

A PLACE TO START



**A TOOLKIT FOR DOCUMENTING LGBTQ
HERITAGE IN BALTIMORE CITY
(AND BEYOND)**

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**University of Maryland
School of Architecture, Planning & Preservation**

Prepared by Students in the Fall 2018 HISP 650 Preservation Studio course
Instruction provided by Dr. Jeremy C. Wells
School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation
University of Maryland, College Park

Credits:

Formatting Editors: Ty Ginter, Daniela Tai

Content Editors: Ty Ginter, Kelly Schindler

Copy Editor: Kelly Schindler

Written By: Katherine Boyle, Ty Ginter, Kelly Marie Haley, Daniela Tai, Kelly Schindler, Emma Schrantz

Contributors: Josette Graham, Kathleen Jockel, Tamara Schlossenberg

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

During the fall of 2018, the Historic Preservation Studio (HISP 650) graduate course at the University of Maryland, College Park, was tasked with creating a toolkit for LGBTQ heritage documentation in Baltimore City by Preservation Maryland. The focus of this research was initially on the Waverly, Abell, and Charles Village neighborhoods in north Baltimore, and the Mount Vernon neighborhood in central Baltimore.

In recent decades, many professional preservationists have shifted their focus away from traditional narratives to the histories and places of marginalized groups, in an attempt to ensure a more holistic account of American history. This report captures this change through discussions of authorized heritage discourse (AHD), official designation of LGBTQ historic places, and use of grassroots preservation tools in marginalized communities. Each of these provide crucial insights into some of challenges facing preservation and particularly within the LGBTQ community.

This report also contains a thorough data analysis from various research methods, including interviews, archival materials, and a physical documentation case study, as well as a toolkit for the documentation of LGBTQ spaces. The Hippo, now a CVS pharmacy, was selected as the case study site for its significance within Baltimore's LGBTQ community. In addition to being a controversial candidate for preservation because of its current use as a CVS, continued interviews and a community workshop also illuminated a darker history of gender and racial discrimination at The Hippo. In choosing the Hippo, the studio realized the opportunity to discuss a number of issues in historic preservation, including determining site significance, documentation, and interpreting multiple narratives.

A number of recommendations were also included in the conclusion of this report. These recommendations will contribute to a more effective use of the toolkit and demonstrate the possible paths forward for this project.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

KATIE BOYLE

The Fall 2018 Historic Preservation Studio graduate course at the University of Maryland tasked studio members with designing a toolkit for identifying and documenting “affirming” places for the LGBTQ community in Baltimore, Maryland. The original project proposal aimed to challenge the assumptions that new ways of communicating in the digital age and increased acceptance of gender, sexual, and romantic minorities by broader American society in the past several decades means that many businesses and establishments no longer serve the same historical purpose they once did for the LGBTQ community and examine how historic preservation can help save vulnerable affirming places for future generations. The development of a “preservation toolkit” that could be used for similar projects by other graduate students was also assigned. A coalition of faculty from the University of Maryland historic preservation program and staff from organizations including Preservation Maryland and Johns Hopkins University crafted the assignment goals and format.

As subsequent chapters describe, the studio members decided to make several structural changes to the assigned project. First (and most importantly), it was to broaden the scope of the initial research area from four primarily wealthier, white Baltimore neighborhoods that had been associated with the LGBTQ community (also known as ‘gayborhoods’) to cover the greater Baltimore area in an effort to identify more affirming places for people of color that were excluded from the original boundaries. Had the project specifications been generated by the studio members, this more racially inclusive approach would have been built into the project scope from the start.

The second structural change was the decision to incorporate community engagement into the documentation project. In the original project timeline, the first phase included the selection of a historic site for documentation, followed by a series of interviews with community members, and concluding with a community workshop. However, the studio members felt they could not accurately assess a historic site for documentation that was significant to Baltimore’s LGBTQ community without actually hearing from them. The decision was made to extend the site selection process until at least mid-way through the community interviews. While the initial interview feedback was helpful in determining significance, the studio members concur that this project should have commenced with a community workshop, rather than concluded with one.

The following chapters further detail the process of carrying out this project. Students in the Social and Ethnic Issues in Preservation graduate course provide context for the relationship between LGBTQ heritage and professional historic preservation in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 introduces the toolkit and the methodology used to create it. An analysis of qualitative data is analyzed in Chapter 4, and Chapter 5 introduces the Hippo as a case study for documentation and preservation issues including determining site significance, and difficult histories. The final chapter makes several recommendations for future actions and research. The appendices at the end of this document contain a glossary of terms, materials developed for the facilitation of the workshop, and well as the toolkit developed over the course of this project.



TERMINOLOGY

Acronyms and other key terms are used frequently throughout this document, and the most commonly used are listed here. A glossary of other acronyms has been provided as a part of the appendix.

LGBTQ | LGBT | GSRM

- Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer/Questioning
- Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
- Gender, Sexual, and Romantic Minorities

NPS - The National Park Service, a United States Government agency under the United States Department of the Interior, which oversees National Parks, Monuments, and Landmarks, and administers programs such as the National Historic Landmarks (NHL) program and the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

Historic 1851 map of Baltimore by Sidney and Neff. *Courtesy Library of Congress*

NHL - National Historic Landmarks program, administered through the National Park Service, under the umbrella of the United States Department of the Interior.¹

NRHP - The National Register of Historic Places was implemented by the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, and is administered by the National Park Service. It is a nation-wide program that coordinate the efforts of public and private organizations to “identify, evaluate, and protect” America’s cultural resources.²

Studio members - refers to the six individuals who completed the project to fulfill the Historic Preservation Studio graduate course at the University of Maryland. The term “studio members” may be swapped for other relevant groups who may be embarking on similar projects (ex: students, community organizations, historians, researchers, etc.).





Artistic rendering of 1990 Miss Hippo competition. *Courtesy Daniela Tai*



CHAPTER 2

**A CONTEXT FOR LGBTQ
HERITAGE WITHIN HISTORIC
PRESERVATION**

JOSETTE GRAHAM, KATHLEEN JOCKEL & TAMARA SCHLOSSENBERG

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a background on historic preservation for non-dominant groups, which are defined as people largely marginalized by society due to race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, economic status, and/or similar classifications. The essays in this chapter discuss the history, challenges, success and failures of preservation for non-dominant groups and provide key insights into some of the fundamental challenges facing the preservation community, including the LGBTQ community's efforts to gain recognition and support in the preservation of their cultural heritage. While this narrative is by no means complete, it will provide a foundation for understanding the challenges in preserving LGBTQ historic sites.

PART I: UNDERSTANDING THE AUTHORIZED HERITAGE DISCOURSE IN HISTORIC PRESERVATION

TAMARA SCHLOSSENBERG

The phrase “authorized heritage discourse” (AHD) was coined by researcher Laurajane Smith to describe the “traditional, limiting, and often elitist ways” that heritage is valued and preserved. Smith defines the AHD as a “dominant view of heritage” which favors “grand, old, aesthetically pleasing sites” that are often associated with “the aristocracy, the church and [the] comforting, sustaining, consensus fables of nationhood.”³ While the term is relatively new, the concept of the authorized heritage discourse has existed since the beginning of the historic preservation field in Europe the 19th century.⁴ Buildings were cherished initially for their grandness, aesthetics and their ability to produce “feelings of the sublime,” a 19th century phrase used to signify an emotional connection to place.

Historic preservation in the United States also traces its origins back to the 19th century. The founding of a national American preservation movement began with Ann Pamela Cunningham, who galvanized others (particularly other upper class white women) to preserve George Washington's Mount Vernon estate for the public.⁵ The movement remained primarily concerned with the preservation of presidential estates and elite houses owned by wealthy white men, such as the House of the Seven Gables and the Paul Revere House, both in Massachusetts.⁶ A professionalization of the preservation field by (largely male) architects and historians in the 20th century, largely resulting from large-scale preservation and restoration efforts like Colonial Williamsburg and Deerfield Village, established regulatory policies and guidelines for preservation practice in the United States.⁷ Later, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 created the National Register of Historic Places, which perpetuated the preservation of sites associated primarily with upper-class white men through its emphasis on architectural significance and integrity.⁸

In recent decades, efforts have been made at both the grassroots and professional levels to expand representation of historic sites beyond these mainstream narratives. For example, the National Park Service Heritage and History Initiatives made a number of attempts to represent diverse stories in their Historic Landmarks Program.⁹ A number of professional organizations, such as Latinos in Heritage Conservation and Asian American and Pacific Islanders in Preservation, were established to help fill the gaps in both protection of historic places associated with these cultures and support professional preservationists of color. These are just a few examples of preservationists working to create a more inclusive representation of our nation's history.

WHO DECIDES?

Determining historical significance is fundamental to the field of professional historic preservation. One of the main problems of an authorized heritage discourse is that it "defines who the legitimate spokespersons for the past are."¹⁰ Under federal regulations, professional preservationists have become the decisions-makers for evaluating significance.¹¹

The Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualification Standards creates strict regulations for who is qualified to practice historic preservation in the United States. For archaeology, architecture, and historic architecture, an individual wishing to practice must have at least a graduate degree in their related field. This requirement is problematic, as it excludes many people who may not have the financial, social, or other means to obtain a graduate degree but who may be otherwise qualified to serve as a preservationists.¹² These requirements of who can practice inherently place professional preservationists in a space to define the significance of a community's heritage for them, which removes power from communities to define their own story and also superimposes dominant class and cultural ideals on marginalized or minority groups.¹³

THE NATIONAL HISTORIC PRESERVATION ACT AND AHD

Professional preservationists are guided in their work by standards and regulations which aim to define what is worthy of preservation. In the United States, the national standards are largely set forth by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, which among other things, established a National Register of Historic Places. Administered by the National Park Service, the National Register "is the official list of our country's historic buildings, districts, sites, structures, and objects worthy of preservation."¹⁴

NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA

In order to be included on the National Register, a site must meet at least one of four criteria for inclusion:



- A) relevant to a significant event in American history*
- B) relevant to a significant person of American history*
- C) the design or construction has aesthetic value or was created by a master architect*
- D) the site has information potential to provide insights about prehistory or history¹⁵*

The National Register of Historic Places requires a historic site to retain its historic integrity in order to be listed, which means the building cannot be significantly permanently altered from its determined period of significance, meaning the time most closely associated with its criteria for inclusion. If the site remains largely unchanged from how it appeared during the period of significance, it is often considered to retain historic integrity. However, this requirement for integrity ignores the fact that historic sites are parts of the built environment that continue to evolve with a community long after the period of significance has ceased. This continued use means that buildings often change with the needs and values of the communities using them, which means they are often significantly altered and have historic fabric removed. Buildings that are particularly at risk for losing historic fabric are vernacular buildings and/or those associated with marginalized communities, such as hospitals, theaters, schools, bars, clubs, houses and other similar structures, which often lack architectural significance but have great social importance. The requirement that sites remain completely intact ignores the fact that what makes a place significant to a community is often not its architectural significance, but instead the feeling, memory, or other aspect of intangible heritage attached to that place.¹⁶

The standards set forth by the National Historic Preservation Act and similar legislation encourage professionals to perpetuate the ideas of significance, integrity, and designation as the primary tools for historic preservation, which in turn often yields more protected sites associated with comfortable, positive historical narratives. This “positivist” approach to the past assumes that there is a single “correct”, mainstream narrative to which sites should neatly fit into.¹⁷ This concept does not leave space for sites which deviate from the mainstream narrative, including stories of people of color, women, and the LGBTQ community, to be granted the same level of institutional protection. Positivism tends to disregard the emotional nature of heritage and the fact that history does not exist in stasis, but instead is a constant process of interpretation and reinterpretation.

The use of architectural significance, integrity, and positivism to define what is valuable in historic preservation creates an environment that is often not conducive to preserving sites that do not fit within the established national framework, particularly those associated with marginalized and underrepresented communities. Many minority spaces have been significantly altered, directly challenging the authorized heritage discourse with alternative tellings of history. The lenses that the AHD uses to leads to deeper consequences with further complicates the treatment of spaces that fall outside of it.



A community workshop map that documents affirming places according to stakeholder input.
Courtesy Katie Boyle

CONSEQUENCES OF AHD AND CREATING A MORE INCLUSIVE DISCOURSE

The positivist views of the AHD end up favoring and confirming the viewpoints of a dominant group at the expense of marginalized groups and promotes passive engagement with history. Heritage in this environment “is something visitors are led to, are instructed about, but are then not invited to engage with more actively.”¹⁸

The authorized heritage discourse can make historic preservation tools inaccessible to the communities and non-professional preservationists by perpetuating barriers to entry. Professionals must recognize the shortcomings of the authorized heritage discourse and work towards protecting places that are more inclusive of all communities, especially those that have been traditionally (and intentionally) marginalized or underrepresented.

One solution to addressing the problems of the authorized heritage discourse is to apply a community-based approach. Heritage values should be “identified and interpreted by community members rather than by outsiders,” meaning that professional preservationists will not always be the experts on what a place means and how it should be preserved. Collaborative solutions are the only way for preservationists to break away from the authorized heritage discourse and become a more inclusive field, both in the kinds of places and in the expertise they value.¹⁹

PART II: RECOGNIZING LGBTQ HISTORIC PLACES

KATHLEEN JOCKEL

AMPLIFYING VOICES IN LGBTQ HERITAGE

Like other marginalized groups, the LGBTQ community has faced an uphill struggle for recognition of their heritage, which has (often deliberately) been excluded from mainstream historical narratives. This presents a challenge for the current preservation framework, but is also an opportunity for preservation professionals to develop and implement new approaches, concepts, and tools. Even more significantly, it is an opportunity for the community to have an active hand in defining their own historical narratives.

As previously discussed, the legal framework directing federal, state, and local preservation efforts is based on earlier, more traditional focuses of the field, such as prominent architecture and historic figures. Historically, the physical spaces many LGBTQ activities occupied were often multi-use and/or aesthetically unremarkable spaces.²⁰ The vernacular nature of meeting spaces and intentional silence about their existence outside of the community makes identifying and protecting significant spaces of previous generations inherently challenging.²¹ Redevelopment and gentrification often threaten these sites, which may be located in more desirable neighborhoods as the demographics of cities change and grow over time.²²

THE IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL KNOWLEDGE

The heritage of marginalized groups can appear ephemeral in comparison to the physical dominance of structures and spaces protected and promoted by traditional historical narratives. As previously discussed, the significance of a space or place of marginalized groups are likely to not meet the standard requirements of preservation. But these material requirements should not be the only consideration; in any preservation project, local knowledge should play a prominent role, not only for historical accuracy but also to address economic and social concerns for the community.²³ While local knowledge is officially recognized as a legitimate resource, in practice it is rarely given the same weight as a professional opinion.⁴² This becomes a problem when professional standards, as dictated in the Secretary of the Interior's Standards, is the definitive voice in determining the significance and/or preservation potential of a space which, almost by definition, does not adhere to the traditional standards.²⁵

Local participation is especially important in LGBTQ preservation because of the community’s historical invisibility. In some places, LGBTQ spaces were only known through word of mouth, since activities were frequently policed and institutions and even the families of queer individuals actively ignored or destroyed evidence of nonconforming behavior. This deliberate secrecy and erasure makes the collection of queer history a more elusive process than that of other minority communities.²⁶ Some of the only remnants of these lost spaces, if they exist at all, might consist of matchbooks, flyers, or other ephemera, meaning spaces can easily become lost with passing generations if such information is not recorded and preserved in more substantial ways. Local LGBTQ organizations have often propelled the preservation of their cultural heritage through organized, grassroots efforts. Without these precedent-setting efforts, professional preservationists and historians would lack substantial source material and examples for preservation solutions.



