

"The Land at Our Feet": Preserving Pioneer Square's Queer Landscape

Richard Freitas

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Committee:
Jeffrey Karl Ochsner
Thaisa Way

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University of Washington

ABSTRACT

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Richard Freitas

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
Professor Jeffrey Karl Ochsner
Architecture

From 1933-1974, Seattle’s Pioneer Square was home to a network of social and public spaces that formed an LGBTQ cultural landscape. That landscape is now lost. This thesis examines the question of how to make invisible heritage visible by looking at the particular case of Pioneer Square’s historical queer territory. Pioneer Square, the birthplace of Seattle, has a historical storyline that is portrayed in popular narratives but that does not usually include its LGBTQ significance. Through historical mapping, spatial analysis, and a series of iterative design speculations, this thesis both preserves the urban cultural landscape’s memory and establishes a foundation for further preservation actions.

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*Never have we longed in a more physical manner to
evoke the weight of the land at our feet.*

-Pierre Nora

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
1. INTRODUCTION	2
2. LGBTQ PIONEER SQUARE	6
3. INTERPRETATION	14
4. (RE)INTERPRETATION	22
5. MAPPING A PROCESS	36
6. SPATIAL ANALYSIS	52
7. DESIGN VOCABULARY	71
8. CONCLUSIONS	82
APPENDIX	86
BIBLIOGRAPHY	105

1. INTRODUCTION

Long before Capitol Hill emerged as the center of Seattle’s modern LGBTQ community, Pioneer Square and its environs were home to a territory of bars, taverns, bath houses, and restaurants that catered to LGBTQ patrons. This cultural landscape’s traces are largely invisible today. Through historical mapping, oral histories, and spatial analysis it is possible to uncover this lost landscape at least partially. This thesis examines the LGBTQ cultural landscape in Pioneer Square as a case study of the broader question of how the heritage of groups that do not leave physical marks on the built environment can be made visible.

Urban landscapes are containers of social memories that are interconnected with citizens’ lives. The traces in an urban landscape that are evidence of a culture can endure only if stories are shared and memories are recorded. Multiple groups have laid claim to the territory of Pioneer Square over its history; however, the stories and architecture that are preserved in official narratives privilege the city’s founding, its rebirth after the Great Fire of 1889, and the years after 1897, the time of the Klondike Gold Rush.

The reasons for revealing invisible heritage in the built environment are significant. Dolores Hayden, who writes about the “power of place,” argues, “We need to... learn to design with memory rather than against it.”¹ The relationship between heritage and the built environment is mutually constitutive and has implications for understanding urban form, informing planning and management decisions, and designing spaces that respect minority groups’ claims to the city.

Pioneer Square’s LGBTQ landscape has only recently become the subject of study and much remains to be understood. The task is complicated by several factors. The landscape is lost—there is little or no LGBTQ population currently activating the neighborhood’s cultural overlay; physical traces of the landscape are scarce and belying the historical LGBTQ presence; and the landscape’s significance lies not in association with historic figures or events but in an ensemble of every day social spaces. The Double Header Tavern (407 Second Avenue Extension South), opened in 1934 and considered by some to be the oldest running gay bar in the country when it closed in 2015,

¹ Hayden, Dolores, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995), 98.



A 1958 aerial photo looking north shows Pioneer Square in the foreground and downtown beyond. This is the locus of Seattle's historical LGBTQ cultural landscape. Image source: Seattle Municipal Archives.

had its sign removed in May 2017 (*Figure 1*).² In the absence of physical evidence in the urban fabric, this thesis depends on primary and secondary sources, particularly first-person oral histories of LGBTQ citizens to provide the basis for both documentation and interpretation.

This thesis examines Pioneer Square as a place where urban policy, social use, and historical conditions interacted to inform a queer urbanism.³ Mapping the historical LGBTQ territory from 1933, when the end of Prohibition meant that public records of taverns and similar spaces began to be available, through 1974, when the location of LGBTQ culture had largely relocated to Capitol Hill, is a point of beginning.⁴ Locating when and where social spaces existed establishes a foundation for exploring the many stories embedded in the historic landscape and for illuminating the text of the lost cultural landscape. The maps offer evidence, documented both graphically and in the text of this thesis to support an

original description of a landscape that was in a continuous state of creation and revelation.

Working from this social-spatial foundation, a proposal for (re)interpretation within the context of current LGBTQ and general preservation practices can be offered. A critique of national preservation standards is followed by a multi-layered, multi-platform, multi-scalar palette of design options that incorporates resource analysis, urban design, and a variety of possible interventions for revealing Pioneer Square's invisible LGBTQ heritage.

2 Kiley, Brendan, "A Second Act for the Double Header, the Pioneer Square Gay Bar that Launched a Thousand Stories," *The Seattle Times* (Seattle, WA), June 2, 2017, <http://www.seattletimes.com/entertainment/nightlife/a-second-act-for-the-double-header-the-pioneer-square-gay-bar-that-launched-a-thousand-stories/>. Last Accessed June 10, 2017.

3 Queer urbanism can be seen as a response to social and political forces by LGBTQ people in the form of claiming public space and shaping either its physical or cultural form, or both. .

4 The 1933 Polk City Directory for Seattle contains no listing under "Beer Parlors." The 1934 edition contains 94 entries and in 1935 there are 325. 1974 marks the first use of Occidental Park for a picnic and dance party commemorating the fifth anniversary of Stonewall. The city's first official Pride celebration would not occur until 1977. See "'Lavender' Play Tonight Only," *The Seattle Times* (Seattle, WA), June 27, 1974.



Figure 1: The Double Header sign remained in place after the bar closed in December 2015 (left). It was removed in May 2017 (right). There is no longer an outward trace of the space's former life.

2. LGBTQ PIONEER SQUARE

Pioneer Square's reputation as the city's vice district goes as far back as the late nineteenth century and continued through the mid-twentieth century when the area was perceived by civic and business leaders as blighted and detrimental to the city's progress.¹ Mark Matthews, a Presbyterian pastor and early twentieth century social crusader preached that:

*It's time for the decent people of Seattle to stop ignoring the cesspool in our midst and set about to have it removed. Yesler Way was once a skid road won which logs were pushed to Henry Yesler's sawmill on the waterfront. Today it is a skid road down which human souls go sliding to hell!*²

At the time, census figures for the city put the ratio of men to women at 1.7 to 1, the result of migrations driven by the Klondike Gold Rush, the city's post-fire reconstruction efforts, and the arrival of the railroads.³ Pioneer Square was rebuilt after the 1889 Great Fire and was home

to the city's high and low institutions: banks, insurance companies, saloons, brothels, and card rooms. After 1910, Seattle's downtown gradually moved northward above Yesler Way despite efforts to secure its location in Pioneer Square.⁴ Matthews's "skid road" became an increasingly marginal area of the city after 1920.

Social histories of LGBTQ Seattle place the earliest traces of queer activity in Pioneer Square. These texts provide the most complete accounts of LGBTQ experience in Seattle and Pioneer Square are found. In his groundbreaking book, *Gay Seattle*, Gary Atkins leads with the "legal exile" facing LGBTQ men and women in Seattle, focusing on Washington State's 1893 law criminalizing sodomy.⁵ Atkins relates an 1895 case that was brought to trial concerning two men, Collins and Layton, charged with sodomy who met on the corner of Pioneer Square's Washington Street and Second Avenue.⁶ Significantly, Atkins marks the beginning of Seattle's gay history here:

1 Park Lee, Sohyun, "Conflicting elites and changing values: designing two historic districts in downtown Seattle, 1958-73," *Planning Perspectives*, 16 (2001), 249.

2 Andrews, Mildred, "Skid Road," in *Pioneer Square: Seattle's Oldest Neighborhood*, edited by Mildred Tanner Andrews, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 100.

3 Ibid, 96.

4 Large construction projects like Smith Tower (1914), the Frye Hotel (1911), and a new City Hall could not stem the march northward. See Andrews, *Seattle's Oldest Neighborhood*, 109-114.

5 Atkins, Gary, *Gay Seattle : Stories of Exile and Belonging*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 13.

6 Ibid, 3.



A 1937 photo shows the corner of Occidental Avenue and South Washington Street. In the 1960s this corner hosted the Atlas Steam Bath and the Stage Door Tavern. The site is now a parking lot. Image source: King County Archives.

*The story of gay and lesbian community can be said to start with Collins and Layton, and with others whose individual stories of same-sex affection began to be recorded at the turn of the century because of legal prosecutions arising from the 1893 law.*⁷

Atkins uses the remainder of the book to relate the experience of Seattle's LGBTQ citizens with the challenges and successes of the times through the mid 1990s.

Don Paulson takes a more narrow approach in his book, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah: A Gay Cabaret in Seattle*, by providing an in-depth look at the Garden of Allah (1213 First Avenue), a downtown cabaret that featured female impersonators from 1946 to 1956.⁸ Despite its location downtown on First Avenue between University Avenue and Seneca Avenue, Paulson locates the cabaret by describing it in relationship to Pioneer Square.⁹ Further

background on Pioneer Square is provided by Vilma, a gay man, local personality and bartender at the Double Header who arrived in Seattle in 1930. She described the neighborhood at that time, "Pioneer Square was where the gay kids hung out in 1930. A number of places let the queens in—restaurants, pool halls, and speakeasies. After Prohibition, a few taverns let us in."¹⁰ Paulson's account of the Garden of Allah uses first-person and historical narratives to describe a singular social space that, although not patronized solely by queer people, was a meaningful gathering place to its queer patrons and performers.

In contrast to Paulson's and Atkins's ambitious histories, a four-page essay in *Pioneer Square: Seattle's Oldest Neighborhood*, titled "Out of the Closet" by Dana Cox, is notable for its inclusion in the book.¹¹ As a whole, the book describes the city's social, cultural, and political events that took place against the backdrop of

7 Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 6.

8 I use Paulson's term, "female impersonators" here instead of the more contemporary label, "drag queens". He states in the book's preface that the performers referred to themselves this way and that "drag queens" were a future creation that involved the transition from live singing to lip syncing that would not occur until after the Garden of Allah closed in 1956.

9 Paulson, Don., and Simpson, Roger, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah : A Gay Cabaret in Seattle*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 3.

10 Paulson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah*, 22.

11 Cox, Dana, "Out of the Closet," in *Pioneer Square : Seattle's Oldest Neighborhood*, edited by Mildred Tanner Andrews, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 170-173.

Pioneer Square. Almost an extended footnote, “Out of the Closet” presents a capsule-length history of LGBTQ heritage in the area. Its introduction states that, “Pioneer Square has a tradition of social and cultural diversity with new beginnings that include Seattle’s gay community...The sidebar Out of the Closet illustrates how a former fringe group gained a toehold in the district before merging into the mainstream of Seattle culture.”¹² The short essay provides a “greatest hits” of Pioneer Square’s bars and events that are significant to Seattle’s LGBTQ heritage.

MAKING MEANING

The LGBTQ character of Pioneer Square after Prohibition through the early 1970s and beyond is best revealed by looking at multiple sources. In her first-person account, Vilma contrasts the changes that occurred in Pioneer Square over a thirty-year period, “Pioneer Square was still pretty nice in the 1930s, not like the ‘50s and ‘60s when it really went downhill. There would be people filling the sidewalks twenty-four hours a day. It was the poor part of town, but it

was where all the action was.”¹³ In an oral history conducted by the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, Leigh Champlin, a patron of 1960s Pioneer Square, recalled that, “In those days, most of the gay bars were down in Pioneer Square, or First Avenue. So that meant you had to intermingle, the gay people intermingling with the alcoholics and the winos, and all of the -- this big mix of humanity was down there.”¹⁴ The deterioration of Pioneer Square and its diversity of social spaces is reinforced by Mel H. in a separate interview. He revealed the existence of class stratification when he described his friends’ attitudes towards Pioneer Square’s mid-century LGBTQ social spaces:

*Yes, that’s what they’d do. They’d say, ‘Let’s go slumming.’ and I know people who told me that ‘I only cruise in the Marine Room or in a very nice hotel bar.’ In fact I have a friend who was a teacher, who was a snob, still is, and he would only go to hotel bars, never would go to the other bars.*¹⁵

12 Ibid, 170.

13 Paulson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah*, 23.

14 Leigh Champlin and Ward Folsom, interview by the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, April 3, 1996, transcript.

15 Mel H., interview by the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, February 14, 1998, transcript.

Pioneer Square's queer social spaces were not a homogenous group. By the 1960s there were enough bars of such diversity that LGBTQ patrons could choose based on a preferred atmosphere and clientele. This nuance and the evolution of the landscape over time is only available by "triangulating" between multiple sources.

The challenges of telling the story of queer Pioneer Square are complicated because the landscape is lost. The emergence of a distinct gay enclave in Capitol Hill in the 1970s deemphasized the social role played by Pioneer Square up to that point. LGBTQ social spaces still existed in Pioneer Square through the 1980s, and, in fact through the closing of the Double Header tavern in 2015. However, the territory atrophied as it was replaced by a new residential and cultural "gayborhood" in Capitol Hill. Today, the absence of a queer population with stakes in Pioneer Square and the scarcity of its physical impressions in the built environment complicate efforts to mark and relate its heritage. With few obvious entry points to tell the story it is necessary to assemble records, first person accounts, legal and municipal records, and property information to synthesize narratives, maps, and other artifacts to preserve and catalyze built and programmatic

interventions that reveal this part of Pioneer Square's significance.

LGBTQ social histories and other disparate sources like the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project's interview archive provide accounts of queer experience in Pioneer Square that help refine the area's historical narrative by focusing on a non-privileged aspect of the neighborhood's significance. These works provide the foundation for understanding how and where the historical queer landscape of Pioneer Square was occupied. Sadly, that history is otherwise absent from most accounts of the neighborhood like the National Register nomination.

NATIONAL REGISTER NOMINATION

The Pioneer Square National Register nomination has been updated three times since its original submission in 1969. The first two updates in 1978 and 1988 focused on extending the boundaries of the district. The goal of the most recent revision in 2007 was to:

...assemble a much more complete record concerning both the physical appearance and cultural significance of the existing resources in the district. This updated nomination, in

*particular, reconsiders the cultural significance of several buildings that were overlooked in the previous nominations.*¹⁶

The document is silent on how its author identified overlooked cultural significance or which specific building entries were updated.¹⁷ It is clear that LGBTQ cultural history was not part of this effort as the nomination makes no mention of it.

The Pioneer Square district was nominated to the National Register under criterion A (It reflects broad patterns of American history) and C (It reflects distinct characteristics of a type or period).¹⁸ There is certainly room in criterion A to include social history and some social history is evident in the 2007 Pioneer Square nomination.

The revised nomination has sections dedicated to describing “The Early Chinese Quarter–Anti-Chinese Agitation –Chinese Contributions” and “Early Japanese Presence by the 1880s.”¹⁹ Individual properties also describe associations with social history. For example, the property at 406 and 410 Second Avenue, the Monterey Hotel/Lexington Hotel, is described in terms of its association with Chin Chun Hock, the Jackson Street Regrade, and the development of Chinese settlement in the area:

The Jackson Regrade spurred the Chinese community to relocate to the King Street core in the present Chinatown-International District. The Chinese Community had long been located in the area on Washington Street between Second and Third Avenues, but the

16 National Register of Historic Places, Pioneer Square - Skid Road District, Seattle, King County, Washington, 2007, Section 7, page 1. <http://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/Neighborhoods/HistoricPreservation/HistoricDistricts/PioneerSquare/PioneerSquare-National-Register-Nomination.pdf>. Last Accessed June 5, 2017.

17 The 2007 nomination form was prepared by Karin Murr Link. See National Register of Historic Places, Pioneer Square - Skid Road District, Seattle, King County, Washington, 2007, page 4.

18 The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 authorized the National Register of Historic Places. Subsequent legislation implemented the program (36 CFR Part 60) and established four Criteria for Evaluation, “The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association and (a) that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or (b) that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or (c) that embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or (d) that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.” <https://www.nps.gov/nr/regulations.htm>. Last Accessed June 5, 2017.

19 National Register of Historic Places, Pioneer Square - Skid Road District, Section 8, page 8.

*neighborhood was becoming too congested, so that the reclaimed King Street/ Jackson Street core was attractive. The building to the north of these buildings was built by early Chinese entrepreneur Chin Gee Hee and is considered the last obvious vestige of the old Chinese community in Pioneer Square.*²⁰

Social history is also related in the description of the Metropole Building and the 1901 gun battle between John Considine and Police Chief William Meredith that resulted in Meredith's death.²¹ These descriptions go beyond fabric-based significance to provide these sites' social context, cultural group's relationship to the buildings and urban form, and historical events that are secondary to the buildings' significance under criterion C. Given the author's willingness

to situate the buildings in a cultural context it is more glaring that LGBTQ history is completely omitted.²²

The fact that a sizeable number of gay social spaces existed within a designated historic district presents an opportunity to revise the Pioneer Square nomination to include them. Otherwise information about this cultural overlay exists only in disparate sources such as social histories, community-driven oral history projects, walking tour anecdotes, archives, or temporary public art projects. These are all viable ways of preserving marginalized group's stories, but they lack the centralization and authority that a National Register nomination imparts, especially given the nomination's role as a tool for planning and preservation decisions.

20 National Register of Historic Places, Pioneer Square - Skid Road District, Section 7, page 238.

21 National Register of Historic Places, Pioneer Square - Skid Road District, Section 7, page 189.

22 Julius' Bar, a gay bar in NYC, was listed in January 2016 on the National Historic Register. The bar's nomination is notable for its use of culture to frame the site's significance. The building was already a contributing resource to the Greenwich Village Historic District. The focus of the new nomination was the bar's cultural history as the site of a "sip-in," a political action that drew attention to New York's legal inconsistencies regarding whether homosexuals could congregate and be served in bars and restaurants. The Julius' Bar nomination and subsequent listing on the National Register is an important step in the evolution of defining significance. Like many of the queer social spaces of Pioneer Square, Julius' was already part of a historic district. Julius' significance as presented by its nomination's narrative is tied to an event of political activism. In contrast, a vernacular gay bar with no particular renown cannot as easily lay claim to broad cultural significance. Although Julius' circumstances situate the bar in comfortable proximity to traditional theories of significance, they nonetheless show how LGBTQ cultural history can be prioritized within a nomination and in fact become the basis for the property's listing. A summary article with a link to the National Register nomination is provided on the National Park Service site: <https://www.nps.gov/places/juliusbar.htm>. Last Accessed June 5, 2017.

In addition to its listing on the National Register, Pioneer Square is also designated as a protected historic district by the City of Seattle.²³ The Seattle Municipal Code (SMC) sections that constitute the legal protections for Pioneer Square do not include identification or discussion of individual buildings and sites. The Pioneer Square Preservation Board (PSPB) has its own rules to supplement the SMC language but these address interventions and reviews, not the specific histories of individual properties.²⁴ In the absence of other documents the City and the PSPB rely on the National Register Nomination Form for information on specific buildings and sites. As a result, the National Register nomination is important locally in historical design reviews and other planning and policy processes.

23 https://www.municode.com/library/wa/seattle/codes/municipal_code?nodeId=TIT23LAUSCO_SUBTITLE_IIILAUSRE_CH23.66SPREDI_SUBCHAPTER_IIPISQPRDI. Last Accessed June 6, 2017.

24 See the "Rules for the Pioneer Square Preservation District," <http://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/Neighborhoods/HistoricPreservation/HistoricDistricts/PioneerSquare/PioneerSquare-Guidelines.pdf>. Last Accessed June 6, 2017, and the "Design Guidelines for New Construction on the North Lot in Pioneer Square," <http://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/Neighborhoods/HistoricPreservation/HistoricDistricts/PioneerSquare/PioneerSquare-Guidelines-New-Construction.pdf>. Last Accessed June 6, 2017.

