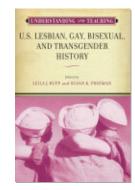


Understanding and Teaching U.S. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History

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The Ins and Outs of U.S. History

Introducing Students to a Queer Past

SUSAN K. FREEMAN and LEILA J. RUPP

hen the editors of the Harvey Goldberg Series for Understanding and Teaching History first approached us about editing a volume on lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) history, our immediate response was that only researchers in the field teach courses on this topic so no one would need such a book. Leila recalled that one of her former colleagues, when some years earlier she proposed to write a module on lesbian and gay history for the customized U.S. history reader Retrieving the American Past, commented that it was "silly, but, well, I guess it's okay if she wants to do it." In response to our hesitation about creating this book, John Tully, one of the series editors, pointed out that younger teachers are likely open to teaching the subject even if it is not their primary field of research and that older faculty members who might be interested would be unlikely to have encountered much of this history when they earned their degrees. And, of course, the move to expand what is taught in high school history classes in at least some states means that teachers could find such a resource a lifesaver. It was not a hard sell, given our missionary zeal for the topic. Voilà, Understanding and Teaching U.S. Lesbian, *Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History* was born.

Harvey Goldberg's excellence as a teacher and scholar in a much different intellectual, social, and political climate offered a vital source of inspiration too. We share a motivation with the editors and authors of other books in the Goldberg series as we seek to explore a "usable past." Our goal is to provide both content and approaches for those committed to integrating queer history into the U.S. history curriculum.

Queer Is In

Tune into any number of media outlets today and you are rarely more than a few clicks away from a feature about samesex sexuality or gender nonconformity. Young people grow up in the twenty-first century in a media-saturated environment where queer life is remarkably visible. Whether delivered through journalism, politics, entertainment, or social media, a focus on queer individuals and the LGBT community has become a prominent fixture of public discourse. In such a context, students enter high schools and colleges with a sense of the current status of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender communities, or at least some familiarity with the hot-button issues and stereotypical portrayals. Yet most students have little grasp of the historical precedents to today's coming out and gay pride spectacles, and few are critical of the narratives that locate queer liberation as beginning in the present-day United States. Although October is sometimes recognized as LGBT History Month, activities tend to center on National Coming Out Day, which is more likely to celebrate the present than the past.

Educators have a crucial role to play in contextualizing the flood of information made possible by the Internet and the heightened recognition of queer people in the news and beyond. As the number of books, films, television shows, and websites proliferates, generating a flurry of facts, perspectives, and fantasies about LGBT lives, the need for students to understand the queer past intensifies. Yet not all students at colleges or universities, and hardly any in high school, have the opportunity to take classes on the history of same-sex sexuality and gender nonconformity. They almost all are, however, required to study U.S. history. This opens up the potential to incorporate these topics in the same way that the best courses have integrated the history of race, ethnicity, and gender into the survey curriculum.

This book offers a manageable entry into the best historical scholarship on same-sex sexuality and gender nonconformity in the United States. It is designed for teachers of U.S. history, who have a tremendous opportunity to provide context and nuance about the changing realities and perceptions of queer people over time. *Understanding and Teaching U.S. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History* brings together personal narratives of educators, topical chapters about significant historical moments and themes, and pedagogical essays about sources and interpretive strategies well suited to the history classroom. It is our hope that the volume will help instructors in a range of institutions, from high schools to universities, to find ways to integrate queer history into their U.S. history surveys without having to read and digest the burgeoning scholarship on the topic.

Why This, and Why Now?

The relevance of same-sex sexuality to history is best captured by the unexpected development in California discussed in Emily K. Hobson and Felicia T. Perez's essay in this volume. In 2011 the state Senate passed, and the governor signed, the Fair, Accurate, Inclusive, and Responsible (FAIR) Education Act, the nation's first legislation requiring public schools to teach about the contributions of LGBT Americans alongside those marginalized by gender, ethnicity, race, and disability. The law amended the language of the state's education code, adding "lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Americans" and "persons with disabilities" to the list of those, including "men and women, Native Americans, African Americans, Mexican Americans, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, European Americans . . . and members of other ethnic and cultural groups" whose contributions must be included in classroom instruction and materials.² Passage of the FAIR Education Act marks the long distance California had traveled from the 1978 vote on the Briggs Initiative, which, had it passed, would have blocked gay men and lesbians, and potentially anyone supporting gay rights, from teaching in the public schools. Whether or not high school and college teachers elsewhere across the nation are compelled—or even allowed—to adopt LGBT-inclusive curricula, growing evidence suggests a voluntary interest in and enthusiasm for doing so.