ONE National Gay & Lesbian Archives at the USC Libraries. *Courtesy Wikimedia Commons*

MECHANISMS FOR ‘LEGITIMIZING’ LGBTQ HISTORY

The passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966 created the National Park Service’s National Register of Historic Places as well as the list of National Historic Landmarks.²⁷ As of 2016, the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) consisted of more than 90,000 places while the National Historic Landmarks (NHL) consisted of nearly 2,500 places.²⁸ Sites designated for significance in LGBTQ history currently make up only .005 percent of the NRHP and .08 percent of NHL sites.²⁹

Major steps have been taken in recent decades to help close this gap and make LGBTQ history a more visible and equal part of the public narrative. As the 20th century progressed, the emergence of recognizable gay communities began to appear in urban centers like New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. By mid-century, societies were being formed to bring together the community and to advocate for gay rights.³⁰ Starting as early as the 1970s, “homegrown” archives were compiled by individuals, groups, and on the rare occasion, an academic institution. Early examples of this type of collecting include the Lesbian Herstory Archives in New York City and the National Gay Archives in Los Angeles.³¹ Private collections continued to be prevalent until the 1990s, when universities, museums, and other institutions started to accession them. The acquisition of these archives by accredited, public-facing institutions has proven to be instrumental in broadening access and scholarship for LGBTQ historic materials. It has also allowed the LGBTQ community agency to shape their preserved record independently of the traditional collecting practices of traditional museums and archives.³²

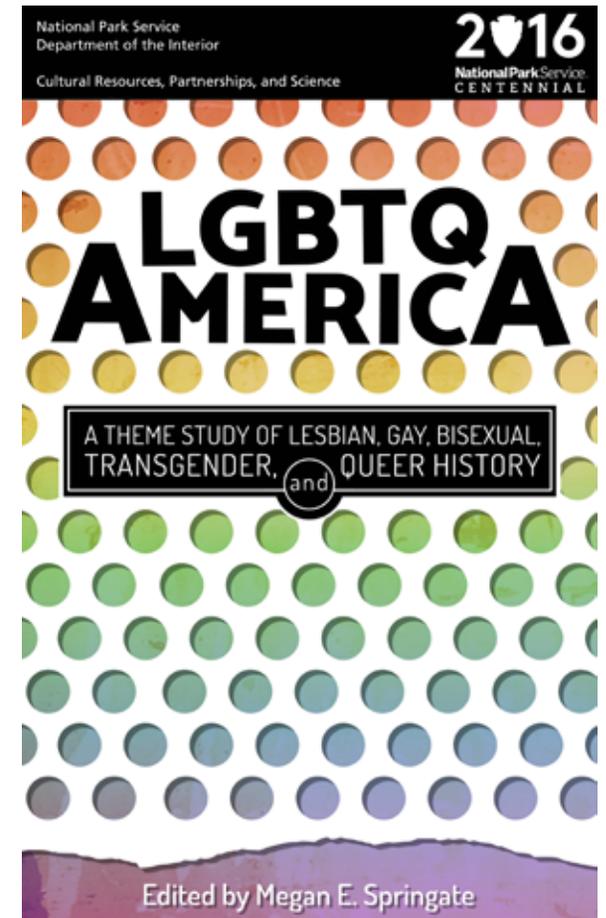


Related professional fields are also addressing issues threatening the heritage of the LGBTQ community. Planning, which has strong ties and shares similar interests to the historic preservation field, has a large body of work addressing the issues of protecting LGBTQ cultural heritage. This is particularly important as many significant LGBTQ historic sites are located in urban areas and are typically vulnerable to redevelopment.³³ Planning professionals are instrumental to helping communities combat issues such as gentrification and the loss of historic gayborhoods.³⁴ Significant sites, such as gay bars, bookstores, bath houses, and cruising spots may not have the political or economic support to stay in operation as a neighborhood gets redeveloped, yet they remain incredibly significant spaces.³⁵ Many planners conclude that places such as these could benefit greatly from greater outreach and inclusion in the planning process and being given protections such as cultural overlay districts.³⁶

LGBTQ PRESERVATION SUCCESS

It has taken a great deal of effort by individuals at every level of preservation, from grassroots organizations to federal agencies, to make preservation of LGBTQ historic sites possible. Early preservation success stories are not only significant in their own historical right; they have set the precedent for protecting, preserving, and celebrating the LGBTQ community's heritage. The social and political significance of such sites going forward cannot be undervalued; they have given the LGBTQ community a platform from which to identify, interpret, and learn about their own heritage.

In 2014, the National Park Service (NPS) introduced an LGBTQ Theme Study in as part of its LGBTQ Heritage Initiative.³⁷ The theme study was published in 2016 and resulted from the combined efforts of experts, academics, and activists. It was conducted to "provide a historic context that allows the identification of significant properties in the context of the NRHP and NHL programs, provide important background information for other research efforts, and can be used to educate the public both directly and by shaping interpretation at historic sites."³⁸ It supports a growing field of academic and professional work devoted to the preservation of LGBTQ sites, and many of these professionals served as contributors for the theme study.³⁹ This document will be an important resource in future NRHP and NHL nominations, as well as for local level preservation efforts and research, as a mechanism to encourage recognition for the historical significance of LGBTQ heritage sites.



The cover of the publication LGBTQ America.
Courtesy National Park Service

One of the best-known success stories is the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village, New York City. The Stonewall Uprising took place in 1969, when a police raid resulted in a six-day long protest of the treatment of the gay community. According to the official National Park Service interpretation, it signifies a series of historic events which “outstandingly represent the struggle for civil rights in America.”⁴⁰ Stonewall was added to the New York State Register and the NRHP in 1999 and was listed as an NHL in 2000. The Stonewall Inn is somewhat unique in that it is an exception to the “fifty-year rule,” meaning it was designated before it hit the traditional “historic” mark, and granted NHL status under Criteria Exception 8, “a property achieving national significance within the past 50 years may be eligible if it is of extraordinary national importance.”⁴¹

While the circumstance of Stonewall’s nomination is remarkable, it unfortunately did not lead to a deluge of other nationally recognized LGBTQ sites. The next site to be nationally designated for its association with LGBTQ history was the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny Residence in Washington DC, which was listed on the NRHP in 2011. This was followed by just a handful of other significant sites in the following years, notably the “House of the Furies” in 2016, the historic home of lesbian feminist separatist collective “The Furies,” also located in Washington, DC.⁴²

Another city with a notable history of preserving LGBTQ sites is San Francisco. San Francisco has a large and active gay community which has placed the city at the forefront of civil rights issues, including advancements in the preservation of significant LGBTQ historic sites. The city government and local groups alike have done a great deal to identify, document, and preserve sites through initiatives like the LGBTQ Historical Context Statement.⁴³



The Stonewall Inn, NYC. Pride Weekend 2016.
Courtesy Wikimedia Commons

As a result of these efforts, San Francisco has a number of excellent publicly accessible resources to provide historical and cultural context for its LGBTQ heritage as well as the city’s first LGBTQ landmark, dedicated to Harvey Milk, which was designated a City Landmark in 2000.⁴⁴

One challenge that comes with successfully preserved sites associated with LGBTQ heritage is whether or not to reinterpret the private lives of historical figures who never came out during their lifetime. Should their sexualities be part of the discussion of their lives? There is also debate on whether applying modern labels to historical figures, who never would identified as a lesbian or as transgender because the words did not yet exist in their lexicon, helps or hurts. Should historians use historical, period-accurate terms like tommy, sapphic and fairy, or use more modern labels that audiences can identify with and understand more readily?

Prominent national sites like Eleanor Roosevelt's Val-Kill, are taking important steps in constructing the public face of LGBTQ heritage.⁴⁵ While Val-Kill, operated by the National Park Service, has yet to make an official public statement on the subject of Roosevelt's sexuality, staff are beginning to address questions of Roosevelt's private life in tours and public programs. In order to fully understand the significance of possible interpretations, professionals must consider the impact it will have to the historically accurate representation of the interpreted figure, to the LGBTQ community, academic scholars, the visiting public, and other audiences.

Kentucky offers two examples of successfully reinterpreting historic sites to include LGBTQ heritage. The Elks Athletic Club in Louisville was nominated to the National Register in 1979, and the Whiskey Row Historic District (also in Louisville) was nominated in 2010. Both site nominations were updated in 2017 to include their LGBTQ history. The Elks Athletic Club served as a meeting place for gay men for over eighty years and the Downtowner, a gay bar in Whiskey Row, was added as a contributing structure to the historic district.⁴⁶ The official recognition of these places for their LGBTQ history adds another important layer of significance, both as historic structures and as integral parts of Kentucky's LGBTQ heritage.



Eleanor Roosevelt's Val-Kill Cottage.
Courtesy Wikimedia Commons

This section has only scratched the surface; there are examples of preservation efforts for LGBTQ heritage across the nation emerging every day. As more sites gain recognition, more resources will be available to help future sites to be interpreted, re-interpreted, and preserved.

PART III: GRASSROOTS PRESERVATION IN MARGINALIZED COMMUNITIES

JOSETTE GRAHAM

GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS AND PRESERVATION

A grassroots organization can be defined as a local organization seeking to influence conditions “not related to the working situation of the participants and which have the activity of the participants as their primary resource.”⁴⁷ These organizations utilize people from the community at hand in order to advocate and push for the success of specific movements and goals. For historic preservation projects, the participants of these organizations often include collaboration with local researchers and historians, professional preservationists, genealogists, academics, educators, local experts, and local politicians.⁴⁸

Participants of grassroots organizations often feel compelled to engage in these efforts for a number of reasons. According to Carol Chetkovich and Frances Kunreuther, authors of *From the Ground Up: Grassroots Organizations Making Social Change*, the two primary reasons people participate are because they are either attracted to the “values or mission of the organization” and/or “the expectation of greater autonomy in the work,” which can be especially motivating and important in historic preservation projects.⁴⁹

GRASSROOTS HERITAGE MOVEMENT

While the American public is becoming more interested in the preservation of “ordinary people,” and the “unappreciated aspects of our history and regional approaches,” the fact remains that traditionally marginalized groups are still severely underrepresented in historic preservation efforts. Heritage movements for marginalized groups, such as the LGBTQ and African American communities, can appear in a number of ways. In Iowa, where African Americans comprise approximately two percent of the state’s entire population, this took the form of groups coming together to pressure the state government to create a statewide African American museum, despite ongoing challenges stemming from “past indifferences to Iowa’s black history” and people who “felt there was no need to teach African American history.” The museum was created in the basement of a local African American church 1993 and raised support for a new facility in Cedar Rapids a decade later.⁵⁰

Oral history projects are another popular motivation for grassroots heritage groups. Responding to a lack of value for their history within mainstream society, the Queer Newark Oral History Project was “designed to intervene into the narrativization of the queer past...and to bridge gaps,” and to empower “LGBTQ youth, in part through the production of a more concrete sense of memory and queer genealogy.”⁵¹ In 2011, the Queer Newark Oral History Project put on a full-day celebratory event in honor of Newark, New



Jersey's queer history, which resulted in "making visible those black and brown queer and trans bodies otherwise invisible in the public imagination, mainstream (and queer) media, and some queer histories."⁵² Grassroots heritage movements can play a crucial role in ensuring the history of marginalized groups are preserved and made available to the public.

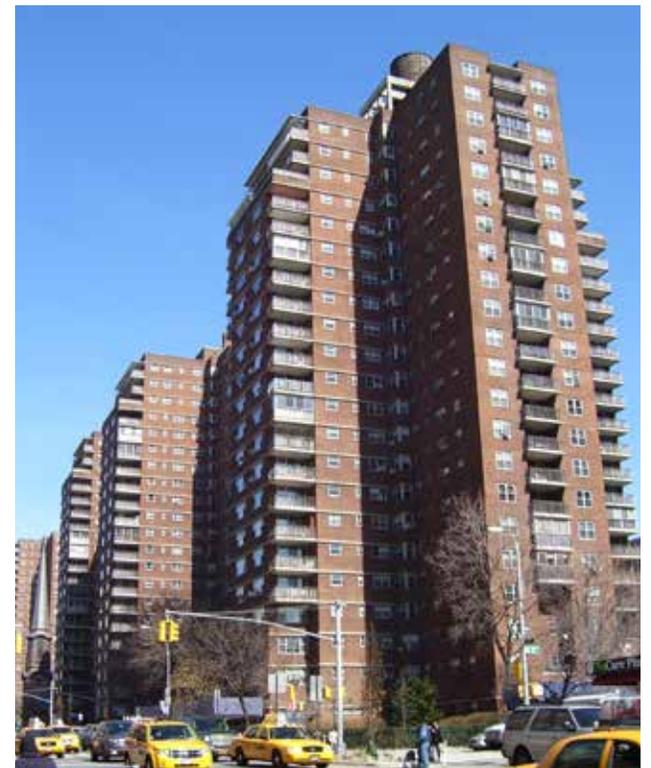
CASE STUDIES

The subsequent case studies highlighting preservation successes by grassroots organizations have been selected based on the following criteria: 1) the mission of the organization must be to preserve the heritage of a marginalized community, in this case either the LGBTQ and/or African American communities; 2) successfully preserving a site associated with one of these community's heritage; and 3) examples which utilized a variety of grassroots techniques.

BAYARD RUSTIN

Born in West Chester, Pennsylvania in 1912, Bayard Rustin was a prominent 20th century African American civil rights activist.⁵³ Despite being described as the "driving force" behind the 1963 March on Washington, as well as being an advisor to Martin Luther King Jr., and a national champion of civil rights, human rights, and racial equality, Rustin is barely recognized in historical memory.⁵⁴ In addition to his prominence as a civil rights activist, Rustin was also a gay man. While he was never officially "out" publicly, Rustin also never attempted to deny his homosexuality.⁵⁵ In 1953, he was arrested and convicted in Los Angeles, California on charges of "lewd-vagrancy" related to his homosexuality, which essentially outed him as a gay man.⁵⁶ Because of discrimination for his sexual orientation, Rustin often had to relinquish credit for his work and forego prominent leadership roles.⁵⁷ Attacks against his character by other activists and politicians went so far as to have information regarding his sexuality being inserted into the Congressional Record.⁵⁸

Bayard Rustin lived much of his life in New York, with his longest place of residence in an apartment in the Penn South Complex in the West Chelsea section of Manhattan where he lived until his death in 1987.⁵⁹ On March 8, 2016, Rustin's Penn South Complex residence was officially listed to the National Register of Historic Places for its significance to Rustin.⁶⁰ Mark Meinke of Rainbow Heritage Network, a national



Bayard Rustin's apartment building in West Chelsea, Manhattan
Courtesy Wikimedia Commons

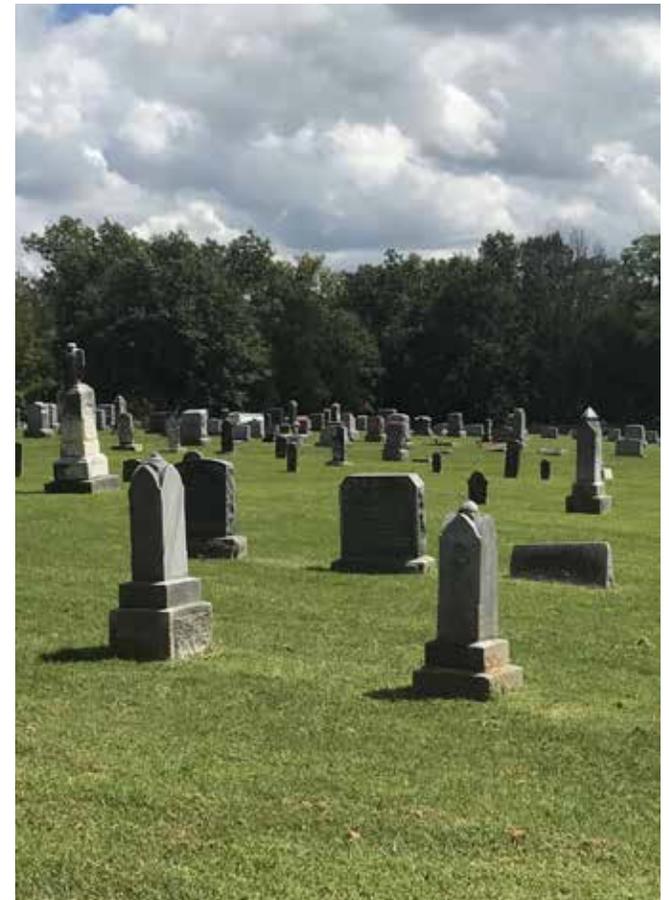
with the mission of recognizing and preserving the sites, history and heritage of the LGBTQ communities across the United States, was one of the driving forces behind the ultimately successful designation of Rustin’s residence.⁶¹ Through the resources of Rainbow Heritage Network, Meinke was able to bring people together to garner support for the nomination of a place associated with such a historically significant, yet relatively unknown figure of the African American LGBTQ community. Support for the nomination came from a wide variety of organizations, including the Peace and Social Justice Committee and the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute.⁶² Through a strong coalition and other grassroots campaign efforts, the Rainbow Heritage Network was able to successfully recognize the the historical significance of Bayard Rustin on the National Register of Historic Places.

LOCUST GROVE CEMETERY

The Locust Grove Cemetery is a historic African American cemetery.⁶³ Located in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, the cemetery faced decades of neglect and vandalism and fell into disrepair.⁶⁴ Outside of the local African American community of Shippensburg, the majority of people who even knew about the cemetery viewed it as “troubled ground.”⁶⁵

The Locust Grove Cemetery Committee, the current caretakers of the cemetery, are a small group of older African American volunteers, all of whom have relatives buried there. They volunteered their time and money on a weekly basis for decades in an attempt to confront the many challenges the site faced.⁶⁶ In 2003, a coalition spearheaded by the Locust Grove Cemetery Committee, including the Shippensburg Historical Society and the Shippensburg University Applied History Program, began the Locust Grove Restoration Campaign with the mission of restoring the cemetery.⁶⁷

After nearly five years of hard work, this grassroots coalition of a volunteer cemetery association, a nonprofit historical society, and a history department at a state university, successfully restored and repaired the cemetery, constructed a protective fence around the property, and recovered much of the once-forgotten history of the Locust Grove Cemetery as well as the African American community of Shippensburg through oral history projects. Perhaps more importantly, through the work this heritage movement completed, the cemetery’s reputation was rehabilitated and the historical significance of the site and the people buried there were brought to the attention of the public, becoming “a source of community pride.”⁶⁸



Locust Grove Cemetery in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania.
Courtesy Wikimedia Commons

OUTHISTORY.ORG

Founded in 2003 by activist, community scholar, and gay historian Jonathan Ned Katz, OutHistory.org was designed to encourage people “to consider how understandings of sexuality are historically specific, bring sources about LGBTQ history to light, and empower people beyond the academic world to preserve and write history themselves.”⁶⁹ Fighting invisibility within mainstream society, OutHistory.org contributes to important discussions in LGBTQ history by providing various documents and resources regarding LGBTQ heritage and contributions to society. Additionally, the website “undertakes a public history of the LGBTQ community and history.”⁷⁰

CONCLUSION

Overcoming preservation bias is only one step in pursuing justice for the LGBTQ community.⁷¹ In the past, barriers like authorized heritage discourse severely limited who participated in historic preservation beyond academia or preservation profession.⁷² Great strides have been made in past decades towards improving representation for many marginalized communities, both on the local level and through professional channels. Grassroots movements have proven to be successful and will play a critical role in continuing to work to preserve the heritage of the underrepresented.