3. INTERPRETATION

There are two types of interpretation that would foster the revealing of LGBTQ heritage: the first type explains themes, contexts, and events by applying frames to factual findings. This is the traditional domain of the preservationist: documenting historical resources, determining significance, and evaluating integrity. This type of interpretation is the norm for preparing nominations to the National Register of Historic Places and for local historic designations.¹ This thesis focuses on the historical LGBTQ territory of Pioneer Square by applying these kinds of techniques of documentation and analysis as a basis for interpretation to uncover the forces that shaped the cultural landscape and the resulting spatial relationships. In turn, this interpretive framework supported by evidence provides a deep knowledge of place that can support a proposal for making invisible heritage visible.

The second type of interpretation presents information to visitors at historic sites through tools such as docent-led or self-guided tours, exhibits, and wayside panels. In the case of LGBTQ sites and districts these explanations are often presented as a re-interpretation of an existing narrative or as a new narrative within an existing context. In this thesis, these two aspects of interpretation, research and presentation, are synthesized as a foundation for future projects as well as an interpretive document accompanied by historical and design proposals. The first approach to interpretation is addressed in this chapter while the second will be covered in Chapter 4.

Interpreting queer sites beyond the standard typologies of bars and bath houses, as well as exploring themes beyond the emergence of community, has been advocated widely by preservationists and academic chroniclers of

¹ See *National Register Bulletin 16a*, "How to Complete the National Register Nomination Form," <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb16a/>. Last Accessed June 7, 2017.



*Walter Winchell has proclaimed
Jackie Starr America's most beautiful boy.*
Now appearing at the
SPINNING WHEEL, Second and Union

Handbill advertising Jackie Starr's appearance at the Spinning Wheel, Seattle, ca. 1935. Image source: Don Paulson and Skippy LaRue photograph collection, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections.

LGBTQ experience.² There is a wide spectrum of sites that illuminate LGBTQ citizens' relationship to built environments, such as those associated with health care and the AIDS crisis (San Francisco General Hospital's Ward 86 and the demolished Saint Vincent's Hospital in New York City's Greenwich Village) along with places where community response to the epidemic coalesced (Seattle's Chicken Soup Brigade, San Francisco's Project Open Hand, and New York's God's Love We Deliver)³; police raids and extortion schemes (Seattle's First precinct serving Pioneer Square and NYC's Sixth Precinct covering Greenwich Village)⁴; and public open space that served as social space and cruising areas (Seattle's Volunteer Park

2 The National Park Service's *LGBTQ America : A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, released in 2016, alone contains calls by several of its contributors to expand the types of properties that receive attention. Gail Dubrow singles out vacation destinations as well as private residences that hosted homophile organizations' meetings; Jen Jack Giesecking advocates for the consideration of places across scales and themes including places of protest and cultural institutions; Christina B. Hanhardt reminds us of the spaces that are still in the making such as "the informal gathering spots and stoops in central cities well known to LGBTQ youth before the police ask them to 'move along' and in the small town institutions and rural economies that thrive even as they also remain marginal to so many LGBTQ imaginaries," (Hanhardt, Christina B., "Making Community: The Places and Spaces of LGBTQ Collective Identity Formation" in *LGBTQ America : A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, National Park Service, 2016, 15:29-30)

As well, "Avoid the Progress Narrative" is one of the suggestions that Susan Ferentinos provides in her Conclusion to *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites*, (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), 163.

3 The New York City AIDS Memorial was dedicated on December 1, 2016 in St. Vincent's Triangle, across the street from the hospital's former location. In his May 2013 remembrance of St. Vincent's in *The New Yorker* magazine, Andrew Boynton writes, "A New York City AIDS Memorial is planned for the small triangular plot of land across Seventh Avenue from the St. Vincent's lot. It's an appropriate site, and the city ought to have such a commemoration, but not having the hospital itself there to bear witness to the thousands who died, to be a living reminder of those times, is hard to comprehend."

See <http://nycaidsmemorial.org/> and

<http://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/remembering-st-vincents>. Last Accessed April 12, 2017.

4 In 1970, NYC police raided the Snake Pit bar and arrested an Argentine national named Diego Vinales among others. Vinales, afraid of being deported for being gay, leapt from the police station's second story window and was impaled on the spiked fence below. He survived the incident. See http://www.nytimes.com/1970/03/09/archives/homosexuals-hold-protest-in-village-after-raid-nets-167.html?_r=0. Last Accessed June 1, 2017.

and San Francisco's Buena Vista Park).⁵ Along with widening the focus to other types of sites, research should consider the experiences of women and people of color.

The interpretation of LGBTQ heritage is often focused on sites associated with white gay men. While cruising areas are not limited to race or class, Jen Jack Giesecking, a cultural geographer, feminist, and queer theorist, points out that they play a more determinate role in the formation of gay territories sustained by the poor and people of color, "Gay and queer men's bars and informal territories often dissipate and then come together again through intermittent instances of hate crimes and practices of cruising, respectively."⁶ Not only can LGBTQ sites be evaluated for their "significance" as historic sites, but they can also be understood as bellwethers of a queer urbanism and inscriptions in the built environment. There are a wide

variety of building and landscape typologies that can be evaluated through an LGBTQ frame and that are deserving of social historians' and preservationists' attention.

By connecting nodes in a landscape, the layer of LGBTQ meaning and memory in the urban fabric is brought to the surface and woven together. The significance of discrete locations such as bars, homes, and police stations may be amplified by understanding those places in the larger territory of LGBTQ lives. The recently-launched *NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project* reveals this potential by casting a wide net over all five of New York City's boroughs.⁷ The web-based project combines historical mapping with short narratives of significance for an initial 100 LGBTQ sites with more to be added. By identifying places, locating them spatially, and revealing their significance to the public, the project offers a foundation for investigating

5 Dubrow mentions Volunteer Park as a cruising area. See Dubrow, Gail, "Lavender Landmarks Revisited: Advancing an LGBT Preservation Agenda," In *Queerying Planning: Challenging Heteronormative Assumptions and Reframing Planning Practice*, (Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 63. In an interview with Dale Peters and Jim Hoy by the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project on January 11, 2008, Peters describes the park as a night-time social space for groups of young gay men in the 1970s where the focus was not on sex. Cleve Jones's book *When We Rise: My Life in the Movement*, describes the terrain of Buena Vista Park in 1974 where "Gay men had made the park our own; one rarely encountered anyone else there," See Jones, Cleve, *When We Rise: My Life in the Movement*, (New York: Hachette, 2016), 40.

6 Giesecking, Jen Jack, "LGBTQ Spaces and Places" in *LGBTQ America : A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, National Park Service, 2016, 14-15.

7 <http://www.nyclgbtsites.org/>. Last Accessed May 28, 2017.

relationships between sites that might otherwise be difficult to connect because of their varying degrees of significance and notoriety.

Connecting sites may bring new insights to themes of LGBTQ heritage. Scholarship across geographies, from neighborhoods to cities to regions to the national scale provides perspectives that might run counter to prevailing discourses of significance. Gail Dubrow, a social historian of the built environment and cultural landscape, proposes the recognition of thematic groups of sites that together speak to national social movements.⁸ For example, without diminishing the importance of Stonewall (the riots that began on June 27, 1969, outside the Stonewall Inn), other sites of LGBTQ resistance that occurred contemporaneously like the under-recognized 1966 riot at Compton's Cafeteria in San Francisco, can together tell the story of LGBTQ civil unrest more holistically than a single "iconic" site.

To that end, context and theme studies are an important development in planning for LGBTQ

cultural history that examine the breadth of heritage and property types in a place. This planning approach supersedes the narrowing of focus to a particular site for purposes of preservation or representation. In San Francisco, the city's Planning Department released its most recent *Citywide Historic Context Statement for LGBTQ History in San Francisco* in March 2016.⁹ This was preceded by the first LGBTQ context statement in the US, prepared by San Francisco's Friends of 1800 in 2004.¹⁰ The earlier document emphasized the significance of sites at the neighborhood and city scales: "It is proposed that significant sites should be organized into subdistricts where they form (or once formed) an identifiable, coherent GLBT oriented neighborhood or commercial zone."¹¹ Meaning is derived from the constellation of sites in a given area that are then related back to the scale of the city. At the national level, The National Park Service's *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History* presents a practical grounding in the diversity of preservation practices, spatial

8 Dubrow, Gail, "The Preservation of LGBTQ Places" in *LGBTQ America : A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, National Park Service, 2016, 05-54.

9 The document is available online: http://default.sfplanning.org/Preservation/lgbt_HCS/FinalLGBTQ_HCS_March2016.pdf. Last Accessed May 29, 2017.

10 <http://sf-planning.org/lgbt-historic-context-statement> Last Accessed May 29, 2017.

11 The document is available online: http://www.friendsof1800.org/context_statement.pdf. Last Accessed May 29, 2017.

typologies, and narrative themes related to LGBTQ places. As well, Dubrow emphasizes the need for theme studies and even includes them as part of her “Action Agenda” for protecting LGBTQ heritage.¹²

The diversity of sites in an urban cultural landscape is potentially well suited to allow interpretation of the spaces between the buildings. People do not arrive at historically significant sites without coming from somewhere and wandering through cultural territories. From a preservation perspective, the focus on individual properties comes at a price:

*The random accrual of NHL and NRHP listings without intentionally planning for the protection of LGBTQ cultural resources has skewed queer lives in ways that render them as more isolated than they were in actuality. In years to come, as the historic context for LGBTQ heritage is fleshed out and a wider range of property types are documented, a far richer picture will emerge of the LGBTQ dimensions of American history.*¹³

In order to develop a plan for protecting LGBTQ sites, it is necessary to understand the inhabitation of, and claiming of, space that occurred around and between discrete cultural resources. Pioneer Square presents the opportunity to understand the human experience of the neighborhood as the product of its long history and to understand how social and cultural forces interacted with LGBTQ place making that addresses more than discrete interior sites.

The current emphasis in LGBTQ preservation planning is most often focused on historic sites affiliated with LGBTQ individuals. Historic New England owns and runs 36 historic properties, some of which are associated with LGBTQ figures. For example, Henry Davis Sleeper was an interior decorator and the creator of Beauport, a 40-room summer home on Gloucester Harbor in Massachusetts. Aspects of his life might lead one to believe that he was a gay man—his lifelong bachelorhood, his wildly decorated summer home, and letters that reveal his infatuation with a male neighbor. However,

12 It is worth repeating her words here, “There is a need to identify previously undesignated properties significant in gay and lesbian history by undertaking thematic surveys, both nationally and locally, that generate new nominations to landmark registers and, potentially, by conducting campaigns to protect the most significant properties,” (Dubrow, “Lavender Landmarks,” 68). At the same time, the NYC LGBT Sites Project demonstrates that documenting cultural history need not be only directed toward designating historic sites.

13 Dubrow, “The Preservation of LGBTQ Places”, 05-24.

no evidence of his sexuality was known until an oral history participant in 2008 confirmed that Sleeper was gay.¹⁴ Similarly, scholarship on the life of Georgia O'Keefe revealed that O'Keefe was queer.¹⁵ Maria Chabot, a writer and O'Keefe's sometimes lover, oversaw the design and construction of the artist's Abiquiu home and studio. Her connection to the property becomes more relevant when viewed through her intimate relationship to O'Keefe.

In contrast, LGBTQ designers' roles in shaping urban form and regional design is an under-represented discourse. A standard approach to documenting or critiquing a designer's oeuvre is to construct a narrative of the designer's practice. An alternate avenue of interpretation would consider the designer's influence on the built environment and the impact of practicing as an LGBTQ person. Seattle architect Lionel Pries and New York landscape architects Philip N. Winslow and Bruce Kelly are candidates for this approach. Pries, a singular educator, taught

at the University of Washington's Department of Architecture from 1928 until he was forced to resign in 1958. Pries's pedagogy and designs presaged a modern regionalism that influenced many Pacific Northwest architects including Victor Steinbrueck, Paul Kirk, and Rolad Terry. Pries's career was ruined after he was caught in a vice sting while soliciting gay sex in Los Angeles. The administration at the University was notified and at age 61 Pries lost his job and pension and was forced to seek drafting work from former students.¹⁶ Pries's influence on the local profession and his entanglement in the era's conservative social mores present his life and practice as conditions for interpretation through an LGBTQ frame.

On the East Coast, both Winslow and Kelly worked on major landscape restoration projects in New York, including Central Park and Christopher Park, now part of the Stonewall National Historic Monument. Winslow's restoration work in Christopher Park was

14 Turino, Kenneth C., "The Varied Telling of Queer History at Historic New England Sites" in *Interpreting History: Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites*, Edited by Susa Ferentinos, Blue Ridge Summit, (US: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014), 133.

15 In "Lavender Landmarks," Dubrow points to Jeffrey Hogrefe's biography, *O'Keefe: The Life of An American Legend*.

16 Ochsner, Jeffrey Karl, *Lionel H. Pries: Architect, Artist, Educator : From Arts and Crafts to Modern Architecture*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 279.

performed in conjunction with the commission of George Segal's Gay Liberation sculpture.¹⁷ The gay landscape architect's work in the historic park is background and counterpoint to the straight artist's sculptural intervention.

interpreted through an LGBTQ frame. The result can, in part, reveal the social circumstances of average citizens' everyday lives. Documenting and mapping the historic queer landscape is a first step in making those circumstances visible.

As historians and preservationists continue to wrangle with the array of queer inscriptions on the built environment, places associated with or designed by historic LGBTQ people are a logical place to start. In her 2011 survey of the state of LGBTQ historic sites, Dubrow writes "Places already designated as landmarks are perhaps the most obvious places to begin remedying omissions and the distortions in the presentation of gay and lesbian history. For the most part, these take the form of historic houses associated with notable individuals..."¹⁸ However, that is only a beginning. A historic district such as Pioneer Square possesses a rich heritage of vernacular and working-class social spaces that is well positioned for being

17 National Register of Historic Places, Stonewall, New York County, New York, 1999, 5. <https://www.nps.gov/nhl/find/statelists/ny/Stonewall.pdf>. Last Accessed April 10, 2017.

Winslow's work in the park was unveiled in 1985 prior to his death from AIDS in 1989. Segal's statue was not installed until 1992. For a succinct critique of Segal's sculpture, see Reed and Castiglia, "Gay Liberation, while located at a historically significant site, forecloses connections between the events it supposedly commemorates and the styles, personal and artistic, of its own moment, much less between those moments and any future viewing moment in which observers might want to imagine new identities through reflections on the past," (Castiglia, Christopher, and Reed, Christopher, *If Memory Serves: Gay Men, AIDS, and the Promise of the Queer Past*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 83).

18 Dubrow, "Lavender Landmarks," 58.

4. (RE)INTERPRETATION

Strategies that reveal LGBTQ heritage in the built environment range from traditional interpretive panels to artistic interventions and public space design. The range of interventions can inform an approach to an area like Pioneer Square that is made up of an ensemble of sites.

MARKERS AND PANELS

Markers and panels commonly convey meaning abstractly and through text. Wayside interpretive panels are a traditional and effective approach to conveying information to visitors and can be used at individual sites as well as larger landscapes. Markers such as flags and monuments provide visual cues to meaning but may stop short of explicitly describing it.

Crosswalks: Seattle's Capitol Hill has been the center of the city's queer community since the 1970s after Pioneer Square was mostly abandoned. In June 2015, six intersections in the neighborhood's Pike/Pine Corridor were painted with 11 rainbow crosswalks (*Figure 1*). A 2013 community survey by Social Outreach

Seattle (SOSea) selected the location of the first crosswalk at East Pike Street and Broadway, "'Pike and Broadway is the perfect place to begin the project,' said Shaun Knittel, SOSea's founder and director. 'Pike/Pine and Broadway are iconic in Seattle. Not only do locals and visitors too, know that they are entering Capitol Hill, they also know they are entering the city's historical and cultural center. Pike and Broadway is bustling, has history, and is recognizable.'"¹ The painted crosswalks mark the presence of the LGBTQ community in the neighborhood and are meaningful as a civic gesture even if they do not mark the location of culturally or historically meaningful sites or events.² The interventions reinforce one aspect of the neighborhood's identity and assert queer visibility and belonging there. The crosswalks are a surface treatment that mark an active queer territory but are otherwise one dimensional.

Panel: An interpretive panel in Pioneer Square has been placed across the street from 77 South Main Street, the former location of Shelly's Leg, Seattle's first disco and a storied venue from

1 Whitley, James, "Rainbow Crosswalk Location Selected," *Seattle Gay News* (Seattle, WA), January 1, 2013, 41:2, http://www.sgn.org/sgnnews41_02/page1.cfm. Last Accessed May 25, 2017.

2 Inspired by the rainbow crosswalks, a year later in 2016 the city's Central District was the recipient of 11 sidewalks painted in the colors of the Pan-African flag. For a queer-focused examination of Chicago's street markers for its Puerto Rican, Chinese, and LGBTQ communities, designating territories, not sites, see Castiglia and Reed, *If Memory Serves*, page 103.



Figure 1: Rainbow crosswalk in Captiol Hill's Pike/Pine neighborhood. Image source: *The Seattle Times*.

the early 1970s (Figures 2 and 3) . The panel is part of the “Trail To Treasure” program, a historical walking trail produced by the Alliance for Pioneer Square, a local business group, and the Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park.³ Visitors can use a free map to follow the trail or happen upon them by chance, providing an on-the-ground experience for pedestrians exploring the landscape of Pioneer Square.

The Trail To Treasure panel is the only public acknowledgment of LGBTQ cultural history in the neighborhood.⁴ The Shelly’s Leg interpretive panel describes the venue as “Seattle’s first openly gay disco” and contains a photo of the sign that once hung inside the bar and was visible from the outside proclaiming that the club was a gay bar “provided for Seattle’s gay community and their guests.”⁵ The caption under the sign photo reads, “The only physical remnant of Shelly’s Leg is its welcoming sign. See it at the Museum of History and Industry

(MOHAI).” By focusing on the sign, the panel likely deflects visitors’ attention from the building itself – the most compelling physical remnant of Shelly’s Leg. The building, formerly the Alaska Hotel, was constructed in 1892 and is listed as a “historic, contributing” resource in the district’s National Register nomination. The panel orients visitors by locating LGBTQ heritage in the building in front of them but simultaneously disempowers the building to tell its story as a significant place in the historical queer territory.⁶

Panel: LGBTQ-themed interpretive panels are currently on display at the Rosie the Riveter / World War II Home Front National Historical Park in Richmond, CA. Conceived of as a traveling exhibit, the panels were unveiled in December 2016 and will be on display for six months in the park’s visitor center. The park grew out of the City of Richmond’s “Rosie the Riveter Memorial: Honoring Women’s Labor During

3 <http://www.pioneersquare.org/experiences/trail-to-treasure>. Last Accessed June 6, 2017.

4 A queer-themed walking tour organized by the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project once operated in Pioneer Square but is no longer offered. There are plans (2017) currently under way to revive it. “Pioneer Square Tours Focus on Lesbian, Gay Landmarks (Northwest Weekend),” *The Seattle Times* (Seattle, WA), October 10, 1997.

5 See photo.

6 In the absence of similar panels, a visitor might conclude that Shelly’s Leg was unique. The lack of other panels again suggests the invisibility of Pioneer Square’s queer cultural landscape.



Figure 2: The site of Shelly's Leg, a popular disco in the early 1970s.

