

# Preface

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*Identities and Place: Changing Labels and Intersectional Communities of LGBTQ and Two-Spirit People in the United States* focuses on the recent history of nonheteronormative Americans from the early twentieth century onward and the places associated with these communities. This book and the other volumes in this series are part of a previous publication, *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, edited by Megan E. Springate for the National Park Foundation and the National Park Service (2016). *Identities and Place* contains several revised and updated chapters from the theme study, as well as prompts for interactive projects related to the topic material. The chapters for this volume were chosen for their intersectional approach to queer history, demonstrating how such studies contribute to a multifaceted narrative of American history.

Unique to this volume (and the series as a whole) is the focus on historic sites. Authors explore how queer identities are connected with specific places: places where people gather, socialize, protest, mourn, and celebrate. A study of the private residences, social gathering spaces, and sites of protest affiliated with lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) Americans provides a deeper look at how sexually variant and gender nonconforming Americans constructed identity, created communities, and fought to have their rights recognized by the government. In the 1980s, urban historian Dolores Hayden attempted to commemorate the public spaces associated with women and ethnic minorities by working with local communities in the Los Angeles area. Studying what she referred to as the “politics of place construction,” Hayden sought to disrupt the myth that only white heterosexual males had a presence in public spaces.<sup>1</sup> Her work is relevant to this series as it challenges historians to consider how the control of public and private space was (and continues to be) used to reinforce hierarchies of power. The reclamation of meaningful spaces, by extension, is a radical act that can empower marginalized communities.

Queer spaces in both rural and urban America are vital pieces of evidence in documenting and interpreting LGBTQ history. While scholars of queer history rely on historical and archaeological records to study the past, more consideration should be given to the built environment as it reveals how people moved through and interacted with the world.<sup>2</sup> Decades of urban development and renewal have caused a loss in historic structures, particularly those of nonheteronormative Americans with multiple marginalized identities. A lack of knowledge about what constitutes queer spaces causes many urban and rural structures associated with these communities to remain undocumented. There is a need to identify and preserve nonheteronormative spaces to prevent the erasure of queer stories and to identify those not yet told.

Assessing the places associated with LGBTQ individuals and communities requires knowledge of American queer history and culture. Scholarship in this field is relatively new, with early publications dating to the 1980s and 1990s. Research by historians such as John D'Emilio, Estelle Freedman, and George Chauncey laid a foundation for examining how gay Americans first formed communities, created distinct cultures, and established outlets for collective queer thought in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>3</sup> Acknowledging and including people whose lives were less fully documented in traditional historical sources, especially women, transgender individuals, and people of color, has been an ongoing challenge for historians. In recent decades, scholarship on lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer history has developed to more fully underscore the complexity of identity politics in shaping the lives of those who identified as part of these communities. Foregrounding this diversity of identities has highlighted questions about how queer cultures differed based on regional location, ethnicity, gender identities, and sexual orientation.<sup>4</sup> *Identities and Place* adds to existing literature by exploring how different identities navigated a predominately heterosexual society before and after the emergence of the modern LGBTQ civil rights movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s. By challenging the perception of a monolithic LGBTQ community, the contributing authors reveal how different facets of identity intersect and influence lived experiences. This volume provides an overview of how individuals and communities defined and refined identity over time, and it examines how the process of identity-making is rooted in the physical geography of both urban and rural America.

This volume provides a broad study of different queer identities in order to give a more comprehensive look at different aspects of the queer experience to convey the centrality of all LGBTQ identities in tell-

ing a broader narrative of struggle, resistance, and triumph. The authors achieve this by exploring the interdependence of categories of difference, revealing that identity is contingent upon time and place. Their contributions in this volume emphasize the importance of acknowledging the diversity of individuals within the LGBTQ label and how the inclusion (or exclusion) of certain identities changes as social norms and political policies fluctuate.<sup>5</sup> Aspects of identity such as gender and sexual orientation inform our social interactions as well as our ability to partake in society—both professionally and personally. Recognizing that gender and sexuality are socially constructed is an essential foundation when exploring queer identity and history.<sup>6</sup> As demonstrated by the authors in this volume, characteristics of an individual's identity cannot be examined independently; instead, these social categories are contingent upon each other, informing an individual's interactions with society and vice versa. Those with multiple minority identities are more likely to experience prejudice and discrimination in contrast to those with fewer minority identities.<sup>7</sup> It is also important to note that while this book speaks to various queer identities, it does not encapsulate them all.