The struggle is not over; historical recognition was, is, and will continue to be a process. The definition of significance must be changed to reflect a more inclusive reality where intangible heritage and spaces that are not intact or no longer extant are valued and preserved with the same vigor as the sites that dominated earlier narratives. The reinterpretation of historic sites to include the histories of LGBTQ individuals, and a reassessment of how sites are valued for preservation are some of the next issues that the preservation community must address.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS AND TOOLKIT

KELLY MARIE HALEY

INTRODUCTION

The initial scope of the studio project was to assess and identify the presence of affirming places in Baltimore by examining tangible and intangible cultural heritage associated with the LGBTQ community in the Mount Vernon, Waverly, Abell, and Charles Village neighborhoods. Over the course of the semester, the studio expanded both the scope and purpose of the project to better reflect our fuller understanding of the LGBTQ community and culture in Baltimore and the definition of affirming places, resulting in a much broader and inclusive approach than what was initially assigned.

Many of the changes in approach were made mid-project, resulting in the often winding (and occasionally backtracking) process described in the following chapter. However, the studio members felt it was important to share the full evolution of this project as well as lessons learned along the way, in hopes that this can help guide decisions made by other organizations embarking on projects like this one.

DOCUMENTING LOCAL HISTORY

One of the first ways in which we expanded the scope of the project was to remove the previously assigned neighborhood boundaries after learning these neighborhoods were most significant to the white LGBTQ community. The first assignment of the semester began with a summary of each assigned neighborhood, including its basic geography, demographics, and special characteristics. Within this summary, LGBTQ places of interest from previously obtained sources (including archives, newspapers, and other primary sources) were identified and given a brief history. While the purpose of this assignment was to understand the study area for the studio course, it became clear that this portion of the report should have been compiled later in the project, preferably after several community engagement activities in order to help narrow down the areas of study. The decision to broaden the study area was made fairly late into the project; at least one month after the initial written history had been compiled and interviews had already commenced. This created some backtracking later in the project, changing the nature of future interviews and creating the need to rewrite the history section to include more perspectives and neighborhoods.



Map of Baltimore highlighting the boundaries of the original project scope.
Courtesy Daniela Tai

INTERVIEWING COMMUNITY MEMBERS

While one team was working on the neighborhood summaries, another worked on drafting a preliminary list of potential stakeholders and subject matter experts with assistance from organizations such as Preservation Maryland and Baltimore Heritage, personal and professional networks, and online searches for community leaders.

The final list of potential contacts contained professors, civic and religious leaders, LGBTQ-focused organizations, and a number of individuals who worked or resided in the study area neighborhoods. This list served as the foundation for the second phase of the project, in which studio members paired up and conducted at least three interviews with community members to help identify affirming places in the study area neighborhoods.

Through these interviews, the names of affirming places, information about certain neighborhoods, and oral histories were recorded, both as digital audio files and rigorous notes, for inclusion in the final project. After each interviewee signed a consent form and confidentiality agreement, the student interviewers asked a series of questions to identify places in Baltimore that were significant to the LGBTQ community. The studio members decided not use a standard set of questions, as they wanted to keep the conversations as open and comfortable as possible, particularly once the initial neighborhood boundaries had been removed and it was clear that a more geographically and racially comprehensive approach needed to be taken.

TOOLKIT TIP

Flexibility is key. The same set of questions may not be meaningful from one group to another. Following the interviews, each interview team created a summary and coded the conversation by themes. These themes were compiled into a studio-wide list accessible on a shared Google Drive, which allowed all the studio members to recognize both the common themes and insights as well as unique individual experiences.

Through the series of interviews, studio members learned about other important neighborhoods in Baltimore that were significant particularly to the black LGBTQ community; these neighborhoods likely would not have been discovered if the project remained limited to its original scope.

DOCUMENTATION

While the interview period extended throughout the first half of the semester, a site for documentation was selected before all the interviews could be completed. Concerned with having enough time to properly document a physical site and research its significance, studio members chose a site that had already been mentioned by a high percentage of interviewees that represented a broad range of perspectives, including people of different generations, races, genders, and socioeconomic backgrounds.

A toolkit was developed to highlight different techniques preservationists can apply to document places associated with LGBTQ heritage and the studio members identified six sites from the interviews conducted to-date. Each site was analyzed to evaluate its significance and if the structure/landscape retained its integrity and/or character-defining features. This analysis also included safety concerns and general feasibility of documentation, since some structures were private homes or vacant buildings.

These sites were used as case studies within the toolkit to model the various documentation techniques, including the pros and cons of using each strategy. These strategies included: 3D (laser) scanning, measured drawings, sketches, photography, and video footage (drone or handheld). The tools required for each method were listed as well as any specific expertise required to use or operate equipment.

Using comments from the interviews conducted and the analysis from the documentation toolkit, the studio members selected The Hippo, a former gay club that was converted into a CVS pharmacy in 2015. While the building's exterior remained largely unchanged, the interior was dramatically altered when it was leased by CVS.

The studio determined the most appropriate documentation solution would be to create a series of measured drawings of the exterior, create sketches of the former Hippo club based on archival photographs and other materials, and create a digital architectural model based on measurements and archival photos. Altogether, the drawings and model would provide a glimpse of how The Hippo looked in the past.

The selection of The Hippo challenged traditional preservation practice. While still a significant site to many members of the community, the Hippo does not retain much of its historic fabric or its interior character-defining features, which is sadly common among LGBTQ historic sites. To the studio members, this solidified the importance of documenting the Hippo and modeling how LGBTQ historic places might be preserved, regardless of their current status or function.

TOOLKIT TIP

This toolkit was developed so that it can be used by anyone looking to preserve LGBTQ heritage - individuals, hobbyists, nonprofits, heritage groups, and corporations alike. This report and toolkit were developed to serve more like guidelines than actual rules, so feel free to get creative.

The toolkit can be found and downloaded for free at presmd.org/lgbtq.

CLUB HIPPO

The Hippo was mentioned in almost every interview the studio conducted. Located in the heart of the Mount Vernon neighborhood, it stood catty-corner to Grand Central, another popular gay bar. Closed in 2015, it remained in the living memory of many people, making its the loss all the more painful. Most of the community expressed despair that the once-revered dance venue had been turned into a CVS.

However, not every memory of The Hippo was positive. Several women and people of color recalled facing discrimination by Hippo bouncers or staff. These stories added another layer to The Hippo's story and were a key factor in selecting it for the case study in this project.



Present state of the former The Hippo venue. *Courtesy Emma Schrantz*

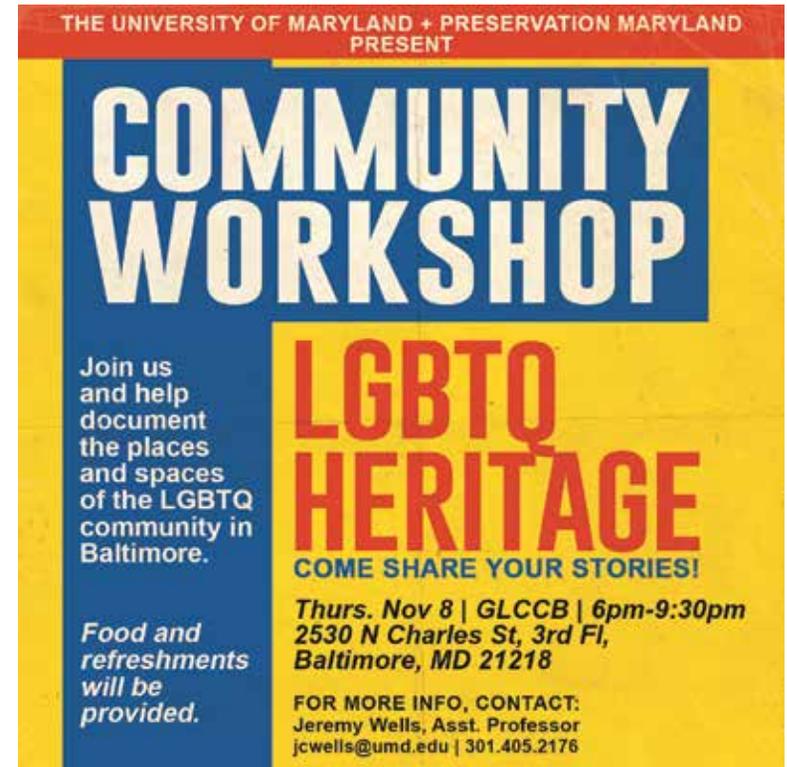


COMMUNITY WORKSHOP

At the semester's midpoint, the studio organized an evening community workshop at the Gay & Lesbian Community Center of Baltimore (GLCCB). The purpose of the workshop was to have members of the LGBTQ community in Baltimore come together and share their stories for inclusion in the project. To help structure the conversations, the studio members created six themed groups (clubs, bars, parks, religious associations, bookstores, and a "miscellaneous" group) with each group facilitated by a studio member.

Each group table was equipped with a series of materials, including post-it notes, pens, and a Baltimore city map for visually identifying key spaces. Since the workshop occurred after the decision to broaden the project scope, the studio members were deliberate in guiding the conversation beyond the initial four neighborhoods to be most inclusive to Baltimore's LGBTQ community. To attract community participation, flyers were distributed by studio members throughout Baltimore, including local LGBTQ-friendly businesses and organizations, streets and parks with high pedestrian activity, and an LGBTQ "town hall" event sponsored by the mayor's office. A Facebook event and Instagram post were also created and shared by stakeholders to help generate awareness and also gauge possible attendance in advance of the workshop. Similar to the process for the community interviews, the information collected through the workshop was analyzed by studio members and included in subsequent chapters of this report.

Similar to the interview process, studio members asserted that the community workshop should have initiated the project, rather than having it scheduled for the end of the semester. Community members are crucial to determining the significance of historic places and likely would have had considerable impact over the site(s) selected for documentation and other key aspects of the project.



Instagram post advertising the community workshop
Courtesy Daniela Tai

TOOLKIT TIP

Community engagement is foundational for community-driven history projects. Any meaningful project should begin with spending time with community members and learning what they value.

CHAPTER 4
**STUDY AREAS AND
QUALITATIVE DATA**

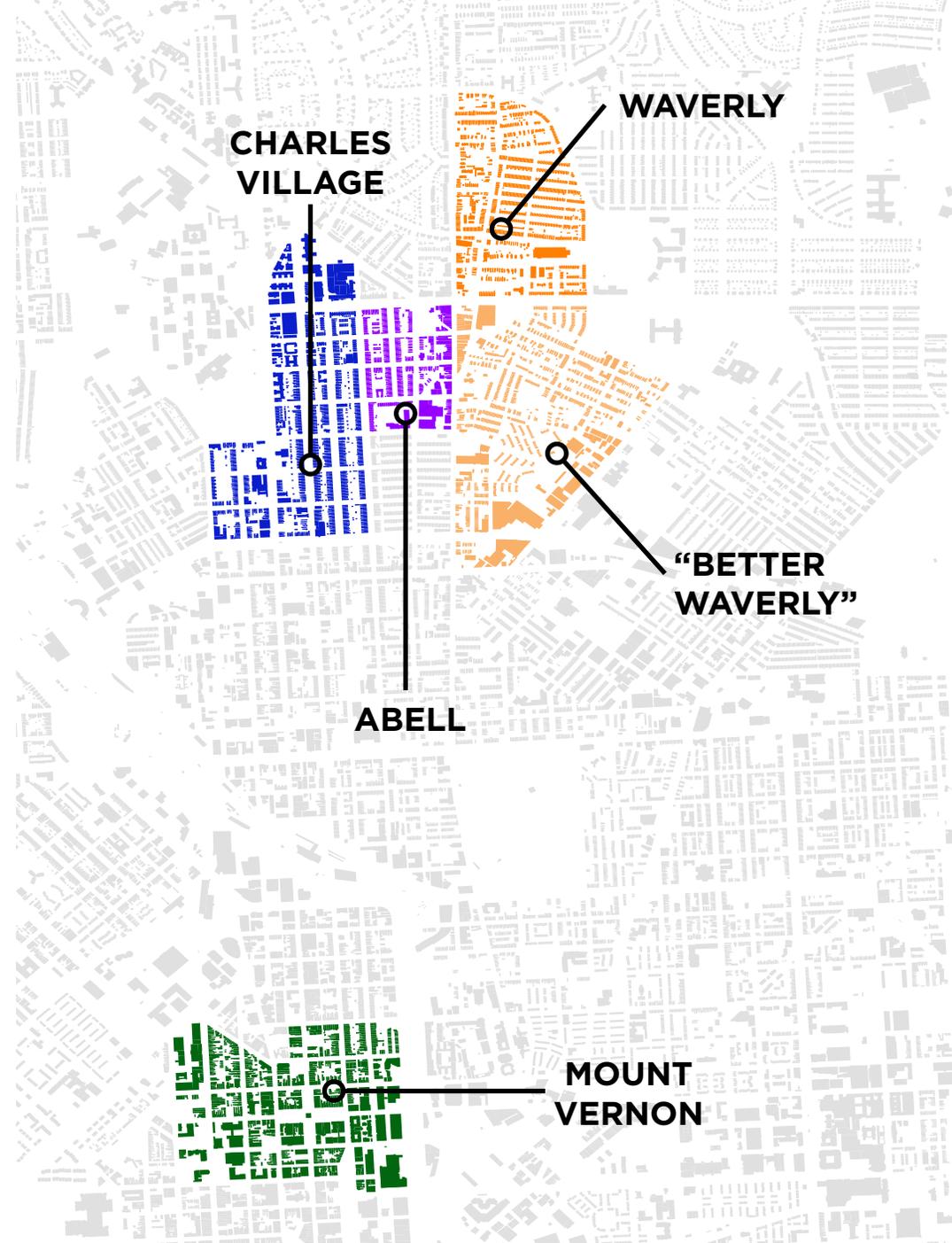
DANIELA TAI

INTRODUCTION

Baltimore’s legacy as a preindustrial city plays an integral role in national narratives; its current challenges and opportunities mirror many of the trends cities across the country experience today. The geographic location, diverse population, and richly documented architectural history of Baltimore makes it the perfect candidate for examining how historic preservation can help preserve LGBTQ affirming places, both within the city and across the nation.

The prevalence of “gayborhoods”, de facto neighborhood enclaves for sexual and minorities, grew in response to social and legal hostility towards the LGBTQ community in the mid-20th century. These neighborhoods offered acceptance and a sense of sanctuary to a portion of the population that the society at large had pushed to the shadows.

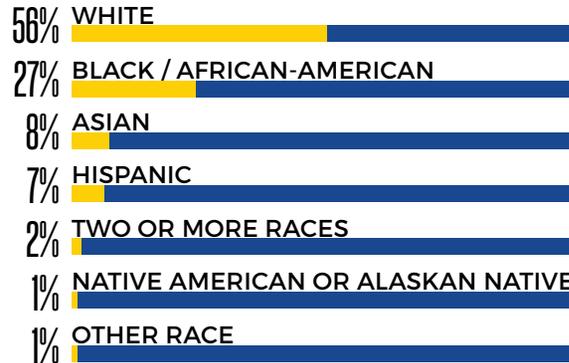
The context of this study focused on four historic Baltimore neighborhoods: Mount Vernon, Waverly, Abell, and Charles Village. This chapter will discuss the geography, demographics, history, and other major trends for each neighborhood, with special attention paid to statistics, historic sites, and cultural themes related to the LGBTQ community.



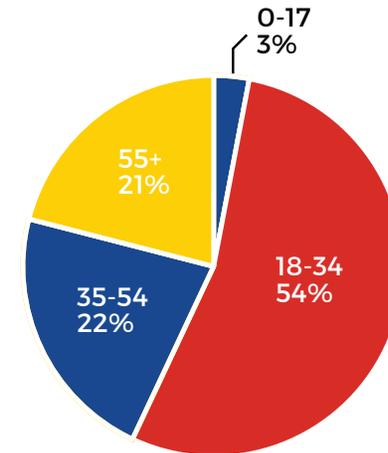
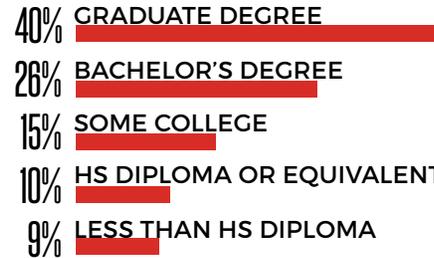
Contextual map of Baltimore Courtesy Daniela Tai

MOUNT VERNON

RACIAL DIVERSITY



EDUCATION



2018 ESTIMATED AGE

7,665
2018 ESTIMATED
POPULATION

\$40,752
2018 ESTIMATED MEDIAN
HOUSEHOLD INCOME

35%
2018 ESTIMATED
POPULATION BELOW
\$25,000 INCOME
THRESHOLD

HISTORIC DESIGNATIONS

- Baltimore City Historic District - 1964
- Washington Monument
National Register of Historic Places 1972

Mount Vernon is located in central Baltimore, about half a mile due north of the Inner Harbor. The neighborhood was originally laid out in a grid to highlight the Washington Monument, a landmark column constructed in 1829, and has many parks lined with stately Victorian and Italian Renaissance row houses, apartments, and apartment buildings.⁷³

In the 1970s, Mount Vernon became an enclave for the lesbian and gay community. Baltimore's first Pride Parade (then called a Pride rally) was held at the Baltimore Washington Monument in 1975 as a small gathering in which volunteers handed out "pamphlets and hotdogs".⁷⁴ The humble gathering has since grown into a popular annual event frequented by thousands of attendees.⁷⁵ As of 2018, the parade started in Charles Village instead of Mount Vernon, suggesting a reflection of broader trends and changes in the LGBTQ community.