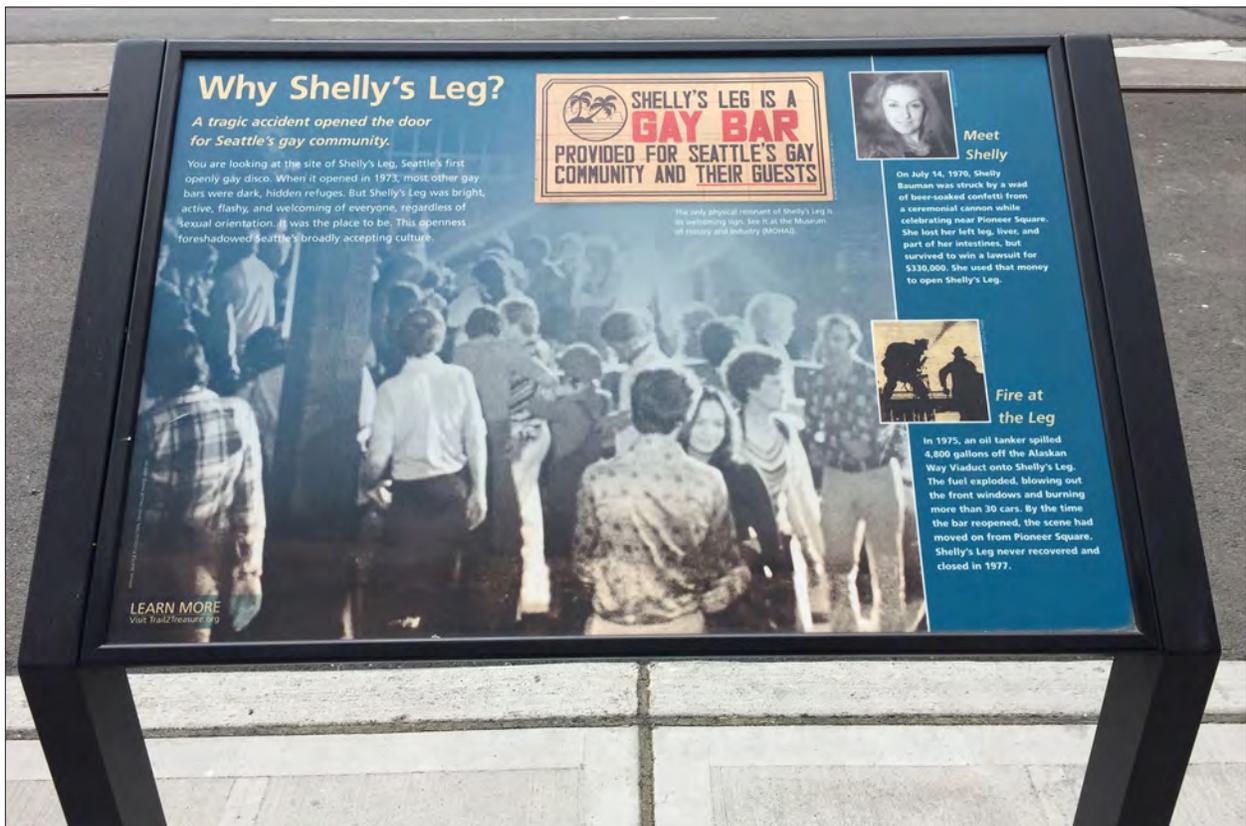


Figure 3: "Trail To Treasure" interpretive panel across from the Shelly's Leg site on South Main Street.

WWII,” created by artist Susan Schwartzberg and landscape architect Cheryl Barton.⁷ The memorial and the park evoke wartime civilian life and work, engaging visitors with both the local territory of the shipyard, child care facilities, and Atchison Village Defense Housing Project, as well as the larger national story of women’s war time contributions in spite of hardships on the domestic front.

The three main panels each address a theme, “Gathering Spots in San Francisco,” “Coming Out West,” and “Changing History.” Through context and quotes from LGBTQ people associated with the shipyard the panels create a space where the queer experience is included.⁸ The panels add texture to the Rosie the Riveter discourse in the place where it was the lived experience of real women. Interpretive panels are a reliable technique in revealing heritage. Their ability to impart information that would otherwise remain hidden as well as to potentially disrupt common perceptions are valuable. Their emphasis on text is important to consider when formulating design-based interventions.

INTERIOR LANDSCAPES (OR, INSIDES AND OUTSIDES)

Artistic interventions allow history to be revealed by pursuing imaginative means of representing and interpreting events or places. This type of intervention is not bound by traditional approaches to historical preservation and interpretation and is free to pursue a more imaginative vision. The artist is able to create visceral experiences and express alternative points of view. In the following case studies the projects are intimately tied to specific locations but are not freed from a reliance on the site’s physical fabric for their impact.

Interior/Exterior: Artist Skylar’s Fein recreation of the entrance and objects associated with the Upstairs Lounge, a New Orleans gay bar that was firebombed in 1973 killing 32 gay men who were trapped inside. The project, “Remember the Upstairs Lounge” brings the inside out (*Figure 4*). In most cases, the interiors of LGBTQ social spaces like bars have been lost. If an LGBTQ site is listed on the National Register for architectural reasons, disregarding its cultural history eliminates any incentive for preservation

7 “Rosie the Riveter Memorial”, *Rosie the Riveter Trust*, <http://www.rosietheriveter.org/visit-discover/park-sites/item/47-rosie-the-riveter-memorial>. Last Accessed June 2, 2017.

8 Unfortunately, images of the panels cannot be included due to copyrighted material that appears on each of them.



Figure 4: Skylar Fein's "Remember the Upstairs Lounge." Image source: Jonathan Ferrara Gallery.

of interior features that might offer integrity of feeling and association. (This was the case in Boston's Club Baths in Boston that functioned as a gay bath house.⁹) What happened inside these places was not self-contained, it drifted beyond the walls and granted relevance to the spaces outside of them and in between them. The New Orleans project differs from other progressive LGBTQ museum projects in that it is an artwork, not a collection of objects sourced from the community or other institutions.

In addition to Fein's reconstruction of the bar's entrance, the installation includes crime scene photos from the night of the fire. Until the shooting at the Pulse nightclub in Orlando, the Upstairs Lounge arson was the largest massacre of LGBTQ people in United States

history.¹⁰ By summoning the space through its entrance and re-imagined interior objects, the artist created a portal that ties the interior of the bar to its cultural territory. Although the space was used as a gathering place for members of the local Metropolitan Community Church, a gay-friendly church that had been founded in Los Angeles a few years prior, no church would hold a memorial service for the victims until a Methodist minister agreed.¹¹ The crime has never been solved, possibly because the solving of an attack against gays was not a priority.¹² Despite its abstraction and removal from its historical location, Fein's attention to the bar interior allows the conditions of its cultural milieu to be interpreted.¹³

9 Dubrow, "Lavender Landmarks," 64.

10 Stack, Liam, "Before Orlando Shooting, an Anti-Gay Massacre in New Orleans Was Largely Forgotten," *The New York Times*, June 14, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/15/us/upstairs-lounge-new-orleans-fire-orlando-gay-bar.html>. Last Accessed June 2, 2017.

11 Members of Seattle's MCC congregation held a march to honor 10 victims of the attack who were members of the church. The march began at Fifth Ave. and Denny Way and ended in Pioneer Square. "Procession To Honor Fire Victims," *The Seattle Times* (Seattle, WA), June 29, 1973.

12 "Honoring the Upstairs Lounge Fire Victims: Editorial," *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans, LA), June 22, 2013. http://www.nola.com/opinions/index.ssf/2013/06/honoring_upstairs_lounge_fire.html Last Accessed May 2, 2017.

13 Considered a pivotal moment in the New Orleans LGBTQ community's relationship to the city, the Upstairs Lounge has been revealed as a place of memory in multiple ways. In addition to Fein's piece which is now in the New Orleans Museum of Art's collection, New Orleans Historical offers a self-guided walking tour that is centered around the Upstairs Lounge. A plaque listing the victim's names is embedded in the sidewalk outside of the bar's entrance. And on the 40th anniversary of the arson a jazz funeral processed to the site of the fire. The bar's former space is now used as a storage room.



Figure 5: Shimon Attie's project, "The Writing On The Wall." Slide projection of former Hebrew bookstore, Berlin. Image source: shimonattie.net.

TERRITORIES AND TEMPORAL INTERVENTIONS

Temporary Presence: Ephemeral interventions have been used by minority groups to effectively lay claim to the city. Demonstrations, parades, rallies, and artistic interventions provide a repertoire of possibilities for marking territory and revealing significance that otherwise may lie latent in the urban streetscape.

Visual artist Shimon Attie's 1992-1993 project, "Writing on the Wall," projected historic photos of prewar life in Berlin's Scheuenviertel, or Jewish Quarter, on to or close by the same modern-day locations (Figure 5). Attie wrote, "By using slide projection on location, fragments of the past were introduced into the visual field of the present. Thus, parts of long-destroyed Jewish community life were visually simulated, momentarily recreated."¹⁴ In Attie's project, past, present, and future co-create each other, transforming the installation site into both a memorial space and a potential space for the viewer. Attie memorializes and connects by humanizing the past -- literally showing the

people who used to live in the neighborhood and were presumably executed by the Nazis.

Memorial March: The annual Pride Parades that occur nationwide to commemorate the 1969 Stonewall Uprising on June 28 serve as memorials and celebrations for the birth of the modern-day gay rights movement. Similarly, the yearly march that marks the assassinations of gay San Francisco City Supervisor Harvey Milk and Mayor George Moscone contemporizes the meaning of the murders and shows how an ephemeral event can connect people to history through engagement with the built environment.

In the years since the slayings, the commemorative march has served as a way for the LGBTQ community and others to access the memory of the events and their present implications for the continuing evolution of LGBTQ identity. The march exists at the intersection of memory and landscape and the individual in the community. Commemoration does not require the participant to have been present at the original event. Marching is staking

14 Attie, Shimon, "The Writing on the Wall, Berlin, 1992-93, Projections in Berlin's Jewish Quarter," *Art Journal*, Vol 62, Number 3, Autumn 2003, 74. See also, Bernstein, Jeanne Wolf, Ph.D. "Making a Memorial Place: The Photography of Shimon Attie." *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*. 10(2000): 347-30.

a claim to the collective experience and memory of the group. In this way, the memory of the slayings and riot is embodied and transferred among individuals.

There are no physical markers, plaques, or statues commemorating Milk's murder or the White Night Riot. The memory of these events is summoned by the ritual processing across the landscape. In this way, the memory is embodied in the participants through engagement with the city.

The landscape also provides common ground for the transfer of memory to occur. In the absence of physical commemorations of the event, the marchers draw on the resource of the urban landscape as a cue to remembrance. This allows for inclusive access to a community memory that speaks to the plurality of individuals who comprise the queer community as well as their allies. The landscape is an agent that supports the individual to participate in the collective embodiment of the group's memory.

Harvey Milk's murder and its significance to the LGBTQ community, the city, and the country is inscribed as a layer in San Francisco's landscape. The built environment does not preserve this history through physical commemoration. The city streets, specifically from Market and

Castro to Grove and Polk become containers of the event's memory. The annual march that commemorates Milk's murder and the resulting riots activates the historical layer through embodied engagement. The landscape is a cue to memory, making the events accessible and contemporary through an ephemeral event that in turn activates both the landscape and the cultural history inscribed in it.

LANDSCAPES IN LANDSCAPES – THE MEMORIAL PARK

Memorial public spaces such as the National AIDS Memorial Grove in San Francisco formally inscribe landscape with meaning and create dedicated places for gathering, reflection, celebration, and mourning. Smaller urban sites associated with historical events or cultural landscapes have the potential to play a similar commemorative role while also supporting the everyday activities of a diverse urban population.

Landscape: Christopher Park, across the street from the Stonewall Inn and included as part of the Stonewall National Historic Monument, is public space cast as a physical memorial to the 1969 riots. Its importance to the narrative of queer resistance and claiming of space is shared

with its longer history as a piece of land that provided vital public space as an antidote to the neighborhood's historic overcrowding.¹⁵ In addition to George Segal's Gay Liberation sculpture, the park is home to two Civil War monuments: a statue of General Philip H. Sheridan and a flagpole dedicated to the Fire Zouaves, an elite military unit. These layers coexist and are highlighted by their respective markers.

The 1999 National Register Nomination for Stonewall is notable not only for its reliance on cultural significance but its inclusion of the streets around the Stonewall Inn where the riots occurred:

The street pattern in this neighborhood is significant because it is one of the elements that contributed to the events of late June and early July 1969 and helps to explain why this police raid sparked a riot while other raids did not. Christopher Street runs east-west between Sixth Avenue and Seventh Avenue South; however, this short stretch of the street is interrupted by several cross streets...Thus, there are many streets leading directly into and out of the site of the Stonewall Inn.¹⁶

Christopher Park is the center of the territory associated with the melees that continued for several days after the initial police raid. Stonewall is interpreted and re-interpreted through multiple layers of presentation: it is at once a place, the Stonewall Inn, and a territory, the streets where the riots occurred; a text, the National Register nomination, and a marking, Segal's Gay Liberation statue (*Figure 6*).

Landscape: The relationship between LGBTQ people and public open space is usually conceived of in terms of cruising grounds. Recent projects in San Francisco recast that association by applying an LGBTQ lens to the typology of the memorial park. The result is public space that reifies the cultural inscription made by queer people on marginal areas of the city.

Two public space projects in San Francisco's South of Market neighborhood recall the area's history as home to the gay leather scene. First, The San Francisco South of Market Leather History Alley, reclaims a block of Ringold Alley between Eighth and Ninth Streets and features a mini-park, bronze bootprints that recall the area's history of cruising, a paving treatment that

15 <https://www.nycgovparks.org/parks/christopher-park/history>. Last Accessed May 2, 2017.

16 National Register of Historic Places, Stonewall, 12.



Figure 6: Christopher Park, part of the Stonewall National Historic Monument. Image source: wikimedia.org.



Figure 7. Rendering of the proposed Eagle Plaza in San Francisco. Image source: eagleplaza.org.

includes the colors of the leather flag, and an interpretive panel.¹⁷ The second, Eagle Plaza, is a 0.3 acre site on Twelfth Street between Harrison Street and Bernice Street that, according to the project website, will feature passive and active recreation opportunities, gathering space for neighborhood events, green space (*Figure 7*), and, “Featuring the leather pride flag flying high, Eagle Plaza will also be a commemorative public space for Folsom Gulch’s LGBTQ and leather communities.”¹⁸ Both projects are attached to private development. However, the emergence of small public spaces that are at least conceptually tied to local LGBTQ history can be a meaningful way to represent a larger territory in a smaller space.

SEATTLE

The interplay between the urban landscape and the interior and exteriors spaces that define it is in a constant state of creating the queer territory. The threshold between where a QUEER space meets the street is pivotal. In Pioneer Square several spaces were underground, including The Casino (172 South Washington Street) and the South End Steam Baths (118½ First Avenue); several were inside

hotels where the lobby served as an additional layer of transition between territory and node, such as the Grand Union in the Grand Union Hotel (104 Fourth Avenue South), the Garden of Allah in the Arlington Hotel, the Caper Club in the Morrison Hotel (517 ½ Third Avenue), the Submarine Room in Smith Tower (506 Second Avenue); and others met the street directly, such as the Double Header, the 611 Tavern (611 Second Avenue), and the Silver Slipper (210 South Jackson Street). More work is required to understand queer spaces’ relationships to the street and how these relationships may have developed over time. Thresholds of mediation between inside and outside may shed light on how LGBTQ people navigated the landscape and inform strategies for revealing heritage.

The opportunity found in Pioneer Square is similar to Attie’s project in Berlin; to illuminate an invisible history and invite connection through common ground. For Pioneer Square, the exact locations of the LGBTQ queer spaces have been mapped in this thesis and are the entry points for revealing the hidden landscape. Like East Berlin at the time of Attie’s photographic installations, Pioneer Square still retains its historic fabric and is primed for an intervention to connect it to

17 <http://ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=71898>. Last Accessed June 10, 2017.

18 <http://www.eagleplaza.org/plazadesign>. Last Accessed June 10, 2017.

its past. Attie's intervention is ephemeral; it lasted only for as long as the projection was lit and was best seen at night. Similarly, the Pioneer Square LGBTQ landscape was activated primarily at night. A temporary, nocturnal intervention in Pioneer Square could reveal the LGBTQ landscape in an artful way that engages the building's historic fabric as a player in connecting the lost landscape with the present.

5. MAPPING A PROCESS

Gail Dubrow acknowledges the growing practice of mapping “lavender landmarks” -- sites associated with LGBTQ figures, events, or culture:

...Independent efforts continue to make LGBTQ history visible through projects dedicated to mapping lavender landmarks, often as part of a community-based heritage projects that gather oral histories, photographs, artifacts, create exhibits, and develop books and pamphlets focused on local history. While identifying places of significance remains a step removed from preservation action, it is often a first step in making a public case for saving the landmarks of LGBTQ heritage, and building community support for preservation action when specific properties are in jeopardy.¹

LGBTQ community-mapping projects have been undertaken across the country.² As part of its LGBTQ America Theme Study, the National Park Service launched the LGBTQ HistoryPin Project.³ This online participatory mapping effort invites people to identify the location of sites significant to local LGBTQ culture. Inspired by the project, the Philadelphia LGBTQ Mapping Project was created to spatialize information from the John J Wilcox, Jr. LGBTQ Archives of Philadelphia.⁴ The online map covers Philadelphia and its environs.⁵ Public mapping and archive-generated maps extend the coverage of culturally-relevant LGBTQ places and problematize the traditional sense of “significance” that forms the basis for planning and preservation decisions. Although there are programs in place to identify and preserve Traditional Cultural Properties (TCP), community-identified sites of significance may

1 Dubrow, “Lavender Landmarks,” 53-54.

2 For an international example of participatory mapping that addresses space-claiming activities by lesbian and bisexual women in Portugal, see the “Creating Landscapes” project. Ferreira, Eduarda, and Regina Salvador, “Lesbian Collaborative Web Mapping: Disrupting Heteronormativity in Portugal,” *Gender, Place & Culture*, 2014.

3 “HistoryPin | LGBTQ America,” <https://www.historypin.org/en/lgbtq-america/>. Last Accessed May 3, 2017.

4 More information is available from the following resources, “Philadelphia LGBT Mapping Project.” Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/Philadelphia-LGBT-Mapping-Project-1557386001251195/timeline>. Last Accessed May 2, 2017.

“The Philadelphia LGBT Mapping Project | The Philadelphia Gayborhood Guru.” <https://thegayborhoodguru.wordpress.com/2016/06/30/the-philadelphia-lgbt-mapping-project/>. Last Accessed May 2, 2017.

“John J. Wilcox, Jr. Archives -- William Way LGBT Community Center.” William Way Community Center. <http://waygay40.org/archives/>. Last Accessed May 2, 2017.