This inclusive approach to the study of LGBTQ history requires an understanding of the language used when referring to queer individuals and communities. Today, sexually nonconforming and gender variant people are often labeled as belonging to LGBTQ communities. While people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer are often referred to as a collective, lived experiences are inherently different depending on categories of difference (such as race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ability, and religion). Knowing who identifies as part of these communities is necessary when studying the construction of queer identity. Lesbian and gay Americans are defined by an attraction to the same gender. While “lesbian” refers to women, the term “gay” often refers to men, but can be used when speaking of multiple genders. As author Loraine Hutchins notes, American society has a tendency to categorize people in binary terms (as either heterosexual or homosexual), yet bisexuals have “the capacity to be attracted to and love more than one gender.”<sup>8</sup> Her chapter, “Making Bisexuals Visible,” reinserts bisexual identities back into the historical narrative and examines how people attracted to multiple genders navigate heterosexual and homosexual society. Susan Stryker defines transgender as “the ways people can live lives that depart from the conventional patterns according to which all bodies are assigned a sex at birth (male or female) and enrolled in a social gender (girl or boy).”<sup>9</sup> Tracing gender nonconform-

ing behavior in America to the pre-revolutionary era, Stryker's chapter, "Transgender History in the United States and the Places That Matter," reveals that gender variant individuals have an integral place in the history of America.

Scholars have debated the use of the term "queer" when referring to nonheteronormative people and behavior. Originally used as a derogatory term beginning in the late nineteenth century, the word queer has recently been reclaimed by a younger generation of Americans. This term is now used to refer to those of us who do not identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender but who are also not exclusively heterosexual. The use of the term today recognizes that there are many identities within lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender communities. In the spirit of inclusivity, this book series uses the term when referring broadly to nonheteronormative Americans in the past and present.<sup>10</sup>

While the volumes in this series largely focus on the modern history of queer communities, sexually variant and gender-nonconforming behavior was present in North America well before the founding of the United States. However, it was not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that a collective gay consciousness emerged. Historian John D'Emilio wrote about the formation of gay communities and argued that the "process of urbanization and industrialization created a social context in which an autonomous personal life could develop," allowing gay men and women to meet, socialize, and explore their sexuality.<sup>11</sup> D'Emilio suggested that the rise of capitalism and the free-labor system created opportunities for autonomy and freedom that facilitated the emergence of gay and lesbian culture in the second half of the twentieth century. Urban life introduced men and women to new opportunities for socialization as well as sexual experimentation, and as a result, the meaning of sex changed.

Other scholars, such as Judith Jack Halberstam and E. Patrick Johnson, have challenged the assertion that LGBTQ life is synonymous with the urban cities of the east and west coasts. Halberstam's *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* looks at the queer "way of life" where sexually variant and gender-nonconforming Americans live in a queer "temporality," creating distinct cultures and spaces outside of heterosexual society. The places of LGBTQ individuals and communities are not inherently urban; Halberstam uses the life and tragic death of Brandon Teena, a white transgender teen from rural Nebraska who was raped and murdered, as a way to delve into the construction of queer countercultures in rural settings.<sup>12</sup> While Halberstam focuses on a white transgender teen from rural America to contrast rural

and urban queer communities, Johnson notes that there is a dearth of scholarship on the Black queer experience (rural and urban), particularly that of transgender African Americans. Johnson's introduction to *No Tea, No Shade: New Writings in Black Queer Studies* reminds scholars that while more case studies on queer life are necessary, they must also be inclusive of people of color.<sup>13</sup>

Gay communities forming in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also understood their identities differently than queer individuals today. Before the twentieth century, sexuality was not considered an inherent part of one's identity. Instead, it was a behavior. Sexuality, as understood by American society, was fluid. Before the creation of a binary system of categorizing sexuality as either heterosexual or homosexual, engaging in same-sex intimacy did not necessarily make one homosexual, as George Chauncey documented in his study of early-twentieth-century New York City.<sup>14</sup> Instead, sexual acts were evaluated based on the gendered roles individuals adopted during sex.<sup>15</sup> This mentality changed in the mid-twentieth century as homosexual men began to identify themselves as gay on the basis of "sexual object choice rather than gender status."<sup>16</sup> As a result, queer communities changed how they defined themselves.<sup>17</sup>

World War II served as a catalyst for expressing same-sex love and desire and created what John D'Emilio called a "nationwide coming out experience."<sup>18</sup> As homosexuality became more visible during and after the war, gay men and women faced discrimination in both their personal and professional lives. Activists such as Frank Kameny and Henry "Harry" Hay challenged this prejudice and created outlets for queer consciousness, such as the Mattachine Society, Daughters of Bilitis, and ONE, Inc. These early homophile organizations allowed for public expression of gay identity and created the foundation for the later, more radical, activism of the 1970s, including the uprising at Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village in 1969.<sup>19</sup> That summer, a group of gay, bisexual, and transgender patrons fought back against police brutality, sparking the modern movement for LGBTQ civil rights and paving the way for future acts of civil disobedience. While half a century has passed since the civil unrest at Stonewall, more attention and consideration should be given to queer history and the spaces associated with these communities.