“The go-to places are more in Mount Vernon, and even that’s really kind of fading away.”

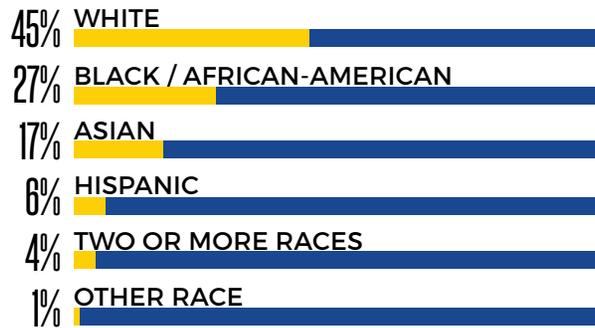
Affirming places in the Mount Vernon neighborhood that were identified during the community workshop *Courtesy Daniela Tai*

Faced with declining real estate values in the 1990s, Mount Vernon residents banded together to create a neighborhood association to save their home from encroaching large-scale development. Spearheaded by the active association and local business owners, Mount Vernon began to create a thriving tourism industry based on its historic architecture and varied cultural institutions. That success also brought along challenges. Now, rising rents and gentrification are starting to cause lower-income LGBTQ residents to move north from Mount Vernon to nearby, more affordable neighborhoods such as Station North, Charles Village, Waverly, and Abell.

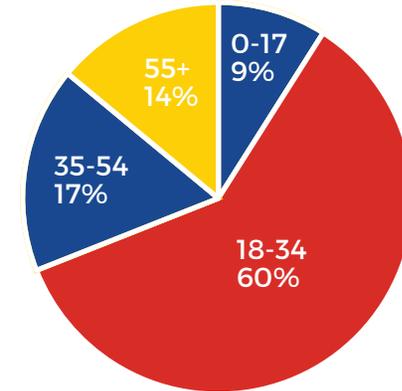
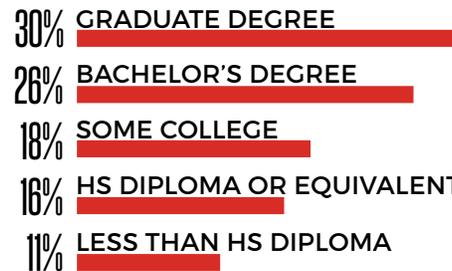


CHARLES VILLAGE

RACIAL DIVERSITY



EDUCATION



2018 ESTIMATED AGE

12,038

2018 ESTIMATED POPULATION

\$34,725

2018 ESTIMATED MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME

38%

2018 ESTIMATED POPULATION BELOW \$25,000 INCOME THRESHOLD

HISTORIC DESIGNATIONS

- Charles Village/Abell Neighborhood Historic District
- National Register of Historic Places 1964

The Charles Village/Abell neighborhoods are a defined 45 city-block neighborhood in north-central Baltimore City.⁷⁶ Collectively, they are bounded by University Parkway to the north, 25th Street to the south, Mace Street and Charles Street to the west, and Barclay Street and Guilford Avenue to the east. The neighborhood is filled with approximately 1500 structures, mostly residential housing comprised of 1895-1915 era rowhouses situated in a north-south city-block grid pattern.⁷⁷ Approximately 99% of the buildings in the Charles Village/Abell Neighborhood Historic District contribute to the area's historic character, which helped earn its designation on the National Register of Historic Places in December 1983.⁷⁸ This district also includes 20th century apartment buildings, churches, commercial buildings, institutional buildings, and several historic African American residences along Barclay Street in what was once considered part of the Waverly neighborhood.⁷⁹



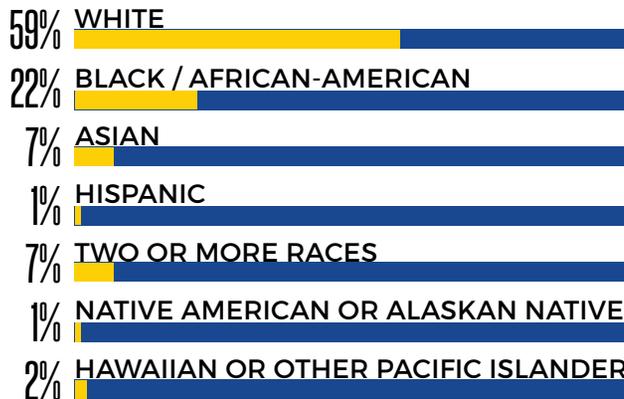
TOOLKIT TIP

Throughout the study, Baltimore community members identified a wide range of places and landscapes associated with the LGBTQ community, including bars, clubs, parks, community centers, places of worship, bookstores, and many more. Where possible, it is important to record the street addresses, neighborhood affiliations, general user demographics, and dates of operation to thoroughly document the site.

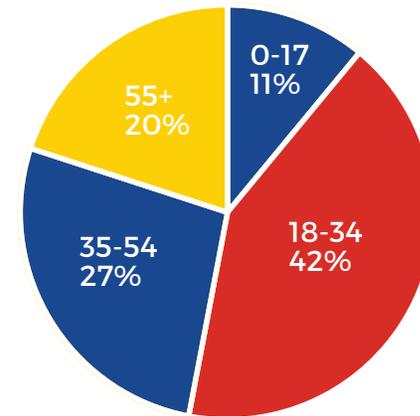
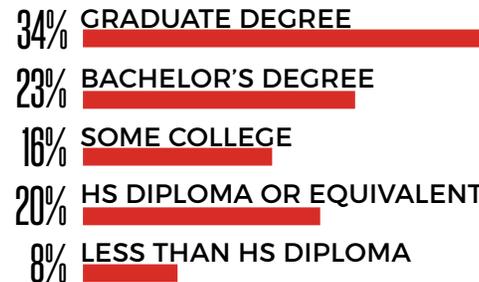
Affirming places in the Charles Village neighborhood that were identified during the community workshop *Courtesy Daniela Tai*

ABELL

RACIAL DIVERSITY



EDUCATION



2018 ESTIMATED AGE

820

2018 ESTIMATED POPULATION

\$54,464

2018 ESTIMATED MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME

29%

2018 ESTIMATED POPULATION BELOW \$25,000 INCOME THRESHOLD

HISTORIC DESIGNATIONS

- Charles Village/Abell Neighborhood Historic District
National Register of Historic Places 1964

Abell has historically been included as a part of both Waverly and the Peabody Heights neighborhoods before it became known as its own micro-community.⁸⁰ During its inclusion as a part of Charles Village, it was considered the section of the neighborhood that catered to the lower-middle class, blue-collar, and immigrant families. The neighborhood was considered “conservative” during the Vietnam War, but shifted in the 1970s as gays and lesbians moved into the more affordable neighborhood and brought their politics with them. Abell Avenue, famous for its “painted lady” houses, became known locally as “Lavender Lane” or “Lesbian Lane” because of the prevalence of LGBTQ households on the street.⁸¹



- **LAVENDER LANE** Abell Ave
- **THE TORCH GAY BAR | THE OFFICE**
411 East 32nd Street
- **BALTIMORE GAY ALLIANCE** 416 E 31st St
- **BREAD & ROSES COFFEEHOUSE**
424 East 31st Street
- **31st STREET BOOKSTORE** 425 E 31st St
- **LESBIAN COMMUNITY CENTER**
3028 Greenmount Ave

Affirming places in the Abell neighborhood that were identified during the community workshop
Courtesy Daniela Tai

The current residents of the Abell neighborhood are particularly engaged in their community. Notable events and businesses include the year-round 32nd Street Farmer’s Market and The Book Thing of Baltimore. The Abell Improvement Association plans social events like Memorial Day picnics, New Year’s Eve dinners, summer film series, chili cook-offs, and the annual Abell Community Street Fair.⁸²

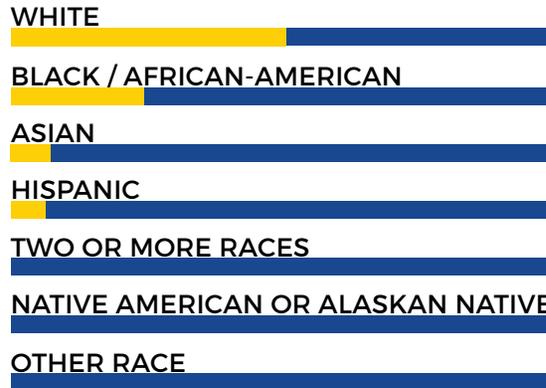
TOOLKIT TIP

The scope of this research focused on the fairly recent past—primarily sites and places associated with the LGBTQ community within the last 50 years. Legacy cities such as Baltimore, a city founded in 1729, potentially have a treasure trove of queer stories that have been excluded from the normative narrative that date back several decades, if not centuries.

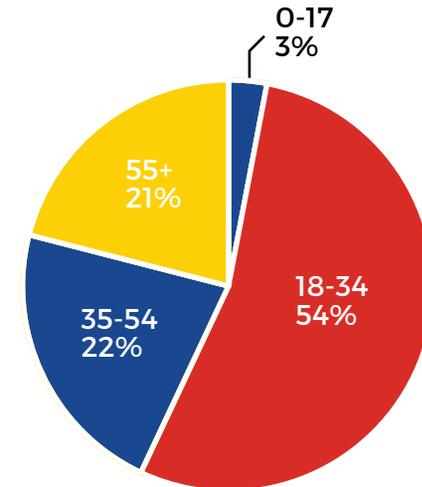
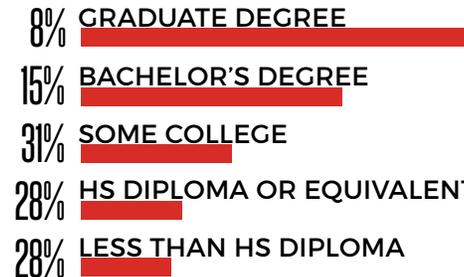
Tempting as it may be to make assumptions about identity and relationships based on accounts of human behavior, it is important that interpretation of queer history is referential to appropriate historic and cultural contexts of the time.

WAVERLY

RACIAL DIVERSITY



EDUCATION



2018 ESTIMATED AGE

4,383

2018 ESTIMATED POPULATION

\$40,752

2018 ESTIMATED MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME

35%

2018 ESTIMATED POPULATION BELOW \$25,000 INCOME THRESHOLD

HISTORIC DESIGNATIONS

- Waverly Main Street Historic District National Register of Historic Places 2013

Unlike Charles Village and Abell, most of Waverly was not constructed in a grid pattern, reflecting its pastoral heritage as the site of summer cottages, horse farms, and estates for wealthy Baltimore residents in the late 19th century.⁸³ The double-decker horse-drawn buses of the 1870s and the electrified streetcar in the 1890s turned the summer retreat location into a year-round community by the end of the century.⁸⁴



Although Waverly was by all accounts considered an LGBTQ neighborhood by the late 20th century, evidence of non-residential locations is scarce and only a few locations were recorded in ephemera and similar sources, such as advertisements in *The Gay Paper*. It is most likely that LGBTQ individuals lived in private residences in Waverly that were not recorded in public papers or legal records. Many people who participated in oral history interviews and the community workshop as a part of this project mentioned lesbian house parties that were held in Waverly.

While Waverly ‘proper’ is not a historic district, the Waverly Main Street Historic District includes parts of the Waverly, Better Waverly, and Abell neighborhoods. The Waverly neighborhood is referred to by residents as “Waverly-North” in order to distinguish it from the Historic District.⁸⁵

Affirming places in the Waverly neighborhood that were identified during the community workshop. *Courtesy Daniela Tai*

INTERVIEW THEMES

INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

The complexity of human identity – the fact that human existence does not fit comfortably inside a vacuum – is reflected in the overlap and disjuncture of several heritage themes within and between the study areas. The comments of stakeholders that participated in the community workshop and individual interviews revealed a range of collective experiences and perspectives that reinforces their sense of identity.

EVOLUTION

“ You just have to get over it. Accept it. Everything’s gotta change. ”

The growing mainstream acceptance of LGBTQ identification and the corresponding decline of insularity within the community has contributed to a sense of discord amongst its members. As affirming places continue to shutter their doors due to rising rents and dwindling customer bases, those that remain in the fragmented community question whether there is still a need to maintain such spaces. The maturation of the community and the subsequent desire for access to better schools for their families has led many to move to the suburbs, including Laraville, Hamilton, Towson, Rodgers Forge, and Howard County. This fragmentation has also contributed to a yearning for physical connection. Whether it’s the ability to run into friends while walking the dog or being able to reach out and touch someone during a conversation, the nuances of relationships that are nourished by proximity are simply missed.

TOOLKIT TIP

The scope of the project was initially framed around four designated neighborhoods determined prior to community engagement efforts. As the project progressed, the validity of additional neighborhoods including Station North and Fells Point – both communities with deeply rooted African American history – were highlighted by study participants. In recognition of the implicit biases in the chosen methodology of this project, it is suggested that facilitators begin their studies with community conversations in order to draw appropriate and relevant physical parameters for project research.

INEQUITY + DIVISION

Unity in a shared oppression has not exempted the LGBTQ community from internal prejudices. As the community at large demanded recognition of their rights and validation of their existence in American public life, members of color within the community were also asserting themselves. Baltimore's history of racial tension pervaded the social networks and daily life of community members in all of the study areas.

"I couldn't tell you
where the people of
color are. It's a hell
segregated city."

Accounts of police violence, dirty looks, and microaggressions targeted at people of color occurred across neighborhood boundaries. Waverly and Abell were considered more racially diverse while Mount Vernon and Charles Village were referred to as "super white." Despite the fact that African Americans account for the majority of Baltimore's city population, Club Bunns, located on the outskirts of Mount Vernon, was highlighted as the only Black-owned LGBTQ space.

"The racism, the classism that fractures our community has a lot to do with these spaces, has a lot to do with where these places are built, how they're maintained, who goes to them, who honors them, who remembers them, they have a lot to do with race and class, what divides us."

Self segregation also occurred in terms of gender and sexuality across the spectrum. Some community members recognized a dichotomous separation of queer nightlife. "Women didn't go into a guys bar and the guys didn't go into the women's bar," noted one participant. While such a practice is not formally enforced, the contemporary prevalence of ladies nights, gay leather bars, lesbian bars, and every combination thereof reveals the LGBTQ community is not a monolith and is still subject to nuanced enclaves.



THE TORCH

Opened in 1983, The Torch was subject to a 1984 lawsuit in which two patrons – one white and one Black – sued the owner of the Torch for racial discrimination. The inherently racist practice of 'carding' – asking for multiple forms of identification – was used by management as a means to exclude black gay men (and reportedly women) from entry.⁸⁶ The plaintiffs won the suit, and The Torch closed shortly thereafter in 1986.⁸⁷

Photo capture November 2017, Google Street View.



CHASE BREXTON

Chase Brexton opened in 1978 as a gay health clinic and was one of the first providers of care for those with HIV/AIDS in Baltimore. It has since evolved from a small organization staffed only by volunteers that served LGBTQ community into a large health center offering a variety of care options to the diverse, but often medically underserved communities in Baltimore. Originally located at the corner of Chase and Brexton, it now located in the Monumental Life Building.

Photo capture Nov 2017, Google Street View.

LOSS OF A GENERATION

“**AIDS changed the face of the city.**”

The impact of the global HIV/AIDS epidemic was acutely felt in the heart of Baltimore’s LGBTQ community. A potent combination of fear, prejudice, and misinformation created a citywide crackdown on the operations of establishments with LGBTQ clientele, particularly gay men. Prior to the epidemic, interviewees recalled up to twenty-one gay and lesbian bars that were distributed around the Baltimore study areas; as the community recovered from the peak of the crisis, only five bars remained.

The reduction in access to affirming places was not the only loss experienced by the LGBTQ community. Since the onset of the epidemic was first reported in Baltimore newspapers in the early 1980s, almost 9,800 people have died from what was once considered the ‘gay cancer.’⁸⁸ An entire generation was lost; the loved ones that remained felt like they had to “start over from scratch.” Recording and remembering the names of those that passed away was noted as a necessary component of recording and memorializing LGBTQ heritage.

Baltimore’s HIV/AIDS demographics reflect the patterns of HIV/AIDS transmission nationwide. In the 1970s and 1980s, the LGBTQ community was decimated by HIV/AIDS; as upper and middle class gay men were able to acquire antiretroviral therapy in the 1990s and other preventive medications like PrEP in the early 2000s, the contraction and diagnosis of HIV/AIDS shifted mainly towards the intravenous drug user community through needle-sharing and other unsafe injection practices as crack cocaine and heroin rose to prevalence.⁸⁹ In 2007, Baltimore had the nation’s second-highest rate of HIV/AIDS diagnoses in the country.⁹⁰

PLACE + CONNECTION

Bars, clubs, and similar venues are significant sites for the LGBTQ community, primarily for serving as spaces that enabled people to meet with others who had the same desires and also affirmed this identity. These social venues, often relegated to back alleys and unassuming facades, offered the chance for genuine human connection.

