of Modern Art including Philip Johnson and Arthur Drexler.¹⁶⁴ These connections were undoubtedly important, but need to be further explored.

Nineteenth-century architects considered LGBT are more difficult to document. The LGBT community has largely come to embrace Chicago master architect Louis Sullivan (1856–1924) as one of its own, as typified by his inclusion in the publication *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community* (2008). Biographer Robert C. Twombly first officially broached Sullivan's personal life in *Louis Sullivan: His Life and Work* (1986), when he wrote "there is a good deal of evidence—some personal, some architectural—to suggest Louis Sullivan may have been homosexual." Twombly was referring to Sullivan's exceptionally private and guarded personality, his preference for the company of men and the study of the male anatomy, his mentorships with such older men as architect John Edlmann, his intense involvement with the athletic Lotos Club in Chicago, his brief

162 NYCLGBTHSP.

163 NYCLGBTHSP; Martinac; Brazee, Harris, and Shockley, "Gay Pride Month 2013"; Matthew Postal, *Paul Rudolph Penthouse & Apartments Designation Report* (New York: LPC, 2010).

164 See Peter Blake, *No Place Like Utopia: Modern Architecture and the Company We Kept* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1993), 132–35.

marriage at the age of 43 as his career was declining, and his complex architectural theories incorporating the “masculine” and “feminine” in his buildings’ form and ornament. While some people may balk at this embrace of Sullivan, the issue of inquiry into the lives of historic LGBT personages was cogently addressed by author Paula Martinac in her pioneering *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (1997): “Because lesbians and gay men have had to hide for such a long time...many of the rules of evidence simply don’t apply...In claiming people as gay, I was more interested in looking for how people lived their lives – their friends and community, their work, their relationships.”¹⁶⁵ The **Bayard-Condict Building** (1897–99), 67 Bleecker Street, Sullivan’s only work in New York City, is a superb example of his tall building designs. Clad entirely in white glazed terra cotta, the 12-story building features monumental piers and mullions that soar upward to round arches, culminating in a row of winged angels amidst a profusion of Sullivan’s highly distinctive organic ornamentation.¹⁶⁶

Extant Examples for the LGBT Community’s Impact on Arts and Culture (1850s to 2000). See “Appendix A: Selection of LGBT Historic Properties.” Examples that represent this theme will be noted with a “9” in the “Context Theme” column(s) of the spreadsheet.

165 Martinac, xii.

166 Brazee, Harris, and Shockley, “150 Years of LGBT History”; Tracy Baim, ed., *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City’s Gay Community* (Chicago: Surrey Books, 2008).

CHAPTER 3

Evaluation Framework

Property Types and Functions Associated with LGBT History in New York City

LGBT history in New York City is represented in all of the standard property types: buildings, sites, structures, objects, and historic districts. Each of those types of properties can be categorized by function or use. The following list explores common functions or uses found in property types associated with LGBT history in New York City.¹⁶⁷

FUNCTION OR USE	COMMON SUBCATEGORIES
Domestic	Single dwelling, multiple dwelling, hotel, institutional housing
Commercial	Business (office building, bathhouse, sex club), professional (architect’s studio, law office), organizational, financial institution, specialty store (bookstore), department store, restaurant (café, bar, nightclub, saloon)
Social	Meeting hall, community center, clubhouse (literary or social facility); political headquarters
Government	City hall, correctional facility (police station, jail, prison), government office (municipal building), courthouse
Education	Schools, college (university), library, education-related (college dormitory)
Religion	Religious facility (church, temple, synagogue), church-related residence (parsonage, rectory)
Funerary	Cemetery (burial site), graves/burials
Recreation and Culture	Theater (movie theater, playhouse), museum (art gallery), music facility (concert hall, opera house), outdoor recreation (park, beach), monument/marker, work of art (sculpture, statue, mural)
Health Care	Hospital (medical research facility, hospice), medical business/office
Defense	Military facility
Landscape	Park, plaza (square, green, public common), street furniture/object

167 This chapter is based on “Chapter 5. Evaluation Framework” in 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, October 2015), 328-348.

National Register of Historic Places Criteria and Definitions

A property may be deemed significant if it meets at least one of four National Register criteria. Properties exemplifying LGBT history in New York City will primarily be eligible under Criterion A and Criterion B, though some will also be eligible under Criterion C. It is possible that subsurface material of properties from the colonial period could be eligible under Criterion D.

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

Framework for Evaluating LGBT Properties in New York City

The following sets of guidelines, each covering one of the nine themes presented in “Chapter 2: LGBT History,” are intended to assist New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation staff, preservation professionals, and community members in evaluating historic resources related to LGBT history in New York City. Each set contains the following information: summary of significance for the theme; common property functions that are representative of the theme; period of significance; applicable National Register criteria, along with examples of properties potentially significant under each of the applicable criteria; and eligibility requirements, which provide nuanced guidance on how to evaluate significance of certain property functions under a particular theme.

THEME 1

New Amsterdam and New York City in the 17th and 18th Centuries

Significance

If found through future research, historic properties exemplifying this theme may be significant under **critterion A** for their association with sodomy trials in the colonial period; or as examples of gathering spaces of groups of people who would now be identified as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender. Note: at the time of this report no extant sites were found that met this criterion.

If found through future research, historic properties significant under this theme may also be significance under **critterion B** for their associations with influential individuals who would now be identified as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender. Note: at the time of this report no extant sites were found that met this criterion.

All historic properties that meet criterion A and/or criterion B for their significant associations with LGBT history and/or individuals under this theme may also be significant under **critterion C** as representative intact examples of their styles, periods, or types in architecture, art, engineering and/or landscape architecture.

If found through future research, historic properties exemplifying this theme may have the following functions: Commercial, Social, and Landscape. Note: While research has yet to uncover spaces with commercial and/or social functions related to individuals who would now be identified as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender, these functions are being included here because it is possible that further scholarly research will yield such information. Historic properties are likely to be found in the area of Lower Manhattan roughly south of present-day Delancey Street.

Possible Areas of Significance

Architecture, Engineering, Landscape Architecture, Law, Politics/Government,
Social History

THEME 2

Emergence of an LGBT Subculture in New York City (1840s to World War I)

Significance

Historic properties exemplifying this theme may be significant under **critterion A** for their association with a burgeoning working- and middle-class sexual underground subculture, including the emergence of flamboyantly effeminate “fairies”; or for their association with cross-gender entertainment and identities; or for their association with bohemianism, including arts and literature; or for their association with early laws and policing, including 19th and early 20th century sodomy laws.

Historic properties significant under this theme may also be significant under **critterion B** for their associations with LGBT individuals within the spheres of upper New York society, politics, and culture; or for their association with lesbian progressive reformers.

All historic properties that meet criterion A and/or criterion B for their significant associations with LGBT history and/or individuals under this theme may also be significant under **critterion C** as representative intact examples of their styles, periods, or types in architecture, art, engineering and/or landscape architecture.

Historic properties exemplifying this theme have the following functions: Domestic and Commercial. They are generally located in Greenwich Village and the Lower East Side in Manhattan, though further research may reveal locations in the other four boroughs of New York City.

Possible Areas of Significance

Art, Architecture, Commerce, Education, Engineering, Entertainment, Health/Medicine, Landscape Architecture, Literature, Music, Performing Arts, Politics/Government, Social History

National Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

CRITERION: A

- **Example:** Mills House No. 1, 156 Bleecker Street, Manhattan
- **National Register Criteria:** Within the theme “Emergence of an LGBT Subculture in New York City (1840s to World War I),” Mills House No. 1 is significant under criterion A as an example of early 20th century bachelor

flats that housed working-class gay men. All-male housing accommodations created by 19th-century New York City reformers to provide safe, wholesome, and affordable housing for working men were ironically “major centers for the gay world and served to introduce men to gay life,” according to historian George Chauncey in his book, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940*. This type of housing was also desirable because gay men could go more easily undetected. That Mills House No. 1, with its hundreds of clean small rooms, restaurant, and lounges, became a favored abode for working-class gay men is suggested by the frequency in which men arrested on homosexual charges listed it as their residence at the magistrate’s courts. It continued as a men’s hotel, known after 1949 as the Greenwich Hotel, until the 1970s

- **Period of Significance:** 1897 to 1945 (based on current research), the year the building opened through World War II.
- **Integrity:** The building’s exterior retains its integrity from the period of significance in terms of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Note: Interior integrity must be assessed as part of the evaluation process.
- **Character-Defining Features:** Documented association with the historic theme; evidence of a sufficient number of (likely unknown) LGBT individuals living in the building, as shown through documentation such as arrest/court records; interior layout recognizable from period of significance, perhaps by floor plan, division into small rooms, evidence of past room divisions, etc.

CRITERION: B

- **Example:** Elisabeth Marbury and Elsie de Wolfe Residence, 122 East 17th Street, Manhattan
- **National Register Criteria:** Within the theme “Emergence of an LGBT Subculture in New York City (1840s to World War I),” this site is significant under Criterion B in the areas of architecture/interior design and the performing arts for its association with Elsie de Wolfe, often credited as America’s first professional interior designer, and Elisabeth “Bessie” Marbury, one of the world’s leading theatrical agents and producers (and a pioneering woman in this field). Considered a Victorian power couple, de Wolfe and Marbury lived in this house, near Union Square, between 1892 and 1911. During their time here, they established themselves as leaders in their respective fields: Marbury’s career as an agent to renowned American and European playwrights (including Oscar Wilde, Somerset

Maugham, Sir James Barrie, Clyde Fitch, and Jerome Kern) took off during this period; de Wolfe began to redecorate and simplify the interiors of the couple's house in 1897-98, thus gaining experience and publicity that enabled her to launch her career as an interior decorator in 1905. The couple began to host famous Sunday afternoon "teas" in 1897, attracting American and European celebrities connected with the worlds of the arts, society, and politics.

- **Period of Significance:** 1892 to 1911 (based on current research), the years that Elisabeth Marbury and Elsie de Wolfe lived in this house.
- **Integrity:** The building's exterior retains its integrity from the period of significance in terms of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Note: Interior integrity must be verified as part of the evaluation process.
- **Character-Defining Features:** Documented association with the historic theme; association with notable LGBT individual or couple; notable LGBT individual or couple completed significant work while living here; façade recognizable to notable LGBT individual/couple; interior layout recognizable from period of significance.

THEME 3

Development of Lesbian and Gay Greenwich Village and Harlem Between the Wars (1918 to 1945)

Significance

Historic properties exemplifying this theme may be significant under **critterion A** for their association with the emergence of Greenwich Village as an early and nationally significant LGBT enclave; or as examples of the first instance in New York City of covert middle-class gay and lesbian commercial enterprises in Greenwich Village; or for their representation of a more public LGBT presence and community in bars and clubs in Greenwich Village and Harlem; or for their association with the development of Harlem as the cultural capital of black America during and after the Harlem Renaissance, including the arts, literature, and entertainment.

Historic properties under this theme may also be significant under **critterion B** for their associations with gay and lesbian residents, particularly artists, writers, and those who were politically and socially progressive in Greenwich Village and Harlem.

All historic properties that meet criterion A and/or criterion B for their significant associations with LGBT history and/or individuals under this theme may also be significant under **critterion C** as representative intact examples of their styles, periods, or types in architecture, art, engineering, and/or landscape architecture.

Historic properties exemplifying this theme have the following functions: Domestic, Commercial, Social, Education, and Recreation and/or Culture. They are located in Greenwich Village and Harlem in Manhattan.

Possible Areas of Significance

Art, Architecture, Commerce, Education, Engineering, Entertainment, Landscape Architecture, Literature, Music, Performing Arts, Social History

National Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

CRITERION: A

- **Example:** Eve Addams' Tearoom, 129 MacDougal Street, Manhattan
- **National Register Criteria:** Within the theme "Development of Gay and

Lesbian Neighborhoods in the Early 20th Century (1900 to 1945),” Eve Addams’ Tearoom, a popular and early example of a documented lesbian club run by Polish-Jewish émigré Eva Kotchever (Czlotcheber) in 1925-1926, is significant under criterion A as an example of the kind of small private establishments that opened in Greenwich Village in this period that were safe places for gay people to meet and socialize. It is also important in recalling the importance of this MacDougal Street block, in particular, located immediately south of Washington Square Park, during the 1920s, when several gay and lesbian establishments operated here. The club presumably operated on the parlor floor. This block became more important as an LGBT nucleus after a series of police crackdowns on spots elsewhere in the Village in 1925 and 1926. A Village columnist noted in 1931 that Eve Addams’ Tearoom was one of the most delightful hang-outs the Village ever had.” Unfortunately, after a police raid, Kotchever was convicted of obscenity (for *Lesbian Love*, a collection of her short stories) and disorderly conduct, and was deported.

- **Period of Significance:** 1925 to 1926 (based on current research), the years of operation for Eve Addams’ Tearoom.
- **Integrity:** The building’s exterior retains its integrity from the period of significance in terms of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The building’s interior appears to have retained its integrity but will need verification; it still operates as an eating/drinking establishment.
- **Character-Defining Features:** Documented association with the historic theme, an eating/drinking establishment known to cater to members of the LGBT community (in this case, lesbians); it must appear as a commercial establishment; the storefront massing and fenestration must be recognizable from the period of significance; interior layout must be able to be understood as a “tearoom” from period of significance.

CRITERION: B

- **Example:** Billy Strayhorn & Aaron Bridgers Residence, 315 Convent Avenue, Manhattan
- **National Register Criteria:** Within the themes “Development of Gay and Lesbian Neighborhoods in the Early 20th Century (1900 to 1945)” and “The LGBT Community’s Impact on Arts and Culture (1910s to 2000),” this site is significant under Criterion B in the area of performing arts for its association with Harlem resident/performer and openly gay jazz composer Billy Strayhorn. This is the New York City residence associated with

Strayhorn the longest and one in which he lived the majority of years with his partner, the jazz pianist Aaron Bridgers. Strayhorn also composed a number of notable works here and continued his collaboration with Duke Ellington.

- **Period of Significance:** 1939 to 1950 (based on current research), the years that Billy Strayhorn lived here. Note: Bridgers lived here from 1939 to 1948.
- **Integrity:** The building's exterior retains its integrity from the period of significance in terms of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Note: Interior integrity must be verified as part of the evaluation process.
- **Character-Defining Features:** Documented association with the historic theme; documented association with significant LGBT individual and/or LGBT couple; individual/couple completed significant work here; façade recognizable to significant LGBT individual and/or LGBT couple associated with site; interior layout recognizable from period of significance.

THEME 4

Policing, Harassment, and Social Control (1840s to 1974)

Significance

Historic properties exemplifying this theme may be significant under **critterion A** for their association with bar raids and police harassment; or for an association with federal, state, and local anti-homosexual laws and policies; or for an association with significant court cases and legal battles; or as examples of early efforts by the LGBT community to fight back against oppression.

All historic properties that meet criterion A for their significant associations with LGBT history under this theme *may* also be significant under **critterion C** as representative intact examples of their styles, periods, or types in architecture, art, engineering and/or landscape architecture.

Historic properties exemplifying this theme have the following functions: Commercial, Government, and Recreation and/or Culture. Known properties are located primarily in downtown Manhattan and the Theater District, but further research may reveal locations in the other four boroughs of New York City.

Possible Areas of Significance

Architecture, Commerce, Engineering, Landscape Architecture, Law, Performing Arts, Politics/Government, Social History

National Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

CRITERION: A

- **Example:** The Slide, 157 Bleecker Street, Manhattan
- **National Register Criteria:** Within the theme “Policing, Harassment, and Social Control (1840s to 1974),” the Slide is an example of the types of entertainment establishments associated with the subculture of flamboyantly effeminate “fairies” that operated in commercialized vice centers in New York City in the 1890s, and was shut down by the police. Bleecker Street in Greenwich Village was one of several areas that became known for these kinds of establishments, and the Slide was popularly identified by 1890 as New York’s “worst dive” because of its fairies. Closed

by police in 1892, the Slide's proprietor was convicted of keeping a "disorderly house." The Slide is the earliest documented site of this kind of establishment.

- **Period of Significance:** 1890 to 1892 (based on current research), the years of operation for the Slide. Further research may uncover an earlier opening date than 1890.
- **Integrity:** The building's exterior retains its integrity from the period of significance in terms of location, setting, feeling, and association. The upper portion of the façade sufficiently retains its integrity in terms of design, materials, and workmanship. Note: Interior integrity must be verified as part of the evaluation process.
- **Character-Defining Features:** Documented association with the historic theme; documented evidence that "fairies" entertained here; interior layout must be able to be understood as a bar/club space from the period of significance; rare surviving site associated with the "fairy" subculture of the 1890s, one of the earliest periods such a subculture has been documented in New York City.