The process of identifying and preserving queer spaces requires the efforts of both amateurs and professionals alike. While those with training in the fields of history, historic preservation, public history, archaeology, and related disciplines have an advantage in accessing tools of documentation and preservation, all citizens have the power to help

identify potential sites affiliated with queer history and to pursue various forms of preservation through federal and local designation, adaptive reuse, and more. Participating in the historical process in this way is a powerful act, and as Haitian anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot noted, documenting and preserving history is one way to identify untold stories from the past. His book *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* examines the process of recreating the past (through research and scholarship) and identifies why only a few select narratives are chosen for retelling over others. Many stories have been lost and omitted over time, leaving us with a limited glimpse of the past. As a result, Trouillot cautioned that “the production of historical narratives involves the uneven contribution of competing groups and individuals who have unequal access to the means of such production.” The ability to record and interpret the past is an act that is derived from being in a position of power and authority.<sup>20</sup>

To avoid this imbalance of power when talking about the past, citizens today can participate in the process of preservation to make sure the voices of marginalized communities are heard and remembered. To ensure that queer spaces (and by extension queer stories) are not erased, grassroots preservation efforts are needed to preserve the tangible places that speak to the existence and history of LGBTQ people. This book series is intended to empower aspiring professionals, current practitioners, and members of the public to take an active role in learning about and preserving the queer stories of yesterday and today.

One of the challenges in recognizing queer spaces is determining how to document and preserve these places in a way that warrants their survival for the next generation. There are many avenues for recognizing and preserving historic places—some more accessible than others. One way is to nominate a property to the National Register of Historic Places or to designate it as a National Historic Landmark. While the programs are similar, National Register listings encompass locally and regionally significant properties, while National Historic Landmarks are properties deemed significant on a national level. The authors of this book series frequently refer to queer places listed on the National Register and emphasize the need to have LGBTQ historic sites federally designated as National Historic Landmarks. Both programs are managed by the National Park Service (NPS), and as this book series originally began as an online publication for the NPS, there is a notable emphasis on using the National Register and National Historic Landmark programs to recognize and preserve queer spaces.

While there are many historically significant places not listed on the National Register, this program provides certain benefits for property owners. In addition to tax benefits, property owners can also apply for select grants.<sup>21</sup> The National Park Service also uses the history of these places in its official interpretation, which brings greater public awareness about the importance of the properties. The National Register guidelines, however, can be limiting and exclusionary and have in the past favored the histories of white, heterosexual men of privilege.<sup>22</sup>

Despite this volume's emphasis on National Register listings and National Historic Landmarks, there are many other ways to recognize historically significant properties. In December 2017, the Metro Nashville Historical Commission recognized the significance of a local lesbian activist named Penny Campbell, adding a marker at her former home to the city's Historic Marker Program. A local LGBT activist who was instrumental in organizing the city's first pride parade, Campbell is also remembered as the lead plaintiff in a court case challenging the state's "homosexual acts" statute. Due to the efforts of Dr. Pippa Holloway, a professor of history at Middle Tennessee State University and Jessica Reeves, a member of the Metro Historical Commission, the city of Nashville dedicated its first marker to a queer rights activist. The commemoration of the Campbell house by the Metro Historical Commission serves as an example of the importance of local and regional designation programs in preserving the history of sexually variant and gender nonconforming Americans.<sup>23</sup>

Until recently, few lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer-affiliated sites were recognized for their importance in American history. This is slowly changing as lawmakers, educators, and members of the public recognize the importance of queer stories and places in the larger narrative of American history. The designation of Stonewall National Monument by President Barack Obama in June 2016, for example, was a moment of triumph for LGBTQ Americans who witnessed part of queer history being federally recognized, honored, and protected as part of a larger movement for civil rights. Federal recognition of the importance of this place in American history is an important step in recognizing queer stories in the national narrative. Whether places of tragedy, triumph, celebration, or resistance, historic sites allow us to connect more deeply to our collective past. Recognizing and preserving LGBTQ history is also a collaborative effort between academics, civil servants, and members of the public. The three volumes in this series are a tangible example of the outcomes that can happen through such interdisciplinary efforts.