Resources such as the GLCCB and the bookstore Lambda Rising offered social alternatives to community members that were too young to take part in Baltimore's nightlife scene. During interviews, community members also lamented the inability to talk freely about being gay, particularly with one's parents or at work; prior to the internet, exclusive LGBTQ spaces offered a reprieve.

**"The building (the GLCCB)
was a huge presence of who I
was and how I found community
and forged my path."**



THE GLCCB

The Gay Community Center of Baltimore (GCCB) (241 West Chase Street) was located in Mount Vernon starting in 1980 and served as one of the first LGBT community centers in the country.⁹¹ In 1985, "Lesbian" was added to the organization's name, creating the Gay Lesbian Community Center of Baltimore (GLCCB).⁹² In 2002, the GLCCB change its name again to the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Community Center of Baltimore and Central Maryland.

"The Center," a nickname it picked up in its early years of operation, served as a conduit for people to meet and connect.⁹³ In 2012, the Center moved to a larger location block away (1000 Cathedral Street), and then subsequently moved to its current location in Charles Village in 2016 (2530 North Charles Street).

Photo capture Nov 2017, Google Street View.

SENSE OF OWNERSHIP

The transient nature associated with many LGBTQ establishments, is in part due to property ownership, or lack thereof. By placing the future of queer spaces in the hands of indifferent landlords, the idea of permanence often felt just out of reach. In response, the hard work and sweat equity that made the purchase of Baltimore properties such as the GLCCB and Chase Brexton possible turned these sites into symbols of community pride. When these particular resources were subsequently sold, compounded with the fact that there are only “few gay spaces in the city” to begin with, the void they left was not just physical.

“You know that the community owned that building (the GLCCB). It really hurt my soul to learn that we didn’t anymore.”

PASSING THE TORCH

“ I see the new generation as different... and braver. ”

The passage of intangible heritage and legacy in the LGBTQ community is more frequently exchanged through informal bonds grounded in intention and acceptance; these networks serve as a chosen family. The elders of this familial community, several of whom participated in this project, recalled learning a lot of the history they retold from their elders. As they reflected on the past and looked towards the future, they marveled at the next generation’s bravery and comfort.

Although community members acknowledged that great strides had been made in terms of visibility and access to resources over the years, they did not hesitate in stating there was still a lot of work to be done. The image of Pride weekend, of the “whole community coming out and shining... proud with their gayness,” was made possible through the collective efforts of a generation that survived an epidemic, an unwelcoming society, and a hostile government; the new generation stands on their shoulders as they continue the work towards progress.

The beauty – and difficulty – of recording LGBTQ history lies in the plurality of voices within the community. As we approach the 50th anniversary of Stonewall, cities across the country will increasingly reflect on their own LGBTQ history. Unfortunately, the burden of identification may fall on organizations and individuals that believe they may lack the resources or tools to properly do so. However, as the methods of this project demonstrate, starting with an inclusive conversation can unlock an enriching stories that have all too often been relegated to the margins of history.





Noted cruising spot, Whyman Park Dell. *Courtesy Katie Boyle*



CHAPTER 5

**TOOLKIT IN ACTION:
DOCUMENTING THE
'ILLUSTRIOUS' CLUB
HIPPOPOTAMUS**

EMMA SCHRANTZ

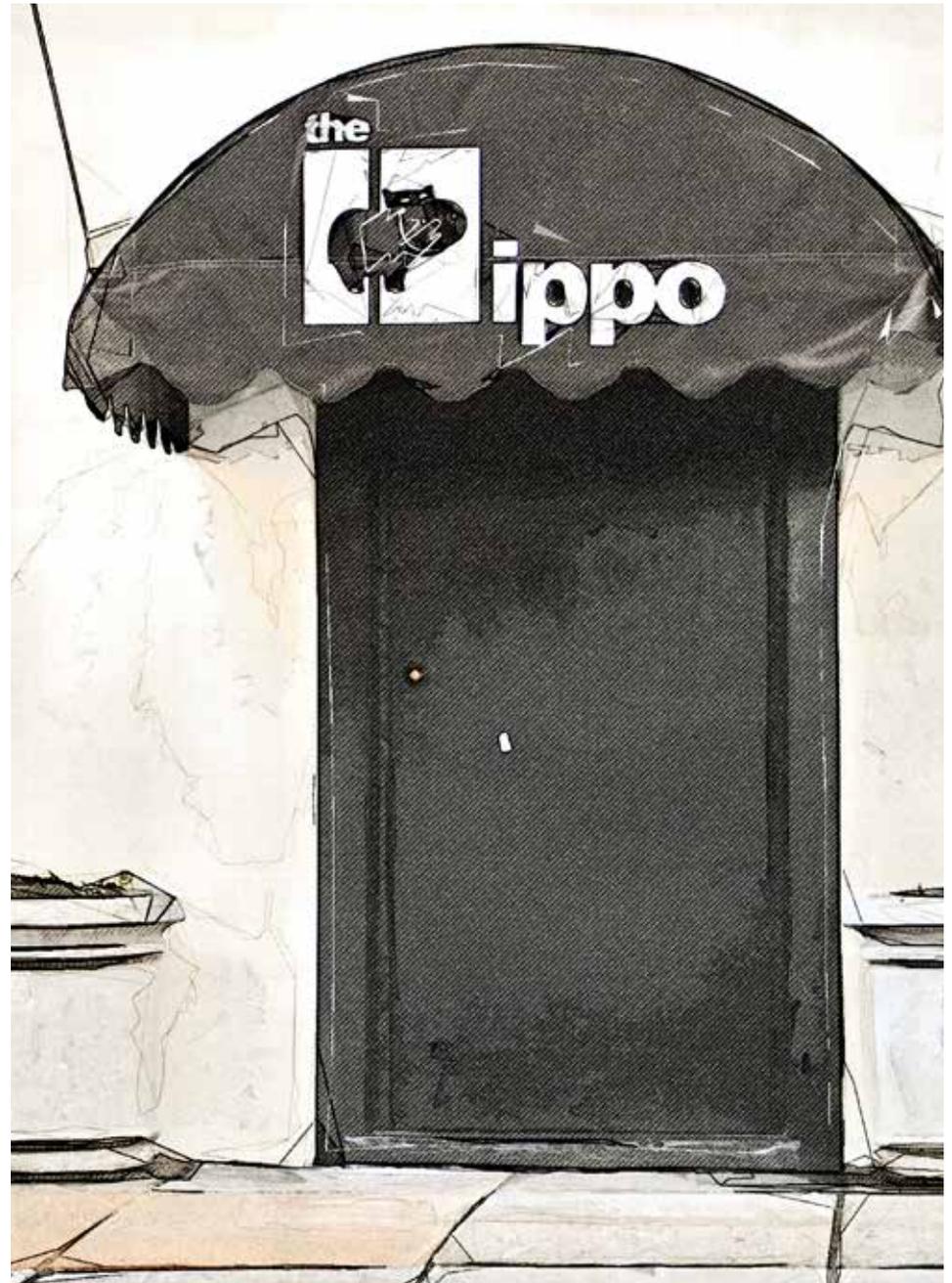


INTRODUCTION

Documenting the complex histories of LGBTQ spaces begins with a comprehensive understanding of both the place and the people that shaped it. In Baltimore, perhaps the most appropriate example of this dynamic is the former location of The Hippo. Located at the corner of Charles and Eager Streets, Club Hippo was once regarded as one of the world's greatest gay bars by *Out*, a national LGBTQ magazine.⁹⁴ The historical significance of The Hippo - both fond memories and darker truths - has become clearer through the compilation of primary documents, mapping, oral histories, and ephemera throughout this project.

In 2015, the club was shuttered and converted into a CVS, a national chain pharmacy. The loss of the club was felt both locally and nationally. Because of its significance to Baltimore's LGBTQ community, as described in oral histories and interviews with community members, The Hippo was selected as the case study for documentation in this project. The club has a long and well-documented history, is nationally significant, and still retains much of its exterior architectural integrity, making it a powerful example to demonstrate potential documentation strategies for LGBTQ historic resources in Baltimore and beyond.

This chapter will provide details on the social and architectural history of The Hippo and, similar to Chapter 4, also included "Toolkit Tips" which reflect content provided in the attached Toolkit (detailed in Chapter 3). Further information on the techniques described in each tip can be found in the full Toolkit.



Artistic rendering of The Hippo side entrance. *Courtesy Daniela Tai*

THE CHANTICLEER, CLUB HIPPO, AND CVS: THE HISTORY OF 934 NORTH CHARLES STREET



Exterior photograph of the Chanticleer, circa 1940. *Courtesy Signs of the Times*

“...after World War II, when the Chanticleer, which seated about three hundred people was, along with the Club Charles, the biggest game in town.”

Architect: John Poe Tyler

Exterior and Interior Lighting: Triangle Sign Company (Baltimore, MD)

Total Construction Cost: \$150,000

1939 - 1972: CHANTICLEER COCKTAIL LOUNGE

In 1939, a Baltimore transplant named William Lillien financed a 300-seat, Art Deco nightclub at the corner of Charles and Eager Streets. The Chanticleer Cocktail Lounge was soon regarded as one of “America’s most beautiful cocktail lounge[s].”⁹⁵ The beauty of the supper club and performance venue was notable, thanks the use of cutting-edge decorative fluorescent lighting in both the building exterior and interior spaces. The club attracted many famous musicians and performers, including Jerry Lewis and Dean Martin.⁹⁶ The club also regularly featured big band groups, Broadway shows, and burlesque performances, providing a diverse style of entertainment options for Baltimore residents.

The club was sold by Lillien in 1943 to the Eager Corporation. The Chanticleer continued to change hands and fell out of popularity in the mid 1950s, leading to its eventual sale and conversion into a gay club in the 1970s.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Details of the original design and layout of the Chanticleer were outlined in a 1940s lighting industry publication, which provided a high level of detail and original photography of the building's interior. Although trade magazines are not unbiased sources (they are trying to sell a product, after all), the article does include a detailed description of the "45 foot by 100 foot" lounge and other architectural specifics that can help historians understand how spatial layouts may or may not have changed over time. The Chanticleer's Art Deco facade included the existing curvilinear stucco forms with horizontal reveals, a weather vane-topped tower, and a unique curved entryway. The Baltimore Museum of Industry and Enoch Pratt Library collections also hold early photographs of the Chanticleer's interior, which was later modified when the club was converted in the 1970s.

This early documentation suggested that the Chanticleer Cocktail Lounge's exterior architectural design has remained largely intact even after the club was converted into The Hippo. Though The Hippo's exterior is remarkably intact, many LGBTQ spaces have not retained their historic integrity and have been irreparably altered over time or lost to new development. The Hippo has proven to be an exception to the norm in this case, despite its conversion to a CVS, which contributed greatly to its selection as the case study site for this project.

TOOLKIT TIP

Trade magazines and similar publications can provide some level of architectural history for buildings when historic plans are nonexistent or not accessible.



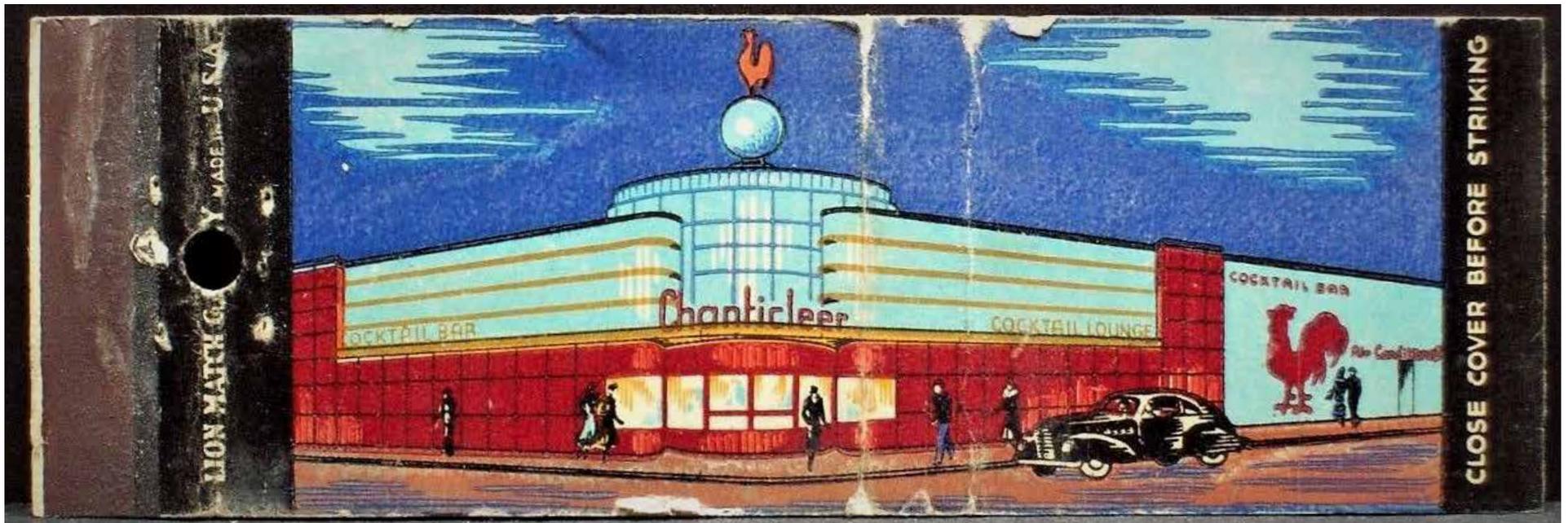
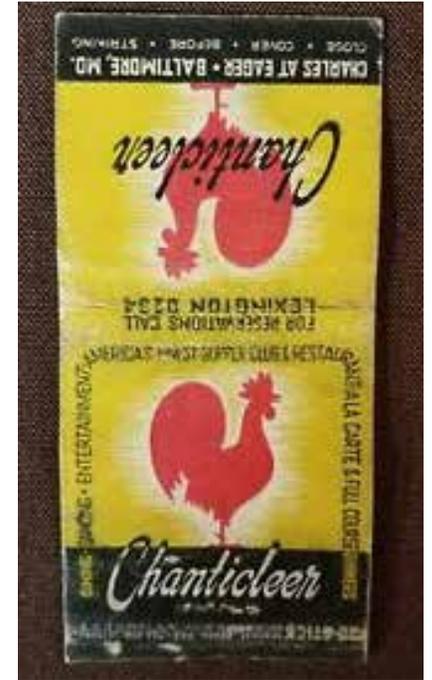
Top: The Chanticleer's logo, digitized from a historic matchbook.
Matchbook courtesy of Jacob Miller
Bottom: Interior photograph of the Chanticleer circa 1940.
Courtesy Signs of the Times

TOOLKIT TIP

eBay and other online auction or vintage collectible websites can be a surprisingly helpful source of information. One key resource studio members found useful for this project was historic matchbooks, once a popular advertising tool in the United States and an unexpected source for photography and examining architectural detail.⁹⁷ Other kinds of ephemera include clothing, flyers and posters, stickers, stamps, advertisements, and more. More information can be found through the Ephemera Society of America (<http://www.ephemerasociety.org/>).