5 <https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1gyv3dfHs3MS82BHisv8oyZA77Ng&ll=40.05314961697266%2C-75.12829101523437&z=9>. Last Accessed May 2, 2017.

not otherwise meet criteria for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.⁶ Emplacing culture by mapping its institutions and territories also allows for connections to be made between nodes in the queer cultural landscape and the surrounding built environment. From there the individual spaces and comprising networks can be analyzed in relationship to the social forces that shaped the city by applying a local political and cultural frame to LGBTQ place-making.

late-1980s Capitol Hill, but 1950s downtown is more surprising. The Garden of Allah was not an isolated bastion of LGBTQ culture but coexisted as part of a local network of public places that were friendly to queer patrons. A wildly popular drag cabaret in post-war Seattle may be surprising, but by locating it in the context of lesser known gay-friendly establishments, Paulson forces readers to comprehend how invisible this cultural landscape must have

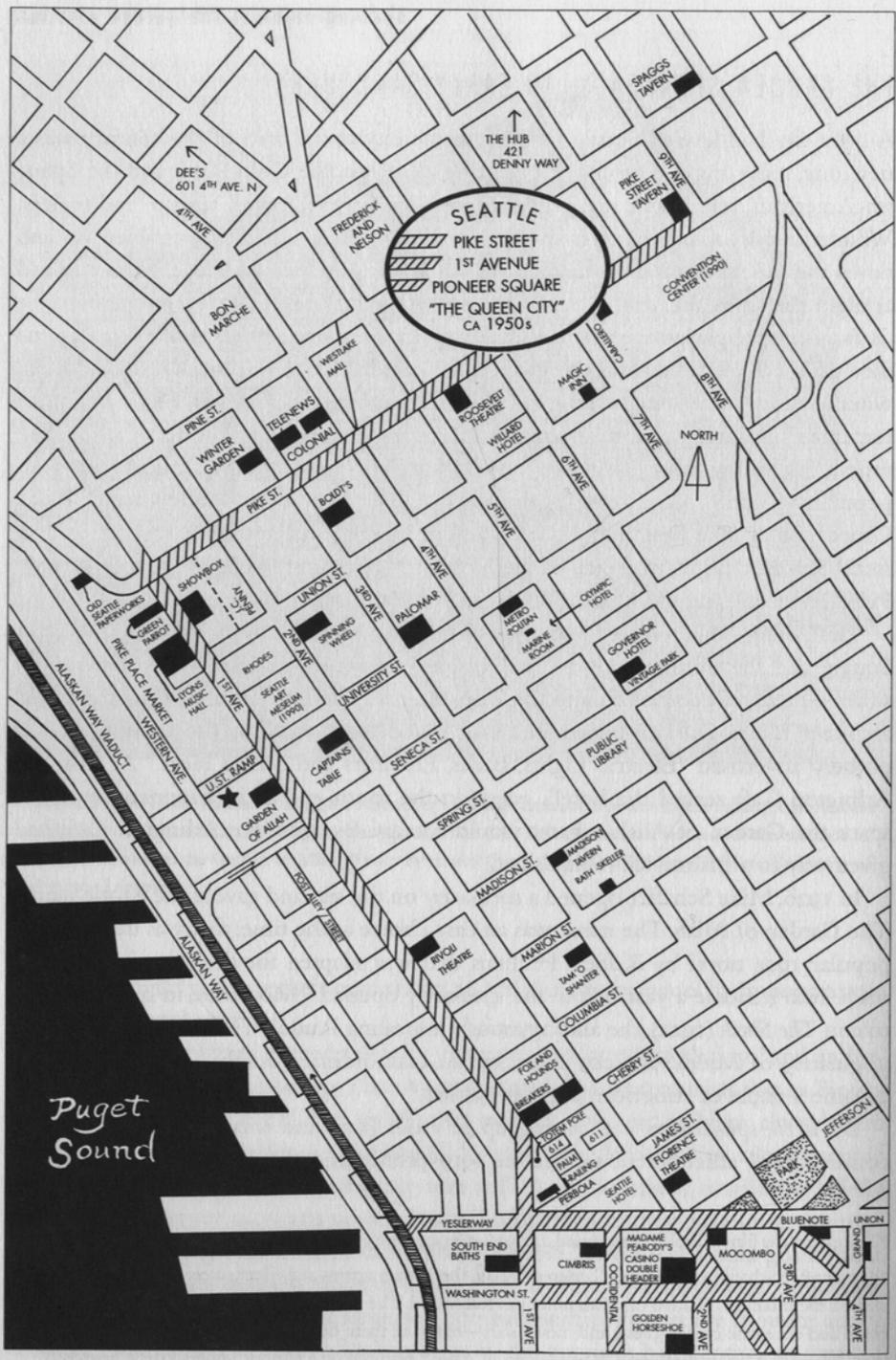
SEATTLE'S LGBTQ CARTOGRAPHIC GENEALOGY

Attempts to make representations of Seattle's LGBTQ territory extend at least as far back as the *Seattle Gay News* maps of the 1980s Seattle bar scene (Figure 1). Don Paulson's 1996 social history, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah*, contains a map drawn by Paulson that locates a network of establishments in the downtown vicinity of the club that were patronized by LGBTQ people during the 1950s (Figure 2). A contemporary reader may expect a concentration of LGBTQ social spaces in



Figure 1: Seattle area map and bar guide in the January 13, 1989 edition of *Seattle Gay News*.

⁶ TCPs have cultural significance to a group, "The traditional cultural significance of a historic property, then, is significance derived from the role the property plays in a community's historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices." Urban TCPs include Tarpon Springs Greektown Historic District in Florida and Bohemian Hall in Astoria, Queens, NYC. See *National Register Bulletin 38, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties."* Last updated in 1998, a revised draft is currently being reviewed by the National Park Service. See <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb38/>. Last Accessed June 7, 2017.



★ In the Garden cabaret's day, downtown Seattle was anchored by Pioneer Square, the rowdy site of the city's birth, and uptown attractions such as the Pike Place Market, the department stores, and the Arlington Hotel. The map shows the businesses that attracted gays and lesbians around 1950. (From map by Don Paulson)

Figure 2: Don Paulson's map of 1950s downtown social spaces that were frequented by an LGBTQ clientele. Image source: *An Evening at the Garden of Allah: A Gay Cabaret in Seattle* (1996).

been and to acknowledge a queer presence that precedes the establishment of Capitol Hill's gay community.

In June 1996, the Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project (NLGHMP) released *Claiming Space: A Historical Map of Lesbian and Gay Seattle* (Figure 3). This foldout map featured district maps of Pioneer Square/Downtown and Capitol Hill. LGBTQ social sites including taverns, restaurants, bath houses, and theatres, indicated on the map by a different shape for each decade. Additionally, noteworthy sites in the University District are highlighted.

A revised version of *Claiming Space: A Historical Map of Lesbian and Gay Seattle* was released in June 2004 at Seattle's Pride Festival by NLGHMP with the assistance of University of Washington Geography Professors Michael Brown and Larry Knopp (Figure 4).⁷ The new map was produced using GIS software and contained corrections to the original hand drawn version.⁸ Its territory was extended to include discrete maps of "Capitol

Hill, the U-District, Wallingford and Fremont," and "Denny Regrade/Belltown & Downtown." Notably, "Pioneer Square" received its own focus while "Queen Anne Hill" and "Elsewhere in Seattle" were presented as smaller callouts. Like its predecessor, the map's legend contains a brief description of each location along with color-coded markers that indicate the decade with which each location was most associated.⁹

Brown and Knopp characterized the process of mapping Seattle's LGBTQ territory as an opportunity to extend the literature of queer social history and to focus on spatiality rather than temporality.¹⁰ Each generation of maps in the sequence of Seattle's spatialization of the LGBTQ landscape is an interpretation and spatial representation. Mapping Pioneer Square's lost LGBTQ cultural landscape is both a preservation action in itself and a tool for initiating additional actions such as producing a context study or landmark nomination.

7 Brown, Michael, and Larry Knopp, "Queering the Map: The Productive Tensions of Colliding Epistemologies," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 98:1, 2008, 41.

The map is available online through the Seattle Public Library, <http://cdm16118.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16118coll2/id/35>. Last Accessed 31 May 2017.

8 Brown and Knopp, "Queering the Map," 45.

9 Brown, Michael P., and Northwest Lesbian Gay History Museum Project. *Claiming Space : Seattle's Lesbian & Gay Historical Geography*. Seattle, Wash.: Northwest Lesbian & Gay History Museum Project, 2004.

10 Ibid, 42.



MAKING A MAP

The stories of Seattle's founding are intertwined with Pioneer Square. That Pioneer Square no longer exists-- its tidal lagoon has been filled in; the shoreline has been extended with the detritus from regrading; Yesler's "Skid Road" has not seen a log in over 100 years; and the entire neighborhood burned in 1889 and was rebuilt. In 1970 the neighborhood was listed on the National Register of Historic Places as a National Register Historic District and it was designated as a City of Seattle Historic District. Its boundaries were defined based on the buildings' architectural significance. The boundaries were enlarged twice later. The strictly-delimited district of modern day Pioneer Square was the starting point for my effort (recorded in this thesis) to build upon the history of mapping LGBTQ sites in Seattle.

Given the 2004 NLGHMP map, why make another map? My contribution to the cartographic lineage builds on earlier iterations by partially validating their claims and adding a historical layer that reveals not just a location on a block but the actual physical shape of the

spaces themselves wherever possible.¹¹ One of my goals in this thesis has been to understand the territory of the historical LGBTQ social spaces. This requires understanding the spaces in detail. Without engaging with the process of mapping, a deeper understanding of the LGBTQ territory is more difficult to access. One needs to understand the sites to understand the network that they formed.

First Draft

The first draft of my map (produced in March 2017) contained locations sourced from a close reading of *Gay Seattle*.¹² It was obvious that adhering to Pioneer Square's historic district boundaries was arbitrary and limiting since architectural fabric and cultural boundaries are not mutually interdependent. It also seemed disingenuous to represent only the two earliest sites in Pioneer Square in the 1930s and 1940s without including contemporary sites beyond the district's northern boundary on Columbia Street. The Garden of Allah on First Avenue and its neighbor, the Spinning Wheel (1334½ Second Avenue) at the corner of Union Street and Second

11 This was not possible for spaces that were housed in hotels, like the South End Steam Baths in the Northern Hotel or other buildings, like the Submarine Room in Smith Tower. In those cases, a small square is used to mark the location at the building's main entrance. Future refinement of the map will prioritize representing these spaces.

12 Atkins, *Gay Seattle*.

Avenue, were important outposts in the earliest days of Seattle's queer culture. However, I chose not to include Pike Street Tavern (824 Pike Street) on the map under the justification that it was so far north as to be outside the scope of my focus on Pioneer Square and downtown. Conversely, other culturally important social spaces outside of the Pioneer Square boundary but nearby such as the Madison Tavern (922 Third Avenue) could not be excluded. Taken together, these satellite sites demonstrated the limitations of the generally architectural approach used to define the historic district. Sites closer to the Pioneer Square District current boundaries, such as The Fox and Hounds (122 Cherry Street), actually establish a basis to argue for expanding the district to encompass the neighborhood's historical LGBTQ cultural sites or to create a separate Pioneer Square/Downtown LGBTQ Cultural District.

Cross referencing the draft map with the NLGHMP 2004 map provided another group of locations to evaluate. Paulson's 1996 map (of 1950s spaces) and references to spaces by individuals interviewed by the NLGHMP in the late 1990s and early 2000s added the final

collection of possible sites. In addition, two outdoor spaces were added, Occidental Park and Pioneer Place, the triangular pedestrian area in front of the Pioneer Building. Pioneer Place was described as a popular cruising area by Double Header bartender and personality Vilma in Paulson's *An Evening at the Garden of Allah*.¹³ Occidental Park, opened in 1972, was the site of organized social gatherings, such as a picnic and night-time street dance for Seattle Gay Pride Week in 1974.¹⁴ The park was the starting place for the city's first Freedom Day Parade in 1977.¹⁵

Verification

The next step of the process was to use the Polk City Directories to confirm the years that the various locations were established and ceased operating. This method was fruitful but also raised numerous questions. Most importantly, how can a researcher determine whether a space was gay or not? In the case of long-running businesses, how can a researcher identify the year it "turned gay"? The following examples

13 Paulson, *Garden of Allah*, 25.

14 "'Lavender' Play Tonight Only," *The Seattle Times* (Seattle, WA), June 27, 1974, H7.

15 "Parade to Begin Gay Pride Week," *The Seattle Times* (Seattle, WA), June 23, 1977, B7.

illustrate the types of problems that arose while attempting to locate sites in space and time.

In some cases, historical queer social spaces are absent from official records. For example, there are two known locations for the Atlas Steam Baths, one in Pioneer Square (118½ Occidental Avenue) and a second farther north (1318 Second Avenue) where the business moved in the late 1960s. However, one oral history contains a tantalizing mention of a location on Prefontaine Place that preceded the space on Occidental Avenue.¹⁶ A review of the city directories for the previous five years did not turn up a listing on that street or elsewhere. In contrast to other locations that are listed as independent enterprises, both the original Atlas Club is a “ghost space” that cannot be completely known.

Attempting to locate a social space’s start and end dates sometimes produced murky results. The Double Header first appears in the Polk City Directory in 1937. When asked about this during an oral interview, Joe Bellotti, the son of the original owner, responded that his father had opened the tavern in 1934.¹⁷ This earlier date is plausible given that Joe Bellotti Senior’s brother

and sister-in-law, John and Margaret DelleVitte, had been running the Casino Cardroom in a basement space that was connected to the tavern beginning in 1930. This discrepancy calls into question the reliability of the Polk Directories and other official records. Similarly, The Silver Slipper (210 South Jackson Street), a lesbian bar originally located on South Jackson Street, is listed by both the NLGHMP 2004 map and Atkins’s *Gay Seattle* as active from 1969-1971. In contrast, the Polk City Directory has listings for the bar on South Jackson Street from 1968-1976. Other information may have been available that allowed the researchers to narrow the start date to 1969 and confirm that the Polk City Directory was incorrect. Or the date may have been carried over from previous research.

Determining the date range that an establishment could be considered as an LGBTQ social space was also challenging. The Terry-Denny Building (109 First Avenue), built in 1891, housed the Northern Hotel on its upper floors and a steam bath in the basement. The baths are listed in the Polk City Directory as the Hotel Northern Turkish Baths as late as 1939. The hotel itself was popular with those on their way to Alaska for the Klondike Gold Rush. It was reportedly

16 Joe McGonagle, interview by Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, July 4, 1995, transcript.

17 Joe Bellotti, interview by author, Jan 27, 2017.

also a place where liquor could be obtained during Prohibition.¹⁸ The baths became the South End Steam Baths in the early 1940s and served a gay clientele. The change in ownership may simply have formalized what was already a place for men to have sex with other men. It is not possible to know when the baths became a gay social space. Conversely, the origins and end days of the Double Header are marked by an ambiguous clientele that complicates the assignment of the “gay bar” label uniformly across its eighty-year history.¹⁹

A third type of space is predominantly straight bars that are identified with queer patronage such as the Rathskeller (306 Marion Street). The bar is included on the NLGHMP 2004 map, but I decided to exclude it until I reviewed

the transcript of an oral history with Mel H. conducted by the NLGHMP in 2000 that shed more light on the bar’s patronage.²⁰ Surely there were other places with similar reputations—places that were not predominantly queer but had a reputation for being friendly to a queer clientele. It may be that Paulson’s map from 1950s-era downtown contains several examples of this. In general, locations that were not described as queer by multiple sources were not prioritized for mapping. Theaters/cabarets are one site type that could especially benefit from additional research. Paulson included numerous theatres that I did not carry over to my map. In conclusion, a researcher cannot identify a queer social space or when it “turned gay” by its name or ownership alone. The ambiguous circumstances of some of the oldest queer

18 National Register of Historic Places, Pioneer Square - Skid Road District, Section 7, page 61.

19 Joe Bellotti, Jr. describes the evolution of the Double Header in its earliest days, “It went on for years as a bar it was a merchant’s type bar and then downstairs where they had cards-- he [his father, Bellotti, Sr.] was a gambler-- so the gay kids tended to go down there because nobody tended to bother them. You know things were pretty tough in the early days for the gay community and so my uncle was running the bar [The Double Header] and my dad was taking care of the basement [The Casino] and he was managing it more or less and ... (thinking) ... but he had a lot of the gay kids down there... And so then when the war went on my uncle left and went into the service my dad went upstairs and was taking care of that as well as the basement. He kind of let the gay people up and first thing you know the Double Header was gay.” (Interview with author, January 27, 2017). As well, Vilma, in Paulson’s *An Evening at the Garden of Allah* places the transition of the Double Header to “the gay hangout” as 1946 (page 28).

20 Mel H., interview with Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, June 14, 2000. Regarding the Rathskeller, Mel H. , “But then after a while when I worked at the Olympic and after I broke up with my wife, and divorced her, there were other places I was going to that were not actually strictly gay, like the Rathskeller.” Curiously 306 Marion Street is not listed on the 1951 Sanborn map, only 308 exists. The Rathskeller was located below the Maison Blanc restaurant in the Stacy Mansion.

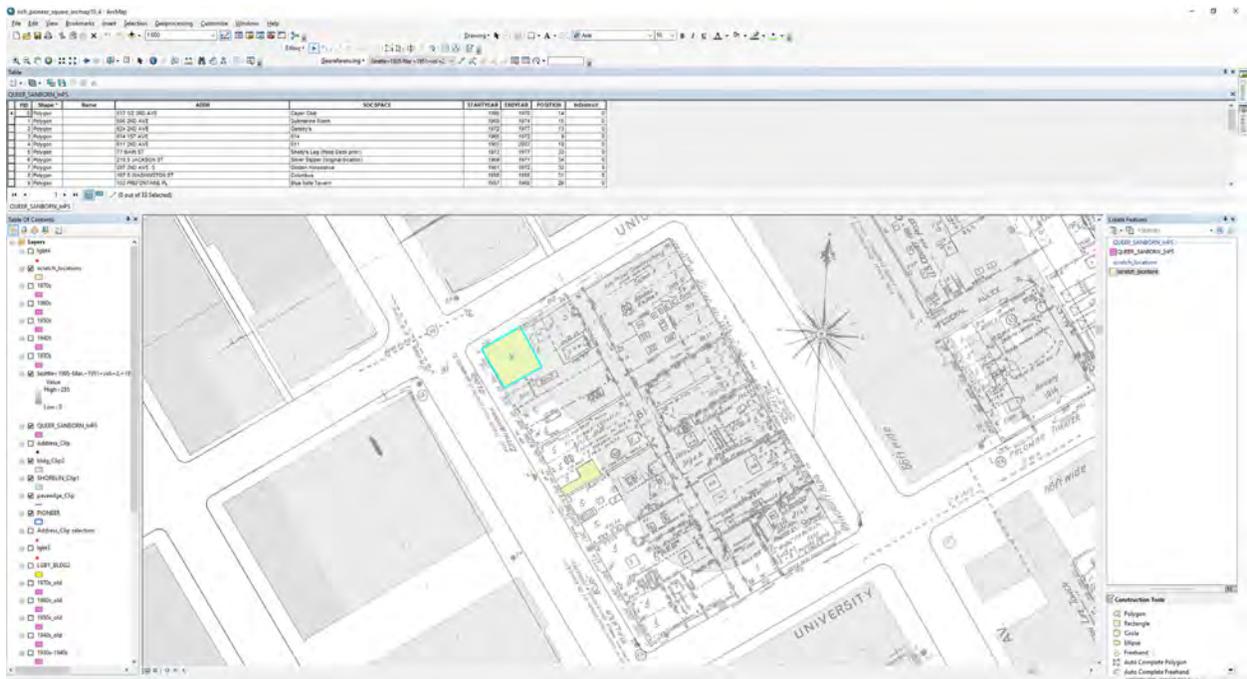


Figure 5: Overlay of Sanborn Company fire insurance map on City of Seattle GIS parcel data.

social spaces underscores the invisibility of the landscape and disrupts the idea of a tidy historiography of Seattle's LGBTQ social spaces.

Map Revisions

Once a start date and address were established, there was enough information to begin mapping the LGBTQ spaces. City of Seattle GIS parcel data provided addresses against which rough mapping could be performed. Often this meant that a building's address was listed but not the storefront addresses contained within it. After the buildings were identified, pages from the 1951 Sanborn Insurance Maps were geo-referenced on top of the GIS files (*Figure 5*).

Overlaying the modern building outlines with the historical cultural spaces produced a hybrid that allowed the past to be projected on to the present, and vice versa, and in the process the veil on a lost and invisible landscape began to be lifted.

Return to Sender

Address inconsistencies proved another challenge to mapping spaces. Some addresses were not listed on the Sanborn maps, like the Captain's Table at 251 Second Avenue. This

space from the 1950s was identified by two sources as either Captain's Table or Captain's Room and located on the 1200 block of Second Avenue between University Streets and Seneca Streets. Neither 251 nor 1251 exist on the 1951 Sanborn map. Although the 1996 NLGHMP map notes that the space was upstairs, the location is not listed in the Polk City Directory. Ultimately, I left this location off the map because I could not locate it with any level of certainty.