Over the past several years, the National Park Service has played a leading role in raising greater awareness of historic sites affiliated with LGBTQ history. As America's storyteller, the National Park Service identifies, preserves, and interprets the history of all U.S. citizens. Recently, the NPS and its programs, such as the National Register of Historic Places and National Historic Landmarks Program, have begun to care for and interpret more diverse historic sites that represent the broader spectrum of American experiences. The NPS is, by extension, addressing the underrepresentation of certain communities, including Latinos/Latinas, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, women, and LGBTQ communities.<sup>24</sup> *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, released by the National Park Foundation and the National Park Service in 2016, is a prime example of the growing diversity represented within the National Park Service. Over twelve hundred pages in length and with contributions from dozens of authors, the study is intended to help historians, preservationists, and members of the public identify potential properties for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places and as National Historic Landmarks. The subsequent listings, designations, and amendments to existing listings resulting from the LGBTQ theme study further demonstrate the significance of LGBTQ sites to the overall American story.<sup>25</sup>

At the time that *LGBTQ America* (the impetus for this book series) was released, I was a public history Ph.D. student completing my residency with the National Park Service's Cultural Resources Office of Interpretation and Education (the leading force behind the study's publication). Editor Megan E. Springate and I were invited by Berghahn Books to compose a book containing several chapters of *LGBTQ America*. As editor of the theme study, Megan's familiarity with the topic material and working relationship with the authors facilitated the conceptualization and execution of the series. To make the material more accessible to young professionals, community leaders, and members of the public, we created a series of activities for the practical application of topics and theories discussed in the chapters. With a background in civic engagement and public interpretation, I took on the challenge of creating activities to complement the content, with the target audience being college undergraduate and graduate students in fields relating to LGBTQ history, public history, and historic preservation. This project was meaningful not only as a way to guide people in the field; I was also grappling with how to identify myself as someone attracted to multiple genders. Accordingly, the project took on a special significance to me,

and I was excited to have the opportunity to make the content accessible to a broader readership in a way that was deeply personal.

Megan and I were also eager to make the chapters of the LGBTQ theme study available in print (as the original is only accessible online) and to disseminate this information widely to a new generation of scholars. As we attempted to identify sections of the theme study to include in the book, we began to recognize the importance of all the chapters in depicting the LGBTQ experience in America. In *LGBTQ America*, the contributing authors addressed unique facets of queer communities and showed how affiliated historic sites are interconnected with the larger historical narrative. As a result, our book proposal to Berghahn Books was expanded to include a series of three volumes encompassing the themes of identity, community, and historic preservation.

The book series takes an all-encompassing approach to the study of queer history and culture. Due to their backgrounds as historians, public historians, preservationists, and community leaders, the authors bring different voices to the table. The series is also unique in offering an interactive element designed to engage undergraduate and graduate students. Each volume includes worksheets to prompt readers to think critically and immerse themselves in the subject matter. Each activity was intentionally crafted to allow faculty and educators the flexibility to tailor it to their course curriculum. Intended to be read as a series or individually, the books examine the history of LGBTQ communities in the United States, explore the complexities of LGBTQ identities, and provide guidance on how to identify, preserve, and interpret affiliated properties.

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## Notes

1. Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), xii.
2. Scholars such as architectural historian Dell Upton and American studies professor Bernard L. Herman examine the intentionality of the built landscape in influencing human behavior and perceptions. Their work reveals how landscapes and structures are designed to reinforce hierarchies of power. For more information about the topic, see Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in *Material Life in Amer-*

- ica 1600-1860*, ed. R. B. S. George (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988); and Bernard L. Herman, "The Embedded Landscapes of the Charleston Single House, 1780-1820," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 7 (1997): 41-57.
3. Historians including John D'Emilio, Estelle Freedman, and George Chauncey began exploring the history of gay Americans in the 1980s and 1990s. See, for example, John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); John D'Emilio, "Capitalism and Gay Identity," in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, edited by Henry Abelove, Michele Aina Barale, and David M. Halperin (New York: Routledge, 1993); John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).
  4. Scholars have recently produced a range of studies on queer people living in various parts of North America, including John Howard's *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Carol Mason's *Oklahoma: Lessons in Unqueering America* (Albany, NY: SUNY, 2015); and Colin R. Johnson's *Just Queer Folks: Gender and Sexuality in Rural America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013).
  5. Much of the existing queer scholarship ignores the diversity of LGBTQ people and experiences. In this book, the contributing authors explore different facets of queer identity, and attempt to address the diversity of LGBTQ communities by providing a broader understanding of how categories of difference impact daily life. For a more comprehensive analysis concerning the impact of race, gender, sexual orientation, and more on queer identities, see Megan E. Springate, "A Note about Intersectionality" (this volume).
  6. Susan Ferentinos elaborates on how perceptions of sexual practice are contingent on time period and physical geography, which should be taken into consideration when interpreting LGBTQ history. She argues that scholars should not impose modern labels on queer people from the past as they would not necessarily have understood themselves in those terms. Susan Ferentinos, "Interpreting LGBTQ Historic Sites," in *Preservation and Place: Historic Preservation by and of LGBTQ Communities in the United States*, ed. Katherine Crawford-Lackey and Megan E. Springate (New York: Berghahn Books, 2019).
  7. Lisa Bowleg, "When Black + Lesbian + Woman ≠ Black Lesbian Woman: The Methodological Challenges to Qualitative and Quantitative Intersectionality Research," *Sex Roles* 59 (2008): 312-25.
  8. Loraine Hutchins, "Making Bisexual Visible" (this volume).
  9. Susan Stryker, "Transgender History in the United States and the Places That Matter" (p. 89, this volume).