THEME 5

Privacy in Public: Cruising Spots, Bathhouses, and Other Sexual Meeting Places (1840s to 2000)

Significance

Historic properties exemplifying this theme may be significant under **critterion A** for their association with the development of sex-based cultures and communities in bathhouses and public spaces throughout New York City.

All historic properties that meet criterion A for their significant associations with LGBT history under this theme *may* also be significant under **critterion C** as representative intact examples of their styles, periods, or types in architecture, art, engineering and/or landscape architecture.

Because historic associations at some of these properties took place less than 50 years ago, the applicable properties will need to be evaluated in accordance with the special criteria for judging exceptionally significant properties under **National Register Criteria Consideration G**. This involves comparing it with other possible properties with similar significance in New York City and seeking the opinions of any scholars who have written on the significance of the events associated with it in order to gain historical perspective.

Historic properties exemplifying this theme have the following functions: Commercial, Landscape, and Recreation and/or Culture. Known properties are located primarily in Manhattan, but further research may reveal locations in the other four boroughs of New York City.

Possible Areas of Significance

Architecture, Engineering, Landscape Architecture, Social History

National Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

CRITERION: A

- **Example:** “Gay Beach” at Riis Park Beach, Queens
- **National Register Criteria:** Within the theme, “Privacy in Public: Cruising Spots, Bathhouses, and Other Sexual Meeting Places (1840s to 2000),” “Gay Beach” at Riis Park Beach, a popular and long-term cruising and

socializing spot, is significant under Criterion A in the area of social history as an example of the kind of outdoor, public spaces associated with LGBT cruising and socializing. Beginning in the 1940s, the more isolated eastern end of the beach attracted predominately gay white men, and lesbians claimed a nearby area by the 1950s. This section of the beach, which during the 1960s became clothing optional, was affectionately called “Screech Beach” due to its gay presence. At this time, this area also became increasingly popular with gay African-American and Latino people and therefore was significant in bringing diverse LGBT groups together. Some associations with Riis Park Beach took place less than 50 years ago. For example, as a site of activism, the beach was the location of a 1971 voter registration drive led by the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA), one of the first gay rights groups to form after the 1969 Stonewall Uprising. When the park ownership was transferred to the National Park Service in 1972, it was much more difficult to bathe nude. However, the LGBT presence here continues to the present day.

- **Period of Significance:** 1940s to 1972 (based on current research), the years when this particular section of the beach became associated with the LGBT community. Note: the end date of 1972 was chosen because park ownership was transferred to the National Park Service that year. Further research may reveal important LGBT associations that occurred after this date, which may impact the period of significance end date.
- **Integrity:** The beach retains its integrity from the period of significance in terms of location, setting, design, feeling, and association. No structures contribute to the beach’s significance as a gay cruising and socializing space.
- **Character-Defining Features:** Documented association with the historic theme; isolated and/or concealed section of a public landscape; noticeable patterns that the public space was used for LGBT cruising activity.

THEME 6

The Early Fight for LGBT Equality (1930s to 1974)

Significance

Historic properties exemplifying this theme may be significant under **critterion A** for their association with the development of homophile organizations in New York City, such as the Mattachine Society, Daughters of Bilitis, West Side Discussion Group, and Student Homophile League; or for their association with the emergence of more militant LGBT rights groups, such as the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), Gay Activists Alliance (GAA), Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR), Lesbian Feminist Liberation, Radicalesbians, and the National Gay Task Force; or as examples of early Pride Marches and gathering spaces; or for their association with early LGBT religious congregations, such as the Church of the Holy Apostles, Church of the Beloved Disciple, Metropolitan Community Church of New York, and Congregation Beit Simchat Torah.

Historic properties significant under this theme may also be significant under **critterion B** for their associations with pioneering activists such as Henry Gerber, Franklin E. Kameny, Craig Rodwell, Barbara Gittings, and Christine Jorgensen.

All historic properties that meet criterion A and/or criterion B for their significant associations with LGBT history and/or individuals under this theme may also be significant under **critterion C** as representative intact examples of their styles, periods, or types in architecture, art, engineering and/or landscape architecture.

Because historic associations at some of these properties took place less than 50 years ago, the applicable properties will need to be evaluated in accordance with the special criteria for judging exceptionally significant properties under **National Register Criteria Consideration G**. This involves comparing it with other possible properties with similar significance in New York City and seeking the opinions of any scholars who have written on the significance of the events associated with it in order to gain historical perspective.

Historic properties exemplifying this theme have the following functions: Domestic, Commercial, Social, Government, Education, Religion, and Landscape. They are located primarily in Greenwich Village and environs in Manhattan, but also in areas of Brooklyn and Queens. Further research may reveal locations in the Bronx and Staten Island.

Possible Areas of Significance

Architecture, Commerce, Education, Engineering, Landscape Architecture, Religion, Social History

National Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

CRITERION: A

- **Example:** Gay Activists Alliance Firehouse, 99 Wooster Street, Manhattan
- **National Register Criteria:** Within the themes “The Fight for LGBT Equality (1945 to 2000),” “LGBT Communities: Support, Education, and Awareness (1970 to 2000)” and “Policing, Harassment, and Social Control (1890s to 2000),” this site is significant under Criterion A in the area of social history/civil rights for its association with the early gay rights movement in New York City’s post-Stonewall era. The GAA Firehouse was the first important social and political center of the city’s burgeoning movement and the scene of a 1974 arson fire on the upper floors that was a homophobic attack against the group.
- **Period of Significance:** 1970 to 1974 (based on current research), the years that GAA was associated with the firehouse.
- **Integrity:** The building exterior retains its integrity from the period of significance in terms of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The interior damage on the upper floors from the 1974 arson fire, a homophobic act, is part of the site’s LGBT narrative and significance (of the fire, then-GAA president Morty Manford stated that it was “part of a wave of harassment against gays”). Note: Interior integrity must be verified as part of the evaluation process.
- **Character-Defining Features:** Documented association with the historic theme; a communal space where LGBT people gathered socially and/or LGBT activists organized; an LGBT welcoming space (if the property itself is not operated by members of the LGBT community, such as a non-LGBT-run church); interior layout understood as a space where people gathered for social purposes.

CRITERION: B

- **Example:** Christine Jorgensen Residence, 2847 Dudley Avenue, the Bronx
- **National Register Criteria:** Within the theme “The Early Fight for LGBT Equality (1930s to 1974),” this site is significant under Criterion B in the area of social history for its association with Christine Jorgensen, the

pioneering transgender woman who lived here since the year of her birth in 1926 until sometime after she returned home from overseas after gender reassignment surgery in March 1953. The press attention she received here (reporters surrounded the house, forcing her and her parents to flee to the homes of nearby relatives) and elsewhere made Jorgensen a household name across the country and around the world, which subsequently led to the public's broader awareness of the community that now identifies as transgender. While living here, Jorgensen began to come to terms with her gender identity: by age four or five she knew that, although she had been born male, she did not identify as male; as a teenager, she read Radclyffe Hall's influential lesbian novel *The Well of Loneliness* (1928), which she credited as making her "more determined than ever to fight for this victory" (gender reassignment). Transgender historian Susan Stryker notes that Jorgensen's story set off many post-World War II anxieties about gender and sexuality and would ultimately drive the later feminist and LGBT rights movements. The house itself was built by her father's construction company, Jorgensen Realty and Construction Company, shortly before she was born.

- **Period of Significance:** 1926 to March 1953 (based on current research), the years that Christine Jorgensen was associated with this house.
- **Integrity:** The building's exterior retains its integrity from the period of significance in terms of location, setting, design, feeling, and association. Materials and some fenestration have been altered, but the massing and overall appearance remains intact. Note: Interior integrity must be verified as part of the evaluation process.
- **Character-Defining Features:** Documented association with the historic theme; association with LGBT individual when the person gained significance; freestanding house representative of those LGBT individuals and/or couples who lived in a more suburban area of New York City (particularly the boroughs other than Manhattan); rare surviving residential building in the five boroughs of New York City associated with a significant transgender individual; rare surviving property in the Bronx associated with a significant LGBT person.

THEME 7

LGBT Communities: Action, Support, Education, and Awareness (1974 to 2000)

Significance

Historic properties exemplifying this theme may be significant under **criteria A** for their association with education-based groups, such as the Institute for the Protection of Lesbian and Gay Youth (later the Hetrick-Martin Institute) and the Gay, Lesbian & Straight Education Network (GLESN); or for their association with action, support, and awareness groups, such as the Lesbian Herstory Archives, Salsa Soul Sisters, Gay Officers Action League (GOAL), Queens Gays and Lesbians United (QGLU), and Transy House; or for their association with LGBT-led and/or LGBT-inclusive religious congregations; or for their associations with LGBT organizations founded to combat hate crimes and other forms of harassment against the LGBT community, such as the New York City Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project (later the Anti-Violence Project).

All historic properties that meet criterion A for their significant associations with LGBT history under this theme may also be significant under **criteria C** as representative intact examples of their styles, periods, or types in architecture, art, engineering and/or landscape architecture.

Because historic associations at some of these properties took place less than 50 years ago, the applicable properties will need to be evaluated in accordance with the special criteria for judging exceptionally significant properties under **National Register Criteria Consideration G**. This involves comparing it with other possible properties with similar significance in New York City and seeking the opinions of any scholars who have written on the significance of the events associated with it in order to gain historical perspective.

Historic properties exemplifying this theme have the following functions: Commercial, Social, Education, Religion, and Landscape. They are largely located in Greenwich Village and environs, but also in areas throughout the five boroughs of New York City.

Possible Areas of Significance

Architecture, Education, Engineering, Landscape Architecture, Religion, Social History

National Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

CRITERION: A

- **Example:** Institute for the Protection of Lesbian and Gay Youth, 112 East 23rd Street, Manhattan
- **National Register Criteria:** Within the theme “LGBT Communities: Action, Support, Education, and Awareness (1974 to 2000),” this site is significant under Criterion A in the areas of education and social history for its association with the Institute for the Protection of Lesbian and Gay Youth (IPLGY; now known as the Hetrick-Martin Institute), an early educational and support organization led by LGBT people for LGBT youth. IPLGY occupied the full third floor of the building from 1983 to 1986, during which time it established the Harvey Milk High School (the nation’s first high school for LGBT youth) and provided social services through LGBT youth counseling and a drop-in center. IPLGY was founded by a gay couple, Drs. Emery S. Hetrick and A. Damien Martin, who were concerned about at-risk LGBT youth in New York City affected by homophobia, physical abuse, homelessness, chronic truancy and school dropout, and involvement in sex work to survive.
- **Period of Significance:** 1983 to 1986 (based on current research), the years that IPLGY had an office in this building.
- **Integrity:** The building’s exterior retains its integrity from the period of significance in terms of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Note: Interior integrity must be verified.
- **Character-Defining Features:** Documented association with the historic theme; association with LGBT group that undertook significant work here; façade recognizable to LGBT group associated with the site; interior layout recognizable from period of significance.

THEME 8

New York City and the AIDS Epidemic (1981 to 2000)

Significance

Historic properties exemplifying this theme may be significant under **criteria A** for their association with groups of people impacted by HIV/AIDS, organizations, and events related to the AIDS epidemic in New York City.

Historic properties significant under this theme may also be significance under **criteria B** for their association with notable individuals directly impacted by HIV/AIDS and/or notable individual HIV/AIDS activists in New York City.

All historic properties that meet criterion A and/or criterion B for their significant associations with LGBT history and/or individuals under this theme *may* also be significant under **criteria C** as representative intact examples of their styles, periods, or types in architecture, art, engineering and/or landscape architecture.

Because historic associations at some of these properties took place less than 50 years ago, the applicable properties will need to be evaluated in accordance with the special criteria for judging exceptionally significant properties under **National Register Criteria Consideration G**. This involves comparing it with other possible properties with similar significance in New York City and seeking the opinions of any scholars who have written on the significance of the events associated with it in order to gain historical perspective.

Historic properties exemplifying this theme have the following functions: Domestic, Commercial, Social, Government, Health Care, and Landscape. They are largely located in Greenwich Village and surrounding environs, but also in areas throughout the five boroughs of New York City.

Possible Areas of Significance

Architecture, Engineering, Health/Medicine, Landscape Architecture, Literature, Performing Arts, Social History

National Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

CRITERION: A

- **Example:** ACT UP Demonstration Site at the New York Stock Exchange, 11 Wall Street, Manhattan
- **National Register Criteria:** Within the theme “New York City and the AIDS Epidemic (1981 to 2000),” this site is significant under Criterion A in the areas of health/medicine and social history for its association with the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP), a political action group formed in Manhattan in 1987 to bring attention to the AIDS crisis through public demonstrations. Chapters soon opened around the country and abroad. On September 14, 1989, two successful demonstrations were held at the New York Stock Exchange. On the street in front of the Stock Exchange, ACT UP led a 350-person rally against a pharmaceutical company that manufactured the high-priced AZT (the only approved AIDS drug at the time), which was unaffordable to most people living with HIV. Separate from the noon rally, eight members of the group infiltrated the Stock Exchange in protest. Photographs from the event went national and the price of AZT was lowered four days later. These demonstrations were an early victory for ACT UP, proving that the young organization could effect change during a time of government inaction and public apathy.
- **Period of Significance:** September 14, 1989 (based on current research), the date of two ACT UP demonstrations.
- **Integrity:** The building’s exterior retains its integrity from the period of significance in terms of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The open space in front of the building also retains integrity, with the exception of security barriers installed after the nearby terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. As the building is still in use as the New York Stock Exchange, the building’s interior retains sufficient integrity.
- **Character-Defining Features:** Documented association with the historic theme; association with an AIDS group or event (in this case, ACT UP); the public space where demonstrations were held must remain largely intact so that it is recognizable from the period of significance.

CRITERION: B

- **Example:** Larry Kramer Residence, 2 Fifth Avenue, Manhattan
- **National Register Criteria:** Within the theme “New York City and the AIDS Epidemic (1981 to 2000),” this site is significant under Criterion B in the areas of health/medicine, literature, performing arts, and social history

for its association with playwright, writer, and gay rights and AIDS activist Larry Kramer, who has lived in an apartment in this domestic building since at least the early 1980s. In August 1981, Kramer convened a group of friends and a medical doctor in his apartment to discuss a recently announced “gay cancer” (soon after re-named AIDS), and that meeting eventually led to the founding of the Gay Men’s Health Crisis. Kramer’s impassioned speech at the nearby Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center (now the LGBT Community Center) in 1987 led to the founding of the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP), of which he was a co-founder. While living in this apartment he also wrote numerous gay- and AIDS-themed plays, including *The Normal Heart* (1985), and other literary works. Note: evaluating the significance of a living person presents several difficulties, the most significant of which is the fact that the individual may not have completed his life’s work, making it difficult to evaluate his contributions with confidence.

- **Period of Significance:** Early 1980s to present (based on current research), the years that Larry Kramer has lived in this building.
- **Integrity:** The building’s exterior retains its integrity from the period of significance in terms of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. As the residence is still owned and lived in by the person of significance, the building’s apartment interior retains its integrity.
- **Character-Defining Features:** Documented association with the historic theme; association with significant LGBT individual; individual completed significant work while living here; façade recognizable from the period of significance; interior layout recognizable to the notable LGBT individual who lived there.

THEME 9

The LGBT Community's Impact on Arts and Culture (1850s to 2000)

Significance

Historic properties exemplifying this theme may be significant under **critterion A** for their association with influential LGBT artistic groups related to such fields as theater, dance, music, visual arts, fashion, and literature.

Historic properties significant under this theme may also be significance under **critterion B** for their associations with influential LGBT artists related to such fields as theater, dance, music, visual arts, fashion, and literature; or for their association with influential LGBT individuals working in fields related to the built environment, such as interior design, architecture, and historic preservation and cultural heritage.

Historic properties significant under this theme may also be significant under **critterion C** as representative intact examples of their styles, periods, or types in architecture, art, engineering and/or landscape architecture.

Because historic associations at some of these properties took place less than 50 years ago, the applicable properties will need to be evaluated in accordance with the special criteria for judging exceptionally significant properties under **National Register Criteria Consideration G**. This involves comparing it with other possible properties with similar significance in New York City and seeking the opinions of any scholars who have written on the significance of the events associated with it in order to gain historical perspective.

Historic properties exemplifying this theme have the following functions: Domestic, Commercial, Social, Recreation and Culture, and Landscape. They are located throughout the five boroughs of New York City.