Another difficulty with Sanborn maps is access to a volume of the appropriate era for the city of interest. In the case of the Doll House Tavern, a lesbian bar from the early 1970s at 119 Yesler Way, the Sanborn map shows that location one storefront west from the current 119 address, in a building whose entrance is on the corner of Yesler Way and Occidental Avenue. One informant to whom I spoke recalled that the bar was located in the current 119. Another informant indicated that it was in the space of a now defunct print shop that occupied the space in later years. In an oral history, the bar was described as being on Occidental Avenue. Another clue is the fact that the historic 119 currently operates as a bar, increasing the possibility that the Doll House was located there. In this case the Sanborn maps available digitally are useful for preventing an assumption

that the current street addresses have always been in place and that historical businesses can be directly associated with them.

Additionally, address reconciliation with Sanborn maps provided validation with a primary source. The Garden of Allah in the Arlington Hotel was listed as 1299 First Avenue by one source. The 1951 Sanborn shows the highest street number on the 1200 block as 1233. Evidence for an entrance on a side or rear façade—the building is located with the rear sloping towards Western Avenue, potentially providing basement space accessible from the rear service alley – was not forthcoming. Fortuitously, an image of an advertisement for the cabaret listed the address as 1213 First Avenue (figure 6 -- add), consistent with the hotel's main entrance. Paulson's *An Evening at the Garden of Allah* further locates the space as being accessed through the main entrance so the 1299 listing was likely incorrect.²¹

Sanborn maps were key to instantiating spaces that were located in buildings that have been destroyed. The buildings that housed the Columbus Tavern (167 South Washington Street), Atlas Steam Baths (118 Occidental Street), and the Mocambo Restaurant (203 Yesler

Way)— an important site that served as a social space and hosted the meetings of early LGBTQ social and business groups – no longer exist. The Sanborn maps provided data that allowed those spaces to be represented. In the case of the Columbus and the Atlas Baths, the sites are currently parking lots. The Mocambo location is now the Quintessa Apartments. Mapping the width and depth of these disappeared spaces grants them a shape by superimposing their trace on a building-less parcel.

False Starts and Lost Places

References to previously unidentified sites often ended at a dead end. A space named Maddie's was mentioned in the "Out of the Closet" sidebar in *Seattle's Oldest Neighborhood* as well as in an oral interview with Joe Bellotti.²² Research eventually placed it in the 1980s, outside the scope of the map. Considerable time was spent attempting to understand how Dee's (601 Fourth Avenue), a late-1940s lesbian bar, could co-exist with the city's Public Safety Building until it was discovered that the bar preceded the 1951 Public Safety Building and was demolished as part of the building project. Similarly disorienting was the Grand Union (104

21 Paulson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah*, 1.

22 Cox, Dana, "Out of the Closet," 172.

Fourth Avenue South) which was thought to be in the back of the Prefontaine Building but was actually across the street in the Grand Union Hotel whose site is now a parking lot for Fire Station 10. Interestingly, Atkins provided the list of establishments on the Armed Services' black list due to "'homosexual patronage'" circa 1966.²³ One of the locations is the Busy Bee Cocktail Lounge, potentially the same as the Busy Bee Café which was located two doors north of the Double Header on Second Avenue Extension South. Similarly, Mel H. mentioned that along with the Double Header, "Stars" was a Pioneer Square bar at which gay men might end an evening.²⁴ Presumably, this was the Silver Star located on South Washington Street. These locations are not mentioned in other sources and point to the possibility of additional sites that functioned as queer social spaces. As a general rule, when evidence was unclear or there were multiple possibilities I deferred to the NLGHMP 2004 map.

THE POWER OF A MAP

The effect is not as visceral as Attie's site-specific photographic projections, but this research produced a historical map that, like one critic of Attie's project wrote, "...recasts the past as we remember it and reshapes the present as we know it."²⁵ The map can engage the viewer's relationship to the remembered (directly or received) past and the embodied present against the backdrop of historic district dominated by late-Victorian architecture. The net effect is a multi-layered orientation to Seattle's oldest neighborhood (*Figure 6*).

The act of mapping grounds interpretation in the urban fabric and establishes a foundation for potential future actions. As an artifact and a representation of artifacts, the map and its production provide a basis for extracting significant themes, analyzing spatial relationships, and locating the sites of social histories, archived interview transcripts, and demolished buildings in this neighborhood. At the same time, the map must always be questioned for what is not represented. Beyond Pioneer Place, how and where was outdoor

23 Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 391.

24 Mel H., Interview with Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, June 6, 2000.

25 Bernstein, Jeanne Wolff, "Making A Memorial Place: The Photography of Shimon Attie," *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*, 2000, 10, 349.

space claimed through cruising practices? How did transgender, bisexual, and people of color – all underrepresented in oral histories and other historical accounts -- navigate the territory of social spaces? Gay historiography requires an acknowledgment that we cannot fully identify historical social spaces by clientele and that much history is lost.

Mapping is an effective tool in revealing the unseen landscape but it must be engaged in conversation with the viewer. The act of mapping Pioneer Square's historical queer territory demonstrated how fluid cultural affiliation can be and how the locations of cultural institutions may not comport with official histories and boundaries. The map I produced is an attempt to capture a glimpse of the Pioneer Square's historical queer landscape. The map produced in this thesis is offered not just as a finer-grain spatialization of Pioneer Square's queer social spaces, but as a beginning for better understanding of how they relate to the building, the street, and the neighborhood.

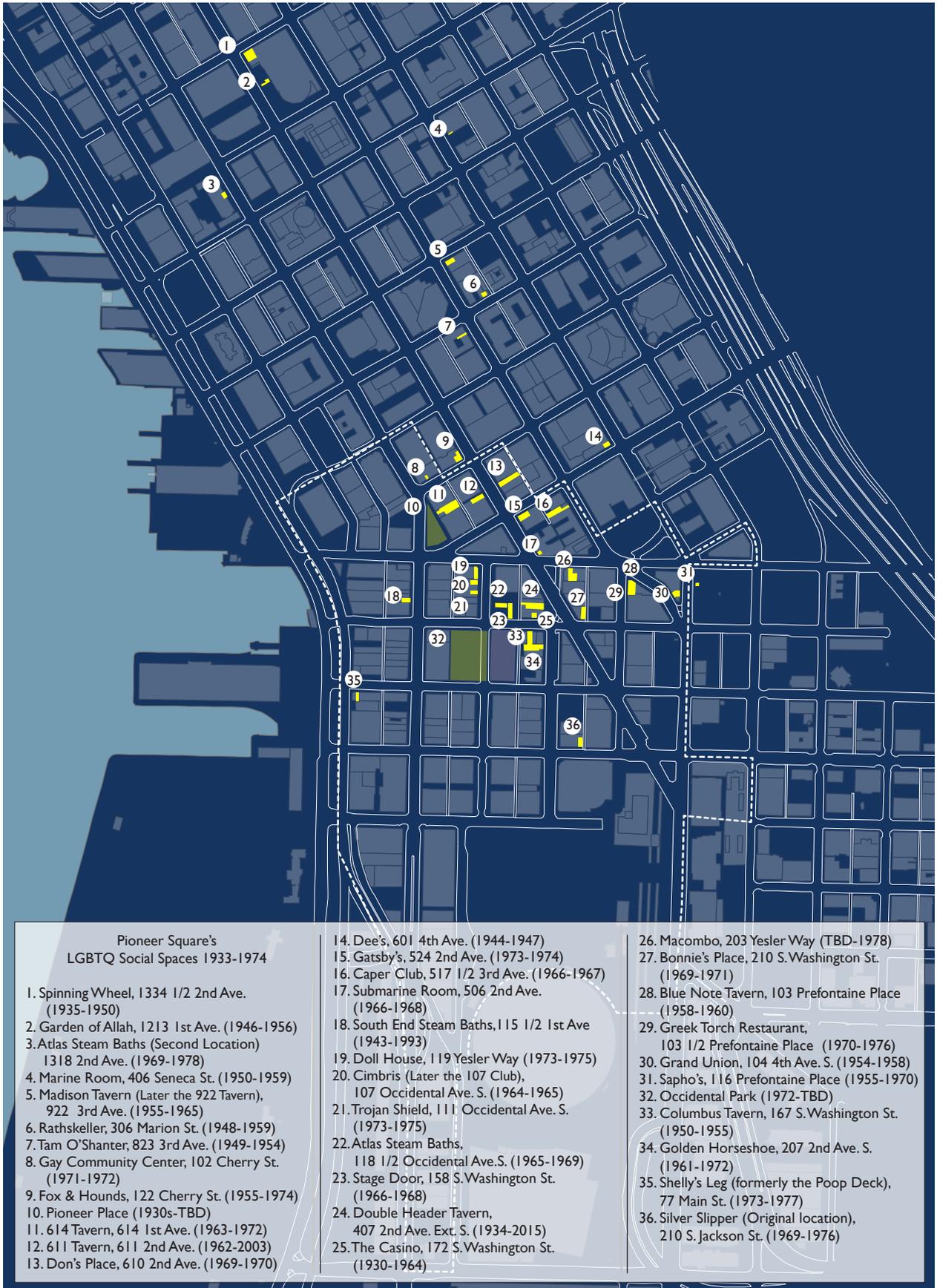


Figure 6: Map of commercial and public spaces comprising the greater Pioneer Square queer cultural landscape, 1933-1974. © Richard Freitas, 2017

6. SPATIAL ANALYSIS

A precise and accurate map of Pioneer Square's LGBTQ social spaces supports several levels of investigation, including (1) an examination of existing fabric, (2) a study of the landscape's evolution over time, and (3) a consideration of the social and political forces that influenced the location and character of both individual spaces and the larger queer landscape. The analysis carried out in this thesis revealed three spatial categories for the LGBTQ cultural landscape: nodes, territory, and a center of the territory (Figure 1).¹ Each categorization of the queer landscape is discussed here.

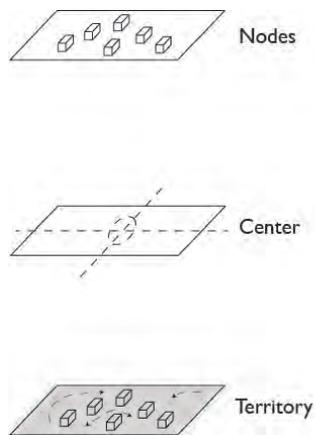


Figure 1: Spatial arrangements that comprise Pioneer Square's historical LGBTQ cultural landscape

NODES

The queer landscape was comprised of individual social spaces, or nodes, that were each a center of activity for a period of time. Spaces during the years from 1933 to 1974 functioned primarily as taverns and bars, after-hours clubs, bath houses, cabarets, restaurants, or public open space. In total, 36 have been identified and mapped. Each site was surveyed and its existing condition categorized in one of three ways: the site remains, the site remains with modified or additional fabric, or the site has been demolished.

Twelve physical sites had been destroyed as of May 2017. Of the remaining sites, it is not known whether any of them retain their original interiors although it is highly unlikely. Many original interiors have been replaced as new tenants have occupied the spaces. The site of Shelly's Leg, once a disco, is now an art gallery (Figure 2). Sites like The Fox and Hounds offer no indication of their past as queer social spaces (Figure 3).

This site is located just outside the Pioneer

¹ These terms resemble those used by Kevin Lynch in *Image of the City*: paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. Lynch defined the elements as physical phenomena used by people to create mental maps of a place. Here, however, they are spatial arrangements that describe cultural, not physical, elements. See Lynch, Kevin, *The Image of the City*. Publication of the Joint Center for Urban Studies. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1960.



The corner of Second Avenue Extension South and South Washington Street in 1981. The signs for The Casino and the Double Header are visible. Image source: King County Archives.

Square National Historic District's boundary while the location of the Gay Community Center (102 Cherry Street) on the same block is included. A plaque on the Second Avenue facade of the building commemorates the site as the location of Seattle pioneer Carson Boren's cabin (*Figure 4*). Today, the canopy above the stairs that lead down to the space announces Bakeman's Restaurant.



Figure 4: A commemorative plaque on the building that was once the site of The Fox and Hounds restaurant at 122 Cherry Street.

The site of the Golden Horseshoe (207 Second Avenue) also remains (*Figure 5*). Opened in 1961, the bar hosted cabaret shows and, due

to an arrangement with local police, was the first bar in Seattle where men could openly dance with other men.² The 611 Tavern (611 Second Avenue), located in the Butler Building, also opened in 1962 and was intended by the owners to compete with the Golden Horseshoe as a men's dance bar (*Figure 6*).³ The police did not agree and the plan to allow dancing was never realized. The business was sold by its owners by 1967 and continued to be run by its new owners. The commercial space still remains today as a print shop. Both the Golden Horseshoe and the 611 were popular destinations during the Century 21 Exposition – the 1962 Seattle's World Fair. The World's Fair and the police payoff system played a notable role in the urban form of Pioneer Square's queer cultural landscape (as will be discussed later in this chapter).

Even some that have survived to 2015 will be lost. The Double Header is currently being remodeled by its new owners. Although the intention is to display memorabilia in "The Double Header Room," the interior fabric will likely be reconfigured and updated.⁴ The bar's

2 Joe McGonagle, interview by Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, July 4, 1995. McGonagle owned and ran the Golden Horseshoe. Atkins notes in *Gay Seattle* that dancing between men had been common at the Casino. See Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 82.

3 Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 83.

4 Boris Castellanos (Asset Manager at Allegra Properties) in conversation with author, October 31, 2016.



Figure 2: The site of Shelly's Leg, 77 South Main Street.



Figure 3: The site of the Fox and Hounds restaurant, 122 Cherry Street.



Figure 5: The site of the Golden Horseshoe, 207 Second Avenue South



Figure 6: The site of the 611 Tavern in the Butler Building, 611 Second Avenue.

exterior sign was removed in May 2017.

In only a few cases does physical fabric remain to indicate a site's LGBTQ heritage. In addition to the Shelly' Leg sign (now located at MOHAI), the sign for the South End Steam Baths still exists but is not on public display. The sign sits inside the former Steam Baths site off to the side of the route used by the Bill Speidel's Underground Tour (*Figure 7*). On a recent tour, the guide made no mention of the sign.⁵

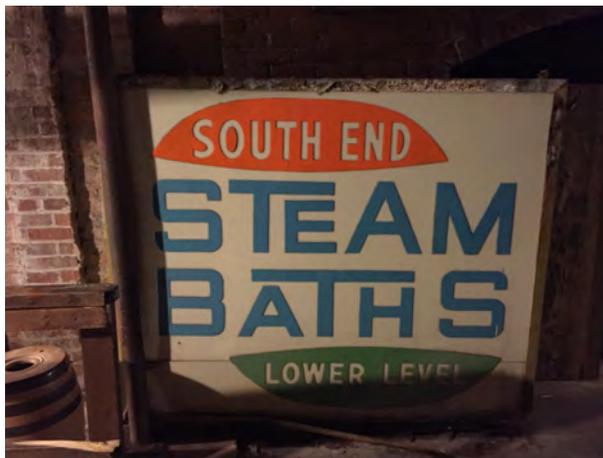


Figure 7: A sign for the South End Steam Baths remains inside the site.

In contrast, two remaining sites with additional fabric are both located in the Considine Block around the corner from one another. The Casino, the oldest site in this survey (1930-1964), is

marked by an awning over the entrance that reads, "Casino Dancing" on its southern face (*Figure 8*). Evidence of the sign's alteration over time is documented in photographs that shows the lettering on at least its east side has been lost along with the decorative finials on top of the sign. (Verification of the sign's provenance beyond this comparison was not undertaken for this project.) The second site is the Double Header, the longest running site in this survey and the last to close (1934-2015). Its sign was recently (May 2017) removed, but photographic evidence shows that it was only the latest in a series of signs that marked the space (*Figure 9*). Joe Bellotti, Jr., recalled the bar's early neon sign depicting a buoy bobbing on the water. The building that houses these two sites is under new ownership and the former Double Header space is under renovation. It is unclear whether the Casino sign will remain in place. While it does, its significance as a marker of a lost LGBTQ cultural landscape is known to only a few.

The building that once stood next to the Considine Block on the corner of South Washington Street and Occidental Avenue housed both the Stage Door (158 South Washington Street) and the first verified location

5 The author attended an afternoon tour on February 4, 2017.



Figure 8: The sign for the Casino still hangs above 172 South Washington Street.



Figure 9: The Double Header sign was removed in May 2017. 407 Second Avenue Extension South.



Figure 10: The building that once housed the Stage Door was demolished and converted into a parking lot.

of the Atlas Steam Bath. This building was demolished and is now the site of a parking lot (*Figure 10*). Similarly, the Madison Tavern, opened by gay male owners in 1958, would become the first bar in Seattle where women could openly dance with other women.⁶ Had these sites' connection to LGBTQ heritage been known at the time it likely would not have made any difference in saving them from destruction. However, recording these sites' cultural significance in the National Register nomination would have been advantageous since the document is used by the city to inform planning decisions. In considering the map, each of these sites is regarded as a "node" in the sense that it was a location where the LGBTQ public could go. However, they were mostly independently owned and operated.⁷ Together they anchored a territory although each had its own character and time period.

TERRITORY

The expanse of Pioneer Square's queer territory was determined by the physical locations of individual nodes, just as much as what happened inside those spaces determined the cultural character of the surrounding outdoor space. In turn, this cultural overlay collided with prevailing social attitudes that presented significant risk to LGBTQ people who performed kissed or held hands in public. Pat Freeman, born in 1933, patronized the Garden of Allah as a queer teenager:

It's like trying to describe the fear that existed back then. You can't describe it. And people today don't understand it when you say there was this terrible, terrible fear and it permeated everything. It's the same thing with this recognition, you had so little places to meet people; not everybody who was gay went to a gay tavern. You met people on the job, you met them other places, but you had to be so careful. And I think you developed this ability to focus in. And if there was the response, you focused in enough until you were comfortable enough. You wouldn't just say, 'Oh, I see you have a pinky ring on,' and 'The way you stand'

6 The Madison's co-owner, Maclver Wells (with John Chadwick), recalled, "That was the first tavern that girls could dance with girls, a gay tavern. Of course, girls can dance with girls up on Pike Street, in a straight bar. Boys don't usually. But that was the only, that was the first girl bar to dance. And the Horseshoe was the first one for boys." Maclver Wells, interviewed by Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, October 12, 1997.

7 Maclver Wells and John Chadwick owned the Madison, the 611, and the 614. Jake Heimbigner had stakes in the Stage Door, the Atlas Steam Baths, and the Golden Horseshoe (Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 83).

*or hold your cigarette or something, so wham, 'are you queer?' You weren't up to this.*⁸

The early LGBTQ social spaces that emerged downtown and in Pioneer Square provided opportunities for contact with others like oneself. To arrive at these spaces, one navigated the surrounding landscape which was in turn activated in relationship to not only social factors but also time of day and the spaces' relationship to the street.⁹

The Madison Tavern, one of the early taverns for women, began its life as a straight bar. Even after its transition to serving an LGBTQ clientele, the tavern continued to serve a predominantly straight customer base during the day and transitioned to a queer crowd at night. Co-owner Maclver Wells took an active role in maintaining two distinct atmospheres, "During the day, yes, because I wouldn't allow -- that the kids came in, they had to - no holding hands, no dancing, no fooling around. At night it was their bar. And the clientele I had during the day didn't come downtown at night anyway."¹⁰

Time of day also determined the clientele at The Mocambo (demolished and now the site of the Quintessa Apartments), a restaurant and cocktail bar. Bill Parkin, a dishwasher at the Mocambo, recounts that, "The Mo was a mixed crowd until 1955, when it became mostly gay - except for daytime, when office workers, courthouse workers, lawyers and judges came in for lunch...The menu was sophisticated; Coquille St. Jacques, Provencal and roast loin of pork, stuffed with prunes, etc. for \$1.30."¹¹ The temporal transition between a day- and night-time character contributed to the landscape's invisibility. It reveals a cycle of activation that favored LGBTQ socializing after dark.