Yet the world of publishing often lags behind the demand for resources. Despite the voluminous scholarship on queer history, in the form of books and articles, and a number of texts available for courses focused on queer history or the history of sexuality more generally, there is little available for the teacher short on time to read up on a new

topic.³ History textbooks offer some encouragement to instructors who want to incorporate queer content into their classes, and the inclusion of same-sex sexuality in college textbooks has expanded somewhat in keeping with the growing body of historical scholarship. The breadth and depth of information is necessarily limited in textbooks, with the greatest attention paid to the gay movement and AIDS, and infrequent, if any, references to the pre–Second World War era.⁴ Similar to racial and ethnic minorities, women, people with disabilities, and other marginalized groups, queer lives first appear as "sidebar" stories, which are important to introducing, say, prominent individuals or significant acts of protest.

This is, of course, a start. So, too, are the growing number of workshops, conferences, seminars, and online resources providing guidance to interested teachers. The Gay-Straight Alliance Network has supported a project to propose revision of the California Department of Education K-12 History–Social Science Framework to incorporate queer history. From expanding textbook coverage to changing the required curriculum in California to providing resources for teachers at all levels across the country, change is under way. We offer this book as a modest point of departure for those open to the challenge of making their history classes more inclusive.

There is another reason, an urgent one for many students, who feel that now is the time to act, and that is the widespread phenomenon of bullying of queer and gender-nonconforming young people. At the university level, the case of Tyler Clementi, the Rutgers University student who jumped off the George Washington Bridge after his roommate secretly videotaped him in a same-sex encounter, attracted national attention. At the secondary school level, the National Center for Lesbian Rights and the Southern Poverty Law Center, supported by the Justice Department, filed a lawsuit against the Anoka-Hennepin, Minnesota, school district after a gag order kept staff from discussing queer issues in the aftermath of eight suicides, four by gay or bisexual students.⁵ The suit cited a California school climate study that showed that any mention of queer people or issues increased student safety and improved the climate for queer students. 6 As this case makes clear, educators recognize that even as popular acceptance of same-sex sexuality and transgender identity has expanded, both remain contentious issues in schools and the broader society. Administrative, political, and logistical

constraints, as well as a climate of uncertainty and for some fear, shape the environment in which many teachers—particularly in high schools—enter this territory.

Brave queer students and their allies have altered school climates in the past few decades, forming gay-straight alliances and building queer resource centers on campuses across the country. Comparatively speaking, academic classes have lagged behind in terms of addressing school climate. Class assignments, such as ones that Susan uses with her college students, might make use of students' inquisitiveness to address barriers to learning about LGBT lives. In one homework assignment, for example, students visit a public or school library to use the catalog, explore available material, and seek help from a librarian. They report back to their peers what they learned (e.g., "The librarian had to ask me what LGBT meant!," "They didn't have any young adult books about growing up with gay parents," or "I felt self-conscious when researching this topic in public"). Students consider what action library patrons might take to ensure that queer material is visible and available, and they discuss why shame persists for some people seeking information. For another homework assignment, students assess the LGBT friendliness of a high school—everything from nondiscrimination policies and gender-neutral bathrooms to student clubs and queer-inclusive curricula. Here they discover that a school that is "not all that bad" in terms of bullying or outright discrimination could nevertheless make progress toward meaningful inclusion, especially in health, literature, and social studies classes. Or they learn that schools seem comparatively better equipped to deal with gay students than transgender kids.

As the contributors to this book show, incorporating LGBT history into traditional history courses does not necessitate throwing out existing lectures or sacrificing the important work already being done. And the value is greater than simply engaging students with a "current" topic, as Emily Hobson and Felicia Perez propose in their essay in part one: LGBT history "pushes them to ask creative, critical questions about the past—the kinds of questions we want them to use in approaching all aspects of history." Accordingly, this book provides classroom-tested, meaningful ways to integrate the queer past into U.S. history classes, in the service of enlightening students about the value of history and the significance of difference in the twenty-first-century world.