Possible Areas of Significance

Art, Architecture, Engineering, Landscape Architecture, Literature, Music, Performing Arts, Social History

National Register Criteria for Evaluating Significance

CRITERION: A

- **Example:** WOW (Women's One World) Café Theater, 59-61 East 4th Street, Manhattan

- **National Register Criteria:** Within the theme “The LGBT Community’s Impact on Arts and Culture (1850s to 2000),” this site is significant under Criterion A in the areas of performing arts and social history for its association with WOW (Women’s One World) Café Theater, which bills itself as the “oldest collectively-run performance space for women and/or trans artists in the known universe.” Founded in the early 1980s, the group moved to its current location c. 1984, which remains one of the premiere centers for lesbian and trans women theater in New York City. It is also important as an early women’s space and group in the theater world, which, in the LGBT community, has historically been predominantly associated with gay men and gay male theater.
- **Period of Significance:** 1984 to present (based on current research), the years that WOW Café Theatre has operated in this building.
- **Integrity:** The building’s exterior retains its integrity from the period of significance in terms of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. As the space is still in use as the WOW Café Theatre, the building’s theater interior retains its integrity.
- **Character-Defining Features:** Documented association with the historic theme; interior layout recognizable as a space where theater could take place; associated with significant LGBT theater individuals and/or groups; façade recognizable to significant LGBT theater individual and/or group

CRITERION: B

- **Example:** Keith Haring Studio, 676 Broadway, Manhattan
- **National Register Criteria:** Within the themes “The LGBT Community’s Impact on Arts and Culture (1850s to 2000),” and “New York City and the AIDS Epidemic (1981 to 2000),” this site is significant under Criterion B in the areas of art and social history/civil rights for its association with the openly gay artist Keith Haring, who through his internationally recognized art, was also an influential LGBT rights and AIDS activist. Haring had his art studio here from 1985 to 1990, the last five years of his life, and created numerous works to help advance gay rights and fight the AIDS crisis. During this time, he also opened the Pop Shop in SoHo, which was an extension of his art studio and sought to make his work accessible to everyone. Haring’s homosexuality was influential in the creation of his work, as is noted in his own journals, and he moved in a social circle that included LGBT artists, including his mentor, Andy Warhol. He also worked here when he was diagnosed with HIV/AIDS in 1988. The site is also the New York City building associated with him for the longest period of time.

- **Period of Significance:** 1985 to 1990 (based on current research), the years that Keith Haring had an art studio in this building. Note: the Keith Haring Foundation, which Haring established here in 1989 before his death from AIDS-related complications a year later, still operates in this space.
- **Integrity:** The building's retains its integrity from the period of significance in terms of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The Keith Haring Foundation, which he established, is still located here and, presumably, has kept his studio intact. Interior integrity must be verified before NR nomination.
- **Character-Defining Features:** Documented association with the historic theme; interior layout recognizable as a space that could be used as an art studio; significant LGBT artist completed significant work here; façade recognizable to significant LGBT artist.

CRITERION: C

- **Example:** 23 Beekman Place, Manhattan
- **National Register Criteria:** Within the theme under Criterion C, the site is significant in the area of architecture for Paul Rudolph's sculptural multi-story penthouse design added to the building in 1977-82. This was his longest New York City residence (and later workspace), where he lived with his partner, and the penthouse he designed here is considered a significant architectural addition. A number of observers have interpreted the penthouse interior design as the work of a gay architect.¹⁶⁸ Of his many designs that were planned for New York City, this is one of only five that were realized. The building was also his primary residence when all of those commissions were built. Although the addition is less than fifty years old, it meets the criteria for significance as a major work of a master architect of Mid-century Modern design.
- **Period of Significance:** 1961 to 1997 (based on current research), the years that Paul Rudolph lived (and later worked) here; 1977 to 1982, the years of construction of his penthouse design.
- **Integrity:** The building exterior retains its integrity from the period of significance in terms of location, setting, design, materials, feeling, and association. However, the interior was altered in the early 2000s. Note:

¹⁶⁸ Uwe Bresan, "The Glass Bottom Secret," *Stylepark*, September 16, 2016, <https://www.stylepark.com/en/news/the-glass-bottom-secret>; David Colman, "Master Builder," *Elle Décor*, September 14, 2011, <https://www.elledecor.com/design-decorate/interior-designers/a3434/master-builder-a-70791>.

Interior integrity must be verified before NR nomination.

- **Character-Defining Features:** Documented association with the historic theme; significant work of a master architect; associated with a significant architect, as his or her design and/or his or her place of residence and/or work; façade recognizable to the period of significance; interior layout associated with architect of significance is recognizable from period of significance.

CHAPTER 4

**Step-By-Step
Guide to
Evaluation
for State and
National
Register Listings**

Step-By-Step Guide To Evaluation For State and National Register Listings¹⁶⁹

The State and National Registers of Historic Places are the official lists of buildings, structures, districts, objects, and sites significant in the history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture of New York and the nation. In New York, the State and National Registers are administered by the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), which is within the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation.

Evaluating a property for potential listing on the State and National Registers of Historic Places is a multi-step process that often requires outreach to preservation advocates and organizations, stakeholders, elected officials, and the SHPO. The preparation of a nomination proposal is a cooperative effort between the sponsor — often a not-for-profit organization or the owner of the property — and the staff of the SHPO.

There are three essential steps for determining if a property meets the National Register criteria: understanding the property within a larger historic context, assessing whether or not the property is significant within the historic context, and determining if the property retains sufficient integrity to convey its significance.

This section presents a general overview for navigating those three steps, with the goal of helping advocates not familiar with historic preservation to better understand the evaluation process. Evaluating a property as a potential New York City landmark requires a similar, yet procedurally different, process through the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, which starts by submission of a Request for Evaluation. For additional information, see the Nominate a Landmark on the Commission’s website.

Evaluation Process Using Caffe Cino at 31 Cornelia Street, Manhattan

The building at 31 Cornelia Street in Manhattan, which housed Caffe Cino from 1958–1968, is used in the following examples of how to complete each step. This site was listed on the State Register of Historic Places in September 2017 and the National Register of Historic Places in November 2017.

¹⁶⁹ This chapter is adapted from “Chapter 4. How-to-Guide for Preserving LGBTQ Historic Properties in San Francisco” in 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, October 2015), 321-326.

Step 1: Develop Historic Context

The first step in any evaluation process is to understand the importance of a property within a large historic context. Historic context is essentially historical background on a theme — in this case, LGBT history in New York City. In order to judge if a property is historically significant, it is critical to understand how the property fits into a larger picture, or historical context. The historic context will also establish a period of significance — a specific date range during which significant events occurred, or during which important individuals or organizations were active. Historic contexts related to LGBT history in New York City were developed as part of this report and are presented in Chapter 2: LGBT History and listed in Chapter 3: Evaluation Framework.

EXAMPLE OF HOW TO PLACE AN LGBT SITE IN NEW YORK CITY WITHIN A HISTORIC CONTEXT

The building that housed Caffè Cino at 31 Cornelia Street in Manhattan is described in detail in one historic context in this report on pages 66–67 in “Chapter 2: LGBT History/ Theme 9 — The LGBT Community’s Impact on Arts and Culture (1850s to 2000).” Therefore, the building at 31 Cornelia Street in New York is significant for its contribution to history and culture under that theme.

FURTHER GUIDANCE

For detailed guidance on developing and applying historic contexts, see [National Register Bulletin 16a: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form and National Register and Bulletin 16b: How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form.](#)

Step 2: Determine Historic Significance of a Property

The next step in the evaluation process is to determine if the property is significant. Words like “historic” and “significant” have very specific meanings in historic preservation. Just because a building is old does not mean it is historic or significant. If a property is determined to be significant within its historic context, it means that the property rises to a higher level of importance relative to other similar properties within the same context.

In order for a property to be determined significant, it must meet at least one of four criteria. The criteria used for the National and State Registers are identical. These criteria are listed in the table below.

Most properties determined significant to LGBT history in New York will be significant under Criterion A (events) and/or Criterion B (people), the two criteria assigned to properties that are related to social and cultural aspects of history. Properties found significant under Criterion C would be important for their architecture, design, or construction — or individuals who were responsible for design or construction; examples could include buildings designed by an LGBT architect or a sculpture designed by an influential LGBT artist. Criterion D is reserved for archeological properties; properties significant under this criterion would be below ground resources that have the potential to provide information about LGBT history (perhaps relating to Colonial era history, for example). Evaluation of archeological resources requires the assistance of a professional archeologist.

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

The National Register provides additional criteria (known as criteria considerations) for properties that, for various reasons, would not ordinarily qualify for listing in the National Register (e.g., religious buildings, cemeteries, birthplaces, structures that have been reconstructed or moved, commemoratives, places associated with the recent past). These additional criteria provide a way to evaluate these normally excluded properties. The criteria considerations that would apply to LGBT history in New York City are listed in the following table. Criteria and criteria considerations that are applicable under each of the nine historic contexts/themes presented in this report are listed in Chapter 3: Evaluation Framework.

NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS	DEFINITION
A	A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance
C	A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no appropriate site or building associated with his or her productive life
F	A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own exceptional significance.
G	A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

EXAMPLE OF HOW TO APPLY CRITERIA TO AN LGBT SITE IN NEW YORK CITY

The building that housed Caffè Cino at 31 Cornelia Street in Manhattan is significant within the theme LGBT Art and Culture, and categorized under Criterion A in the area of performing arts for its association with theatrical producer Joe Cino, who operated the Caffè Cino for all but one year of its existence (it closed a year after his death). Caffè Cino is considered the birthplace of Off-Off-Broadway theater; it also played an important role in the early development of gay theater by featuring gay characters and themes at a time when depicting homosexuality on stage was illegal. For other examples on how to apply significance criteria, see Chapter 3: Evaluation Framework.

FURTHER GUIDANCE

For detailed guidance on determining significance and applying significance criteria, see [National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation](#).

Step 3: Evaluating the Integrity of a Property

After determining the significance of a property within a historic context, the third step in the evaluation process is to assess the historic integrity of the property. Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its significance, both physically and in intangible ways. For example, if a building is determined to be significant under Criterion C as the sole surviving building designed by a famous architect, but it was remodeled over time so that the original design is unrecognizable as the architect's work, the building's integrity has been compromised. When evaluating integrity, it is important to understand the difference

between integrity and condition. If a property is in poor condition but is recognizable enough to still convey its significance, it may still meet the criteria.

There are seven aspects of historic integrity that must be evaluated: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. To retain integrity, a property should possess several (at least four) of the aspects. Not all aspects of integrity are important to all properties — it depends on the historic context and the criterion or criteria under which the property is significant. For example, if the property is significant because it was the home of a significant person, that person would have to be able to recognize the home if he/she were to return today. Otherwise, the building can no longer convey its association with that person. If the property is significant because it was an important meeting place, the building must still contain that meeting place, even if it doesn't look exactly the way it did when the significant meetings occurred.

There are two important steps to evaluating the integrity of a property: 1) Determine which physical features must be present for a property to be able to convey its significance; and 2) determine if those essential physical features are visible or intact enough for the property to represent its significance. For the first step, it is important to understand why the property is significant — in other words, under which historic contexts it is important.

For properties that are significant for social or cultural histories, the important aspects of integrity that need to be present are generally location, design, feeling, and association.

- **Location:** the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event took place.
- **Design:** the composition of elements that constitute the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property. (Note: While architectural style may be less important in documenting sites associated with themes other than architectural history, form, massing, structure, window and door configuration, floor plan and spatial divisions might be important in a site's ability to represent a significant event or series of events.)
- **Feeling:** the quality that a historic property has in evoking the aesthetic or historic sense of a past period of time.
- **Association:** the direct link between a property and the event or person for which the property is significant. Integrity of association is *always* required.

The aspects of integrity that are generally less important for social or cultural histories are setting, materials, and workmanship.

- **Setting:** the physical environment of a historic property that illustrates the character of the place. (Note: There are some instances where a property's setting may be a key aspect to consider, especially for outdoor meetings or gathering places like parks and beaches.)

- **Materials:** the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.
- **Workmanship:** the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period of history.

EXAMPLE OF HOW TO EVALUATE INTEGRITY OF AN LGBT SITE IN NEW YORK CITY

As noted in the previous example, Caffè Cino at 31 Cornelia Street in Manhattan is significant under Criterion A. Since the significance of the Caffè Cino derives from its association with historic events and people (i.e. social and cultural history), the important aspects of integrity that need to be present are location, design, setting, feeling, and association.

One test to apply when evaluating the integrity of a historic property is to assess whether someone who was familiar with the property when it was important within its historic context would recognize it if he/she visited the property today. In the case of the Caffè Cino, the building's exterior retains its integrity from the period of significance in terms of location, setting, design, materials, feeling, and association. The building is still in its original location, so that aspect remains recognizable and intact; and the primary façade's original composition and many of the original materials are intact, so the integrity of exterior design is good.

As for association, Caffè Cino is the documented location where the significant events took place. Integrity of feeling requires enough intact physical material so that the perception of a small theater/café can be understood. The survival of the façade plus the intact first floor interior — which preserves the diminutive size and scale of the café room — suggests the feeling of the small experimental theater and its setting on a quiet block off the beaten path in Greenwich Village. But in the fifty years since Caffè Cino closed, the interior has been modified due to changes in building ownership and use. This is evident with the installation of mechanical equipment, and the covering of brick walls and tin ceiling seen in historic images of Caffè Cino. However, the open space characteristic of Caffè Cino, which defined its use as a performance venue, is still evident. Based on research and analysis, the character-defining features of the theater were its small size, people sitting virtually on top of each other and at tables simply pushed apart for performances; the wall decorations were ephemeral — some consisting of theater posters that were often changed; the effect of the plays was greatly enhanced by pinpoint lighting, which lit only the performers and left the audience in darkness. Therefore, the building at 31 Cornelia Street need not retain any features other than the ability to reproduce these conditions to have sufficient integrity to convey its significance.

FURTHER GUIDANCE

For detailed information on the nuances of evaluating the integrity of properties significant to LGBT history in New York City, see Evaluation Framework at the beginning of this chapter. For additional guidance on assessing integrity, see National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation (section VIII).

Final Step: Official Recognition

Anyone can pursue recognition for a property in New York State. There are several options for official landmark designation in New York City. A property can be designated as an individual New York City landmark or part of an historic district. A property can be listed in the New York State and National Registers of Historic Places. A property can be designated as a National Historic Landmark, one of the highest honors to bestow on a historic property in the U.S. At the international level, a property can be designated as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Or a property can maintain multiple designations.

The New York City, New York State, and federal programs for landmarking or registering properties vary in the procedures required for nomination. Designation as a New York City landmark offers a property the most protection from significant alteration or demolition. Registering properties at the New York State and federal levels can make owners eligible for tax credit and grant programs.

NEW YORK CITY LANDMARKS

The City of New York maintains a list of designated individual landmarks and historic districts determined to be an important part of the city's historical, architectural, and cultural heritage. The process for nominating a property as a local landmark or a group of properties as a historic district is overseen by the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC).¹⁷⁰ Anyone can nominate a property for designation as a local landmark by completing a Request for Evaluation and submitting it to the LPC for review. Property owners must be notified about the nominations before they are heard at a public hearing. Specific directions for nominating a property can be found on the LPC's website.

¹⁷⁰ The New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission (LPC) can only designate interior spaces that are customarily publicly accessible, but this does not typically include apartment lobbies and stairwells. According to its website: "Building interiors that are 'customarily open or accessible to the public' and meet the criteria for individual landmarks. Examples include the Marine Air Terminal at LaGuardia Airport, the lobby of the Empire State Building, and the concourse and waiting room at Grand Central Terminal." A landmark designation by the LPC is the only means of requiring a property owner to file for a special permit in order to ensure that significant features are not removed or altered before construction work is proposed. <http://www1.nyc.gov/site/lpc/designations/landmark-types-criteria.page>.

NEW YORK STATE AND NATIONAL REGISTERS OF HISTORIC PLACES

The State and National Registers of Historic Places are the official lists of buildings, structures, districts, objects, and sites significant in the history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture of New York and the nation. The same eligibility criteria are used for both the New York State and National Registers. The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, amended 1980, and the New York State Historic Preservation Act of 1980 established the National and State Registers programs. In New York, the Commissioner of the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, who is also the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO), administers these programs with SHPO staff.

WHAT ARE THE RESULTS OF LISTING?

1. Registered properties and properties determined eligible for the registers receive a measure of protection from the effects of federal and/or state agency sponsored, licensed or assisted projects through a notice, review, and consultation process.
2. Owners of depreciable, certified historic properties may take a 20 percent federal income tax credit for the costs of substantial rehabilitation as provided for under the Tax Reform Act of 1986. If a federal tax credit property is located in a qualified census tract, the owner may also take a 20 percent state income tax credit on the same project.
3. Homeowners who occupy listed buildings and live in qualified census tracts (meets certain income qualifications; see SHPO website) may take a 20 percent state income tax credit off for qualified rehabilitation. Municipal and not-for-profit owners of listed historic properties may apply for matching state historic preservation grants.

There are no restrictions placed on private owners of registered properties by virtue of being listed. Private property owners may sell, alter or dispose of their property as they wish as long as they are not using state or federal funds or they do not need a federal or state permit of license.