Right: A Chanticleer 30-stick matchbook cover found on Ebay, circa 1940s.
Courtesy Jacob Miller

Below: A vintage Chanticleer matchbook cover found on Ebay, circa 1940s.
Courtesy Colleen Cox

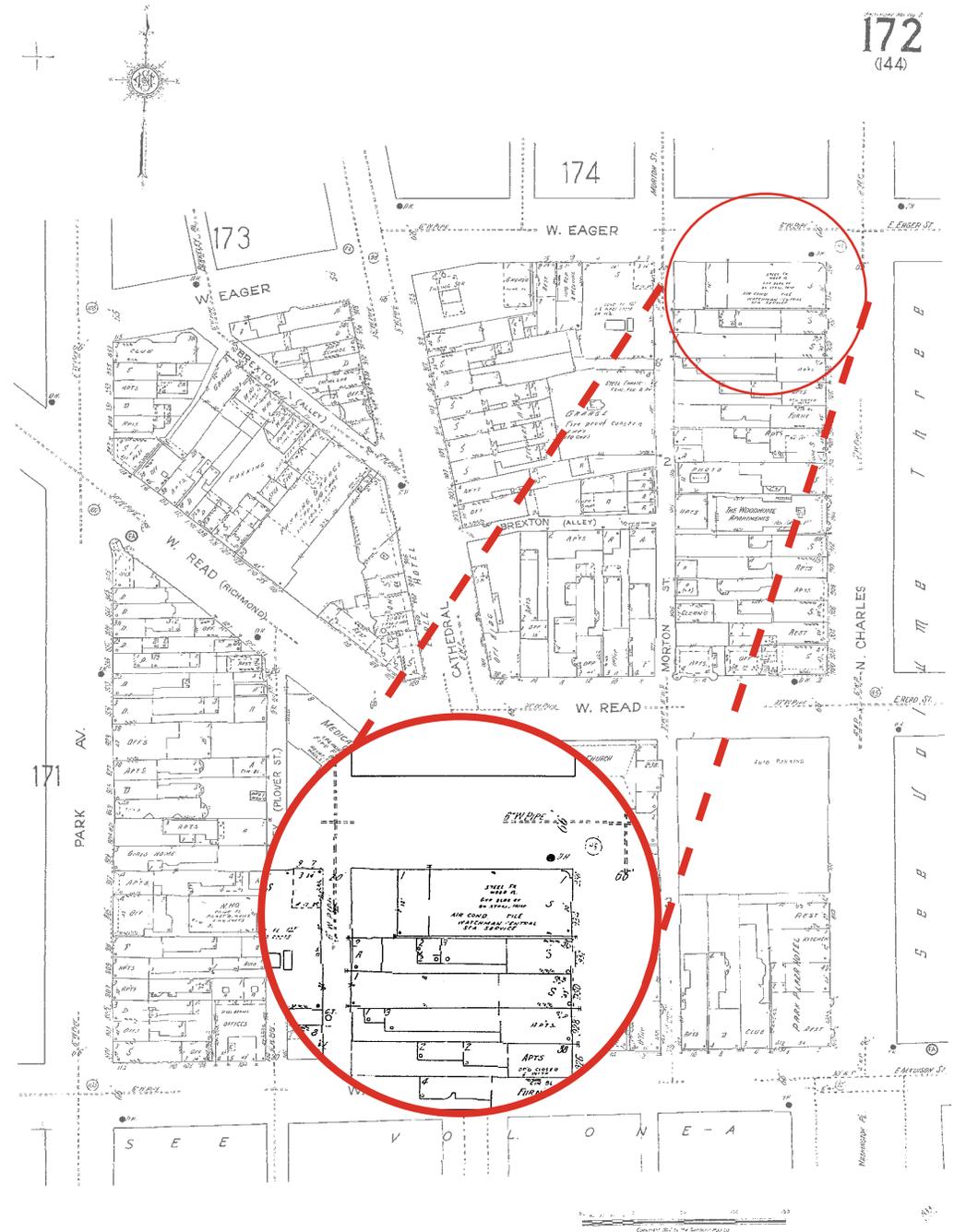


TOOLKIT TIP

Historic maps can also yield information on the architectural form and history of a space. Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps are a major resource for the documentation of a building's history. In the 19th century, the Sanborn Fire Insurance Company began creating maps that included careful notes on building materials, proximity to fire hydrants or water sources, and other architectural data that might impact the durability of a building during a fire. These documents were updated every few years and offer a wealth of information about a building's construction and changes over time.

Digital archives for the city of Baltimore include mapping of the site from the 1951 edition, when it was still active as the Chanticleer Cocktail Lounge (right). The map shows 934 N. Charles Street as a steel-framed, one-story structure with wood floors and air conditioning. The map also notes the prominent curved entrance. Earlier Sanborn maps show a three-story row house at the same site.

Copy of the 1914 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map depicting North Charles Street. The Chanticleer building is highlighted in Red.
Courtesy ProQuest Sanborn Maps Collection



Make Your New Year's Eve Reservations Now!!

Phone LE. 0234

All Spicy Revue Starring

- ★ **BABY DUMPLIN** ★
Tassle Tossing Comedienne
- ★ **CANDY PARKER** ★
Blonde Bundle of Dynamite
- ★ **CHARLIE ROBINSON** ★
- ★ **SUZANNE DAYE** ★
"Comedy Set Up"

MIL-RAY DANCERS
2 BANDS

CHANTICLEER
CHARLES AT EAGER LEXINGTON 0234

Chanticleer in 255G Sale
BALTIMORE, Nov. 27.—The Chanticleer Cocktail Lounge has been sold for \$255,000 by William Lillien to the Eager Corporation, of which Jacob D. Kaplan is president.

Under the Lillien ownership, the Chanticleer had several tilts with the law and resulted in a 60-day license suspension and a \$100 fine for altering whisky.

Memory Course!

The Chanticleer memory course is this reminder to you . . . daily from 3 to 7, cocktails are a quarter . . . the house is host for hors d'oeuvres. Entertainment as usual during cocktail time!

Chanticleer
CHARLES STREET AT EAGER

Something That's Really Built!

You should see the Dream House that Mary Mack built! It's a whiz-bang . . . but wait till you see the beauty and brevity in Mary's Dream House . . . oo la, la!

Low Ascol and pretty Petti Dayne will show you what's new in "spicy-but-nice" streamlined nonsense.

Also Joey Dean, dean of tabs, and the (don't go yet, b'hoys) Mil-Ray Girls in the gala new Chanticleer Revue!

*Completely Air-Conditioned
No Minimum. No Cover. Ever*

Chanticleer

2 Shows Nightly!
Charles at Eager

Various advertisements for the Chanticleer ran in the *Baltimore Sun* newspaper through the 1940s.
Courtesy Baltimore Sun Archives



1972 - 2015 : THE HIPPOPOTAMUS / CLUB HIPPO

In 1972, the Lounge was purchased by Kenny Elbert and Don Endbinder. The Chanticleer was transformed into a gay club named The Hippopotamus. The club opened on July 8, 1972 and continued as a performance venue.

In the club's early days, the space was divided into a dance club and a private membership lounge known as the Body Shop.⁹⁸ The club had a wide impact on the region's LGBTQ community, with visitors from all over Maryland, DC, and Virginia attending events at The Hippo, as recorded in both DC and Baltimore gay papers. The club was known as one of several "mixed" places in Baltimore, where people of all genders spent time. In a 1973 issue, Washington, DC's *Gay Blade* documented some of the racial and gender "distributions" of DC and Baltimore LGBTQ spaces and noted that The Hippo was a "mixed" space primarily thanks to its dance focus.



Top left: Photograph of The Hippo while still in operation, 2013. *Courtesy Baltimore City Paper*
 Above: The Hippo newspaper ad, 1979. *Courtesy Baltimore Gay Paper*

Chuck Bowers bought the club in 1978 after its opening, and the club underwent rebranding once again. Mr. Bowers recalled that “so many people couldn’t remember the spelling,” and many locals already knew the club by the nickname “Hippo.” The club was officially renamed Club Hippo in the early 1980s.

The Hippo also bore witness to the fear and devastation brought on by the AIDS epidemic. The club had a legacy of providing space for charity fund raisers and benefits for the Baltimore LGBTQ community and photos show the extensive series of pageants and drag performances. It became known as “the biggest gay club in Maryland.” As the club continued into the early 2000s, The Hippo remained a prominent space for the Maryland’s LGBTQ community and continued to be publicized nationwide.

Events like Euforia Latina, a monthly Latinx dance party that was held at The Hippo, brought a more diverse community to Mount Vernon. One of the event’s co-founders shared that the 2012-2014 run of Euforia Latina was “an initiative to bring everyone together” meant to counter the still-segregated nature of Baltimore’s community. The event ran for some of The Hippo’s final years as a club, providing another affirming outlet in the city before The Hippo’s closure. The stories highlight the importance of recognizing a more diverse racial identity within the community.

Right: An advertisement for a post-Pride party sits below tribute articles for LGBTQ individuals who died in the AIDS epidemic, June 1987.
Courtesy Baltimore Gay paper

tributes

A Marriage Announcement
 Lynn Rogovich and Diana Gumas will celebrate their Holy Union with their friends on Saturday June 13 at St. Mark's Lutheran Church of Baltimore.

Pride Babies: Twin Girls
 Bonnie Hamilton has given birth to twin girls. The new arrivals, Aleta Nicole and Sheena Maria, were born in May. Lynn Cook, to her delight, is a grandmother.

The Bells are Ringing for a Wedding
 Ron Hyson and Cha-Cha Arnaz will wed May 30th at Lynn's of Baltimore, 774 Washington Blvd. First Makenzie will officiate, and Ericka Skyy (Miss Rosegale 1987) and Billie Duke (Miss Go West 1987) will serve as maid of honor.

Dancer Jeff Duncan Hospitalized
 Theatre Project's dance consultant, nationally known dancer and choreographer Jeff Duncan has returned unexpectedly and dramatically to Baltimore from Mexico: in his 8th month of work as a Fulbright scholar in Mexico, he contracted erysipelas—a disease so rare only 3 Americans have had it in the last 50 years. (It is also known as St. Anthony's Fire; it attacks the subcutaneous tissues.) The disease is not fatal or permanently debilitating, but its rareness makes it dangerous and difficult to diagnose. The Fulbright organization chartered a plane to bring the dancer back to Baltimore to Johns Hopkins Hospital because Mexican doctors were unable to treat the disease. After a month in the hospital, Mr. Duncan is recuperating in his Baltimore home. He is relieved to be out of the hospital.

Death of a Playwright: We've Lost Larry Puchall
 Larry Puchall, co-author of the play *Miss Susarwek Is Still In Hiding*, died recently of AIDS complications at the age of 34; a memorial service was held May 12 at MCC of D.C.

He was also a volunteer at the Whitman-Walker Clinic in D.C. Contributions to his memory can be made to Whitman-Walker, 2235 18th St., NW, Wash. DC 20009. He is survived by his life's partner of 10 years, David Dena, his mother Linda Puchall, his brother Michael and his uncle George.

(The cast of the Baltimore production included Joseph Uher, Devon Oshorn, Elise Elson, Pachito Young, Jim Knowlton, Ken Stone, Arthur Stuteman and Matthew, as well as Allen Beall, Silas White, Annette Kalandros, Esther Blumenfeld, and Jack Taylor; it was directed by the late Chuck Miller.)

Our thanks to The Washington Blade for some of the information in this obituary.

Reverend Ted Bennett
 (Edwin Grow Bennett)
 Episcopal Priest AIDS Interfaith Network member
 Died of a stroke on May 16, 1987
"A man of compassion and eloquence, and a gifted spiritual leader"

Robert's Key Service
 215 W. Read Street
 728-7484
 Monday-Friday: 8 a.m.—4:30 p.m.
 • Keys for every type of lock •
 • Both foreign and domestic cars •

Father Peterson's Martyrdom: A Legacy of Compassion
 Everybody loved Father Peterson. This D.C. priest "Freed alot of people... but you know the good they die young..." for Michael Peterson was taken by AIDS and died last month—but not in the closet. His posthumous coming out and the surprising support of his bishop has had an enormous impact on attitudes in the archdiocese towards both the disease and homosexuality itself.

Almost 30 priests attended his funeral, blessing the coffin as it passed, recognizing and Archbishop Hickey also blessed his body in a gesture of compassion that was as moving as it was unprecedented. For his brother priests felt much love for this man, who had ministered to so many other hurt souls via the St. Luke Institute in Suitland, Maryland; and his Archbishop admired him enough to respect Peterson's decision to make the cause of his death public. The Archbishop would doubtless have preferred less publicity around the tense topic of priests who have AIDS, but even though he had no choice, Hickey did not have to respond the way he did. He could've made things worse. Perhaps he remembered that Christ sponsored forgiveness and compassion throughout His short life; perhaps he simply tried to make the best of a painful situation; perhaps he truly grieved for the loss of a gifted friend and good man of the cloth.

It doesn't matter. Attitudes have changed. Priests have publicly supported Hickey's handling of Peterson's request. Anti-Gay comments and AIDS jokes among the staff at have all but disappeared at the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception. Parishes throughout the diocese are saying Masses for the intention of PWAs. Father Peterson's name is invoked by both Gay and straight Catholics who are struggling to deal with the high human cost of the immune syndrome. No, not all the bigotry is gone, nor will it ever be, as long as the Vatican issues letters condemning homosexuality as a sin, but the death of Father Peterson has served as a "teaching moment" for those who may choose to forget that they are called to worship a compassionate God who died so that sins might be forgiven.

Hippo

Post-Pride Energy? Come over for
 an 'Old Disco' Tea Dance
 8 til 10 p.m.
 to benefit



One West Eager Street
 Baltimore, Maryland • 21201

TOOLKIT TIP

A powerful role for local LGBTQ community members, especially elders, is assisting in archival work. People can participate by working with local archives to identify individuals in photographs. Many photographs enter collections without identification, meaning the stories behind them may be lost to the passage of time. If such a project doesn't currently exist, consider starting your own!



All of the photos on the right are from the GLCCB archives at Baltimore University. The photos were in a folder with pictures ranging in age from 1980 and the late 1990s. These photos were undated and unlabeled beyond the small caption "Hippo". The only way their occupants can be identified is if members of the community recognize them.

Many of these early photos show white male clientele or performers, giving us an idea of who was really welcome or affirmed at The Hippo.



Top left: A drag queen performs at The Hippo

Top right: A drag queen and drag king host an event

Bottom: Three individuals perform on stage with the Hippo sign in the background.

All courtesy the GLCCB archives

Along with interviews and oral histories, much of the history of the Hippo was gathered through archival research. Photographs, newspapers, and ephemera found online show that the Hippo provided space for many pageants, drag performances, musical acts, and more during its operation.

Archival photographs can also help determine architectural integrity. The photograph on the bottom left shows two women hugging in front of a granite wall, with the bottom part of a "HIPPO One West Eager" sign in the upper left corner. It also shows a low brick knee wall and an iron fence.

The photograph on the bottom right, taken by the authors in 2018, shows that same granite wall, brick knee wall, and iron fence. This helps us understand that the building exterior is mostly intact, disregarding building signs that were removed when the building was converted.

THE HIPPOPOTAMUS CLUB

Calendar of Events

Sunday	May 27	T-Dance 4-9 p.m. — No Cover Charge —
Monday	May 28	Memorial Day Disco Open 9 p.m.-2 a.m. Door Charge — \$1.00
Sunday	June 10	T-Dance 4-9 p.m. — No Cover Charge —
Tuesday	June 19	Instant Replay of the 60s & 70s Come Listen to the Music Door Charge — \$2.00
Sunday	June 24	T-Dance 4-9 p.m. — No Cover Charge —

CHILDREN'S BENEFIT PARTY

Dec. 16 at the Hippopotamus in Baltimore. With famed New York impersonator Al of the Saratogas doing "Bette and Telullah." Hosted by Ken Elbert III and Connie. Co-hosted by Jerry Wetzel. Admission: Gift or Contribution.

Above: An advertisement for a Children's Benefit Party at The Hippopotamus, December 1973. *Courtesy Washington Gay Blade*

Top right: A calendar of events at The Hippo, May 24, 1997. *Courtesy Washington Gay Blade*

Bottom left: Archival photo of two women outside of the Hippo. *Courtesy GLCCB archives*

Bottom right: Exterior photo of The Hippo showing consistent architectural features compared to archival photo, 2018. *Courtesy Emma Schrantz*



THE HIPPO AND LAMONT PRODUCTIONS PRESENTS

1987 MR. GAY MARYLAND PAGEANT



Preliminary to the National Mr. Gay All American Pageant

MONDAY, MAY 11
DOORS OPEN AT 8:30 PM
PAGEANT 9 PM

\$700 Cash Prize
Contestant application deadline Wednesday, May 5

Reserved seating \$9
At the door \$8
Advance general admission \$7

Entertainment by
Rick Shane - Mr. Gay Maryland '86
Champagne Douglas - Miss Gay Maryland
Vicki Voz - Miss Hippo
Teresa Montgomery as Judy Garland
Beulah Lamont - the Large & Lovely

Special Guest Star - Live Recording Artist VICKI SUE ROBINSON

Hosted by
Charlie Brown from Atlanta and
Ed Williams from the Big Band

The Hippo
One West Eager Street
Baltimore
547-0069

See manager for Application by Wednesday, Jan. 14, 1987

Sunday, January 18
Doors open 8:30 pm.
Contest begins at 9:30 pm

Reservations \$7:
Advance General Admission \$5:
At the door \$6

\$500 Cash Prize plus free admission to the Hippo for a year!

Entertainment by:
Champagne Douglas - Miss Gay Maryland '87;
LaDonna Mills - Reigning Miss Hippo

Hosted by:
Bryan Murphy from NYC, and
Beulah Lamont - the Large & Lovely!

DJ - John Simmons
Lights - Randy Cuomo

One West Eager Street
Baltimore, MD
301-547-0069



THE HIPPO & LAMONT PRODUCTIONS PRESENT THE 1987

Mr Hippo

C O N T E S T

Monday, June 15, 1987 9:30 pm
\$7 Reserved Seating, \$8 at the door, \$5 Advance Gen. Adm.
\$500.00 Cash Prize plus free Hippo admission for a year!

Entertainment by:
Vicki Voz - Miss Hippo • Rick Shane - Mr. Gay Maryland •
Champagne Douglas - Miss Gay Maryland • and back by popular demand - Bryan Murphy from NYC

Hosted by:
Ed Williams and the Large & Lovely Beulah Lamont
DJ - John Simmons • Lighting & Set design by Randy Cuomo

ONE WEST EAGER ST. BALTIMORE • 547-0069



These are early examples of advertisements for the yearly Mr. Gay Maryland, Miss Hippo, and Mr. Hippo contests that were held at The Hippo. It helps show the reach of the The Hippo that it held the yearly Mr. Gay Maryland Pageant, and that the club was popular enough to hold multiple contests itself.

These advertisements for benefits and fundraising at The Hippo show who the community supported financially, and which institutions relied heavily on that support.

Benefits were often held GLCCB, Chase Brexton, and the *Baltimore Gay Paper*. Later AIDS groups like AIDS Action Baltimore were also supported by The Hippo.

Left: Mr. Gay Maryland Pageant advertisements, May 1987.

Courtesy Baltimore Gay Paper

Top Right: Miss Hippo Contest advertisements, January 1987.