How We Got to This Place

The focus, and some might say fixation, on LGBT lives is a culmination of social movements seeking greater rights for marginalized people. The same impetus that led to the FAIR Education Act and the 2013 partial repeal of the federal Defense of Marriage Act has also fostered significant scholarly output. Since the 1970s, scholars have created and delved into archives, generating countless books and articles, a number of which have earned the historical profession's top prizes.⁷ Historians are integral to the interdisciplinary field of queer studies, which supports numerous academic journals and book series, conferences, research institutes, and degree programs. 8 The acclaim for scholarship about same-sex sexuality owes much to historians, who were among the earliest to establish stand-alone college courses in gay studies. They created and joined short-lived Gay Academic Union chapters and worked with alternative (Gay/Lesbian) Lavender Universities, queer bookstores and archives, and community-based gay history projects to produce and extend knowledge beyond the academy in the 1970s. The examination of identities, communities, and social movements pioneered by this new generation of scholars displaced older frameworks of "abnormal psychology" and "sociology of deviance" that had informed nearly all scholarship prior to the 1970s.

Although a generation of high school and college students now find gay and lesbian studies described as a possible college major when accessing Princeton Review's college admissions and test preparation services, institutional recognition was, and remains in a number of locations, contested. It also took decades for academic LGBT studies to emerge. Similar to women's and ethnic studies courses, gay studies classes arose on college campuses in the wake of the various social movements of the 1960s, yet they were less warmly received in most locations. Thanks to grassroots support from students and activists, and the growing reputations of a number of courageous and diligent gay, lesbian, and queer scholars, recognition of the field improved. By the end of the 1980s, the first LGBT academic department existed at City College of San Francisco, and the Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies was established in New York City. At the same time, faculty and graduate students were routinely discouraged from associating with the field. Caution diminished by the end of the twentieth century, as a growing community of professors and graduate students

wholeheartedly embraced queer scholarship. We have come a long way since the early days when "there was little sense in the profession that what we today call LGBT history had any depth or substance to it, or that it was anything more than a curiosity on the margins of what really counts as history," as John D'Emilio describes in his essay in this volume.

What's in a Name

The naming of the field of scholarship, like the naming of the larger movement from which it grew, has emphatically rejected the overly medicalized and pathologized term *homosexuality*. Conveying a similar meaning without its historically specific and homophobic baggage, *same-sex sexuality* appears as an alternative in the writing of many authors, particularly appropriate in times before conceptualization of homosexuality as a characteristic of certain people. Yet *gay*, *queer*, and *LGBT* (and other, longer lists of letters, including *LGBTQIA*, which adds *Q* for *queer* or *questioning*; *I* for *intersex*; and *A* for *ally* or *asexual*) are perhaps the most common terms that historians use when describing their work.

In step with the gay liberation movement of the early 1970s, the earliest historical scholarship bore the title "gay history." This was soon extended to acknowledge lesbians by name, recognizing that women's experiences are shaped by gender in ways different from those of gay men. In the 1980s, inclusion of bisexual and transgender people within the movement, and within the scope of history about marginalized sexualities and genders, led to the adoption of the acronyms LGBT and GLBT. Nearly simultaneous with this development was the growing popularity of the term *queer*, a reclaimed epithet that has been mainstreamed by its use in television programming and other media. Both a politicized assertion of difference and a concept uniting a coalition based on sexual dissent and gender variance, *queer* remains a provocative and preferred designation for many activists, writers, scholars, and teachers.

In this volume, we use *queer* and *LGBT* interchangeably in this way, and other, more specific terms where relevant and historically accurate. In the period before the invention of the term *homosexuality*, we use *same-sex sexuality*. Before the development of the concept of transgender, we use *gender nonconforming* or *gender-crossing*. As terms came into use by

both observers and people with same-sex desires, we follow their lead, using *homosexual*, *gay*, *lesbian*, *bisexual*, *queer*, and *transgender*. Students, who today embrace a wider variety of identities, including "pansexual," "fluid," "heteroflexible," "trans," and "genderqueer," can learn from the changing ways people in the past have been named and named themselves.¹⁰

What Queer History Adds

While the relevance of historical scholarship to the larger field of gay and lesbian studies is easily apparent, the reverse is usually less evident. Yet queer studies adds remarkable, and often underappreciated, value to the study and practice of history. The changing conceptions of gender and sexuality in U.S. history and the development of queer identities, communities, and social movements—and opposition to them—contribute important elements to the story of the American past and present. Attitudes toward same-sex sexuality and gender transformation tell us a great deal about the sexual and gender systems of Native Americans, European colonists, and the new "Americans." Same-sex sexuality is part of the story of the evolution of regional differences and the growth of cities. Questions about civil liberties and the role of government in individuals' lives are central to LGBT history, and the collective resistance of sexual minorities is as much a part of U.S. history as are the struggles of other marginalized groups, whose histories intersect with queer history.