The State and National Register nomination process is designed to assist in the development of complete and accurate documentation of each eligible property according to the professional and archival standards of the National Park Service and the SHPO. The research and technical requirements of the nomination process encourage the active and ongoing participation of owners, sponsors, SHPO staff, and preservation consultants.

A sponsor may initiate the nomination process through the SHPO's website (nysparks.com/SHPO) or by requesting an application package from SHPO staff. These materials will be evaluated by the staff of National Register Unit using the National Register of Historic

Places Criteria for Evaluation and other guidelines published by the National Park Service.

Proposals which appear to meet the criteria for listing are assigned to staff for further development on the basis of current preservation priorities. Sponsors are instructed how to complete the necessary documentation; when the documentation meets standards, properties are presented to the New York State Board for Historic Preservation. If approved by the board, the nomination form is finalized and forwarded to the State Historic Preservation Officer for review and signature. Once signed, the nomination is entered on the New York State Register of Historic Places and transmitted to the National Park Service for final review and listing on the National Register of Historic Places. If approved by the Keeper of the Register, the nomination is signed and listed on the National Register. Please note that the National Park Service may not place an individual, privately owned property on the National Register if its owner objects or if a majority of private property owners object to the proposed listing of a property with multiple owners. See the SHPO website.

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS

National Historic Landmarks are historic properties that have been determined to possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States. The NHL Program is administered by the National Park Service. NHL nominations are reviewed by the NPS staff and are designated by the Secretary of the Interior. Properties cannot be designated as NHLs if a property owner objects to the nomination. Specific direction for the NHL nomination process can be found on the NPS NHL website.

UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE SITES

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization is a branch of the United Nations dedicated to international collaboration through education, science, and culture. The UNESCO World Heritage Committee maintains a list of World Heritage Sites. World Heritage Sites are places of international cultural or natural significance. As of March 2018, there are 1,073 World Heritage Sites. Only countries that have signed the World Heritage Convention, pledging to protect their natural and cultural heritage, can nominate properties to be considered for inclusion in UNESCO's World Heritage List. Current criteria for nomination to the World Heritage List present nearly insurmountable barriers for this level of recognition. According to the National Park Service, World Heritage Sites in the U.S. "must be either federal property, such as national parks, or sites already designated as national historic landmarks or national natural landmarks. Properties not owned by the federal government are nominated only if their owners wish to do so and pledge to protect their property in perpetuity." Directions for the UNESCO World Heritage Site nomination process can be found on the UNESCO website.

CHAPTER 5

Recommendations

Recommendations

Introduction

The Historic Context Statement for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History in New York City (LGBT Historic Context Statement) was developed to serve as a first step in assisting the New York State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) in documenting the historic properties associated with the events, people, organizations, and institutions that define this important and relatively unknown history. Though not intended to be an all-inclusive history of New York City's LGBT community this study provides a foundation upon which to build.

This report provides an overview of an LGBT world that helped contribute to the development of New York City's social, cultural, political, and economic importance and influence throughout the city. It also begins to document the real lives of people whose story has not yet been told. The historic narrative dispels the often-held assumption that LGBT history began at Stonewall in 1969 and that bars are the only properties that embody LGBT history. The research findings clearly convey the LGBT community's influence on music, theater, art, architecture, fashion, and literature. Many of the newly identified community spaces that existed in the 1950s and 1960s demonstrate the political and social world of LGBT New Yorkers in the pre-Stonewall era and thus provide important context when examining the 1969 Stonewall uprising and the gay liberation era that followed.

The project team started with a cumulative base knowledge of the subject matter dating back 25 years, then conducted research and community programs to identify additional sites to represent the diverse histories of all LGBT communities. Archives throughout the city were consulted and the project team to date has conducted almost 50 presentations. The goal has been to obtain site suggestions that reflect all ages, races, ethnicities, nationalities, class levels, and gender identifications of the LGBT community throughout the city. However, there are gaps in this report, which is largely Manhattan- and gay and lesbian-focused. Areas and topics requiring further research must include sites reflecting the full diversity of New York City, including LGBT people of color, and people who identify as bisexual and transgender, as well as sites located in the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, and Staten Island.

Issues to Consider about Documentation

LGBT studies, including the study of LGBT history, is a relatively new field of research and scholarship. Most writers, historians, and scholars researching LGBT history are not primarily focused on the site-specific locations where LGBT history occurred or on those sites that convey the contributions of the LGBT community to American culture.

The concept of what constitutes an LGBT historic site is not well known or understood. Often, bars, clubs, and nightclubs are considered the only sites of significance to the LGBT community. This is true, in part, since these types of spaces, such as the Stonewall, were relatively safe gathering spots and specifically related to the concept of LGBT history. However, there are various LGBT-related locations that have historic significance, including such sites as entertainment venues, works of art, and residences and institutions of notable individuals, that convey the community's influence and are therefore important to recognize. Additionally, many LGBT individuals and organizations may have limited knowledge of general LGBT histories or their own organizational histories.

Traditional methods for the identification, documentation, and evaluation of LGBT place-based history are challenging. The transient and covert nature of LGBT spaces has also contributed to the difficulty in identifying LGBT properties and narratives. Historically, many LGBT-identified individuals and organizations were disenfranchised or underground, forced by circumstances such as harassment and discrimination to relocate numerous times; thus it may be difficult to identify the most appropriate of many possible associated sites. Other complicating factors include the limited documentation and record keeping of the community's own history and the lack of value attributed to such important documents as private photo collections, address books, flyers, handbills, and other ephemera, as well as their destruction by family members.

Another factor is the constantly changing understanding and context of the concepts of gender and sexuality over time, as well as terminology associated with the LGBT community. For example, the construct of "homosexuality" did not exist until the late 19th century. This adds to a "burden of proof" often placed on the inclusion of historic personages as LGBT. For example, there has historically been the presumption that just because an individual was married that he or she was heterosexual. The issue of inquiry into the lives of historic LGBT personages was cogently addressed by author Paula Martinac in her pioneering *The Queerest Places: A Guide to Gay and Lesbian Historic Sites* (1997): "Because lesbians and gay men have had to hide for such a long time...many of the rules of evidence simply don't apply...In claiming people as gay, I was more interested in looking for how people lived their lives — their friends and community, their work, their relationships."¹⁷¹

Information about Official Recognition

One of the objectives of this report is to advance preservation advocacy and official recognition of LGBT place-based history. The history and evaluative tools will enable individuals, organizations, and institutions to better advocate for this recognition working

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in conjunction with local, state, and federal historic preservation agencies and not-for-profit organizations.

Since the majority of extant LGBT historic sites are not architecturally distinguished, and are often altered, official recognition must often rely upon historical and cultural factors to determine significance. In addition, throughout the United States, some stakeholders and agencies may not be familiar and comfortable with the subject matter. Seeking outside expertise may be necessary to assist in the evaluation process.

Fortunately, since the 1990s, the New York SHPO has taken the lead in officially recognizing LGBT sites. In 1999, SHPO staff member Kathleen LaFrank worked closely with Andrew Dolkart, Jay Shockley, and David Carter, co-authors of the nomination of Stonewall, as the first-ever LGBT site listed on the State and National Registers. The SHPO continues its efforts to advance official LGBT recognition, with staff members Kathleen LaFrank and Kathleen Howe working with the NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project to nominate or amend LGBT-related sites to the State and National Registers. The SHPO and the project are working together to ensure that LGBT-related site survey forms are included in SHPO's Cultural Resource Information System (CRIS), establishing New York State as a leader official LGBT-site recognition.

In New York City, although many significant LGBT sites have been demolished, many have been protected through historic district designations, particularly in Greenwich Village. However, for the most part, their LGBT histories are not officially recognized and need to be continually researched. As discussed in the Evaluation Framework chapter, there are various requirements for a nomination to the State and National Registers of Historic Places that must be considered, including interior and exterior integrity of a site. This can be challenging, since in New York City, most interiors and storefronts have been altered over time and interior access can be difficult to achieve. Consent is another consideration that should be discussed to ensure that the building owner is in support of the nomination. Lastly, the National Register of Historic Places generally requires a 50-year timeframe after the period of significance (unless a property is of exceptional national, state or local significance), and generally recommends the listing of one property nationally per historic person (although two is allowed if they represent different aspects of a person's life), which can limit the recognition of significant LGBT sites.

Recommendations

The following recommendations, informed, in part, by the work of the NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, are intended to inform advocates, decision-makers, community members, historians, and scholars about possible next steps related to the research, identification, protection, and interpretation of LGBT historic resources in New York City. This is especially

important as Stonewall 50/World Pride NYC approaches in June 2019 commemorating the 50th anniversary of Stonewall.

CONTINUE TO IDENTIFY AND DOCUMENT LGBT SITES IN NEW YORK CITY

The reconnaissance-level survey demonstrated the need to have preservationists, writers, historians, and scholars continue to research LGBT sites to reflect the existence of LGBT-related associations from the 17th through the 19th centuries, as well as the diversity of the community and its geographic distribution throughout New York City. This includes targeting specific boroughs, LGBT communities, and themes that need to be fully researched.

The project initially researched and documented 100 historic properties that were included on its main website; as of May 2018, over 120 sites are included. The project has identified additional sites on its main database that are being added to the website as fully researched. Concurrent with new research, the project will be completing in-depth survey forms with data for potential National Register eligible properties that will be provided to the New York State Historic Preservation Office. That information will be available to the public on the state's Cultural Resource Information System (CRIS).

The project is aware of advocates, artists, and writers who are conducting research about LGBT historic topics and neighborhoods in New York City such as lesbian bars and the Brooklyn waterfront. These individuals have been asked to identify the addresses and related information for future research. New York City's numerous preservation organizations, many with a geographic focus, can promote LGBT place-based heritage and conduct their own research to supplement the report and work of the project.

DESIGNATE CITY, STATE, NATIONAL, AND INTERNATIONAL LGBT LANDMARKS

The New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission should consider reviewing the findings of this report and undertake its own LGBT survey to identify and prioritize sites for potential individual designation. In New York City, there are several dozen local designation reports that document LGBT history but, as of this date, the commission has only designated the Stonewall for its LGBT associations. This deficit has prevented effective advocacy and educational opportunities, leaving potentially significant sites and histories unappreciated, uncelebrated, and potentially endangered.

Preservation and LGBT advocates should continue to identify and nominate sites to the National Register of Historic Places (National Register) based on the findings of this report and the LGBT-referenced sites included in CRIS. To date, of the over 93,500 sites on the National Register in the U.S. only 17 have been listed for their primary association with LGBT history, though there are hundreds of sites already listed that need to be reinterpreted

for their LGBT histories. The project has been credited with nominating or amending five of these sites. Over the next two years, the project will be completing two additional nominations.

Stonewall should be considered for inclusion on the World Heritage List. In January 2016, the United States National Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites published the *US World Heritage Gap Study Report*. The report, in part, identified gaps on the current World Heritage List. LGBT heritage was listed as one such gap, with Stonewall cited as an example. Recently, advocates have considered advancing Stonewall for consideration as a World Heritage Site. The pre-planning for this type of listing may coincide with the 50th anniversary of Stonewall in 2019.

REINTERPRET SITES IN HISTORIC DISTRICTS ALREADY RECOGNIZED BY EXISTING CITY, STATE, AND NATIONAL PROGRAMS

In New York City, there are many LGBT-associated sites included, but not interpreted, in historic districts recognized at the local, state, and federal levels. Themes and associations can be developed in districts with a concentration of sites. The Greenwich Village Historic District could be reinterpreted to recognize its centrality within the history of the LGBT community stretching back at least to the mid-nineteenth century. LGBT issues are completely absent from the Greenwich Village Historic District National Register of Historic Places nomination and from the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission's original designation report, since both of these were written long before LGBT issues were considered valid aspects of American history. Greenwich Village is New York's earliest LGBT enclave dating back to the mid-nineteenth century and is one of the most important LGBT neighborhoods in the US. In addition to the already recognized significance of Stonewall for LGBT civil rights, the neighborhood and its LGBT associations contributed to the development of New York City and US culture and history. Examples of the many sites within the Greenwich Village Historic District that would be reinterpreted are: residences of notable LGBT writers such as Willa Cather, James Baldwin, and Lorraine Hansberry; meeting places instrumental in LGBT civil rights including Judson Memorial Church and Washington Square United Methodist Church; commercial spaces that were well-known gathering spots such as Stewart's Cafeteria, famously depicted by gay artist Paul Cadmus in 1934; and the West 12th Street apartment building where many lesbian activists lived, including several who were prominent in the circle of Eleanor Roosevelt. Greenwich Village LGBT-related themes could be developed such as LGBT civil rights, arts and culture, theater, and the AIDS Epidemic.

The significance of LGBT sites in other historic districts could be similarly recognized (in Brooklyn Heights, for example, the house where prominent stage designer Oliver Smith lived and where Truman Capote wrote *In Cold Blood*). The Dakota Apartments on Central Park West could be reinterpreted to recognize the significant number of important LGBT

people who have lived in this great building, including, for example, Leonard Bernstein and Rudolph Nureyev.

Additionally, sites within historic districts and current house museums in New York City might be reinterpreted as well. One example is Caffè Cino, located in the local Greenwich Village Historic District Extension II and the National Register South Village Historic District. The project successfully nominated the site to the National Register (listed in 2017) as the birthplace of Off-Off-Broadway theater and for its association in the development of gay theater. Another example is the Alice Austen House in Staten Island, home of the pioneering lesbian photographer who lived there with her partner, Gertrude Tate. The project recently amended the National Register nomination to address their 50-year, non-traditional relationship and how Austen dealt with gender and societal norms in her photography.

DEVELOP PROGRAMS FOR INTERPRETATION AND EDUCATION

The research identified in the report and reconnaissance survey can be used to create a wide range of interpretative and educational opportunities for general history and preservation advocacy. In most cases, the sites identified are important for their historic and cultural values and not architecturally significant. For this reason, many sites are modest. However, the sites contribute to a wide-ranging historic narrative that can be interpreted individually, collectively, or by sub-category. One immediate example is the project website, which contains 100 sites with such curated themes as Early Community Centers, Influential Black New Yorkers, Lesbian Life Before Stonewall, The AIDS Crisis, Activism Before Stonewall, Bars & Nightlife, Transgender History, Art & Architecture, and Pre-20th Century History.

The following includes a range of recommendations based on the sites included in the report:

DEVELOP A SOCIAL MEDIA PRESENCE

Social media should be embraced by cultural heritage organizations as an important and effective way to convey LGBT history and information about cultural heritage. For example, the project's Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter accounts (@nycgblsites) reach and engage a diverse local, national, and worldwide audience. Information about sites and historic themes can be posted to coincide with the calendar year, specific anniversaries of events or individuals, or new National Register nominations. These posts create a user-experience and can be shared with LGBT and non-LGBT individuals and organizations. For example, a social media editorial calendar can be created and shared that highlights: African-American LGBT sites during African-American History Month in February; famous LGBT movies, actors, musicians, playwrights, and screenwriters during the Tony and Academy Awards seasons; LGBT tennis players and locations (West Side Tennis Club in Forest Hills

and the nearby USTA Billie Jean King National Tennis Center] during the US Open in August and September. Instagram in particular is very effective at promoting LGBT history to a wide following with such accounts as: @lgbt_history; @h_e_r_s_t_o_r_y; @makinggayhistorypodcast; @the_aids_memorial; and the @nycaidsmemorial.

CREATE EDUCATIONAL TOURS

Many of the properties are clustered geographically or thematically in areas of the city, including Greenwich Village, Midtown, the Theater District, and Harlem. Walking tours are an effective way to provide the public with information about LGBT heritage. An example is the self-guided Pride Tour on the project website that includes places in the immediate vicinity of Stonewall. Another example is the recently completed “LGBTQ History Tour, Greenwich Village, NYC” which the project conceived and wrote for the National Parks Conservation Association. This paper brochure and map will be distributed at the Stonewall National Monument and adjacent commercial establishments. The contents of the report can be shared with professional tour guides to supplement the various LGBT-related tours that currently take place in the city.

USE NEW TECHNOLOGIES AND APPS FOR “PLAQUES” AND TOURS

Existing and emerging technologies are new tools that can promote educational programs related to LGBT heritage. In New York City, installing plaques on building facades is difficult given issues of ownership, regulations, and agreed upon content. Establishing a virtual plaque program is one way to mitigate these issues. For example, a geo-fenced LGBT plaque program does not require physical plaques on properties. It involves a user with a smartphone who is made aware that they are entering or exiting a geo-fence. This activity triggers an alert on the user’s phone with information about the nearby LGBT-associated site. Developing an app for LGBT tours is another opportunity to create a responsive real-world experience would allow a user to gain a physical understanding of the geographical contexts not only between the various LGBT sites, but also with everything else around them in a given neighborhood. While responding to where a user is located at any given time, the app would geo-spatially suggest any sites within a given geographic radius, either based on the user’s selected interests or filterable criteria, or as curated in the form of pre-determined walking tours that would guide a user on an experience supplemented with text, historical images, and audio clips that respond along the way. There are recently established platforms, such as Vamonde and GeoTourist, that are promoting app-based adventures and tours with content from cultural heritage organizations.