By the 1960s, the Mocambo was part of a social circuit as LGBTQ patrons navigated the neighborhood's queer landscape. Mel H. recalled the routine:

It was a cocktail lounge, and what a lot of people would do is, they would drink earlier in the places like- One popular place was the 6-11 on 2nd Avenue because beer was 10 cents and

8 Pat Freeman, interview by Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, October 25, 1995, transcript.

9 Don Paulson recalled, "You didn't dare be on the streets in drag in those days. You would get hassled and hauled to jail and beaten." Interview by Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, January 12, 2002, transcript.

10 Maclver Wells, interview by Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, October 12, 1997, transcript.

11 Paulson, Don, "Seattle History: The Mocambo," *Seattle Gay News*, http://www.sgn.org/sgnnews36_43/mobile/page11.cfm, Last accessed 22 May 17.

*at happy hour you could have a lot of beers. But then they would go to the Mocambo. And the group would just kind of go to the Mocambo, and what was very interesting was a lot of the group that I was going with would start at Spags, meet people later at the 6-11, then go to the Mocambo or go out to dinner but they'd all wind up back at Spags, because that was the closest bar to Capitol Hill. There were no gay bars on Capitol Hill at that time.*¹²

Pioneer Square was a destination for queer socializing and provided a mix of places to gather. Armand Delmage, a contemporary of Mel H's, had a similar recollection, "And back in those days all the gay bars, with the exception of two of them, were right very close together in Pioneer Square. You could get out and walk to every bar that was in town."¹³ The owners of the Golden Horseshoe opened at 6:00 a.m. when The Casino closed, effectively extending the temporal and cultural overlay on the territory.¹⁴

Despite its solidification as a social network, the queer cultural landscape in Pioneer Square was still a place of tension for LGBTQ citizens. Unlike

cities like New York or San Francisco, a payoff system between queer bar owners and Seattle police reduced the threat of raids that targeted LGBTQ patrons. However, the extortion scheme was a political arrangement that was subject to its own rules and sometimes spilled out onto the streets. Delmage tended bar in the late 1960s and early 1970s at the Trojan Shield (111 Occidental Avenue) and the 611, among others. In response to a question about why the Doll House was repeatedly harassed by police, he recalled a larger system of police intimidation in the neighborhood, "Because it was gay. That was the only reason that it was harassed. There were different times -- where if you walked out of a bar and jaywalked at night and there was a cop in the neighborhood, you'd get a ticket. You'd get busted. There were times that if you walked out of a bar and went to your car they would follow you."¹⁵ Delmage goes on to describe his experience witnessing a police raid of a Seattle bar:

A bust -- they would show up with a number of police cars and they would go in -- or block the exits -- go in and they would just start checking IDs and arresting people. And back in those

12 Mel H., interview by Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, June 6, 2000, transcript.

13 Armand Delmage, interview by Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, November 12, 1998, transcript.

14 Joe McGonagle, interview by Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, July 4, 1995, transcript.

15 Ibid.

days they could harass you in any way that they wanted to, so they'd pretty much just trash your business all weekend or shut you down. Come in and bust [transcriber's note: it up?]. And, then if they found any infringements, any infractions, any -- if you didn't have ID on you --you could legally be arrested and you almost had to have a Seattle Liquor Control Board card to go to a gay bar. I don't think they enforced that very strongly with straight bars."¹⁶

First person accounts by Maclver Wells, who helped bring an end to the police payoff system, reported police harassment but not raids. Extreme harassment in the form of a raid may have been carried out against establishments but as noted, these were not a common occurrence as related in the sources consulted for this project. More common are anecdotes like Dale Peters's that, "When they'd miss payments, and then they'd sit in squad cars out in front and take down license numbers and arrest some people, just create enough of an issue to make sure they'd get the money the next week, and this was not only exclusive to the gay bars."¹⁷ Nonetheless, Delmage's account demonstrates that the threat existed

and that neither the streets nor the social spaces themselves were places of complete safety.

The relationship of queer social spaces to the street provides an additional layer of texture to understanding how LGBTQ citizens negotiated the Pioneer Square landscape. Figures 11, 12, and 13 locate sites according to their physical entrance from the street. (When a site's condition was unknown or unclear, it was considered to be at street level. Lobbied buildings, such as hotels, presented an additional threshold that the LGBTQ patron must navigate.¹⁸)

According to Wells, the Madison Tavern co-owner, there were no curtains on the windows at the tavern and people could see in from the street, "There was windows all around the side and all around the front. When the people walked down those streets and they look in and see the place just loaded with girls, guys want to get in.... But we had very little trouble. Very little."¹⁹ The tavern's transparency complicates the discourse of invisibility. The curtain-less tavern produced a public space that extended

16 Armand Delmage, interview by Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, November 12, 1998, transcript.

17 Dale Peters, interview by Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, January 11, 1998, transcript.

18 For example, The Marine Room in the Olympic Hotel; The Garden of Allah in the Arlington Hotel; The Capers Club in the Morrison Hotel; The Submarine Room in Smith Tower.

19 Maclver Wells, interview by Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, October 12, 1997, transcript.

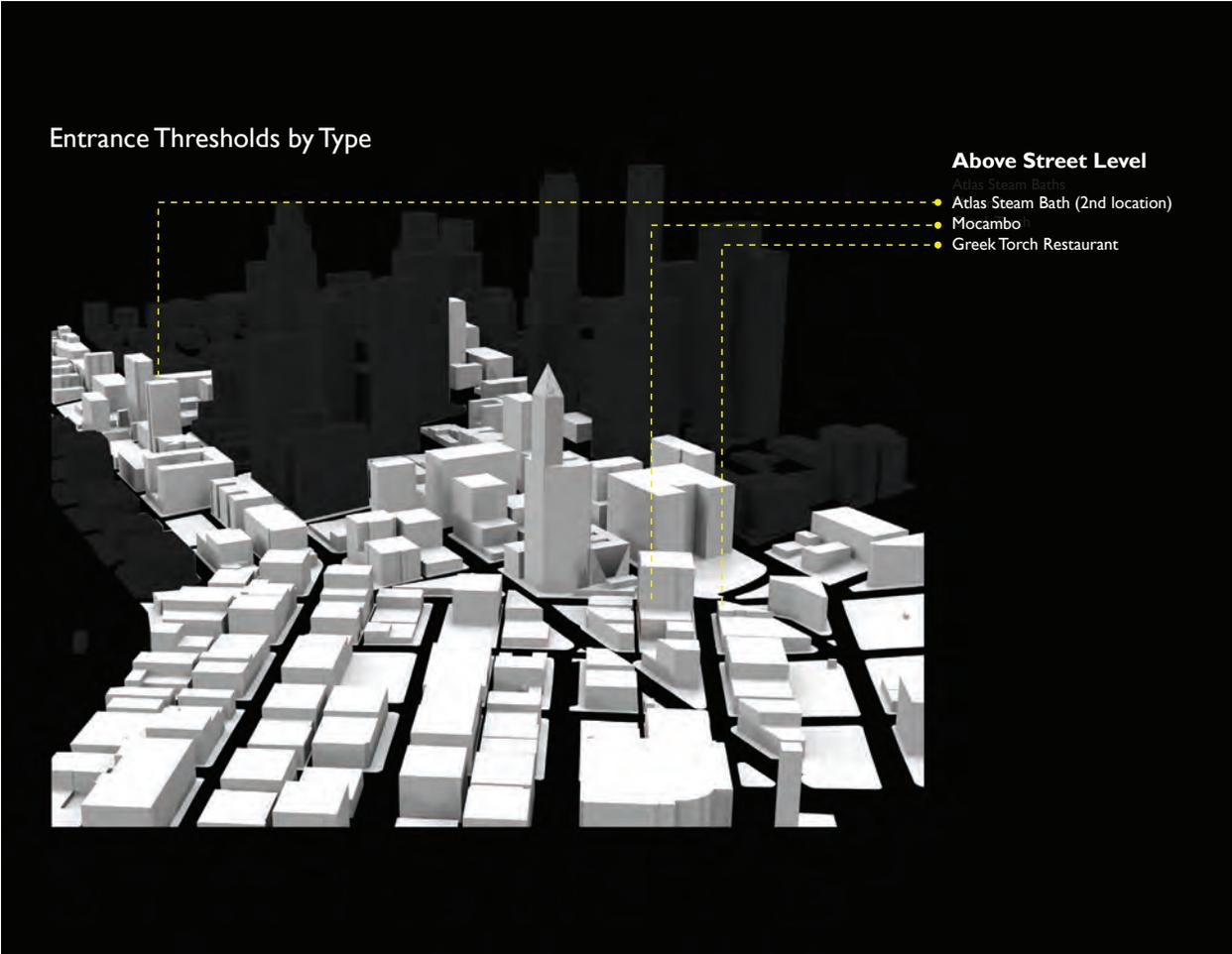


Figure 11: The locations of historical LGBTQ social spaces that were positioned above street level.

Entrance Thresholds by Type

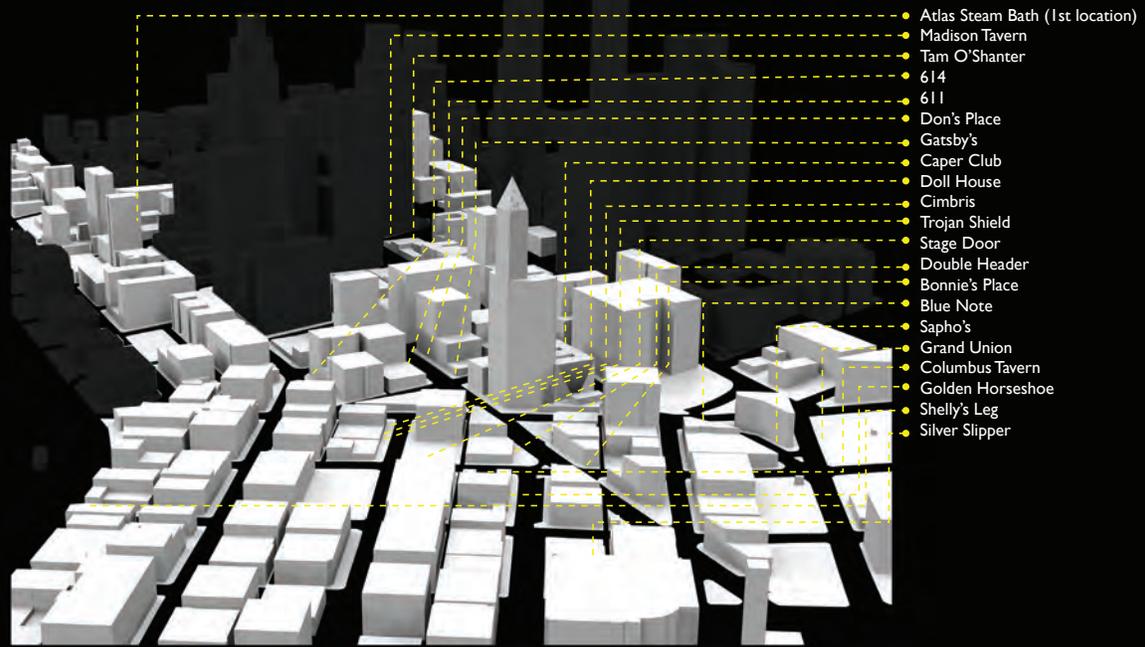


Figure 12: The locations of historical LGBTQ social spaces that were entered from street level.

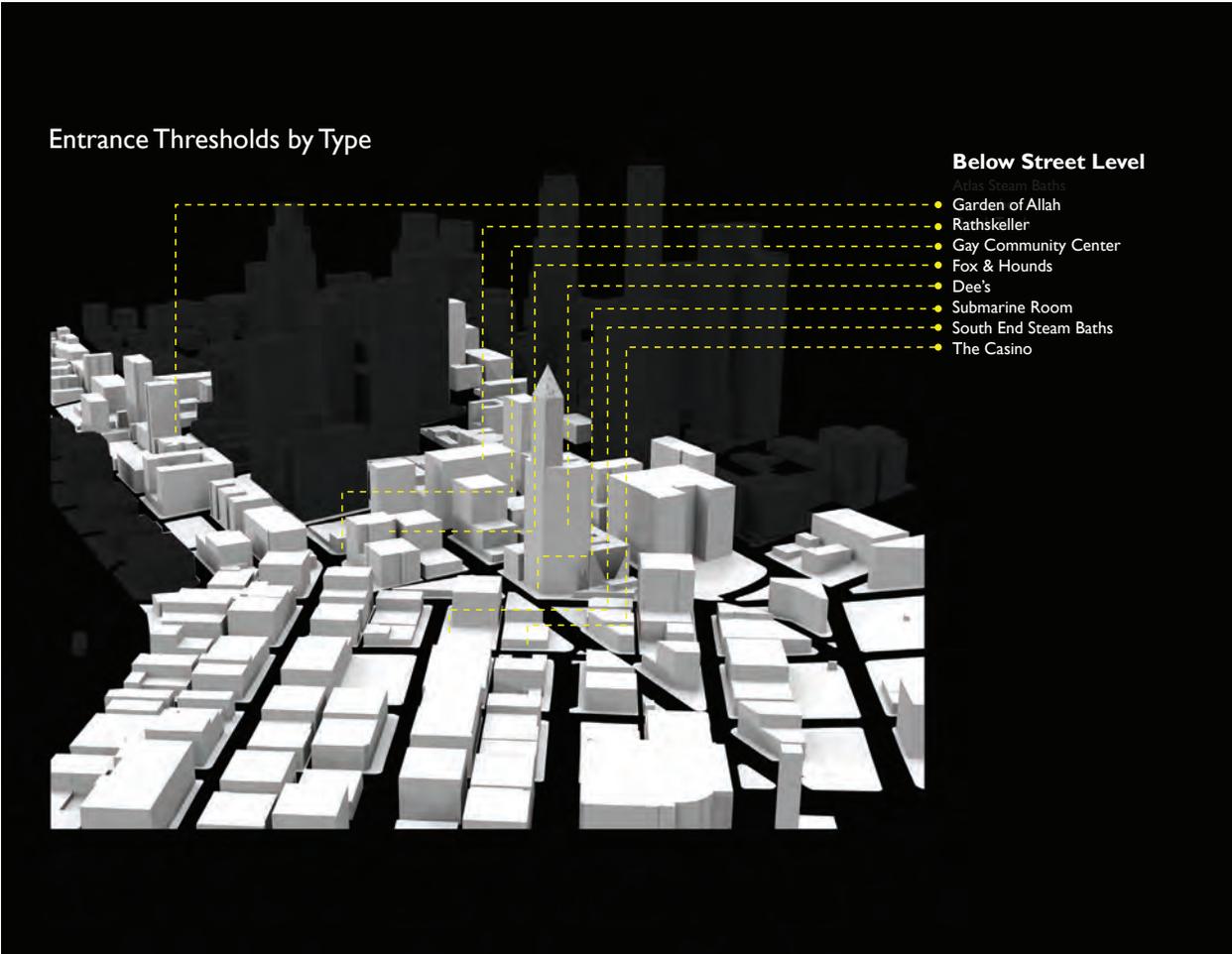


Figure 13: The locations of historical LGBTQ social spaces that were below street level.

into the street and invited attention from passers-by who surely were intrigued by the site of women dancing with one another. In contrast, when discussing the 611 Tavern, Wells mentioned that he was warned by police that the tavern's curtains needed to be opened so as not to conceal the activities inside.²⁰ More work is required to understand the relationship of thresholds to the queer individual's experience of the territory as both a cumulative experience of arrival and as a marker of homonormative space. For now, an acknowledgment of the significance and potential of the threshold complicates the idea of the queer territory as a wholly unvariegated environment.

DIACHRONIC LANDSCAPE

Beginning in the 1930s, the queer territory began to expand, anchored by the Spinning Wheel cabaret at the corner of Union Street and Second Avenue and to the south by the Casino and the Double Header below Yesler Way (Figure 14). The territory grew downtown during the 1940s with the opening of the Garden of Allah, the Marine Room in the Olympic Hotel, and others while Pioneer Square gained the Columbus Tavern and the Atlas Steam Baths.

The general form of the territory held steady through the early 1950s. A cluster of spaces around Prefontaine Place emerged during this time that persisted through the late 1970s when the Blue Note Tavern (103 Prefontaine Place) closed around 1978. A net loss of spaces occurred in the late 1950s although the territory as a whole continued to hold its general configuration.

Beginning in the 1960s the territory contracted and clustered just south of Yesler Way. Dale Peters recalled his experience of Pioneer Square at this time:

I just was not aware that there were gay bars, that there was any kind of social life. It was so underground and so hidden. I mean, when I finally did come out in June of '63 there were six, I suppose, and of those six bars, probably two were mixed. Gay bars, that gay people could go into and feel comfortable. That was it, totally, except for an after-hours dance club, and that was the total extent of it. And off of those were located in Pioneer Square, most of them.... I'm sorry, there were two steam baths at that time that were frequented by gay people. But if you didn't drink, or weren't interested in going to the bars, there were no other venues in the 60s.²¹

20 Maclver Wells, interview by Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, October 12, 1997, transcript.

21 Dale Peters, interview by Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, January 11, 1998, transcript.

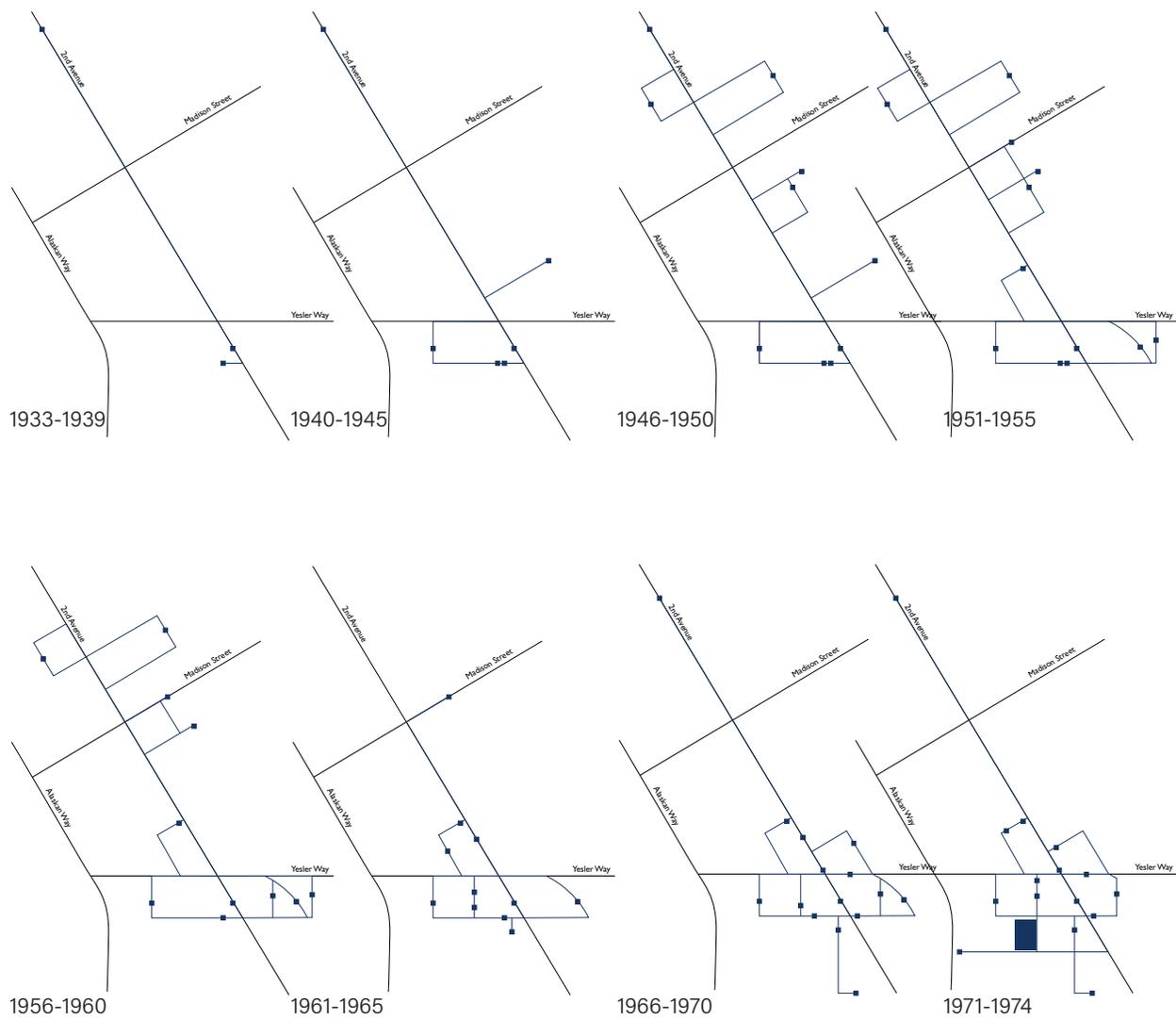


Figure 14: This sequence of diagrams shows the expansion and contraction of the queer territory over time. Each square represents a node that together gave shape to the expanse of the LGBTQ territory

Peters's account tempers the apparent expanse of the territory that appears on the map. The 1961-1965 diagram alone includes 11 spaces. Either Peters did not know of all of these or was not counting certain spaces, such as taverns that catered to women. His account emphasizes that queer social spaces could be difficult to locate even for LGBTQ people who sought them.