Courtesy Baltimore Gay Paper

Bottom Right: Mr. Hippo Contest advertisements, June 1987

Courtesy Baltimore Gay Paper



Miss Hippo fund raiser newspaper ad, June 1979.
 Courtesy Baltimore Gay Paper



The Hippo charity event, January 1987.
 Courtesy Baltimore Gay Paper



“
The sad thing is losing a gay/LGBT space...we know there's few gay spaces in the city, So when one goes away, it's like, ahhhh another one, now it's a CVS.
”

2016 - PRESENT : NEIGHBORHOOD PHARMACY

Despite the club's legendary status, The Hippo could not escape Baltimore's rising development pressures. Just two years after Out Magazine named the Hippo one of the best gay bars in the world, owner Chuck Bowers shocked the Baltimore community by announcing he would be retiring and closing The Hippo forever. Retaining ownership of the building, Mr. Bowers chose to lease it to national chain pharmacy CVS.

Marked by many bittersweet celebratory "last" events, The Hippo officially shuttered its doors in October 2015. Former DJs, patrons, pageant winners, and other members of the community members came together to give The Hippo one last celebration. To commemorate Mr. Bowers' long-lasting impact on Baltimore's LGBTQ community, the City of Baltimore commemorated him with the installation of a "Chuck Bowers Way" sign at the corner of Eager and Charles Streets.

Left: Street intersection of E. Eager Street and N. Charles St.
Courtesy Emma Schrantz

THE GOOD, THE BAD, AND THE UGLY: SHARING MULTIFACETED MEMORIES OF THE HIPPO

Throughout Chuck Bowers' time as owner of The Hippo, the club operated under the slogan "Where Everyone is Welcome." The motto rang true of the types of events offered by the club - "The Hippo is the only bar in Baltimore that gave space and support events as varied as lesbian musical theater, drag pageants, leather contests, fund raisers for LGBT organizations, AIDS service providers, Pride festivals and the Baltimore Justice Campaign's civil rights triumphs," says Louise Parker Kelley, author of the recently released pictorial chronicle "LGBT Baltimore."¹⁰⁰ Many participants of the workshop and oral history interviews conducted for this project indicated that The Hippo was special to many people.

Though *Out Magazine* noted Club Hippo's significance to the larger community in its designation as one of the world's best gay bars, its longer description of the bar highlights major issues of perception and representation of historic places: "generations of ageless decades has kept the boys glued to their bar stools, gripping pool cues and transfixed by attractive and fun-loving Charm City citizens."¹⁰¹ The description focuses on one primary audience - the "boys". While some participants said they found The Hippo to be a positive, affirming space, this project also uncovered a more complicated past for The Hippo, including memories of racial discrimination and segregation. This underscores a need to represent a wide array of perspectives, including different races, genders, and generations, in writing the official narrative of historic places.

“

Baltimore is a Southern city, below the Mason Dixon Line [...] There's a lot of segregation. The illustrious Hippopotamus was extremely [...] genderphobic and [...] racist [...] against people of color and women.

”

TOOLKIT TIP

Had the interviews and community workshop been held earlier in the project, it is likely that a different site would have been selected for this case study. The project goal was to document affirming places, and while many white participants expressed positive affiliation with The Hippo, some workshop attendees remembered a less-rosy picture of The Hippo.

Several participants of color and female-bodied club-goers mentioned that they were often requested to produce more than one form of ID at the door, or not permitted to enter at all due to their appearance. Had community engagement come earlier in the process, a more inclusive affirming place for people of all identities in the LGBTQ community would likely have been identified and selected for the case study.

DOCUMENTING AND DRAWING CLUB HIPPO: NO DRAWINGS: NO PROBLEM.



Exterior of The Hippo
Courtesy Emma Schrantz

In order to make the necessary interior alterations for the new pharmacy, CVS worked with the City of Baltimore's Commission for Historical and Architectural Preservation (CHAP). CHAP maintained that due to the integrity of the exterior, the building needed to reflect the original designs, including door hardware, illuminated signage and the curved entry. The only significant change on the exterior was the inclusion of CVS's brand signage. This new signage was designed in the same style as Club Hippo's aluminum sign and placed in similar locations. The interior was completely altered to reflect CVS brand standards and retains no visible historic fabric to this day.

TOOLKIT TIP

Construction documents are always created before buildings can be demolished or altered. Architectural plans, sections, and elevations are usually given to the building owner or leasing agent and must be kept for their records. Before creating new drawings for a structure, be sure to ask the current owners if they have any drawings or know where they may be stored.



Emma Schrantz and Katie Boyle document The Hippo by hand.
Courtesy Megan Baco

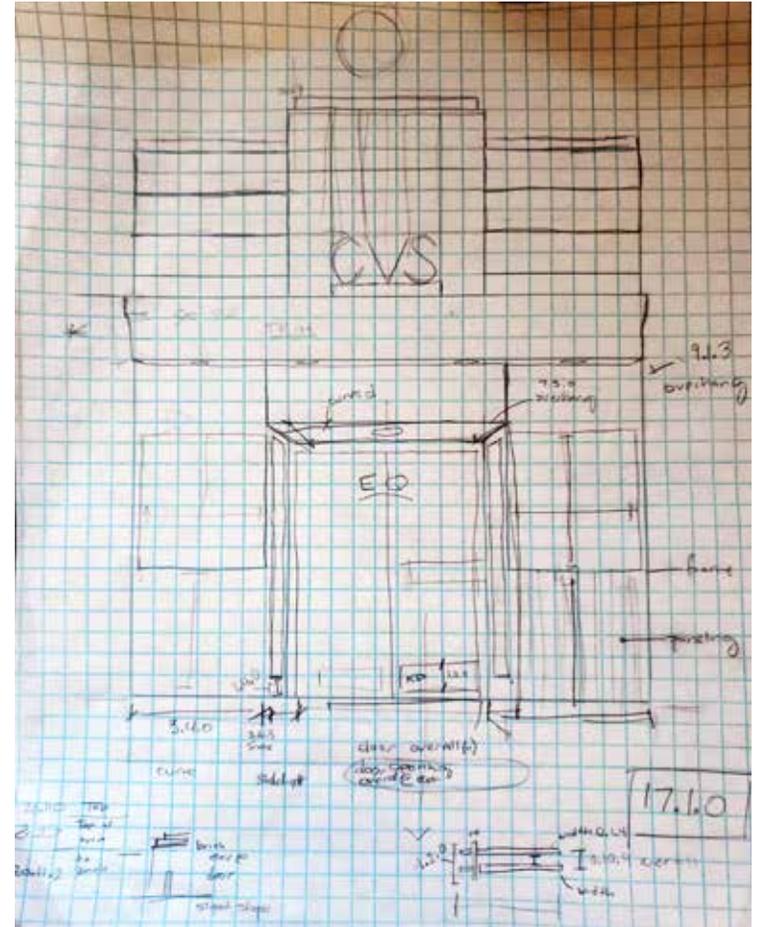
The research team reached out to CVS to secure the as-built drawings of the building, but due to security concerns, permission was denied. Building owner Chuck Bowers noted that the drawings and documentation of the building itself, if in his possession, were located off-site and were inaccessible for the time being. Many other historic spaces, particularly those affiliated with LGBTQ or other marginalized spaces, suffer the same lack of official architectural documentation.

With these challenges in mind, the documentation team started from scratch to measure and photograph the building. To create a comprehensive record of the Hippo, the team completed a series of field measurements utilizing a standard set of architectural tools, including measuring tapes, levels, a laser distance measurer, and a telescoping measuring tool to measure building heights. These measurements were drawn out using graph paper in the field. The team also compiled some of the data gathered from tax records and maps, which are free and accessible through city and state online archives, to compare against their field notes and help fill in any gaps.

TOOLKIT TIP

Always look for prior documentation or construction documents, but if they cannot be located, sometimes unconventional sources can help fill in the gaps. For this project, no construction documents could be found, but many informative images of the Hippo were identified on websites such as YouTube, eBay, Yelp, Flickr, Blogspot, okcancel.org, Trip Advisor, Tumlr, Foursquare, Pinterest, and Twitter.

Together, these visual resources helped studio members piece together the architectural history of the Hippo. Sites that survived into the digital era are more likely to have images and other materials available online.



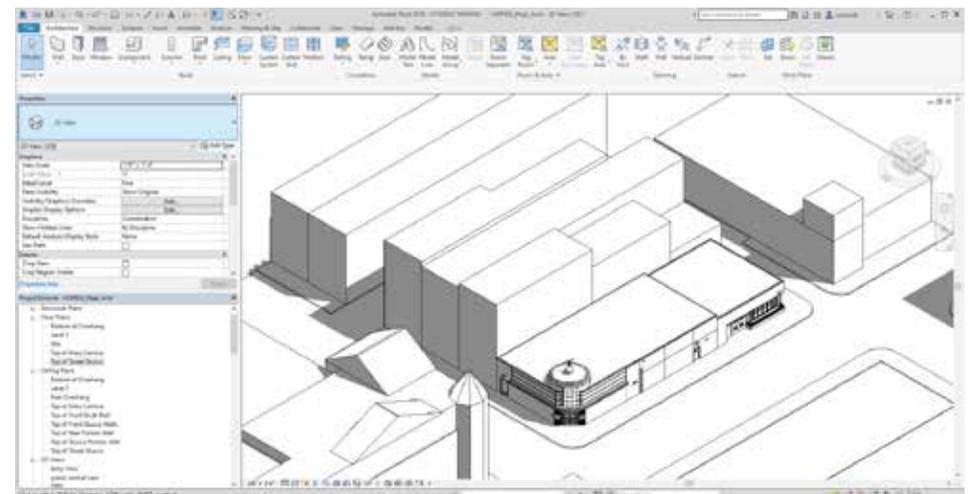
The field sketches created by Schrantz and Boyle. The sketches were then put into Building Information Modeling software to create a 3D model and architectural drawings (see next page).

Courtesy Emma Schrantz and Katie Boyle

The team translated this data and created a set of usable drawings in Autodesk Revit, a powerful BIM (Building Information Modeling) software. Though BIM can have a steep learning curve, the software allows for both comprehensive drawings and renderings to be created in the same platform. The drawings and models created in BIM programs can be shared to other platforms that may be more accessible to the public for educational and interpretive purposes.

BIM is important because it not only documents spaces, but it help revive lost spaces. A 3D model is much more accessible to the public than architectural drawings, and can show lost spaces in a way that is simply impossible for buildings that have been demolished or significantly altered.

However, these type of professional programs can be cost- and time-prohibitive. For research teams or individuals with fewer resources at hand, hand-drawn drawings, free or low-cost mobile architectural documentation applications, photographs, and use of online resources can be used instead, as described in detail the Toolkit. Additionally, Open Source softwares and inexpensive website platforms are a more cost-effective solution, although they do require a level of expertise to operate. Trimble's free version of the SketchUp software, can be used in similar ways to recreate lost spaces of the LGBTQ community. Likewise, online website hosts like Wix and Weebly can help communities compile documentation efforts in an outward-facing manner.



A three dimensional model of The Hippo created and rendered in Autodesk Revit. Revit is more likely to be used by architects or architecture firms familiar in historic preservation to recreate or document buildings. SketchUp Free is a similar 3D modeling software that can be downloaded online; many free tutorials for SketchUp available on YouTube for the inexperienced user. SketchUp is a great tool for individuals or nonprofits that do not have the money to spend on hiring an architect or architecture firm.

Courtesy Kelly Haley and Emma Schrantz.

Another form of documentation can come in the form of sketches. Sketches are great, low-cost ways to document buildings because all you need in some cases is a paper and pencil. One does not have to be a great artist to capture a building in a drawing, but the importance of a sketch cannot be understated. Sometimes, all the community can have to remember a space is a sketch!

Sketches can be of building interiors, exteriors, or even the architectural floor plans, sections, and elevations. They can be done while a building is open to the community, or afterwards.

Sketches can be overlaid on top to give them a more realistic feel, or to show before/after shots. Most important, sketches are the most accessible form of documentation, and are a great outward facing images to share with the public.

The team strongly encourages that the compiled information of this project - and community heritage research in general - be publicly accessible. The report will be accessible to the public and hosted on Preservation Maryland's website, in addition to the University of Maryland's DRUM site.

Top: A sketch of the Hershe bar in Norfolk, VA circa 1979. The sketch greatly resembled photographs of the inside of the bar, down to the ceiling fans. Hershe closed October 31, 2018.

Courtesy Baltimore Gay Paper

Bottom: Artistic render of before and after appearance of The Hippo.

Courtesy Daniela Tai



CHAPTER 6
**CONCLUSIONS AND
RECOMMENDATIONS**

KELLY SCHINDLER

Throughout the course of this project, studio members challenged themselves to answer the question, “where is this work going?” From the outset, the class felt that the goal was not just to document affirming places and produce a guide for future student work in this area, but to consider the potential larger implications of this project. The incredible significance of recording stories for the first time and engaging with people who had never had contact with professional preservationists before inherently gave this project a higher purpose than initially intended.

Another conclusion reached early on in the process was that the Hippo, despite the fact that it was now a CVS (and maybe even because of it), remained significant to Baltimore’s LGBTQ community and that selecting that building as the primary case study would bring many preservation issues to light. For one, it challenged the conventional preservation philosophy. While the city’s historical and architectural commission required preservation of the exterior, the arguably more significant (but less architecturally significant) interior spaces were destroyed. This intersection of architectural and historical significance made developing a documentation strategy all the more compelling. The dearth of historic fabric yielded new art, including the sketches incorporated in this report and will hopefully inspire a mural or other commemorative art in the future.

In truth, this project has borne more questions than it has answered. But that’s a good thing. The studio members wanted to show that the significance of a place doesn’t always change just because its use does, and that professional preservationists can adapt to and create new techniques to preserve sites of LGBTQ cultural heritage. The reflections and recommendations that conclude this report are just a few of the paths forward this project can take, but the most important thing is that it keeps moving forward.

REFLECTION ON PROCESS AND WHERE WE GO FROM HERE

The conclusion of this report would not be complete without a reflection on the process, as well as sharing key takeaways and a bit of advice for others who may decide to undertake similar projects. The following recommendations for similar projects reflect the studio members’ experience working within a project framework that often felt confining, not inclusive, and was not reflective of the type of preservation the team wished to practice.



RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SIMILAR PROJECTS

RECOMMENDATION #1: Start with community engagement.

Community engagement is the bedrock of successful heritage projects. In order to determine how a community defines themselves and what they value, preservationists must talk to them. As discussed in Chapter 2, sometimes preservationists just aren't the experts. They must listen first and use their training to help communities accomplish their goals.

RECOMMENDATION #2: Sensitivity, flexibility, and open-mindedness are required.

Sensitivity and flexibility are essential in projects that require people to share their personal stories (especially sad or painful ones) and their free time. Another kind of flexibility and open-mindedness are required as well, particularly when working with non-traditional heritage sites, about the kinds of resources and preservation strategies you may encounter. A narrative or resource may not fit into the traditional preservation model, but that doesn't mean it is unworthy of preservation; this is where your own creativity comes in.

RECOMMENDATION #3: Plan for the unexpected.

Chapter 3 provides a prime example of this, when the studio members were unable to find architectural drawings for the Hippo and needed to start from scratch. Some communities may be unfamiliar with the practices of professional preservationists and may not have all of the necessary documentation or other resources easily accessible. Planning to accommodate delays or changes to project deadlines and products is essential. The flexibility from Recommendation #2 works here too!

RECOMMENDATION #4: You need a public-facing outcome.

While archives are important, it's also important that communities see the outcome of their work. This can be a newspaper article, podcast, digital map, walking tour, whatever - but showing people where their stories are going can be incredibly powerful and helpful in garnering support for your project and amplifying its impact.



RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE PROJECTS

The studio developed recommendations for next steps that might be useful for each group that participated in the project. The following recommendations are broken out by group type, but many of them may be applicable to multiple groups. While these recommendations may not be possible in exactly this prescribed format, the information collected in this project will be shared with one or more of the organizations below for continued research and engagement.

PROFESSIONAL PRESERVATION ORGANIZATIONS (Preservation Maryland, Baltimore Heritage, and others)

INTERN OR STAFF PROJECTS (as part of the “Six to Fix” program)

- Digitization of maps, interviews, and other materials collected by the project
- Follow up with interviewees, workshop attendees, and other community members for formal oral histories and memory mapping

DIGITAL EXHIBITION

- Hosted on organization’s website
- Toolkit and/or lesson plans available for download
- Inclusion of identified sites on existing maps

ENGAGEMENT

- Continued public engagement through tours, receptions, lectures, etc.
- Offer preservation workshops specifically focused on preserving LGBTQ historic sites

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS (GLCCB, Chase Brexton, others)

ENGAGEMENT

- Continued engagement with public history community such as shared Sage and youth gathering at GLCCB to share stories and experiences with one another

ACCESS

- Keep physical copies of LGBTQ public history materials (walking tours, guides, etc.) on site so people can easily to connect to history around them

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND/OTHER GRADUATE STUDENTS

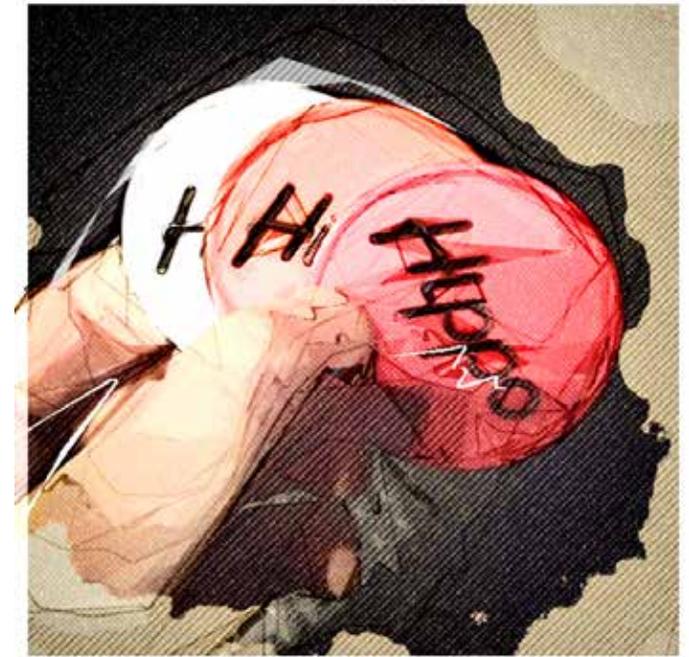
- Foster connections - don’t abandon communities when the semester ends; find ways to stay involved through events and projects
- Think about what other resources you can offer, including consulting and training
- Future studio work on related projects, such as the GLCCB’s new headquarters project
- Develop a series of other toolkits related to preservation/documentation: conducting oral history projects, photography, etc.