PROGRAM EVENTS, PRESENTATIONS, AND EXHIBITIONS

Community engagement through events, presentations, and exhibitions can help make LGBT cultural heritage relevant and known to the public. One example is last year's LGBT Pride Flagging at Green-Wood (Brooklyn) and Woodlawn Cemeteries (Bronx), where rainbow flags were placed at the graves of notable LGBT individuals resting at these two cemeteries. Programming presentations about LGBT place-based history also helps change the public perception that LGBT history only began post-Stonewall and helps cultivate a sense of pride. These events allow for the submission of new site recommendations and related photographs and ephemera. Exhibitions are another, more costly, way to promote and advocate for the preservation of LGBT heritage. Last year, *Gay Gotham*, an exhibit at the Museum of the City of New York, included numerous locations related to the city's LGBT past with a map, photographs, and related-ephemera. Earlier this year *The Lavender Line: Coming Out in Queens* opened at the Queens Museum celebrating the 25th anniversary of the first Queens Pride Parade. As Stonewall 50/WorldPride NYC approaches, photographic exhibitions of LGBT sites with related information may be a more feasible way to engage new audiences unfamiliar with this history and preservation.

DEVELOP YOUTH EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Engagement with youth is an important component needed to establish and maintain awareness about LGBT history and cultural heritage. The invisibility of LGBT history has a negative impact on LGBT youth. Working with educational professionals, there are numerous opportunities for students, teachers, and organizations. This could include the development of history lessons, walking tours, class projects, oral histories, photography, and videos related to the content in the report. An example is the project's collaboration in October 2016 with Google Expeditions for National Coming Out Day. The project provided Google with the resources and content for LGBT sites New York City. This information was paired with virtual reality images of locations that were used by students in the classroom to learn about LGBT history. There are efforts locally and nationally to provide educators with materials about the role LGBT individuals have played in the development of the country. History Unerased and the Making Gay History podcast are two such not-for-profit organizations and can incorporate LGBT sites in their training and curriculum materials.

ESTABLISH A NETWORK OF LOCAL, STATE, NATIONAL, AND INTERNATIONAL LGBT HERITAGE GROUPS

There is a growing number of individuals and organizations interested in and actively identifying LGBT historic sites. It is important to establish a network to share information, strategies, challenges, and best practices. This will help in creating consistent terminology and categories, raising awareness about LGBT heritage, and mitigating issues concerning

the various historic preservation recognitions programs.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND PRIORITIES FOR NATIONAL REGISTER LISTINGS

Based on current research, the following is a list of sites prioritized for National Register nominations. The selection is based on an examination of state and national significance and architectural integrity from the period of significance. Interior integrity and owner consent would still need to be analyzed and obtained. Those properties with one asterisk (*) are located within current National Register listed historic districts. Properties with two asterisks (**) are individually NR listed; additional documentation could be prepared for these, which would reflect the associated LGBT theme. This list is preliminary only; a thorough analysis of interior and exterior integrity is required.

Billy Strayhorn & Aaron Bridgers Residence*	315 Convent Avenue	Harlem	Manhattan
Manford Family Residence	33-23 171 st Street	Flushing	Queens
Andy Warhol Residence	1342 Lexington Avenue	Upper East Side	Manhattan
Audre Lorde Residence	207 St. Paul's Avenue	Stapleton	Staten Island
Chelsea Hotel**	222 West 23 rd Street	Chelsea	Manhattan
Christine Jorgensen Childhood Residence	2847 Dudley Avenue	Throgs Neck	Bronx
Church of the Holy Apostles**	296 Ninth Avenue	Chelsea	Manhattan
Corduroy Club*	240 West 38 th Street	Midtown	Manhattan
Gay Activists Alliance Firehouse*	99 Wooster Street	SoHo	Manhattan
Henry Street Settlement*	265 Henry Street	Lower East Side	Manhattan
James Baldwin Residence	137 West 71 st Street	Upper West Side	Manhattan

Judson Memorial Church *, **	55 Washington Square South	Greenwich Village	Manhattan
Lorraine Hansberry Residence*	337 Bleecker Street	Greenwich Village	Manhattan
Mattachine Society & Daughters of Bilitis Offices	1133 Broadway	Madison Square	Manhattan
Metropolitan Duane Methodist Church*	201 West 13 th Street	Greenwich Village	Manhattan
Oliver Smith / Truman Capote Residences*	70 Willow Street	Brooklyn Heights	Brooklyn
Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookshop	291 Mercer Street	Greenwich Village	Manhattan
Walt Whitman Residence	99 Ryerson Street	Wallabout	Brooklyn

CHAPTER 6

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APPENDIX A

Annotated List of Potentially Significant LGBT Properties in NYC

PHOTO FIGURE NO.	CONTEXT THEME	HISTORIC RESOURCES	ADDRESS	OVERVIEW (click link in "Historic Resource" column for more info)	PROPERTY TYPE	SUB-CATEGORY	PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE	YEAR BUILT	ARCHITECT	LANDMARK STATUS
1	1	Hamilton Grange	St. Nicholas Park, Harlem, Manhattan	Founding Father Alexander Hamilton lived in this house — which was built for him and his family in 1802 — until his death in 1804, though the house has since been relocated twice. As a young aide-de-camp to George Washington, Hamilton wrote a series of passionate letters to fellow soldier John Laurens.	Domestic	Single Dwelling	Pre-1850	1801-02	John McComb, Jr.	NYCL; NR; NHL; National Memorial
2	2, 9	Alice Austen House	2 Hylan Blvd, Rosebank, Staten Island	Pioneering female photographer Alice Austen grew up in her family's home where she later lived with schoolteacher Gertrude Tate, her partner of 53 years. Austen's work includes early images of women embracing, in bed together, and dressed in male drag, all of which have since become iconic to the LGBT community.	Domestic	Single Dwelling	1866-1945	c. 1700 (remodelled and addition, 1846)	Unknown	NYCL; NR (amended*)
3	2, 9	Elisabeth Marbury & Elsie de Wolfe Residence	122 East 17th Street, Gramercy Park, Manhattan	Elsie de Wolfe, often credited as America's first professional interior designer, and Elisabeth Marbury, one of the world's leading, and pioneering female, theatrical agents and producers, lived together in this house near Union Square between 1892 and 1911. Their Sunday salons here became well known for hosting many celebrities connected with the arts, society, and politics.	Domestic	Single Dwelling	1892-1911	1843-44 (extended 1853-54, c. 1868-70)	Unknown	NYCHD
4	2	Henry Street Settlement	265 Henry Street, Lower East Side, Manhattan	In 1893, public health nurse and progressive reformer Lillian Wald co-founded the Henry Street Settlement to provide no-cost medical services to poor immigrants living in cramped tenements on the Lower East Side. Relocating the facility to its current location in 1895, Wald and her compatriots established successful careers separate from the traditional household role expected of middle-class women.	Social, Health Care	Community Center, Medical Office	1895-present	1827	Unknown	NYCL; NR; NRHD
5	2	Murray H. Hall Residence	457 Sixth Avenue, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	This rowhouse near the Jefferson Market police court (now the Jefferson Market Library) was the last residence and office of well-known Tammany politico Murray H. Hall, who today would be considered gender non-conforming. Following Hall's 1901 death, the <i>New York Times</i> reported that Hall's "true sex" was revealed by the doctor.	Domestic	Multiple Dwelling	1880-1901	1852	Unknown	NYCHD; NRHD
6	2	Oscar Wilde at the Grand Hotel	1232-1238 Broadway, Midtown, Manhattan	The Irish poet and dandy Oscar Wilde stayed for a few days at the Grand Hotel while on his expenses-paid tour of America in 1882. This tour earned him fame, an extraordinary amount of press coverage, and a good deal of money.	Domestic	Hotel	1882	1886	Henry Engelbert	NYCL; NR

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7	2, 9	Pfaff's	645-647 Broadway, NoHo, Manhattan	Pfaff's was a Rathskeller-like beer and wine cellar restaurant in the Coleman House Hotel that was a favorite haunt of the Bohemians of the 1850s, including poet Walt Whitman. Operating here from 1859 to 1964, Pfaff's also became known as a place for men looking to meet other men.	Commercial	Restaurant (Bar)	1859-1864	1858-59	Unknown	NYCHD; NRHD-eligible
8	2, 4	The Slide	157 Bleecker Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	In the early 1890s, The Slide on Bleecker Street was known as New York's "worst dive" for its "fairies," young men who solicited other men. It was closed by the police in 1892.	Commercial	Restaurant (Bar)	1890s	1835	Unknown	NYCHD; NRHD
9	3	171 West 12th Street Residence	171 West 12 th Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	This building was one of many apartment houses in Greenwich Village that attracted same-sex couples. After its completion in 1923, this was home to a number of women in the circle of Eleanor Roosevelt, notably partners Marion Dickerman and Nancy Cook and partners Mary Dewson and Polly Porter.	Domestic	Multiple Dwelling	1920s	1922	Emilio Levy	NYCHD; NRHD
10	3,9	Apollo Theater	253 West 125 th Street, Harlem, Manhattan	During the Apollo Theater's heyday as a showcase for black performers from the 1930s into the 1970s, nearly every important African-American entertainer played here, including many gay, lesbian, and bisexual stars. In the 1960s, the popular drag show Jewel Box Revue was often hosted by its sole woman, lesbian Stormé DeLarverie.	Recreation and Culture	Music Facility	1930s-1970s	1913-14	George Keister	NYCL; NR
11	3, 9	Berenice Abbott & Elizabeth McCausland Residence & Studio	50 Commerce Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	Noted photographer Berenice Abbott lived here with her partner, the influential art critic Elizabeth McCausland, from 1935 to 1965. Abbott is best known for her 1930s photographs featured in the iconic book Changing New York, but was also a sought-after portraitist.	Domestic, Commercial	Multiple Dwelling, Professional (Artist's Studio)	1935-65	1912	William H. Paine	NYCHD; NRHD
12	3, 9	Billy Strayhorn & Aaron Bridgers Residence	315 Convent Avenue, Harlem, Manhattan	Jazz great Billy Strayhorn lived here with his partner, jazz pianist Aaron Bridgers, from 1939 to 1947, though Strayhorn stayed until 1950. During these years, the openly gay Strayhorn forged his collaboration with composer Duke Ellington and wrote "Take the A Train" and other compositions.	Domestic	Multiple Dwelling	1939-50	1887-90	Adolph Hoak	NYCHD; NRHD
13	3	Eleanor Roosevelt Residence	29 Washington Square West, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	Between 1942 and 1949, this 16-story apartment building on MacDougal Street and Waverly Place was the New York City residence of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt. During this time period, she was appointed the first United States Delegate to the United Nations where she helped lead the effort to draft the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.	Domestic	Multiple Dwelling	1942-49	1926-27	Gronenberg & Leuchtag	NYCHD; NRHD

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14	3	Ethel Waters Residence	580 St. Nicholas Avenue, Harlem, Manhattan	Legendary black performer Ethel Waters lived in this apartment building from at least 1925 to 1927, when she was well known in Harlem's lesbian circles. During this time, an important literary salon in the building hosted several notable gay figures of the Harlem Renaissance.	Domestic	Multiple Dwelling	1925-1927	1913 (New Building Number at Dept. of Buildings incorrect)	Robert T. Lyons	
15	3, 4	Eve Addams' Tearoom	129 MacDougal Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	"Eve Addams'" Tearoom was a popular after-theater club run by Polish-Jewish lesbian émigré Eva Kotchever (Czlotcheber) from 1925 to 1926. It closed when she was convicted of obscenity and disorderly conduct, which resulted in her deportation.	Commercial	Restaurant (Bar)	mid-1920s	c. 1828-29	Unknown	NYCL; NYCHD; NRHD
16	3	YMCA, Harlem Branch	180 West 135 th Street and 181 West 135 th Street, Harlem, Manhattan	The 135 th Street Branch of the YMCA (now the Harlem YMCA) and the original West 135 th Street Branch across the street were among Harlem's most important recreational and cultural centers during the period when YMCA branches were segregated. They provided safe and affordable accommodations, in an era when such places were difficult to find for African-American men, and had associations with many prominent figures in the Harlem and African-American communities, including LGBT notables.	Domestic, Social	Institutional Housing, Community Center	1918-present	1918-19	John F. Jackson	NYCL; NR
17	3, 9	Langston Hughes Residence	20 East 127 th Street, Harlem, Manhattan	Langston Hughes, celebrated poet and leading figure of the Harlem Renaissance, lived on the top floor of this Harlem rowhouse from 1947 to 1967. While here, Hughes wrote many notable works centered around African-American life and culture, including <i>Montage of a Dream Deferred</i> and <i>I Wonder as I Wander</i> .	Domestic	Multiple Dwelling	1947-67	1869	Alexander Wilson	NYCL; NR
18	3	Little Red School House	196 Bleecker Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	Often considered the city's first progressive school, the Little Red School House in Greenwich Village was founded by lesbian reform educator Elisabeth Irwin and has operated at this location since 1932. She lived nearby at 23 Bank Street with social researcher and feminist biographer Katharine Anthony, her partner of 30 years.	Education	School	1932-present	1918	George B. Post & Sons	NYCHD; NRHD
19	3, 9	Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater / 181 Club / Phoenix Theater / Multiple Apartments	181-189 Second Avenue, East Village, Manhattan	The Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater, a former Yiddish theater, was the location of the Mafia-controlled 181 Club (1945-53), known for its lavish shows of female impersonators, and the pioneering Off-Broadway Phoenix Theater (1953-61). It was also the residence of several gay artists from the 1970s to the 1990s.	Domestic, Recreation and Culture	Multiple Dwelling, Restaurant (Nightclub), Theater (Playhouse)	1945-61 / 1970s-1990s	1925-26	Harrison G. Wiseman	NYCL; NR

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20	3, 4	Stewart's Cafeteria	116 Seventh Avenue South, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	Stewart's Cafeteria, later the Life Cafeteria, was located in this Greenwich Village building in the 1930s and attracted a bohemian and gay and lesbian following. The large plate glass windows put gay life on full display to the late-night crowds who frequented this busy intersection.	Commercial	Restaurant	1930s	1932	Phelps Barnum	NYCHD; NRHD
21	3	Webster Hall & Annex	125-129 East 11 th Street, East Village, Manhattan	Webster Hall is one of New York's most significant large 19 th -century assembly halls, and it became famous for its Bohemian masquerade balls in the 1910s and 1920s. It was significant as a gathering place for the city's early 20 th -century lesbian and gay community, who felt welcome and then sponsored their own events by the 1920s.	Social	Meeting Hall	1920s	1886-87 and 1892	Charles Rentz, Jr.	NYCL; NR-eligible
22	4	Belasco Theater	111 West 44 th Street, Theater District, Manhattan	In 1945, the Belasco Theater's lesbian drama Trio was the last Broadway show impacted by the Wales Padlock Law, which was passed in 1927 and forbade the depiction of "sex perversion" onstage, including gay or lesbian characters. The Belasco later staged two other LGBT plays of note: A Raisin in the Sun, by Lorraine Hansberry, and The Killing of Sister George.	Recreation and Culture	Theater (Playhouse)	1944-45	1906-07	George Keister	NYCL and Interior; NR-eligible
23	4	Mayfair Bar & Grill	3 Hyatt Street, St. George, Staten Island	From at least the late 1950s to the late 1960s, Staten Island's popular Mayfair Bar & Grill catered to gay patrons. This is one of a few extant LGBT sites found so far on Staten Island.	Commercial	Restaurant (Bar)	late 1950s-late 1960s	1935	Unknown	
24	4, 6	Tony Pastor's Downtown / Gay Community Center	130 West 3 rd Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	Tony Pastor's Downtown, in business from 1939 to 1967, was a mob-backed club with a mixed clientele but popular with lesbians. The New York State Liquor Authority revoked its liquor license in 1967. In 1970-71, this was the location of the utopian Gay Community Center, started by the Gay Liberation Front and Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries.	Commercial, Social	Restaurant (Bar), Community Center	1939-67; 1970-71	1874-75	Joseph M. Dunn	NYCHD; NRHD
25	5	Central Park	Central Park, Manhattan	Central Park has had numerous associations with the LGBT community since its creation in 1857, including many areas popular for meeting and cruising, associations with Gay Pride Marches, and its restoration in the 1980s. Beginning in 1970, the first Gay Pride Marches (then known as the Christopher Street Liberation Day March) followed a route from Greenwich Village to Central Park.	Landscape	Park	1910s-1990s	1857	Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux	NYC Scenic Landmark; NR; NHL