In the midst of abundant discussion about queerness, students nevertheless arrive in our history classes with a deficit of historical understanding. "Despite greater cultural and social visibility and a huge expansion of historical writing," notes John D'Emilio in this volume, "with very few exceptions undergraduates [have] no knowledge of a queer past." A steady diet of social media and celebrity gossip primes students to be curious about private lives and relationships of famous people, leading them to wonder about which figures in U.S. history had same-sex lovers. At the same time, as Will Grant points out in his conversation with Daniel Hurewitz about teaching queer history in high school, "there's a lot of concern among teachers about teaching [this material to] younger students." A middle-school teacher worried aloud at a conference on the FAIR Education Act whether identifying a historical figure's nonnormative sexuality or gender would simply shut down

the conversation.¹¹ Grant talks about the difference between teaching about sexual identity and discussing sex: "And the example I give is Queen Victoria and Albert—how their children became the ruling family of Europe, and World War I in many ways was a family feud between all these cousins who were all related. So their sexuality, their normative heterosexuality, was clearly a part of that history, but we never stop and talk about sex. You don't need to." Of course, as Leila's essay "Outing the Past" reminds us, sometimes we do need to talk about sex acts and body parts. Emily Hobson and Felicia Perez, too, are insistent that we must not "allow LGBT history to be taught without speaking of the connections between sexual desire and love . . . not simply romantic love but a love of the marginalized, a love of resistance, a love of justice."

One of the biggest challenges we face is helping students to understand the concept of the social construction of sexuality, since so many students of all sexual identities embrace Lady Gaga's message that we are all "Born This Way." The near consensus among queer historians is that societies shape the way sexual desires are understood, the sexual practices in which people engage, the meanings people attach to their sexual desires and behaviors, and the identities that people embrace. Queer scholarship is almost entirely and unapologetically social constructionist, while the LGBT movement, if sometimes only for strategic reasons, emphasizes an inner essence that determines our sexual and gender identities. We both find that students, even after reading about all the different ways societies have shaped sexuality in the past, remain firmly convinced that they were born straight or lesbian or gay or bisexual or transgender. The challenge is to help them see that their desires and behaviors could have quite different meanings and consequences in other times and places.

Another challenge is attending to the intersections or variability of multiple identities shaped simultaneously by not only gender and sexuality but also race, ethnicity, class, nationality, age, disability, and more. As Kevin Mumford writes in his essay, "an intersectional approach moves beyond an older diversity project of bringing 'forward the lives of the formerly silenced,'" an important starting place for queer history but one with limited utility. In a similar vein, Felicia T. Perez's framework for her survey U.S. history course—one that focuses on social justice, perspective, and context—yields a fresh approach. Mumford urges us to interrogate absence, identify ambiguities, and

attend to the "connections across difference and sites of repression," and he discusses the fraught ways in which the complex identities of students and teachers alike come into play in the classroom. It is essential that, as we integrate queer history along with attention to gender, race, ethnicity, class, and disability in the U.S. survey, we attend to the multiple identities of all people—Franklin Roosevelt as a white, heterosexual, upper-class disabled man, as well as, say, a hypothetical transgender, queer, working-class, able-bodied Asian American woman.