CITY OF BALTIMORE/STATE OF MARYLAND

- Prioritization of commemoration projects, such as the installation of a rainbow crosswalk or Pride memorial at Wyman Park Dell
- Facilitate connections between city/state LGBT liaisons (ex: mayor's office, state representatives) and preservationists to determine best preservation strategy for LGBTQ cultural heritage sites, including continued engagement of preservationists at Mayor of Baltimore's town hall meetings to address issues like vacant housing

"EVERYDAY PEOPLE"

- Explore your local LGBTQ history. Can you name any sites nearby that are associated with LGBTQ heritage? See if your local historical society or other organization offers walking tours or public programs.
- Check out projects like LGBT NYC Historic Sites Project or other heritage groups before your next trip and visit some of the recommended sites. How are they interpreted? Are they designated in any way? What does the text on these plaques say?
- Ask questions at historic sites. What does the tour guide mean when they describe someone as a "confirmed bachelor" or similarly coded phrase? Invite conversation about historical meanings and how they change over time.
- Get involved with a local history project or start your own!



Top Right: An artistic rendering of a crowd on The Hippo dance floor. *Courtesy Daniela Tai*

Right: An artistic rendering of The Hippo poker chips. *Courtesy Daniela Tai*



Charles Street, Charles Village *Courtesy Katie Boyle*



APPENDICES



GLOSSARY

As-Built Drawings - Architectural documents that show details of a building as it was construction or altered. They can include plans, elevations or sections.

Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) - A way to describe the “traditional, limiting, and often elitist ways” that heritage is valued and preserved. AHD generally represents a “dominant view of heritage” that traditionally leaves minority history out of the narrative. The term was coined by Laurajane Smith in *Uses of Heritage*, 2006.

Building Information Modeling (BIM) - BIM is an intelligent 3D model-based software program that gives professionals the digital tools to plan, design, construct, and manage buildings and infrastructure. The programs can be applied to historic structures to manage building features and phases.¹⁰²

Chase Brexton - Founded as a gay men’s clinic in 1978 and run by volunteers, Chase Brexton has grown to service the greater Baltimore area as a Federally Qualified Health Center.¹⁰³

Grassroots Organization - Typically local groups which are “not related to the working situation of the participants and which have the activity of the participants as their primary resource.”¹⁰⁴

Gay and Lesbian Community Center of Baltimore (GLCCB) - The GLCCB is currently located at 2530 North Charles Street in Charles Village. While nicknamed “The Center” today, it began as the Gay Community Center of Baltimore (GCCB) in 1980 in the Mount Vernon neighborhood. In 1985, “Lesbian” was added to the organization’s name, creating the Gay Lesbian Community Center of Baltimore (GLCCB).¹⁰⁵ In 2002, the GLCCB change its name again to the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Community Center of Baltimore and Central Maryland. For more information, go to <http://www.glccb.org>.

Intangible Heritage - At its core, intangible heritage is about creating identity. Heritage is not only about physical places and spaces, but of “oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, and traditional craftsmanship knowledge and techniques.”¹⁰⁶

LGBTQ|LGBT|GSRM - Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer/Questioning | Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender | Gender, Sexual, and Romantic Minorities.

National Historic Landmarks (NHL) - Program is administered through the National Park Service, under the umbrella of the United States Department of the Interior. These sites are designated by the Secretary of the Interior for their “abilities to illustrate U.S. Heritage.”¹⁰⁷

National Park Service (NPS) - A United States Government agency under the United States Department of the Interior, which oversees National Parks, Monuments, and Landmarks, and administers programs such as the National Historic Landmarks (NHL) program and the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) - Implemented by the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, and is administered by the National Park Service. It is a nation-wide program that coordinate the efforts of public and private organizations to “identify, evaluate, and protect” America’s cultural resources.¹⁰⁸ A site must meet at least one of the four criteria for inclusion on the National Register, meaning that they are either “(A) relevant to a significant event in American History; (B) relevant to a significant person of American history; (C) the design or construction has aesthetic value or was created by a master architect; (D) the site has information potential to provide insights about prehistory or history.”¹⁰⁹

Tangible Heritage - Represents those “historic places, monuments, artifacts, etc. which are considered worthy of preservation for the future.”¹¹⁰



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FOR MORE INFO, CONTACT:
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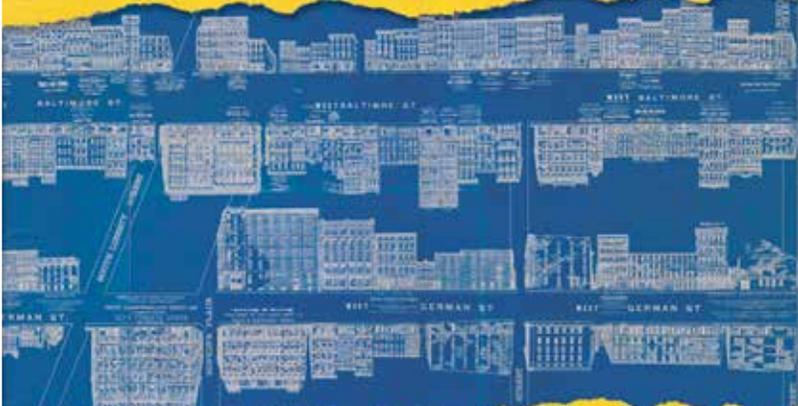
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Marketing materials for community engagement. Courtesy Daniela Tai

ONLINE RESOURCES

National Black Justice Coalition (<http://nbjc.org/>)

The National Black Justice Coalition is a civil rights organization dedicated to empowering Black lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people.

Latino GLBT History Project (<http://www.latinoglbthistory.org/>)

The Latino GLBT History Project (LHP) is a 501 (c)(3) non-profit volunteer-led organization founded in April 2000 and incorporated in May 2007 to respond to the critical need to preserve and educate about our history. Our mission is to investigate, collect, preserve and educate the public about the history, culture, heritage, arts, social and rich contributions of the Latino GLBT community in metropolitan Washington, D.C. To accomplish our mission, the LHP creates educational exhibits from our historical archives collection showcased at cultural events such as, a Women's History Month Reception, a Hispanic LGBTQ Heritage Reception and DC Latino Pride, educational presentations at local and national conferences and through our online virtual museum.

HistoryPin LGBTQ America Project (<https://historypin.org/en/lgbtq-america/>)

LGBTQ America stems from a National Park Service (NPS) centennial (2016) effort to tell a fuller and more inclusive history of America. Working with Quist and the Rainbow Heritage Network, the NPS seeks to make places of LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) heritage more visible. Within the National Park system, there are parks, properties listed on the National Register of Historic Places, and National Historic Landmarks that contain aspects of LGBTQ history that is not explored in their interpretations. Outside of the National Parks, there are other places of national, regional, local, and personal significance.

LGBTQ Heritage Theme Study (<https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>)

The Theme Study is a publication of the National Park Foundation for the National Park Service and funded by the Gill Foundation. It aims to tell the story of LGBTQ heritage in the United States. Each chapter is written and peer-reviewed by experts in LGBTQ Studies.

Archives and Sources for LGBTQ+ History in Baltimore (<https://mospells.github.io/lgbtqbaltimore/>)

Site about Baltimore's lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer history and archival sources for research.



Washington Blade Archives (<https://digdc.dclibrary.org/>)

The Washington Blade, in partnership with the D.C. Public Library, is in the process of digitizing their nearly 50-year archive. To date, the years 1969-1982 have been completed. To access those years, visit the Blade section on DIG DC at the DCPL site.

Mount Vernon Pride Tour (<https://explore.baltimoreheritage.org/tours/show/27>)

Curated by Baltimore Heritage

Many know Mount Vernon as the long-time home of Baltimore's Pride Parade as well as the city's oldest gay and lesbian bars and businesses. But that only is only a small part of the LGBTQ history and historic places found in this neighborhood!

HABS/HAER/HALS Guidelines

- HABS (<https://www.nps.gov/hdp/standards/habsguidelines.htm>)
- HAER (<https://www.nps.gov/hdp/standards/haerguidelines.htm>)
- HALS (<https://www.nps.gov/hdp/standards/halsguidelines.htm>)
- Laser Scanning (NPS) (<https://www.nps.gov/hdp/standards/laser.htm>)

BOOK RESOURCES, A SHORT LIST

A History of Bisexuality (The Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society) by Steven Angelides

A Queer History of the United States by Michael Bronski

Asegi Stories: Cherokee Queer and Two-Spirit Memory by Qwo-Li Driskill

Bisexuality in the Ancient World by Eva Cantarella (Author) and Cormac O Cuilleainain (Translator)

Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology edited by E. Patrick Johnson and Mae G. Henderson



Black on Both Sides: A Racial History of Trans Identity by C. Riley Snorton

Borderlands / La Frontera: The New Mestiza by Gloria Anzaldúa

Crip Theory: Cultural Signs of Queerness and Disability by Robert McRuer

Disidentifications: Queers Of Color And The Performance Of Politics by José Esteban Muñoz

Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America by Lillian Faderman

Queer Indigenous Studies: Critical Interventions in Theory, Politics, and Literature edited by Qwo-Li Driskil, Chris Finley, Brian Joseph Gilley, Scott Lauria Morgensen

Queer: A Graphic History by Dr. Meg-John Barker (Author) and Julia Scheele (Illustrator)

Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture by Siobhan B. Somerville

Sapphistries: A Global History of Love between Women by Leila J. Rupp

Sexual Futures, Queer Gestures, and Other Latina Longings by Juana Maria Rodriguez

The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government by David K. Johnson

Transgender History: The Roots of Today's Revolution by Susan Stryker

Transgender Warriors : Making History from Joan of Arc to Dennis Rodman by Leslie Feinberg

Why Marriage: The History Shaping Today's Debate Over Gay Equality by George Chauncey



LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

Enoch Pratt Free Library - Central (<https://www.prattlibrary.org/locations/central/>)

The Enoch Pratt Free Library is the free public library system of the City of Baltimore, Maryland. Its Central Library and office headquarters, opened in 1933, is located at 400 Cathedral Street.

- Special Collections (<https://www.prattlibrary.org/locations/specialcollections/>)
- Periodicals (<https://www.prattlibrary.org/locations/periodicals/>)

Rainbow History Project (<http://www.rainbowhistory.org/>)

Frustrated by failed attempts to identify archives and sources of information on gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered history in metropolitan Washington DC, Mark Meinke placed a notice in the Washington Blade for community discussion about the problem. On November 4, 2000 Charles Rose, Bruce Pennington, Jose Gutierrez, and James Crutchfield met with Meinke at the CyberStop Cafe, formerly at 1534 17th Street NW. The outcome of the discussions was to create the Rainbow History Project which would work to preserve our community's memories.

Hornbake Library (Special Collections and University Archives) (<https://www.lib.umd.edu/hornbake>)

Located in the Maryland Room on the first floor, The Special Collections and University Archives collect and provide access to material related to the history of the University of Maryland, the state of Maryland, literature and rare books, and American history, especially as it relates to labor, mass media, and the performing arts. We also provide access to a premiere collection of post-war material produced in Japan.



BALTIMORE LGBTQ+ RESOURCES

AIDS Action Baltimore

<http://www.aidsactionbaltimore.org/>

AIDSVu Baltimore

<https://aidsvu.org/>

Baltimore Black Pride

<http://cbealbaltimore.org/blackpride.html>

Baltimore City LGBTQ Commission

<https://mayor.baltimorecity.gov/lgbtq-commission>

Baltimore Heritage LGBT Heritage Initiative

<https://baltimoreheritage.org/project/lgbt-heritage/>

Baltimore Outloud

<http://baltimoreoutloud.com/wp/>

Baltimore Queerstories

<http://baltimorequeerstories.com/>

Baltimore Transgender Alliance

<http://www.bmoretransalliance.com/resources/>

Black Trans Advocacy, Maryland

<http://blacktransmen.org/>

Chase Brexton Health Center - LGBT Health Resource Center

<http://www.chasebrexton.org/>

FreeState Justice

<https://freestate-justice.org/>

GLCCB (Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Community Center of Baltimore and Central Maryland)

<http://www.glccb.org/>

GLCCB Archives at the University of Baltimore, Langsdale Library

<http://langsdale.ubalt.edu/>

HostHome (housing assistance)

<http://hosthome.help>

JPride Baltimore - Jewish LGBTQ Outreach and Support

<https://jpridebaltimore.org/>

Maryland LGBT Chamber of Commerce

<https://mdlgbt.org/>

Preservation Maryland - Six to Fix Project: Discovering LGBTQ History

<http://www.preservationmaryland.org/programs/six-to-fix/projects/new-projects/documenting-lgbtq-history/>

SWOP (Sex Workers Outreach Project) Baltimore Chapter

<http://swopbaltimore.weebly.com/>



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CHAPTER 2 **IMAGE SOURCES**

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AUTHORS AND CONTRIBUTORS



Katherine Boyle (she/her) is an historical archaeologist who will be completing the dual master's in applied anthropology and historic preservation in December 2018 at the University of Maryland. Through her research on working class heritage, she works to uplift underrepresented historical narratives and connect communities with their heritage using both archaeology and historic preservation. She earned her bachelors in anthropology, focusing on archaeology from St. Mary's College of Maryland in 2014 and has worked in various aspects of cultural resources management and public history ever since.



Ty Ginter (they/them) is a D.C.-based LGBTQ/Queer historian and preservationist specializing in the preservation of marginalized intangible history and the conservation of the built environment. They are the founder of D.C. Dykaries, an oral history project created to record the history of Washington D.C.'s lesbian/Sapphic spaces, places, and groups.

Facebook: @dykaries

Twitter: @preservationbutch

Email: ginterpreservationservices@gmail.com



Josette Graham (she/her) is an Annapolis-based archaeologist and preservationist specializing in prehistoric archaeology of the Chesapeake region and preservation of Native American tangible heritage.

jgraham2@umd.edu



Kelly Marie Haley (she/her) is a dual-degree architecture and historic preservation graduate student focusing on the role of preservation and adaptive reuse in urban revitalization and how urban identity is rooted in authenticity of place. Her architectural interests involve respectfully altering historic structures to commemorate the past, while allowing for new programmatic uses.

<http://kellymariehaley.wixsite.com/kellymhaley>



Kathleen Jockel (she/her) is a second year Master's student studying to get a dual degree Historic Preservation and Applied Anthropology. She graduated from the University of Virginia with an undergraduate degree in History and Archaeology in 2016. For the past two years she has worked as a professional archaeologist and is currently working as an architectural historian.



Daniela Tai (she/her/hers) is currently pursuing a dual master's degree in Architecture and Historic Preservation at the University of Maryland. Born and raised in Miami, FL, she originally studied accounting at the University of Florida before setting her sights on impacting the built environment. Daniela is the current fellow for the African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. She seeks to bridge preservation, social justice, and urban renewal through the lens of design after graduation.

www.tai.ink





Kelly Schindler (she/her) is the Manager for Historic Sites Administration and Engagement at the National Trust for Historic Preservation. She received her bachelor's degree in history from the University of Florida in 2011 and is currently studying for her Masters of Historic Preservation at the University of Maryland. She has a particular interest in historic site interpretation and adaptive reuse projects and worked at several prominent historic sites and museums prior to her time at the National Trust. A native of Long Island, New York and central Florida, Kelly currently resides in Washington, DC.



Tamara Schlossenberg (she/her) is part of the HISP 635, Ethics in Preservation course. She is currently a dual masters student in the Masters of Applied Anthropology and Masters of Historic Preservation program, and works as a graduate assistant at the David C. Driskell Center for the Study of Visual Arts and Culture of African Americans and the African Diaspora. At the Driskell Center, Tamara is helping to lead the creation of the center's digitization plan and procedures. Her Bachelor's degree is from Hood College in Art and Archaeology. Tamara plans to enter museum curation and collections after grad school.



Emma Schrantz (she/her) is a dual degree architecture and historic preservation graduate student. Her research focuses on the intersection of sustainable urbanism and craft brewing as a creative solution for historic districts in Dayton, Ohio. An Ohio transplant, she earned her Bachelor of Science in Architecture from the University of Cincinnati in 2015. Her interests include photography, creative placemaking, and - naturally - craft brewing.



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