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26	5	Everard Baths	28 West 28 th Street, Midtown, Manhattan	The Everard Baths, one of the most legendary of New York's bathhouses, was a refuge for gay men probably since its opening in 1888, but definitely by World War I. As with most of the city's gay bathhouses, it was closed in 1986 by the City of New York as an anti-AIDS measure.	Commercial	Business (Bathhouse)	1888-1985	1860; 1921 (alteration and expansion)	Deutsch & Parker	
27	5	Greenwich Village Waterfront	Christopher Street Pier, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	For over a century, the Greenwich Village waterfront along the Hudson River, including the Christopher Street Pier at West 10 th and West Streets, has been a destination for the LGBT community that has evolved from a place for cruising and sex for gay men to an important place of social gathering and organizing for queer youth of color. Between 1971 and 1983 the interiors of the piers' ruin-like terminals featured a diverse range of artistic work, including site-based installations, photography, murals, and performances.	Landscape	Pier	1930s-1990s	n/a	n/a	
28	5	Mt. Morris Baths	28 East 125 th Street (aka 1944 Madison Ave), Harlem, Manhattan	Between the 1920s and 2003, when it was closed by New York City officials, the Mt. Morris Baths was an important social center for gay African-American men and one of the longest operating bathhouses in New York City. Until the 1960s, it was the only gay bathhouse in the city to admit African-American men due to overt discrimination.	Commercial	Business (Bathhouse)	1920s-2003	1888-89	C. Abbott French & Co	NR-eligible
29	5	Orchard Beach	Pelham Bay Park, Pelham Bay, Bronx	Orchard Beach, sometimes referred to as "the Bronx Riviera," has long been a meeting and cruising location for LGBT people of color, in particular. This is a rare example of an LGBT public space associated with people of color and a rare extant site in the Bronx in general.	Recreation and Culture	Outdoor Recreation (Beach)	mid-20 th century to present	1934-37	Aymar Embury II, consulting architect; Gilmore D. Clarke and Michael Rapuano, consulting landscape architect	NYCL; NR-eligible

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30	5	Riis Park Beach	Jacob Riis Park, Rockaways, Queens	The isolated eastern end of the beach at Jacob Riis Park has been a location for LGBT sunbathing and cruising since the 1940s. Historically, it has been the most popular gay beach in New York City.	Recreation and Culture	Outdoor Recreation (Beach)	1940s - present	1936	Aymar Embury II (architect), Clinton Loyd (New York City Department of Parks Chief of Architectural Design), Gilmore Clarke of Clarke & Rapuano (landscape architect)	NR
31	6	Bayard Rustin Residence	340 West 28 th Street, Chelsea, Manhattan	Bayard Rustin, one of the most important yet little-known figures of the civil rights movement, lived in an apartment in this Chelsea building complex from 1963 to 1987 (his death). While here, he served as the lead organizer of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom and took part in numerous social justice campaigns around the world.	Domestic	Multiple Dwelling	1963-1987	1962-63	Herman Jessor	NR*
32	6	Christine Jorgensen Childhood Residence	2847 Dudley Avenue, Throgs Neck, Bronx	Trans woman and Bronx native Christine Jorgensen lived in this house with her family from 1926 until the early 1950s. After her overseas sex reassignment surgery made headlines in late 1952, Jorgensen became "the world's first famous transsexual," according to scholar Susan Stryker.	Domestic	Multiple Dwelling	1926-early 1950s	c. 1923	Jorgensen Realty and Construction Company	
33	6	Church of the Holy Apostles	296 Ninth Avenue, Chelsea, Manhattan	From 1969 to 1974, the Church of the Holy Apostles in Chelsea was one of the most important meeting places in New York City for organizations of the early post-Stonewall gay rights movement, including the West Side Discussion Group, Gay Liberation Front, and Gay Activists Alliance, as well as three early gay religious congregations. In July 1970, Father Weeks turned over Holy Apostles for Sunday afternoon services to the pioneering Church of the Beloved Disciple, "a church for gay people."	Social, Religion	Meeting Hall, Religious Facility (Church)	1970s	1846-48	Minard Lefever (1846-48); Richard Upjohn & Son (transepts, 1858)	NYCL; NR
34	6	Corduroy Club	240 West 38 th Street, Midtown, Manhattan	The Corduroy Club was a significant effort by the pre-Stonewall LGBT community in New York to have a social space that was outside of the control of the Mafia, New York State Liquor Authority regulations, and police arrests and entrapment. The club also hosted a number of early LGBT organizations.	Commercial	Clubhouse (Social Facility)	c. 1967-1971	1925	Benjamin H. Whinston	NRHD

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35	6	Franklin E. Kameny Childhood Residence	103-17 115 th Street, Richmond Hill, Queens	Renowned gay rights pioneer Franklin ("Frank") E. Kameny grew up in this semi-detached brick house from 1925 to 1948. Kameny, who frequently visited his parents' house until 1979, became a chief strategist for the LGBT rights movement after he was fired by the federal government in 1957 because he was gay.	Domestic	Single Dwelling	1925-1948	c. 1922	Unknown	
36	6	Gay Activists Alliance Firehouse	99 Wooster Street, SoHo, Manhattan	The Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) formed in December 1969 and became the most influential American gay liberation political activist organization in the early 1970s. From 1971 to 1974, GAA used this firehouse in SoHo as its headquarters, which served as New York's most important LGBT political and cultural community center during these years.	Social	Community Center	1971 -74	1881	Napoleon LeBrun	NYCHD; NRHD
37	6	Gay Liberation Front at Alternate U.	69 West 14 th Street, Chelsea, Manhattan	After the Stonewall rebellion in June 1969, the first LGBT activist organization formed was the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), in July. GLF used Alternate U., a free counterculture school and leftist political organizing center in Greenwich Village, for many of its activities through 1970.	Social	Community Center	1969-70	1909	Moore & Landsiedel	
38	6	Henry Gerber on Governors Island	Governors Island, Manhattan	Early gay rights activist Henry Gerber lived on Governors Island from the late 1920s to 1945 as a member of the United States Army. In 1924, Gerber founded the Society for Human Rights, the first American homosexual rights organization, while living in Chicago.	Domestic, Government, Military	Institutional Housing, Correctional Facility	1930s-1942	1796 (Fort Jay); 1807-11 (Castle Williams)	Unknown (Fort Jay); Lieutenant Jonathan Williams (Castle Williams)	NYCL (Castle Williams); NYCHD; NHL; National Monument
39	6, 9	Judson Memorial Church	55 Washington Square South, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	Judson Memorial Church on Washington Square in the 1960s and '70s was home to avant-garde arts groups, and a site for lesbian and gay political gatherings. With the emergence of AIDS in the 1980s, Judson became one of New York's first compassionate churches.	Social, Religion, Recreation and Culture	Political Headquarters, Religious Facility (Church), Theater (Playhouse)	1957-1992	1892	McKim, Mead & White	NYCL; NR; NRHD
40	6	Julius'	159 West 10 th Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	On April 21, 1966, a "Sip-In" was organized by members of the Mattachine Society, one of the country's earliest gay rights organizations, to challenge the State Liquor Authority's discriminatory policy of revoking the licenses of bars that served known or suspected gay men and lesbians. The publicized event — at which they were refused service after intentionally revealing they were "homosexuals" — was one of the earliest pre-Stonewall public actions for LGBT rights as well as a big step forward in the eventual development of legitimate LGBT bars in New York City.	Commercial	Restaurant (Bar)	1966 (April 21)	1826	Samuel Whittemore	NR*; NYCHD; NRHD

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41	6	Liberation House	247 West 11 th Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	In 1972, friends Leonard Ebreo and Alice Bloch co-founded Liberation House, an early post-Stonewall community center that provided health services to the gay and lesbian community. It was also the first home of the influential Gay Men's Health Project and the Gay Switchboard.	Social	Community Center	1973	1887	William Graul	NYCHD; NRHD
42	6	Manford Family Residence	33-23 171 st Street, Flushing, Queens	In 1972, Queens schoolteacher Jeanne Manford publicly spoke out in support of her gay son Morty at a time when homosexuality was still classified as a mental disorder by the American Psychiatric Association. That same year, Jeanne and her husband Jules founded the nation's first support group for parents of gay and lesbian children, now known as PFLAG, and held meetings in this house.	Domestic	Single Dwelling	1972-1996	c. 1926	Unknown	
43	6	Mattachine Society & Daughters of Bilitis Offices	1133 Broadway, Madison Square North, Manhattan	From about 1959 to 1968, this building near Madison Square was the location of the offices of the Mattachine Society of New York, an early and leading American homophile group. For part of its earlier years here, Mattachine shared space with the Daughters of Bilitis, New York Chapter.	Social	Political Headquarters	c. 1959-1968	1896-97	Bruce Price	NYCHD; NRHD-eligible
44	6	National Gay Task Force Headquarters	80 Fifth Avenue, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	The National Gay Task Force (later National Gay and Lesbian Task Force), the first national gay rights organization, had its headquarters in this building from its founding in October 1973 to 1986. While it is no longer associated with this address, the organization still operates in Washington, D.C. as the National LGBTQ Task Force.	Social	Political Headquarters	1973-86	1907	Buchman & Fox	
45	6	Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookshop	291 Mercer Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	Gay rights activist Craig Rodwell established America's first gay and lesbian bookstore, named in memory of Oscar Wilde, in a storefront of this apartment building on Mercer Street in 1967. In 1973, Rodwell moved the store, which also operated as a vital community center, to 15 Christopher Street.	Commercial	Specialty Store (Bookstore)	1967-1973	1929	Samuel N. Polis	NYCHD; NRHD
46	6	Portofino	206 Thompson Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	Portofino, an Italian restaurant in the South Village that was frequented on Friday evenings by lesbians, was the meeting place in 1963 of Edith "Edie" S. Windsor and Thea Clara Spyer. Windsor became known for challenging the federal Defense of Marriage Act, which was overturned by the Supreme Court in 2013.	Commercial	Restaurant	1959-1975	1902-03	Bernstein & Bernstein	NYCHD; NRHD

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47	6	Stonewall Inn & Christopher Park	51-53 Christopher Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	From June 28 to July 3, 1969, LGBT patrons of the Stonewall Inn and members of the local community took the unusual action of fighting back during a routine police raid at the bar. The events during that six-day period are seen as the beginning of the modern LGBT rights movement, with large numbers of groups forming around the country in the following years. Stonewall became the first LGBT site in the country to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places (1999) and named a National Historic Landmark (2000), with additional recognition by city, state, and federal governments in 2015 and 2016.	Commercial	Restaurant (Bar)	1969 (June 28-July 3)	1930 (alteration)	William Bayard Willis	NYCL; NYCHD; NRHD; NR*; NHL*; National Mnmnt*; NY State Historic Site*
48	6	Student Homophile League at Earl Hall	116 th Street and Broadway, Morningside Heights, Manhattan	The Student Homophile League, the first gay student organization in the country, was founded at Columbia University in 1966 and held many of its activities in Earl Hall. In 1971, gay students established a gay lounge in Furnald Hall, which is now known as the Stephen Donaldson Queer Lounge.	Social, Education	Meeting Hall, College (University)	1966-1990s	1902		NR; NRHD-eligible
49	6	The Snake Pit	213-215 West 10 th Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	In 1970, less than a year after Stonewall, the police raided the Snake Pit bar and detained many people at the local police station. After one person attempted to escape and was impaled on a fence, the Gay Activists Alliance and Gay Liberation Front quickly assembled a protest march, the results of which demonstrated the strength of the recently formed gay rights organizations and inspired more people to become politically active.	Commercial	Restaurant (Bar)	1970	1903	Horenburger & Straub	NYCHD; NRHD
50	6, 8	Vito Russo Residence	401 West 24 th Street, Chelsea, Manhattan	Best remembered for his pioneering book <i>The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality in the Movies</i> , Vito Russo was also a significant gay rights and AIDS activist in the 1970s and '80s. He lived in this Chelsea apartment building from mid-1969 until his death from AIDS in 1990.	Domestic	Multiple Dwelling	1969-1990	1904	John E. Scharsmith	
51	6	West Side Discussion Group Center	37 Ninth Avenue, Meatpacking District, Manhattan	This building in the Meatpacking District was the longest home of the West Side Discussion Group, which met here from 1972 to 1978. The group, generally made up of an older, more conservative membership, held numerous discussions and provided a social alternative to the bar scene.	Social	Community Center	1972-1978	1886	Joseph M. Dunn	NYCHD; NRHD
52	6	Women's Liberation Center	243 West 20 th Street, Chelsea, Manhattan	In the early 1970s, the Women's Liberation Center was founded as an important meeting space for many women's groups, including those that specifically served the lesbian community. The Center operated here from 1972 to 1987.	Social	Community Center	1972-87	1866	Charles E. Hartshorn	

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53	7	Bum Bum Bar	63-14 Roosevelt Avenue, Woodside, Queens	Since the early 1990s, the Bum Bum Bar (pronounced "boom boom") has been catering to a predominately Latina lesbian clientele in Queens. This is a rare example found so far of a site associated with lesbians of color in any borough.	Commercial	Restaurant (Bar)	early 1990s-present	by 1966	Unknown	
54	7	Institute for the Protection of Lesbian and Gay Youth	112 East 23 rd Street, East Midtown, Manhattan	Between the fall of 1983 and early 1986, the full third floor of this building was the first office of the Institute for the Protection of Lesbian and Gay Youth (IPLGY), which in 1988 was renamed the Hetrick-Martin Institute (HMI) after its founders. During the period at this address, IPLGY established the Harvey Milk High School, the first high school in the nation for LGBT youth. Today, HMI is the nation's largest agency serving LGBT youth, with a dual focus on providing services and shaping policy.	Commercial	Organizational	1983-86	1910-11	F.A. Wright	
55	7	Julio Rivera Corner	37 th Avenue and 78 th Street, Jackson Heights, Queens	This street sign in Jackson Heights commemorates Julio Rivera, a gay Latino man who in 1990 was brutally attacked by three men in the nearby schoolyard and soon after died from his injuries. The hate crime helped galvanize the Queens LGBT community into action, resulting in the formation of several community groups and the Queens Pride Parade.	Landscape	Street Object	1990	2000	City of New York (street sign)	NRHD
56	7	Lesbian Herstory Archives	484 14 th Street, Park Slope, Brooklyn	Founded in 1974, the Lesbian Herstory Archives was first housed on the Upper West Side of Manhattan before opening its current Park Slope, Brooklyn location in 1993. The volunteer-based Archives, which also serves as a museum and community center, has one of the world's largest collection of records "by and about lesbians and their communities."	Social, Education	Community Center, Library	1993-present	1908	Axel Hedman	NYCHD; NRHD
57	7, 8	LGBT Community Center	208 West 13 th Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	Since 1983, the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Community Center has served as a vital support system for hundreds of thousands of people. The Center has witnessed the founding of ACT UP, GLAAD, Las Buenas Amigas, Queer Nation, and the Lesbian Avengers, and for many years was the meeting location for the Metropolitan Community Church of New York and SAGE. The Gender Identity Project, which was established here in 1989, is the longest running service provider for the transgender and gender non-conforming (TGNC) community in the state.	Social, Education	Community Center, Library	1983-present	1845; 1869 (with later additions)	Amnon Macvey, Superintendent of School Buildings	NYCHD; NRHD
58	7	Metropolitan Community Church of New York	446 West 36 th Street, Midtown, Manhattan	The Metropolitan Community Church was founded to minister to the LGBT community whose members were not welcome in most churches. The New York congregation held its first service in 1972 and moved to this location in 1994.	Social, Religion	Meeting Hall, Religious Facility (Church)	1994-present	1887; 1894 (alteration)	William Niebuhr; John D. Haas (alteration)	