The FAIR Education Act in California illustrates the challenges of integrating LGBT history into the curriculum at every level. Note that the language calls for the inclusion of the contributions of LGBT individuals to U.S. history. This is what, in the field of women's history, Gerda Lerner long ago critiqued as "contribution history." ¹² If all we do is insert into the existing narrative of U.S. history the contributions of a few individuals who might (or might not) have desired, loved, or had sex with others with biologically alike bodies, or who might (or might not) have thought of themselves as a gender not associated with their sex, we add little to our understanding of sexuality and gender in the past. Those who worked to implement the FAIR Education Act in California did so in the spirit, rather than letter, of the law. That is, we set ourselves the task, as we have in this volume, of not just adding "another other," as Catherine J. Kudlick has described the need for the history of disability. 13 Rather, we ask, how do we understand history differently when we recognize it not as the single story of a dominant group but as the convergence of several histories?¹⁴ If we consider gender-crossing among some Native American peoples; the homosocial worlds of sex-segregated factory work, education, and settlement houses, where romantic friendships flourished; urban working-class culture, immigration, and the emergence of new sexual systems; the emergence of the concept of homosexuality as a mental illness; sexual experimentation in artistic communities, including the Harlem Renaissance; the ways in which the Second World War both mobilized and contained gay and lesbian communities; the Red Scare's cousin, the Lavender Scare, in the aftermath of the war; the homophile and gay liberation movements as part of the story of civil rights; and changing conceptions of citizenship—if we consider all this, we confront a history enriched by an understanding of how concepts of sexuality and gender, in conjunction with race, ethnicity, class, disability, age, and other categories of difference, have changed over time.

Such context fuels new ways of thinking about contemporary debates, including same-sex marriage, gays in the military, immigration and citizenship, AIDS, and discrimination on the basis of gender and sexual identity. What a historical perspective brings is a deeper understanding of why change has happened, and why some things have not changed. Legal, social, political, urban, and cultural history lend multiple dimensions to thinking about the queer past and present, and, in turn, the history of same-sex sexuality and gender queerness expands our understanding of all these facets of history. Our aim is to show how the central narratives of U.S. history speak to queer lives and, just as important, vice versa.

What This Book Offers

Following this introduction is an essay by Leila, "Outing the Past: U.S. Queer History in Global Perspective," that places U.S. queer history into a global context. Although our focus is on integrating LGBT history in U.S. survey courses, a global perspective sheds light on changing conceptions of what it means to desire, love, or have sex with someone of the same sex, and on changing conceptions of what it means to cross or mix genders. A global perspective helps us to understand that sexual and gender transgression are not modern western phenomena, and that queer history is not the story of unrelenting progress. Incidentally, this essay provides some information for teachers interested in incorporating queer history into non-U.S. courses.

The body of the book is organized in three sections, which provide tastes of the great variety of approaches one might take in refining U.S. history courses to be more LGBT inclusive. Part one, "The Challenge of Teaching Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History," offers four reflective essays on teaching queer history, both as an independent course and as part of general U.S. history courses at the survey or advanced level. We are grateful for the contributions of leading scholars and outstanding teachers, whose essays address developments in the field along with their personal observations and concerns. The collective wisdom of these essays reflects the field's multiplicity, as well as the variability that necessarily results from teaching in different contexts. College and high school teachers employed in public and private schools, and working in various regions of the country, offer different perspectives on how to present knowledge about queerness to students

effectively. The authors convey imaginative strategies and hard-won insights about fitting queer history into the central narratives and practices of U.S. history.

Part two, "Topics in Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History," offers seventeen essays on specific topics that relate to those generally covered in introductory U.S. history courses. Contributed by teachers and scholars who have, in many cases, literally written the book on their topics, these essays distill the content of monographs and articles, making it easy for teachers to integrate this material without having to engage in a massive amount of reading. They describe and analyze specific events, individuals, and issues in LGBT history and explain how they contribute to our understanding of U.S. history and how they might best be integrated into a survey or upper-level course. The authors of these topical essays have taken a variety of approaches, but all concentrate on what queer history can add to the general U.S. history curriculum.

Building on the coverage of various topics in part two, the five essays in part three, "Discovery and Interpretation of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History," supply inspiration about the practice of teaching and supervising students' research on same-sex sexuality and gender nonconformity. The essays serve as a guide to the world of print, film, and online resources, showcasing, for example, how digital media make possible access to primary documents and the circulation of historical knowledge that might otherwise remain inaccessible. Each author considers critical approaches, class activities, and projects that grow out of the available sources. Significant emphasis is placed on working with students to interpret primary documents in the context of historical scholarship. As in the other sections, authors draw from their secondary and postsecondary teaching experience as well as their involvement in historical research.