Two forces had a significant impact on the shape and tenor of Pioneer Square's LGBTQ landscapes during the 1960s, the police payoff system and the 1962 Seattle's World Fair. After MacIver Wells was denied permission by the police to allow men to dance with one another at the 611 Tavern, he was encouraged by the police to purchase the tavern business behind the 611 on First Avenue, what would become the 614 Tavern (614 First Avenue). The two spaces had easy access to one another through an alley that ran at mid-block between the two spaces. In a similar scheme, Seattle police initiated a deal with bar owner Jake Heimbigner to open an after-hours club in the Morrison Hotel, the Caper Club (517 ½ Third Avenue).

The arrangement cost Heimbigner \$600 per month in payments to the police.²² In both cases, the form of the queer territory was shaped by the Seattle Police.

The 1962 World's also exerted a significant force on the queer landscape. Bellotti describes the Double Header's interior during the Fair, "But during the World's Fair the place was all done up. It was remodeled when I went in. It was all painted black and it had a big - it was a show place and when we had drag shows, my dad had drag shows and during the World's Fair, you know." He continued, "The Stage Door was the competition. It was a smaller bar than the Header and when the World's Fair came on my dad went in big time and we had lineups around the building to get into the show and there were arguments between those two bars about where the performers were playing the game."²³ The activity manifested outside the bars as well in the form of cruising for sex.²⁴ However, urban cruising grounds in the area are an under represented typology in this survey.²⁵ In general, the increased activation of the territory during the World's Fair inscribed the

22 Atkins, *Gay Seattle*, 85.

23 Joe Bellotti, interview by author, January 27, 2017.

24 Dale Peters: "But during the World's Fair of '62, I do remember a lot of cruising going on, and of really becoming conscious of how to cruise." Interview with NLGHMP, January 11, 1998.

25 In *An Evening at the Garden of Allah*, Vilma recalls that, "The park around the totem pole was the hot cruising place in Seattle. No matter who you were, it was the place to people-watch. They had a beautiful public restroom under the pergola that the black shoeshine man kept spotless. Across from the restroom we used to sit on the railing above the Pittsburgh cafeteria in the basement of the Pioneer building... We had a perfect view of the restroom." See Paulson, *An Evening at the Garden of Allah*, 25.

queer cultural landscape more firmly into the built environment's fabric.

By the end of the 1960s, the LGBTQ territory had coalesced in the vicinity of Pioneer Square and extended as far south as the Silver Slipper's first location (210 South Jackson Street). Notably, this location marks as far south into Pioneer Square as the territory reached until it disappeared. By 1971 the cluster of spaces in and around Prefontaine had disappeared. Shelly's Leg opened in 1973 and became the premiere social space in the district until it was destroyed by fire in 1974. The club reopened but did not reclaim its former glory. In 1974 Occidental Square was the site of a daytime picnic and evening street dance party in celebration of the Stonewall Riots that occurred in New York City in 1969.²⁶ Although the territory appears robust at this time and new spaces did open after 1974, the territory had entered a social decline as the focus of LGBTQ life shifted to Capitol Hill.

This analysis suggests that the queer territory was always shifting. Areas that were part of the territory at night might be more loosely included during the day. Indeed, one could ask how the traces of taverns and after-hours clubs lingered in the territory during the hours they were closed.

CENTER

Anchored from the beginning by the Double Header and The Casino at Second Avenue and Washington Street, the queer territory centered on the area around Second Avenue and Yesler Way. As the territory gravitated away from downtown and focused in Pioneer Square, the corner of Second Avenue Extension South and South Washington Street can be considered the physical and cultural center of the territory. The public works project that created the Second Avenue Extension deprioritized the original Second Avenue and emphasized the connection between the train stations and downtown. Completed in 1931, the project cut through entire blocks, "As home to a multicultural community and the struggling poor, this part of the Skid Road was rife with cheap hotel, flophouses, small ethnic businesses, warehouses, and sweatshops. Unmindful of any virtues in the neighborhood, city leaders saw an opportunity for municipal housekeeping with the economic potential of increasing railroad travel in and out of Seattle."²⁷ Historically, this was not identified as the center of the queer territory, but the analysis of the maps and the record of various owners and patron accounts allows us now to identify this center. Notably, the creation of the Second Avenue Extension was meant to speed access from the railroad stations

26 "'Lavender' play tonight only," *The Seattle Times* (Seattle, WA), June 27, 1974, H7.

27 Andrews, Mildred Tanner, *Pioneer Square: Seattle's Oldest Neighborhood*, 117.

to the downtown, bypassing Pioneer Square. The queer territory grew in the area most travelers passed through. Unknown by visitors, this location, the corner of Second Avenue and Washington was the enter of LGBTQ activity in the city.

As a result of the new street alignment, and after the departure of most LGBTQ spaces from the neighborhood, by 1981 a large bulbout was created on the corner of Second and Washington. The site was planted with five London plane trees (*Platanus X reacemosa*), now mature, and until recently was anchored by an abstract painted steel sculpture acquired by the City of Seattle in 1978 and placed there in the late 1980s.²⁸ There is nothing, however, to show this once was the center of Seattle’s LGBTQ life (Figure 15).

CONCLUSION

Historical mapping provided the foundation for a spatial analysis of Seattle’s queer landscape that accounts for the physical and cultural forces that influenced the territory’s location and growth.²⁹ Now

invisible, this urban cultural landscape requires new interventions to become visible. Understanding this cultural landscape made up of individual nodes, defining an ephemeral territory, centered at Second and Washington can shape how design interventions may be developed to reveal the unseen.

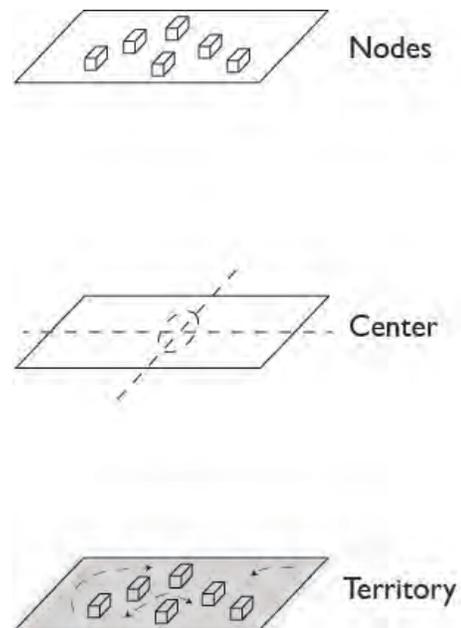


Figure 16: Spatial arrangements that comprise Pioneer Square’s historical LGBTQ cultural landscape

²⁸ National Register of Historic Places, Pioneer Square - Skid Road District, Section 7, page 193.

²⁹ The scope of this project precluded the consideration of additional context, but social and political forces are key to locating the queer landscape in time and place. Jen Jack Giesecking writes in the National Park Service’s *LGBTQ America*, “It is essential that any study of an LGBTQ neighborhood, territory, ghetto, or enclave be situated within the cultural, political, and economic context of the city in which it is located.” Giesecking, “LGBTQ Places and Spaces,” 14-15.

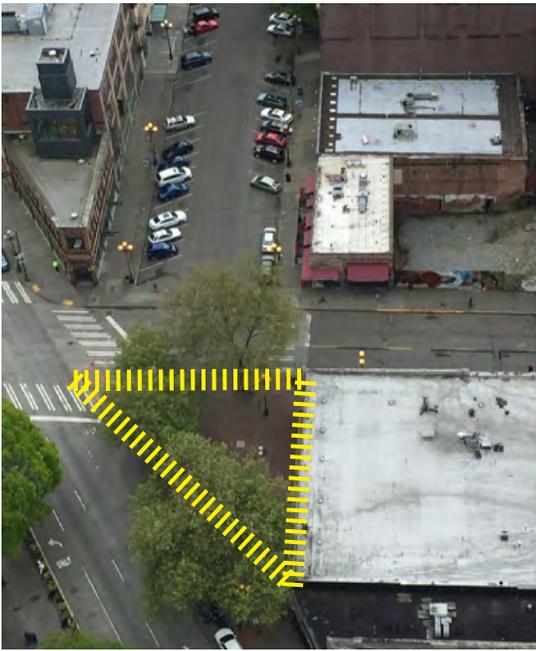


Figure 15: The corner of Second Avenue Extension South and South Washington Street.

7. DESIGN VOCABULARY

The traditional preservation tools that privilege architectural significance, such as the Pioneer Square Preservation District Guidelines, are not sufficient for protecting the heritage of LGBTQ and other minority groups who leave few marks in the city's physical fabric.¹ We must seek alternate instruments that may possess agency to preserve, interpret, and connect citizens to their civic heritage. In addition to historical mapping, local and national landmark nominations, and research projects, landscape architectural practice may provide the means to reveal invisible heritage through design.

Designs that reveal invisible heritage amplify the ability to tell a story through place. Revealing Pioneer Square's LGBTQ heritage is complicated by the fact that there is not an LGBTQ population currently activating the landscape but there are multiple other publics that are actively using and shaping the area's culture. Any intervention must be woven into the existing cultural fabric as a compatible layer. Although the spaces are gone, the public realm's physical infrastructure--the street grid, alleyways, open spaces, and sidewalks--still exists and provides opportunities

to intervene.

In the absence of physical traces left on the Pioneer Square Historic District, a design's impact can be maximized by applying a multi-layered approach. There can be two primary layers: a permanent marking and an ephemeral one (Figure 1).

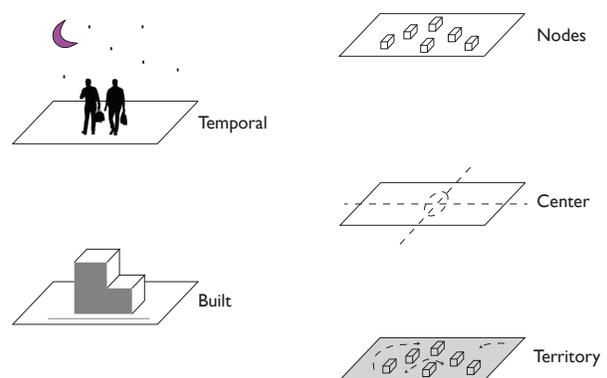


Figure 1: Temporal and built interventions jointly reveal the queer cultural landscape across spatial categories.

A permanent solution provides access to the past at all times and buoys the landscape's significance lest it be forgotten. The ephemeral layer can be realized through programmed events, such as self- and docent-led tours; one-time public programs such as lectures and social

¹ "Rules for the Pioneer Square Preservation District," Pioneer Square Preservation Board, City of Seattle, <https://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/Neighborhoods/HistoricPreservation/HistoricDistricts/PioneerSquare/PioneerSquare-Guidelines.pdf>. Last Accessed June 4, 2017.

events at neighborhood agencies like Milepost 41 and 4Culture; and temporary exhibits at the Klondike Gold Rush Visitors Center. A permanent but ephemeral intervention, such as modified lighting, has the potential to be a powerful design move that respects the deliberate anonymity of the historical landscape while providing cues that locate its nodes and edges in the today's neighborhood. Design that successfully makes invisible heritage visible provokes opportunities to reflect and ask oneself, "What is this place?"

DESIGN PRIORITIES

The spatial analysis of the landscape supported the formulation of eight design priorities. These priorities comprise an approach for revealing LGBTQ heritage in Pioneer Square through design.

Emphasize the ground plane

The neighborhood's rights-of-way, primarily its sidewalks, provide a human-scaled surface that can connect modern visitors to the individual experiences of LGBTQ citizens who navigated the same streets. The neighborhood's building facades are protected and preserved as part of the local Preservation District's management by

the city's Pioneer Square Preservation Board. The sidewalks are less regulated and are an inconsistent mix of brick and poured concrete. They present an opportunity to challenge current design guidelines and activate the public realm by revealing invisible heritage while supporting modern uses.

The experience of the ground at our feet, of forming a relationship with the lost cultural landscape is more important than understanding the formal expansion and contraction of the landscape over time. Design can create that connection between contemporary visitors' and historical LGBTQ citizens' experiences of the neighborhood. The cultural landscape's significance proceeds from the ground up as it was experienced by countless people who sought others like themselves.

It is tempting to consider working with the language of colored glass presented by the district's historic light wells and sidewalk vaults. However, this language already has a story related to the below-ground areaways and the rebuilding of the city after the Great Fire of 1889. It is recommended that this language be left alone. The queer experience of Pioneer Square diverges from the neighborhood's dominant narrative and warrants a separate vocabulary.

Engage Temporality

The LGBTQ landscape's social spaces were activated primarily at night. Design interventions should consider day and night components, especially lighting. It would be appropriate to prioritize the night landscape over a day time experience of the node, center, or territory.

Partially Reveal

Signs and markers that are overtly themed, such as rainbow crosswalks, are inconsistent with the historical character of the invisible landscape that can be claimed by more than one group. Design interventions can reveal but should still require visitors to participate by choice in order to see what is being revealed.

Inscribe across scales, valuing human experience

The cultural landscape has been categorized into three arrangements: nodes, territory, and center. This categorization provides a conceptual frame that allows a designer to better understand the whole. The categories provide entry points to identify opportunities for revealing heritage. Designs that operate across (or combine) two or more scales will better highlight how the

landscape functioned and allow visitors to see the individual components within multiple contexts.

Use built elements to support ephemeral ones

Physical interventions should support event-based programming and other ephemeral elements that reveal the historical queer landscape. The neighborhood's designed spaces and interventions can be a scaffold for activities that engage visitors in new ways of experiencing what may be a familiar area.

Use ephemeral elements to support built ones

The meaning, importance, and success of physical interventions may depend upon ephemeral elements, such as events, to validate them. Recently realized public space projects in San Francisco, Eagle Plaza and The San Francisco South of Market Leather History Alley, (discussed in Chapter 4), will show whether a small, urban, commemorative public space successfully reveals cultural heritage to its visitors. Located outside the Eagle, a legendary leather bar, Eagle Plaza's activation and relevance to LGBTQ cultural heritage is guaranteed for

the foreseeable future. However, Ringold Plaza's connection to a historical queer cruising area is less obvious as the historic fabric of the area is destroyed and new development occurs. Public events, tours, and dance parties should be considered in conjunction with public space interventions in Pioneer Square to reinforce any new built spaces' meaning as a commemorative landscape.

Allow for contemporary programs and future interpretations

Research on queer Pioneer Square is not complete. Just as the interpretation of LGBTQ historic sites has entered new territory in recent years, designs that aspire to reveal invisible queer heritage must support open endedness and the possibility for interventions and programs that are not yet apparent.

Highlight small scale features when and where they exist

Pioneer Square's LGBTQ landscape was characterized by a light fabric with few discernible marks in the built environment. Design can highlight this fabric by emphasizing the locations where it existed, such as corner of Second Avenue Extension and South

Washington Street where the Casino sign is still present (at least it was still present in June 2017).

DESIGN PALETTE

What follows is a series of speculative design iterations that suggest possibilities for revealing the LGBTQ landscape in Pioneer Square. They are possibilities, not fully developed designs, and show how the process of researching, mapping, and analyzing led to design priorities that can in turn be translated into real-world interventions.

Nodes

Brass or tile sidewalk markers could mark the threshold of each historical social space. Extending across the sidewalk, the markers would engage the ground plane and provide a variation in people's experience of walking through the neighborhood (*Figure 2*). Presented without text, the markers' significance would be fully revealed via maps distributed by local cultural organizations and available online. A phone-based walking tour app would present users with historical information about individual sites (*Figure 3*). The brass markers would complement the app as wayfinding markers.

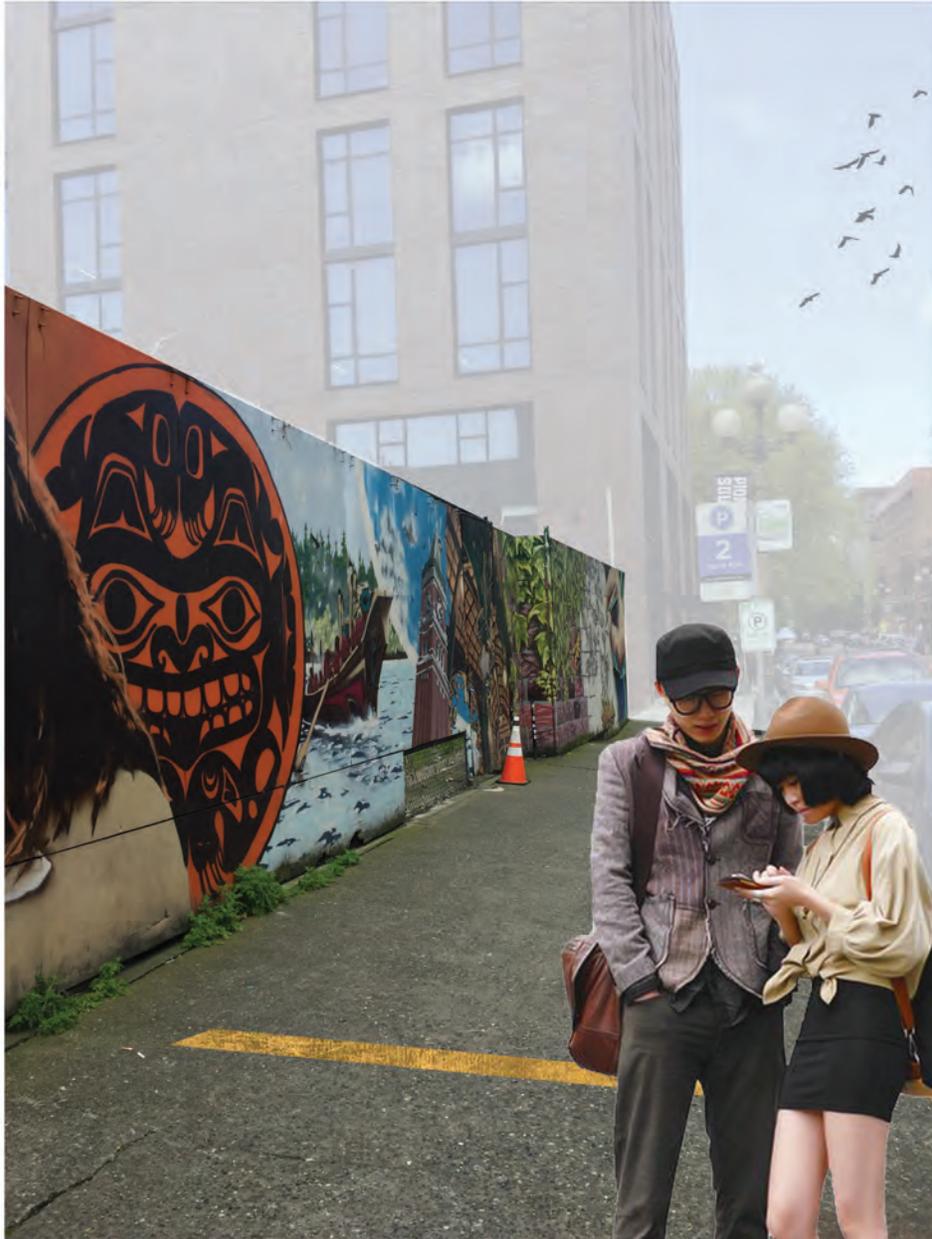


Figure 2: Brass sidewalk markers reveal formerly queer spaces.