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59	7	Ramrod	394-395 West Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	The Ramrod on the Hudson River waterfront was one of New York's most popular leather bars in the 1970s. It was the site of one of Greenwich Village's most notoriously homophobic crimes in 1980.	Commercial	Restaurant (Bar)	c. 1973-1980	c. 1848	Unknown	NYCHD
60	7	St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church	365 Sixth Avenue, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	St. Joseph's has long been one of the Roman Catholic parishes in New York City most welcoming to the LGBT community. In 1982, the Gay Officers Action League (GOAL), which is still active, held its first meeting here.	Social, Religion	Meeting Hall, Religious Facility (Church)	1980s-1990s	1833	John Doran	NYCHD; NRHD
61	7	Starlite Lounge	1084 Bergen Street, Crown Heights, Brooklyn	In 1962, openly gay African-American entrepreneur Harold "Mackie" Harris purchased the Starlite Lounge and established it as an LGBT-inclusive bar. Before being forced to close in 2010 after the building was sold, the Starlite was known as the "oldest black-owned non-discriminating bar in New York" and an important long-time gathering space for the gay black community.	Commercial	Restaurant (Bar)	1962-2010	c. 1920 (altered façade)	Unknown	
62	7	Tenth of Always / Bonnie & Clyde's	82 West 3 rd Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	Tenth of Always operated here from around 1968 to 1972 and was where artist Andy Warhol met Candy Darling, a trans woman who would become a Warhol Superstar. Bonnie & Clyde, a lesbian bar popular with African-American women, became known in the 1970s as "a hangout for politically active lesbians as well as a place where women socialized across racial and class lines."	Commercial	Restaurant (Bar)	1968-1972 / c. 1972-1981	pre-1851	Unknown	NYCHD; NRHD
63	7	Transy House	214 16 th Street, Park Slope, Brooklyn	Transy House was a transgender collective operated by Rusty Mae Moore and Chelsea Goodwin from 1995 to 2008. It provided shelter for trans and gender non-conforming people in need, served as a center for trans activism, and was the last residence of pioneering LGBT rights activist Sylvia Rivera.	Domestic, Social	Multiple Dwelling, Community Center	1995-2008	c. 1860s	Unknown	
64	7	Washington Square United Methodist Church & Parish House	135 & 133 West 4 th Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	The congregation of this former church was led by the pioneering, openly gay Reverend Paul M. Abels from 1973 to 1984. The church and neighboring parish house also provided meeting space for a number of LGBT groups, most notably the Salsa Soul Sisters — the oldest black lesbian organization in America — from 1976 to 1987.	Social, Religion	Meeting Hall, Religious Facility (Church)	1973-1987	1859 (church); 1879 (parish house)	Gamaliel King (church); Charles Hadden (parish house)	NYCHD; NRHD

PHOTO FIGURE NO.	CONTEXT THEME	HISTORIC RESOURCES	ADDRESS	OVERVIEW (click link in "Historic Resource" column for more info)	PROPERTY TYPE	SUB-CATEGORY	PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE	YEAR BUILT	ARCHITECT	LANDMARK STATUS
65	7	West Side Tennis Club	1 Tennis Place (aka 69-50 Burns Street), Forest Hills, Queens	For nearly 60 years, the West Side Tennis Club in Forest Hills was the first New York City home of the U.S. Open tennis tournament. Several notable LGBT players competed here until the Open moved to its current location in 1978.	Recreation and Culture	Outdoor Recreation	1915-1920; 1924-46; 1959-1977	1913-14 (club-house); 1923 (stadium)	Grosvenor Atterbury (clubhouse); Kenneth M. Murchison (stadium)	
66	8	ACT UP Demonstration at the New York Stock Exchange	11 Wall Street, Financial District, Manhattan	The AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) formed in 1987 to call attention to the AIDS crisis. In 1989, it held two successful demonstrations at the New York Stock Exchange to protest the high price of the AIDS drug AZT, which was unaffordable to most people living with HIV.	Commercial, Landscape	Business, Plaza	1989	1903	George B. Post	NYCL; NRHD
67	8, 9	Keith Haring Studio & Foundation	676 Broadway, NoHo, Manhattan	The artist Keith Haring worked in a fifth-floor studio in this building from 1985 to 1990, the last five years of his life before dying of AIDS. In this time period, he opened Pop Shop in Soho and created many notable artworks that have come to define his impact on the international alternative art scenes of the 1980s.	Commercial	Professional (Artist's Studio)	1985-1990	1873-74	Detlef Lienau	NYCHD; NRHD-eligible
68	8	Larry Kramer Residence	2 Fifth Avenue, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	Author, playwright, and pioneering activist Larry Kramer has resided in this Greenwich Village apartment for over three decades. His home was the founding location of Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC) and the site of meetings related to gay activism.	Domestic	Multiple Dwelling	c. 1981 -present	1951-52	Emery Roth & Sons	NYCHD; NRHD
69	8	Mel Cheren Residence & Gay Men's Health Crisis Office	318 West 22 nd Street, Chelsea, Manhattan	This Greek Revival rowhouse was the home of innovative record executive Melvin "Mel" Cheren and Paradise Garage founder Michael Brody beginning in 1973. In 1982, Cheren, an early AIDS activist, provided space to Gay Men's Health Crisis (GMHC) for its first offices.	Domestic, Social	Single Dwelling, Political Headquarters	1973-2007	1848	Unknown	NYCHD; NRHD
70	8	Rivington House	45 Rivington Street, Lower East Side, Manhattan	In 1995, this former public school re-opened as a 219-bed nursing home for AIDS patients, the largest of its kind in New York City. After almost twenty years of service, Rivington House was controversially sold by the City of New York to a private developer in 2015.	Health Care	Hospital (Hospice)	1995-2014	1898	CBJ Snyder	

PHOTO FIGURE NO.	CONTEXT THEME	HISTORIC RESOURCES	ADDRESS	OVERVIEW (click link in "Historic Resource" column for more info)	PROPERTY TYPE	SUB-CATEGORY	PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE	YEAR BUILT	ARCHITECT	LANDMARK STATUS
71	9	23 Beekman Place Residence	23 Beekman Place, Midtown, Manhattan	"First Lady of the Theater" Katharine Cornell and her husband, director-producer Guthrie McClintic, lived here from 1922 to the early 1950s. The building was converted into apartments in 1976-82 by Paul Rudolph, architect and chairman of the Department of Architecture at Yale University.	Domestic, Commercial	Single Dwelling, Multiple Dwelling, Professional [Architect's Studio]	1922-1951 / 1961-1997	late 1860s; 1929-30 [façade alteration]; 1977-82 [penthouse and rear façade]	Franklin Abbott [façade alteration]; Paul Rudolph [penthouse and rear façade]	NYCL
72	9	Aaron Copland Residence at the Hotel Empire	44 West 63 rd Street, Upper West Side, Manhattan	Composer Aaron Copland — one of the most celebrated figures in classical music — lived in the Hotel Empire from 1936 to 1947 during the height of his career. While here, he wrote a number of beloved works, including Fanfare for the Common Man and Appalachian Spring, and helped found organizations that promoted the development of American classical music.	Domestic	Hotel	1936-47	1922	Frederic I. Merrick	
73	9	Andy Warhol Residence	1342 Lexington Avenue, Upper East Side, Manhattan	Pioneering pop artist Andy Warhol lived in this house from 1960 until 1972, during the most creative period of his career. In 1974, Warhol began renting the house to his business manager Frederick W. Hughes, who also ran Warhol's Factory and lived here until his death in 2001.	Domestic	Single Dwelling	1960 - 1972	1888-89	Henry J. Hardenbergh	NYCHD
74	9	Arnold Scaasi Residence, Showrooms & Design Studio	26 West 56 th Street, Midtown, Manhattan	Between May 1959 and early 1964, fashion designer Arnold Scaasi used this building, which he owned, as his design studio, showrooms, and residence. Scaasi would later gain worldwide attention when Barbra Streisand wore one of his most infamous designs to the 1969 Academy Awards.	Domestic, Commercial	Single Dwelling, Professional [Designer's Studio]	1959-1964	1907-08 [remodeled facade]	Harry Allan Jacobs [remodeled facade]	NYCL
75	9	Audre Lorde Residence	207 St. Paul's Avenue, Stapleton, Staten Island	Acclaimed African-American lesbian feminist, writer, and activist Audre Lorde lived here with her partner and two children from 1972 to 1987. While here, Lorde wrote numerous influential books and co-founded Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press.	Domestic	Single Dwelling	1972-87	1898	Otto Loeffler	NYCHD
76	9	Angel of the Waters	Bethesda Terrace, Central Park, Manhattan	The Angel of the Waters statue atop the Bethesda Fountain is the 1860s masterpiece of lesbian sculptor Emma Stebbins and was the earliest public artwork by a woman in New York City. In Tony Kushner's AIDS-themed play Angels in America, the statue formed the backdrop of the final scene of the Perestroika section.	Recreation and Culture	Work of Art [Statue]	1868	1868 [dedicated 1873]	Emma Stebbins [sculptor]	NYC Scenic Landmark [Central Park]; NR; NHL

PHOTO FIGURE NO.	CONTEXT THEME	HISTORIC RESOURCES	ADDRESS	OVERVIEW (click link in "Historic Resource" column for more info)	PROPERTY TYPE	SUB-CATEGORY	PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE	YEAR BUILT	ARCHITECT	LANDMARK STATUS
77	9	Caffe Cino	31 Cornelia Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	Caffe Cino is widely recognized as the birthplace of Off-Off-Broadway theater and was located on the ground floor of this building from 1958 to 1968. It is also highly significant as a pioneer in the development of gay theater, at a time when it was still illegal to depict homosexuality on stage.	Commercial, Recreation and Culture	Restaurant (Café), Theater (Playhouse)	1958-68	1877	Benjamin Warner	NYCHD; NRHD; NR
78	9	Carl Van Vechten Residence	150 West 55 th Street, Midtown, Manhattan	This apartment building was the home of influential cultural arbiter Carl Van Vechten beginning in 1924. Van Vechten is especially important for his advocacy of African-American art and culture, and for bridging connections between the African-American, white, and gay communities.	Domestic	Multiple Dwelling	1924	1923	Schwartz & Gross	
79	9	Carnegie Hall	881 Seventh Avenue, Midtown, Manhattan	One of the premiere centers of American musical life and history, Carnegie Hall has continually featured the work and performances of countless LGBT artists since its opening in 1891. For decades, the Studio Towers residences located above the Hall housed many artists until the space underwent a conversion in 2010.	Recreation and Culture	Music Facility (Concert Hall)	1891-present	1889-91	William B. Tuthill	NYCL; NR; NHL
80	9	Dance at New York City Center	131 West 55 th Street, Midtown Manhattan	New York City Center has been a major cultural venue since its acquisition by New York City in 1943. It has been especially significant to the development of dance, hosting many companies founded and directed by gay choreographers, including Robert Joffrey and Alvin Ailey.	Recreation and Culture	Music Facility (Concert Hall)	1940s-1990s	1924	H.P. Knowles	NYCL; NR
81	9	Edna St. Vincent Millay Residence	75 1/2 Bedford Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	Openly bisexual poet Edna St. Vincent Millay lived in this narrow house from the fall of 1923 to the spring of 1925. Millay, considered one of the most significant writers of 20 th -century literature, was a central figure in Bohemian Greenwich Village and a symbol of the modern, liberated woman of the 1920s.	Domestic	Single Dwelling	1923-24	1873; 1923 (redesign)	Unknown; Ferdinand Savignano (redesign)	NYCHD; NRHD
82	9	Elsa Gidlow Residence	447 West 22 nd Street, Chelsea, Manhattan	Poet Elsa Gidlow, though largely associated with the San Francisco Bay Area, likely wrote her groundbreaking book of poetry <i>On a Grey Thread</i> while living at this Manhattan address in the early 1920s. Featuring openly lesbian poems, the book is believed to be the first of its kind to be published in North America.	Domestic	Multiple Dwelling	early 1920s	1858	Unknown	

PHOTO FIGURE NO.	CONTEXT THEME	HISTORIC RESOURCES	ADDRESS	OVERVIEW (click link in "Historic Resource" column for more info)	PROPERTY TYPE	SUB-CATEGORY	PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE	YEAR BUILT	ARCHITECT	LANDMARK STATUS
83	9	Green-Wood Cemetery	500 25 th Street, Brooklyn	Many LGBT individuals are buried at Green-Wood Cemetery, particularly those significant to the arts, including Leonard Bernstein, Fred Ebb, Louis Moreau Gottschalk, Paul Jabara, Violet Oakley, and Emma Stebbins. Also buried here are those significant to LGBT activism and education, including Dr. Emery S. Hetrick, Dr. A. Damien Martin, and Richard Isay.	Funerary	Cemetery	1850s-present	1832	various landscape architects	NYCL (three structures only); NR
84	9	James Baldwin Residence	137 West 71 st Street, Upper West Side, Manhattan	Literary icon James Baldwin owned and lived in this Upper West Side remodeled rowhouse from 1965 until his death in 1987. While associated with this address, Baldwin published Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone and Just Above My Head, which featured homosexual and bisexual characters.	Domestic	Single Dwelling	1965-87	1961 (remodeled)	H. Russell Kenyon	NYCHD; NRHD
85	9	Lincoln Center (New York State Theater / Metropolitan Opera House / Philharmonic Hall)	10 Lincoln Center Plaza, Upper West Side, Manhattan	Lincoln Center, a world-class performing arts center, has had close connections to the LGBT community since planning began in the mid-1950s. It was also the location of the first AIDS Walk, sponsored by the Gay Men's Health Crisis, in 1986.	Recreation and Culture, Landscape	Music Facility (Concert Hall), Plaza	1960s-1990s	1962 (Philharmonic Hall); 1964 (New York State Theater); 1966 (Met Opera House and master plan); 1969 (The Juilliard School)	Max Abramovitz (Philharmonic Hall); Philip Johnson (New York State Theater); Wallace Harrison (Metropolitan Opera House and master plan); Pietro Belluschi (The Juilliard School)	NRHD-eligible
86	9	Lorraine Hansberry Residence	337 Bleecker Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	From 1953 to 1960, writer and human rights activist Lorraine Hansberry resided in the third-floor apartment of this building. While here, Hansberry lived parallel lives: one as the celebrated playwright of A Raisin in the Sun, the first play by a black woman to appear on Broadway, and the other, as a woman who privately explored her homosexuality through her writing, relationships, and social circle.	Domestic	Multiple Dwelling	1953-1960	1861	Unknown	NYCHD; NRHD
87	9	Mabel Hampton Residence	639 East 169 th Street, Bronx	Mabel Hampton was an African-American performer during the Harlem Renaissance and, in the 1970s and '80s, a key member of the Lesbian Herstory Archives. An icon of the New York lesbian community, Hampton lived in this apartment building with her partner Lillian Foster from 1943 to 1978 (Foster's death), and on her own until about 1988.	Domestic	Multiple Dwelling	1943-c.1988	1901	James F. Meehan	

PHOTO FIGURE NO.	CONTEXT THEME	HISTORIC RESOURCES	ADDRESS	OVERVIEW (click link in "Historic Resource" column for more info)	PROPERTY TYPE	SUB-CATEGORY	PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE	YEAR BUILT	ARCHITECT	LANDMARK STATUS
88	9	Mercedes de Acosta Residence	315 East 68 th Street, Upper East Side, Manhattan	The writer Mercedes de Acosta, known for her tell-all autobiography that detailed her love affairs with some of the world's most famous women, lived in this apartment building in the 1960s, the last years of her life. In the interwar years, she was a well-known society figure who attended the city's drag clubs and speakeasies.	Domestic	Multiple Dwelling	1960s	1930-31	Blum & Blum	
89	9	Museum of Modern Art	11 West 53rd Street, Midtown, Manhattan	Since its beginnings in the 1930s, the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) has employed a significant number of gay men and lesbians, many of whom have worked as highly influential curators of the American art scene. In 1970, MoMA held the first major career retrospective exhibition on the work of noted lesbian photographer Berenice Abbott.	Recreation and Culture	Museum	1930s-1990s	1939	Philip L. Goodwin and Edward Durell Stone	
90	9	New York State Pavilion	Flushing Meadows-Corona Park, Queens	Architect Philip Johnson and artists Robert Indiana, Ellsworth Kelly, Robert Rauschenberg, and Andy Warhol are all associated with the New York State Pavilion, built for the 1964 New York World's Fair in Flushing Meadows-Corona Park. Warhol's work, 13 Most Wanted Men, sparked controversy before the Fair's opening in April 1964.	Recreation and Culture	Work of Art (Building)	1964	1964	Philip Johnson	NR
91	9	Oliver Smith / Truman Capote Residence	70 Willow Street, Brooklyn Heights, Brooklyn	Legendary theater designer Oliver Smith purchased this Brooklyn Heights residence in 1953 and lived here until his death. From around 1955 to 1965, he rented the garden apartment to Truman Capote, who wrote his best-known works, Breakfast at Tiffany's and In Cold Blood during this time.	Domestic	Multiple Dwelling	1953-1994 / c. 1955-1965	1839	Unknown	NYCHD; NRHD; NHL - HD
92	9	San Remo Cafe	189 Bleecker Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	The San Remo Café was a Greenwich Village Italian restaurant and bar that became a famous Bohemian hangout in the late 1940s and '50s. It attracted a mixed Beat and gay clientele that had, among its most prominent patrons, many gay artists, writers, dancers, and actors.	Commercial	Restaurant (Café)	1925-1967	1907	John P. Voelker	NYCHD; NRHD
93	9	Scott Burton & the Equitable Center	1281 Sixth Avenue, Midtown, Manhattan	Scott Burton, a major figure in the New York art scene of the 1970s and 1980s, specialized in the creation of public installations that combined furniture design and sculpture. Among his major works are three at the former Equitable Center.	Landscape	Street Furniture	1984-86	1884-86 (public art)	Scott Burton (designer)	
94	9	Studio 54	West 54 th Street, Midtown, Manhattan	In 1977, Studio 54 opened and became one of the world's most famous discos with a fusion of gay, bisexual, and straight patrons. Owners Steven Rubell and Ian Schrager modeled the club after New York's gay nightclubs, which were setting the trends for music and dance.	Commercial	Restaurant (Nightclub)	1977-80	1927	Eugene De Rosa	