Between the covers of this book are ideas and resources for teachers at all levels intended to aid in educating students about the complexities of LGBT history. If students acquire an understanding that in the past same-sex sexual desire did not always mark one as a homosexual, that women and men did not always have to hide their same-sex love and desire, that changing gender and changing sex are not just recent phenomena, that in a variety of contexts same-sex sexuality was accepted, and that same-sex sexuality is an important part of history—if they

understand all this, it might make an impact in the classroom, on the streets, online, and in public policy.

We believe fervently that knowledge can make a difference. Many years ago, when Leila was teaching the second half of a U.S. survey in a large lecture format, she ran into a student waiting tables at a gay restaurant in town. He told her that he had never heard of Stonewall until she discussed it in a lecture on social movements of the 1960s, that he had gone home and talked to his roommate about it, and that then he and his roommate, who had never discussed their sexual identities, came out to each other. He described the moment as life changing. Robert King, a high school teacher whose story appears in Daniel Hurewitz's contribution to this volume, tells a similar story about Jack Davis, a student in his class. If the mere mention of an event in queer history can make a difference in a student's life, just think what a transformed curriculum might do. In a society in which bullying, hate crimes, homelessness, and suicides are all too common, instruction about queer history, we believe, will inspire young minds to imagine and work for a more open and accepting future society. That is what Harvey Goldberg meant by a usable past. It is our hope that *Understanding and Teaching* Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History provides such a past and moves us toward a better future.

NOTES

- 1. The Our Family Coalition maintains a website devoted to the FAIR Education Act and its implementation. See http://www.faireducationact.com, accessed July 15, 2013.
- 2. See "Frequently Asked Questions: Senate Bill 48," http://www.cde.ca.gov/ci/cr/cr/senatebill48faq.asp, accessed July 15, 2013.
- 3. See John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988); Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Allida M. Black, ed., *Modern American Queer History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); Vicki L. Eaklor, *Queer America: A People's GLBT History of the United States* (New York: New Press, 2008); Michael Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2011).
- 4. According to an assessment conducted in 2003, the majority of the twenty-three U.S. textbooks reviewed contained coverage; by contrast, in a similar assessment in 1991, only three texts had a paragraph or more on the

topic. Vicki Eaklor, "How Queer-Friendly Are US History Textbooks?," History News Network, 2004, http://hnn.us/articles/3200.html, accessed July 27, 2013.

- 5. See National Center for Lesbian Rights, http://www.nclrights.org/site/PageServer, accessed July 27, 2013. We are grateful to Arcelia Hurtado for information about the case.
- 6. See the report "Implementing Lessons That Matter: The Impact of LGBTQ-Inclusive Curriculum on Student Safety, Well-Being, and Achievement," GSA Network, http://www.gsanetwork.org/files/aboutus/ImplementingLessons_fullreport.pdf, accessed July 15, 2013.
- 7. For example, Margot Canaday's *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009) won the Organization of American Historians Ellis Hawley Prize for the best book-length historical study of the political economy, politics, or institutions of the United States and the American Society for Legal History's Cromwell Book Prize, among others. George Chauncey's *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994) won the Organization of American Historians Merle Curti Prize for the best book in social history and the Frederick Jackson Turner Prize for the best first book in history.
- 8. See Michael A. Warner, "Queer and Then?," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, January 1, 2012, http://chronicle.com/article/QueerThen-/130161, accessed July 21, 2013.
- 9. Toni A. MacNaron, *Poisoned Ivy: Lesbian and Gay Academics Confronting Homophobia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996); Marc Stein, "Crossing Borders: Memories, Dreams, Fantasies, and Nightmares of the History Job Market," *Left History* 9 (Spring–Summer 2004): 119–39.
- 10. See Leila J. Rupp and Verta Taylor, "Queer Girls on Campus: New Intimacies and Sexual Identities," in *Intimacies: A New World of Relational Life*, ed. Alan Frank, Patricia Clough, and Steven Seidman, 82–97 (New York: Routledge, 2013).
- 11. Discussion at Beyond Diversity: What Is a FAIR Education?, a miniconference organized by Jeffrey Stewart, Jacqueline Reid, and Anissa Stewart, University of California, Santa Barbara, April 18–19, 2013.
- 12. Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 146.
- 13. Catherine J. Kudlick, "Disability History: Why We Need Another 'Other," *American Historical Review* 108 (June 2003): 763–93.
- 14. This reflects the conversation at the Beyond Diversity: What Is a FAIR Education? conference.