Figure 3: The Pioneer Square LGBTQ Walking Tour app reveals the invisible histories of individual sites.

Residents and visitors who have used the app would be reminded each time they walk down the street that these spaces hold value in LGBTQ culture.

The sites of demolished spaces that have not been redeveloped can be used for public events. The parking lot at the corner of Occidental Avenue and South Washington Street can be repurposed in the evening for summer outdoor movie screenings and Gay Pride-related events.

Center

The center of the queer territory at the corner of Second Avenue Extension and South Washington Street has the potential to reveal history and support residents and visitors as a vital public space. The imminent redevelopment of the Metropole Building as a boutique hotel and the re-opening of the Double Header space

as a bar presages a new clientele and increased circulation through the adjacent public space. Installing distinct paving would help activate the space and separate it from the predictable brick and concrete treatments found throughout the neighborhood. The addition of seating would change the spatial character from one that is passed through to one that invites passive occupation. A kiosk with digital screens installed in the new plaza would orient visitors to the historic LGBTQ landscape with interactive maps and information displays (*Figure 4*). This corner's size and significance make it the ideal location for docent-led walking tours to meet and begin here (*Figure 5*). As the center of the lost cultural landscape is energized as a public space, it would also become a site of memory. According to legend, the cowbell that Tallulah Bankhead rang as she entered the Double Header still exists.² It could easily be installed on a pedestal in the plaza as a *lieux de memoire* that stands as

2 Don Paulson relates the possibly apocryphal story of Bankhead's entrance to the Double Header after a local performance of the play *Private Lives*, "The Double Header Tavern had its full share of celebs. Most did not make an appearance like Tallulah Bankhead, who came into the tavern ringing a cow bell and shouting, 'Avon calling all you beautiful mother fuckers.'" http://www.sgn.org/sgnnews35_40/mobile/page13.cfm. Last Accessed May 25, 2017.



Figure 4: A digital kiosk at 2nd Avenue Extension and South Washington Street orients visitors to the historic queer landscape with maps and information.



Figure 5: Events and docent-led walking tours convene in the historic landscape's center outside the Double Header.



Figure 6: The center of the lost cultural landscape is revitalized as a public space and site of memory.

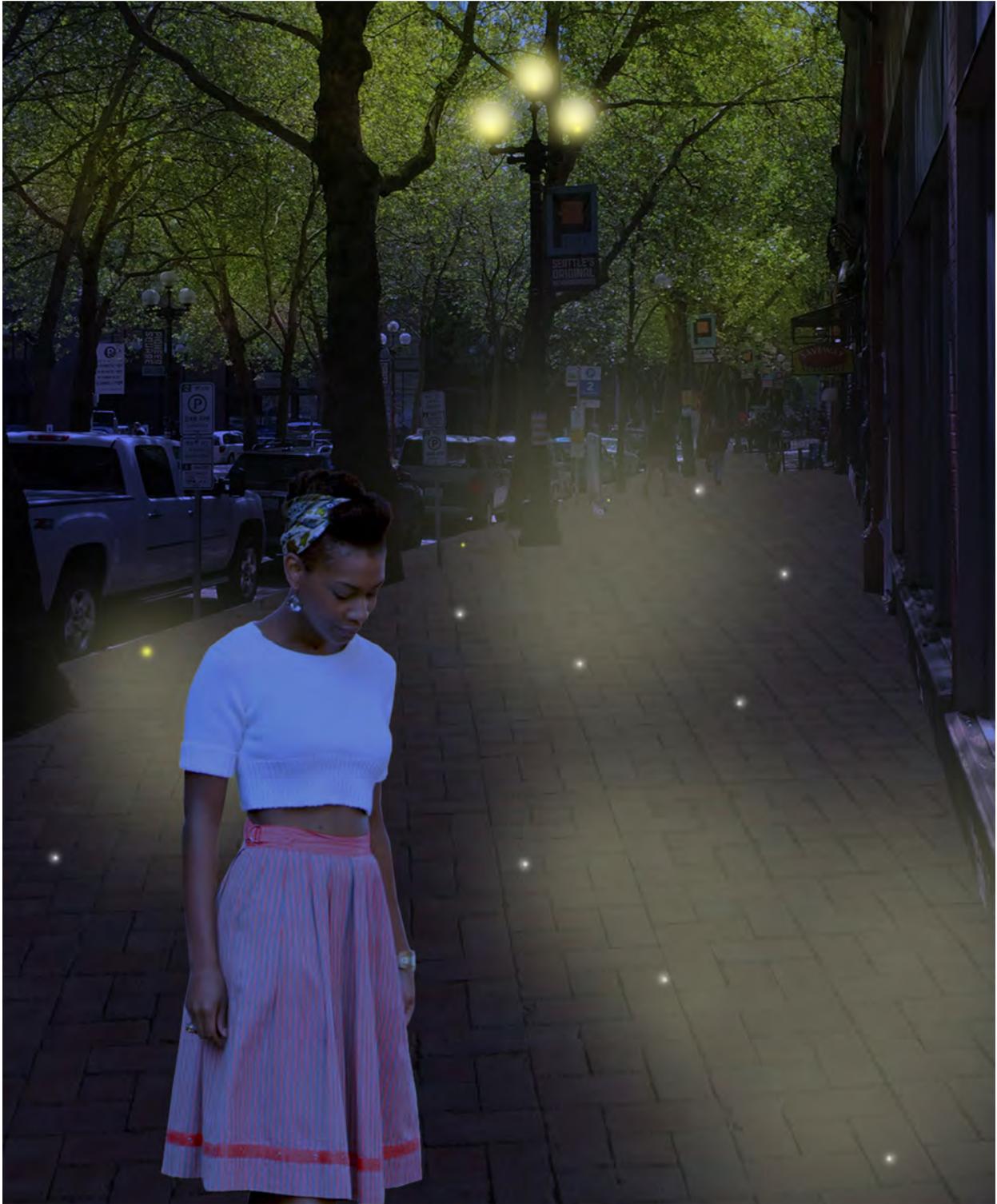


Figure 7: Character lighting is used to mark the historic queer territory on occasions such as Pride Month in June.

a connection to the lost landscape (*Figure 6*).³

Territory

Expressing the extent and dynamism of the historical territory is perhaps the most challenging design problem. A lighting-based design would provide multiple possibilities and would be consistent with the territory's night time activation, diffuseness, and varying levels of intensity. Current lighting conditions consist of a diverse and un-unified collection of lighting sources and fixture types. A lighting design that engages the ground plane and directly illuminates the experience of traversing the territory would create a connection between the visitor and the path through the territory (*Figure 7*). An intervention using lighting would simultaneously activate the ground at hand and the larger context of the territory. Options might include LED lights embedded in the pavement or step lights installed in the sidewalk's

furnishing strip. The design's impact would be maximized by activating it according to a calendar of events. Every June, for example, the lights would be lit for Pride Month. The historical territory is revealed but also allowed to recede. The anticipation of the lighting installation's activation would prevent the landscape from being forgotten. Similarly, its temporary nature would prevent its meaning from being taken for granted as if it was continuously illuminated.

MAKING VISIBLE

Layering built and temporal design interventions in Pioneer Square would leverage memory as a means to reveal queer heritage. The eight design principles allow the designer "to develop a method," in Hayden's words, and, in this case support a palette of options for nodes, territory, and center that show a preferred approach and attitude towards the task of making the invisible visible.⁴

3 The term *lieux de memoire* comes from French historian Pierre Nora and refers to a site of memory, his term for a particular type of repository of cultural meaning that engages people's relationship to memory as opposed to history. Making the invisible visible in Pioneer Square requires that the landscape be reclaimed and presented to visitors and residents. The landscape becomes a place of and for *lieux de memoire*—sites of memory. "Lieux de memoire are simple and ambiguous, natural and artificial, at once immediately available in concrete sensual experience and susceptible to the most abstract elaboration. Indeed, they are lieux in three senses of the word—material, symbolic, and functional." The corner of Second Avenue and Washington Street becomes a *lieux de memoire* only because of an intention to remember that Nora requires as prerequisite without which the sties would be lost. See Nora, Pierre, and Roudebush, Marc, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux De Memoire." *Representations*, no. 26 (1989).

4 Hayden, *The Power of Place*, 102.

8. CONCLUSIONS

The absence of Pioneer Square's queer cultural landscape from Seattle's civic consciousness prevents a full reckoning of the city's heritage and erases the foundation of the gay community's history there. However, revealing the existence of a landscape that was and continued to be characterized by its invisibility is challenging. In the course of researching and spatializing queer social spaces for this thesis, it became clear that the products of those efforts – the maps and the text of this document – can become active participants in making the invisible visible.

Mapping historical LGBTQ social spaces provides a foundation for understanding the landscape as it existed through time. The maps in turn can become the basis for exploring multiple areas of spatial analysis and inquiry. Together, the maps and the thesis text can become active participants in revealing invisible heritage. The collection, synthesis, and presentation of data has agency to drive potential interventions.

Identifying the cultural landscape's spatial foundations, its nodes, territory, and center, established the scales on which the landscape functioned and that can be considered for design interventions. A selection of iterative speculations are presented not as fully designed

solutions but as concepts to demonstrate how the spatial arrangements can be incorporated into a design approach that suggest how heritage can be revealed in an urban environment.

CULTURAL CONTEXT

It is important to remember that the queer heritage being revealed in Pioneer Square belonged primarily to white gay men and lesbians. Creating artifacts such as maps and research documents that are intended to reveal invisible heritage may also serve to make some aspects of that heritage more invisible. For example, bisexual, trans, and people of color are underrepresented in oral histories and other historical accounts. Consider this excerpt from an interview with Maclver Wells, co-owner of the Madison, the 611, and the 614:

Interviewer: do you have any sense of what was happening to, let's say bars that catered to African Americans or any other -- ?

Wells: No, in that time, there was none of that prejudice about color. We had a lot of colored boys and girls that came to our place and nobody bothered them... We didn't have any trouble around them, with colored...

The interview returns to the subject again:

Interviewer: When I was asking before about other ethnic groups, I was wondering if the owners of taverns that, say, catered to a mostly Black clientele or mostly Asian clientele, if there were any?

Maclver: There was none.¹

Wells's implication that the Pioneer Square queer bar scene was racially integrated may well be true but it raises questions about what other types of social spaces might have existed that catered to non-white LGBTQ people and where were they located.

At a smaller scale, the Pioneer Square neighborhood can be considered a contested landscape claimed by multiple groups, not just LGBTQ people. The neighborhood was the original location of Seattle's Chinatown and has been home to native Duwamish people from before white settlement through modern times. Any intervention that aspires to reveal queer heritage should be mindful of the wider cultural context. Any implementation of an LGBTQ program must also respect how urban spaces actually served others as well.

NEXT STEPS

With a foundation that locates the historical queer territory in Pioneer Square, further research and action opportunities can be pursued.

Additional archival work is needed to update the map. New research may lead to the identification of currently unidentified spaces (Further research will likely also provide location information about spaces that were rejected from the current version, such as the Captain's Table). Although the queer landscape has been lost and many details are gone along with it, the dates that some social spaces functioned as welcoming places to LGBTQ people may also be refined. Other comparisons can be made. For example, it would be beneficial to examine the map in relationship to Pioneer Square's straight social spaces as well as to represent centers of cruising activity in the area. These layers could reveal additional insights about how the pedestrian streetscape was navigated by LGBTQ people.

Sharing the research with groups such as the Pioneer Square Preservation Board and the Alliance for Pioneer Square will disseminate the findings (revealing the landscape in the

1 Maclver Wells, interview by Northwest Lesbian and Gay History Museum Project, October 12, 1997, transcript.

process) and may create conditions that facilitate action, such as updating the National Register Nomination. Efforts to update the nomination would be aided if support can be gained from the Board and from other neighborhood stakeholders such as the Alliance for Pioneer Square.

Engaging with LGBTQ residents in Capitol Hill and across Seattle could foster a sense of stewardship and connection to the historical cultural landscape. The de facto heirs to the landscape might initiate community-driven preservation projects by expanding oral history efforts or lobbying for formal interventions that interpret the lost territory. The LGBTQ landscape in Pioneer Square has been lost but it must not remain invisible.

The French historian Pierre Nora describes the modern sensibility's uncertainty about the past and its desire to capture it, "Never have we longed in a more physical manner to evoke the weight of the land at our feet, the hand of the devil in the year 1000, or the stench of eighteenth-century cities."² For some of us, that longing is strongly felt for the invisible queer landscape of Pioneer Square. Pioneer

Square, the birthplace of Seattle, has a historical storyline that is portrayed in popular narratives; it is a past that can be easily grasped, but does not usually include LGBTQ heritage. It is vital to present the neighborhood's queer past—to document it, preserve it, and reveal it—in order to provide a richer, more truthful orientation to the city's cultural history and the neighborhood's significance to all of its citizens.

2 Nora, Pierre, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire," *Representations*, 26, Spring, 1989, 17.



The Double Header's sign was removed in May 2017.

APPENDIX

Site Inventory

REMAINING SITES

611 Tavern
611 Second Avenue
1962-2003



614 Tavern
614 First Avenue
1963-1972



Blue Note Tavern
103 Prefontaine Place
1958-1960



Bonnie's Place
210 South Washington Street
1969-1971



Caper Club
517 1/2 Third Avenue
1966-1967



The Casino
172 South Washington Street
1930-1964



Cimbris (later the 107 Club)
107 Occidental Avenue
1964-1964



Doll House
119 Yesler Way
1973-1975



Don's Place
610 Second Avenue
1973-1975



Double Header
407 Second Avenue Extension South
1934-2015



Fox and Hounds
122 Cherry Street
1955-1974



Gatsby's
524 Second Avenue
1973-1974



Gay Community Center
102 Cherry Street
1971-1972



Golden Horseshoe
207 Second Avenue South
1961-1976



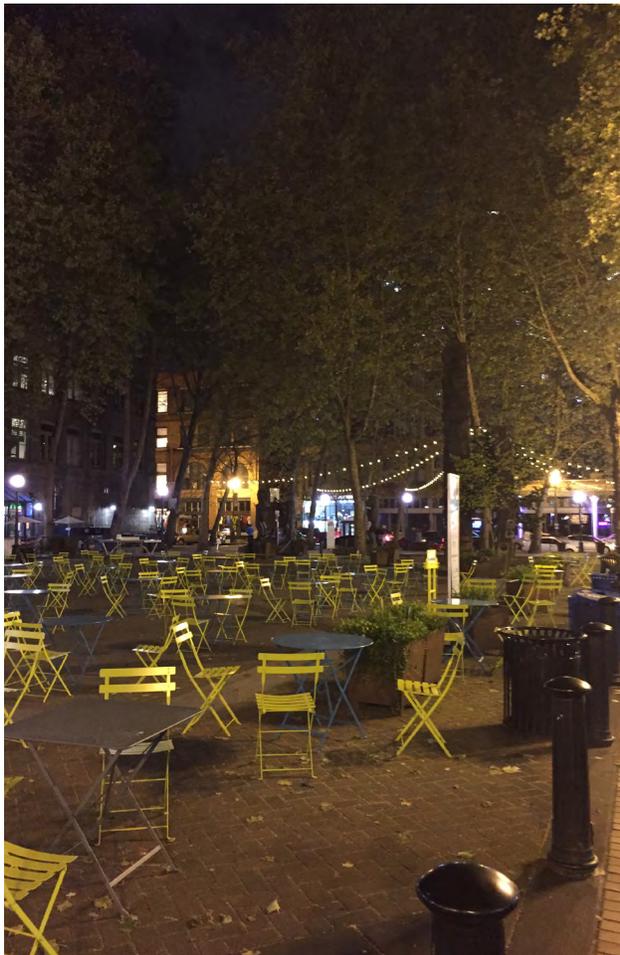
Greek Torch Restaurant
103 1/2 Prefontaine Place
1970-1976



Marine Room
406 Seneca Street
1950-1959



Occidental Square
1974-TBD



Pioneer Place
1930s-TBD



Sapho's
116 Prefontaine
1955-1970



Shelly's Leg
77 South Main Street
1973-1977



Silver Slipper (Original Location)
210 South Jackson Street
1970-1976



South End Steam Baths
115 1/2 First Avenue
1930s-TBD



Submarine Room
506 Second Avenue
1969-1974



Trojan Shield
111 Occidental Avenue
1973-1975



DEMOLISHED SITES

Atlas Steam Bath
118 1/2 Occidental Avenue
1965-1968



Atlas Steam Bath
1318 Second Avenue
1969-1978



Columbus Tavern
167 South Washington Street
1949-1955



Dee's
601 Fourth Avenue
1944-1947



Garden of Allah
1213 First Avenue
1946-1956



Grand Union
104 Fourth Avenue South
1954-1958



Madison Tavern
922 Third Avenue
1955-1965



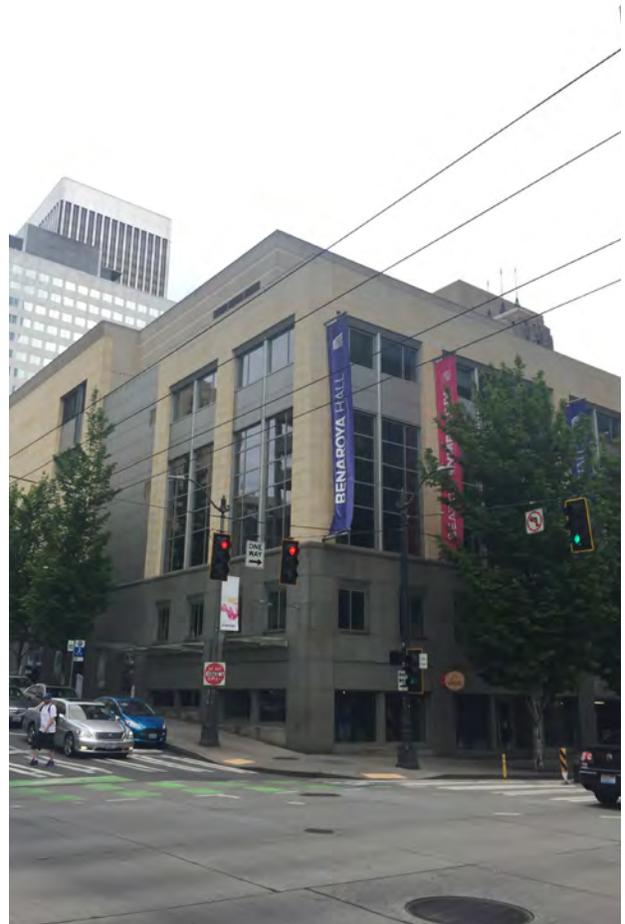
Mocambo
203 Yesler Way
TBD-1978



Rathskeller
306 Marion Street
1948-1959



Spinning Wheel
1334 1/2 Second Avenue
1936-1952



Stage Door
158 South Washington Street
1966-1968



Tam O'Shanter
823 1/2 Third Avenue
1949-1954W



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