PHOTO FIGURE NO.	CONTEXT THEME	HISTORIC RESOURCES	ADDRESS	OVERVIEW (click link in "Historic Resource" column for more info)	PROPERTY TYPE	SUB-CATEGORY	PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE	YEAR BUILT	ARCHITECT	LANDMARK STATUS
95	9	Walt Whitman Residence	99 Ryerson Street, Wallabout, Brooklyn	Walt Whitman lived in this house when the first edition of his epochal first collection of poems, Leaves of Grass, was published in July 1855. The house is one of only two known extant sites in New York City associated with the great American poet.	Domestic	Single Dwelling	1855-1856	c. 1850s	Unknown	
96	9	Westbeth Artists' Housing	445-465 West Street, 137-169 Bank Street, 51-77 Bethune Street, and 734-754 Washington Street, Greenwich Village, Manhattan	The Westbeth Artists' Complex is an early (1968-70) conversion of industrial space into housing for artists and has been home to many LGBT painters, sculptors, writers, choreographers, filmmakers, and other artists. It has also been home to two important organizations, the Merce Cunningham Dance Company and Congregation Beit Simchat Torah.	Domestic, Commerce, Religion	Multiple dwelling, Organizational, Religious Facility (Synagogue)	1960s-1990s	1896-34; 1968-70 (conversion)	Cyrus L.W. Eidlitz and McKenzie, Voorhees & Gmelin; Richard Meier (conversion)	NYCL; NR
97	9	Winter Garden Theatre	1634 Broadway, Theater District, Manhattan	The Winter Garden has been home to many musicals created by members of the LGBT community over the years. Premiering here in 1957, West Side Story had a creative team in which all of the major members were gay, lesbian, or bisexual, making it the greatest collaboration of LGBT talent in Broadway history.	Recreation and Culture	Theater (Playhouse)	1930s-1970s	1896	A. V. Porter	NYC Interior Landmark
98	9	Woodlawn Cemetery	517 East 233 rd Street, Bronx	Woodlawn Cemetery in the northern Bronx is not only a magnificent park-like landscape, but is the final resting place of many notable figures in the history of the United States. Influential LGBT people include Carrie Chapman Catt, Countee Cullen, Malvina Hoffman, and George Platt Lynes.	Funerary	Cemetery	1891-present	1863	various landscape architects	NR; NHL
99	9	WOW Cafe Theatre	59 East 4 th Street, East Village, Manhattan	Formed in 1980, WOW (Women's One World) Café Theatre is considered one of the premiere centers for lesbian, women's, and transgender theater in New York. It has performed in this building since 1984 (on a street known as the Fourth Arts Block), but was previously located in a storefront space at 330 East 11 th Street from 1982 to 1984.	Recreation and Culture	Theater (Playhouse)	1984-present	c. 1911	Maxwell A. Cantor	NYCHD; NR-eligible

Note: "Landmark Status" column abbreviations are as follows: NYCL (New York City Landmark by Landmarks Preservation Commission); NYCHD (New York City Historic District by Landmarks Preservation Commission); NR (National Register of Historic Places); NHL (National Historic Landmark); NRHD (National Register Historic District); NR-eligible (previously determined eligible for the National Register by SHPO). An asterisk (*) following these abbreviations indicates that the property was listed specifically for its LGBT significance.

APPENDIX B

Photos of LGBT Historic Properties

THEME 1

New Amsterdam and New York City in the 17th and 18th Centuries



Figure 1. Hamilton Grange, St. Nicholas Park, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.

THEME 2

Emergence of an LGBT Subculture in New York City (1840s to World War I)



Figure 2. Alice Austen House, 2 Hylan Boulevard, Staten Island. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, February 2016.



Figure 3. Elisabeth Marbury & Elsie de Wolfe Residence, 122 East 17th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 4. Henry Street Settlement, 265 Henry Street, Manhattan (all three buildings). Photo by Amanda Davis/ NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2017.



Figure 5. Murray H. Hall Residence, 457 Sixth Avenue, Manhattan (rowhouse just left of lamppost). Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/ NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 6. Oscar Wilde at the Grand Hotel, 1232-1238 Broadway, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/ NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 7. Pfaff's, 645-647 Broadway, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/ NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 8. The Slide, 157 Bleecker Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/ NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.

THEME 3

Development of Lesbian and Gay Greenwich Village and Harlem Between the Wars (1918 to 1945)



Figure 9. 171 West 12th Street Residence, Manhattan. Photo by Amanda Davis//NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, July 2016



Figure 11. Berenice Abbott & Elizabeth McCausland Residence & Studio, 50 Commerce Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazeo/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 10. Apollo Theater, 253 West 125th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazeo/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, February 2016.



Figure 12. Billy Strayhorn & Aaron Bridgers Residence, 315 Convent Avenue, Manhattan (center rowhouse). Photo by Christopher D. Brazeo/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 13. Eleanor Roosevelt Residence, 29 Washington Square West, Manhattan. Photo by Amanda Davis/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, February 2016.



Figure 14. Ethel Waters Residence, 580 St. Nicholas Avenue, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 15. Eve Addams' Tearoom, 129 MacDougal Street, Manhattan (center rowhouse). Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 16. (left) 135th Street Branch (current YMCA), 180 West 135th Street; (right) West 135th Street Branch (now YMCA annex), 181 West 135th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, February 2016.



Figure 17. Langston Hughes Residence, 20 East 127th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, February 2016.



Figure 18. Little Red School House, 196 Bleecker Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 19. Louis N. Jaffe Art Theater / 181 Club / Phoenix Theater / Multiple Apartments, 181-189 Second Avenue, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 20. Stewart's Cafeteria, 116 Seventh Avenue South, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 21. Webster Hall & Annex, 125-129 East 11th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.

THEME 4

Policing, Harassment, and Social Control (1850s to 1974)



Figure 22. Belasco Theater, 111 West 44th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 23. Mayfair Bar & Grill, 3 Hyatt Street, Staten Island. Photo by Amanda Davis/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, August 2016.



Figure 24. Tony Pastor's Downtown / Gay Community Center, 130 West 3rd Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.

THEME 5

Privacy in Public: Cruising Spots, Bathhouses, and Other Sexual Meeting Places (1840s to 2000)



Figure 25. Central Park (The Ramble), Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, October 2016.



Figure 26. Everard Baths, 28 West 28th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 27. Greenwich Village Waterfront, Christopher Street Pier, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 28. Mt. Morris Baths, 28 East 125th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, February 2016.

THEME 6

The Early Fight for LGBT Equality (1930s to 1974)



Figure 31. Bayard Rustin Residence, 340 West 28th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 32. Christine Jorgensen Childhood Residence, 2847 Dudley Avenue, the Bronx. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, February 2016.



Figure 33. Church of the Holy Apostles, 296 Ninth Avenue, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 34. Corduroy Club, 240 West 38th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 35. Franklin E. Kameny Childhood Residence, 103-17 115th Street, Queens. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/ NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, October 2016.



Figure 36. Gay Activists Alliance Firehouse, 99 Wooster Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/ NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 37. Gay Liberation Front at Alternate U. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/ NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 38. Henry Gerber on Governors Island (Castle Williams). Photo by Amanda Davis/ NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 39. Judson Memorial Church, 55 Washington Square North. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016



Figure 40. Julius', 159 West 10th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, December 2015.



Figure 41. Liberation House, 247 West 11th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 42. Manford Family House, 33-23 171st Street, Queens. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, February 2016.



Figure 43. Mattachine Society & Daughters of Bilitis Offices, 1133 Broadway, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 44. National Gay Task Force Headquarters, 80 Fifth Avenue, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 45. Oscar Wilde Memorial Bookshop, 291 Mercer Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 46. Portofino, 206 Thompson Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 47. Stonewall Inn, 51-53 Christopher Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 48. Earl Hall, Columbia University. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 49. The Snake Pit (basement entrance at center), 213-215 West 10th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Ken Lustbader/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2018.



Figure 50. Vito Russo Residence, 401 West 24th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 51. West Side Discussion Group Center, 37 Ninth Avenue, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 52. Women's Liberation Center, 243 West 20th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.

THEME 7

LGBT Communities: Action, Support, Education, and Awareness (1974 to 2000)



Figure 53. Bum Bum Bar, 63-14 Roosevelt Avenue, Queens. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, August 2016.



Figure 54. Institute for the Protection of Lesbian and Gay Youth, 112 East 23rd Street, Manhattan. Photo by Amanda Davis/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2017.



Figure 55. Julio Rivera Corner (green street sign and playground, site of the attack). Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, February 2016.



Figure 56. Lesbian Herstory Archives, 484 14th Street, Brooklyn. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, February 2016.



Figure 57. LGBT Community Center, 208 West 13th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 58. Metropolitan Community Church of New York, 446 West 36th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 59. Ramrod, 394-395 West Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 60. St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, 365 Sixth Avenue, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 61. Starlite Lounge, 1084 Bergen Street, Brooklyn. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 62. Tenth of Always / Bonnie & Clyde's, 82 West 3rd Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 63. Transy House, 214 16th Street, Brooklyn. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, August 2016.



Figure 64. Washington Square United Methodist Church & Parish House, 135 & 133 West 4th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Amanda Davis/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, November 2016.



Figure 65. West Side Tennis Club, 1 Tennis Place, Queens. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, February 2016.

THEME 8

New York City and the AIDS Epidemic (1981 to 2000)



Figure 66. ACT UP Demonstration at the New York Stock Exchange, 11 Wall Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.

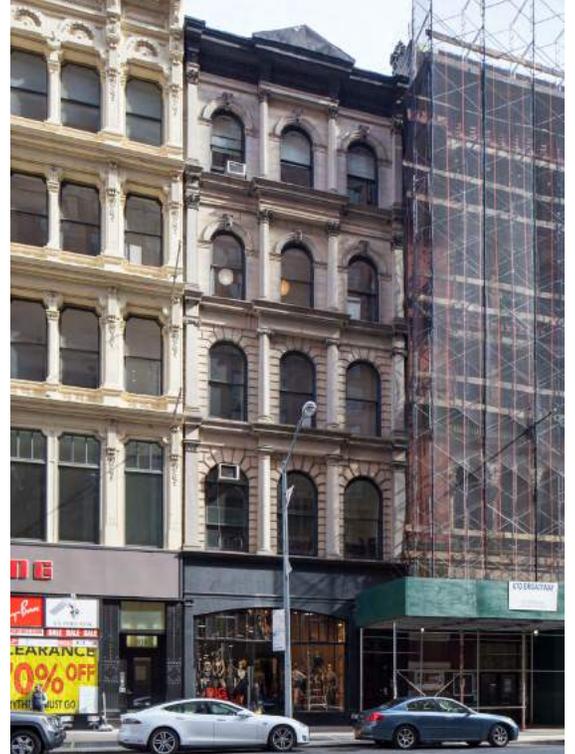


Figure 67. Keith Haring Studio & Foundation, 676 Broadway, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/ NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 68. Larry Kramer Residence, 2 Fifth Avenue, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 69. Mel Cheren Residence & Gay Men's Health Crisis Office, 318 West 22nd Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 70. Rivington House, 45 Rivington Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.

THEME 9

The LGBT Community's Impact on Arts and Culture (1850s to 2000)



Figure 71. 23 Beekman Place Residence, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, August 2016.



Figure 73. Andy Warhol Residence, 1342 Lexington Avenue, Manhattan (center rowhouse). Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 72. Aaron Copland Residence at the Hotel Empire, 44 West 63rd Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 74. Arnold Scaasi Residence, Showrooms & Design Studio, 26 West 56th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 75. Audre Lorde Residence, 207 St. Paul's Avenue, Staten Island. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, February 2016.



Figure 76. Angel of the Waters, Bethesda Fountain, Central Park, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, October 2016.



Figure 77. Caffè Cino, 31 Cornelia Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 78. Carl Van Vechten Residence, 150 West 55th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, October 2016.



Figure 79. Carnegie Hall, 881 Seventh Avenue, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.

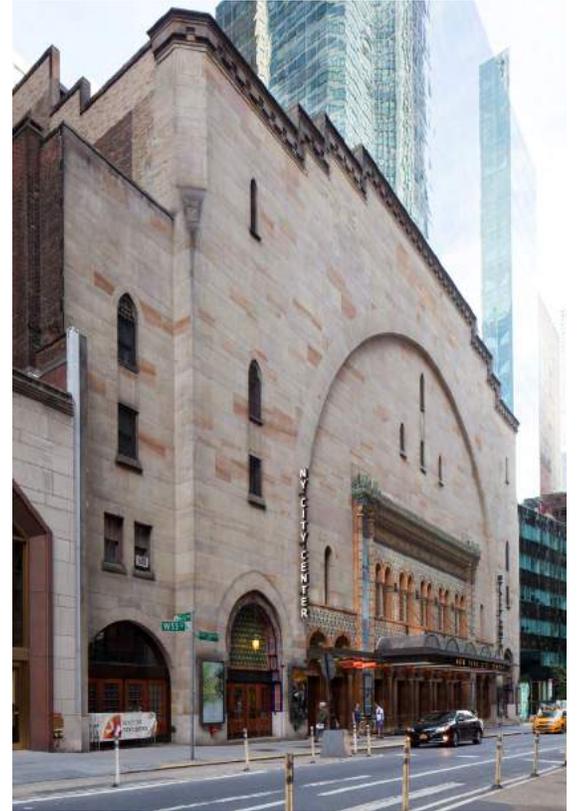


Figure 80. New York City Center, 131 West 55th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 81. Edna St. Vincent Millay Residence, 75 1/2 Bedford Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 82. Elsa Gidlow Residence, 447 West 22nd Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 83. Green-Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn (tombstone of Violet Oakley is one of several for notable LGBT figures). Photo by Amanda Davis/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, June 2016.



Figure 84. James Baldwin Residence, 137 West 71st Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, October 2016.



Figure 85. Lincoln Center, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project October 2016.



Figure 86. Lorraine Hansberry Residence, 337 Bleecker Street, Manhattan. Photo by Amanda Davis/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2018.



Figure 87. Mabel Hampton Residence, 639 East 169th Street, the Bronx. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, August 2016.



Figure 88. Mercedes de Acosta Residence, 315 East 68th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, August 2016.



Figure 89. Museum of Modern Art, 11 West 53rd Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.

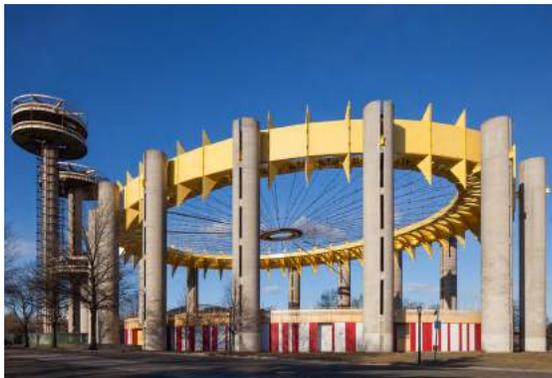


Figure 90. New York State Pavilion, Flushing Meadows-Corona Park, Queens. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, February 2016.



Figure 91. Oliver Smith / Truman Capote Residence, 70 Willow Street, Brooklyn. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, August 2016.



Figure 92. San Remo Cafe, 189 Bleecker Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 93. Scott Burton & the Equitable Center, 1281 Sixth Avenue, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



Figure 94. Studio 54, 254 West 54th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Amanda Davis/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2017.



Figure 95. Walt Whitman Residence, 99 Ryerson Street, Brooklyn. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, February 2016.



Figure 96. Westbeth Artists' Housing, 445-465 West Street, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2016.



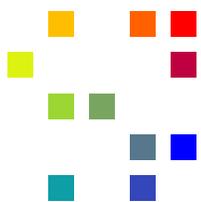
Figure 97. Winter Garden Theatre, 1634 Broadway, Manhattan. Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 98. Woodlawn Cemetery, the Bronx (J.C. Leyendecker is one of several notable LGBT figures buried at Woodlawn). Photo by Christopher D. Brazee/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, March 2016.



Figure 99. WOW Cafe Theatre, 59 East 4th Street, Manhattan. Photo by Amanda Davis/NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, September 2015.



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