10. It should be noted that some gay individuals and communities still associate the term “queer” with very negative connotations due to the word’s charged history. Authors in this study use this term to be more inclusive of identities that do not fit within lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender communities. Popular LGBT media outlets such as the *Advocate* and *Go Magazine* have published articles about the benefits and potential detriments of using this word given its historical context. Mark Segal, “The Problem with the Word ‘Queer,’” *Advocate*, 11 February 2016, accessed 31 August 2018, <https://www.advocate.com/commentary/2016/2/11/problem-word-queer>; Dayna Troisi, “I’m A Lesbian and I’m Not Offended by the Word Queer,” *Go Magazine*, 17 January 2018, accessed 31 August 2018, <http://gomag.com/article/im-a-lesbian-and-im-not-offended-by-the-word-queer/>.
11. John D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 11.
12. Judith Jack Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press, 2005); Reina Lewis, “Review of *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives*, by Judith Halberstam; *In Your Face: 9 Sexual Studies* by Mandy Merck; *Lesbian Rule: Cultural Criticism and the Value of Desire* by Amy Villarejo,” *Signs* 31, no. 3 (Spring 2006).
13. E. Patrick Johnson, “Introduction,” in *No Tea, No Shade: New Writings in Black Queer Studies*, ed. E. Patrick Johnson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016).
14. Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 13.
15. *Ibid.*, 20-21.
16. *Ibid.*, 21.
17. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1: *An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Press, 1990). Leisa Meyer and Helis Sikk, “Introduction to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) History in the United States,” in *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, ed. Megan E. Springate (Washington, DC: National Park Foundation, 2016).
18. D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 24.
19. *Ibid.*, 108-18.
20. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), xix.
21. John H. Sprinkle Jr., *Crafting Preservation Criteria: The National Register of Historic Places and American Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 1-4.
22. In the past, the National Register and National Historic Landmarks programs placed an emphasis on architecturally significant structures, and resulting nominations often ignored the human stories of those who lived and worked in these buildings. Additional challenges in nominating LGBTQ-affiliated properties arise when considering physical integrity. Current NPS bureau historian John H. Sprinkle Jr. gives an overview of requirements for

- listing properties to these programs in his book *Crafting Historic Preservation* (previously cited), and he acknowledges that properties often lose integrity over time, especially those in urban areas. The National Register's "50 Year Rule" further complicates LGBTQ-affiliated nominations as the period of significance for many of the properties associated with queer history is relatively recent. Sprinkle, *Crafting Preservation Criteria*.
23. Chris St. Clair, "Metro Historical Commission Approves First Marker to Honor LGBT Struggle," Nashville Public Radio, 8 October 2017, accessed 27 August 2018, <http://www.nashvillepublicradio.org/post/metro-historical-commission-approves-first-marker-honor-lgbt-struggle#stream/0>.
  24. Anne Mitchell Whisnant, Marla R. Miller, Gary B. Nash, and David Thelen, *Imperiled Promise: The State of History in the National Park Service* (Bloomington: Organization of American Historians, 2011).
  25. The Pauli Murray Family Home (Durham, North Carolina) and Earl Hall (located on the campus of Columbia University) are examples of National Register listings and National Historic Landmark designations that have been recognized since the publication of the LGBTQ theme study. *LGBTQ America* has also led to the amendment of existing listings, including Whiskey Row, located in Louisville, KY. View the nominations: Pauli Murray Family Home, <https://www.nps.gov/nhl/news/LC/fall2016/PauliMurrayFamilyHome.pdf>; Earl Hall, [http://www.nyclgbtsites.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/NY\\_NewYorkCounty\\_EarlHall.pdf](http://www.nyclgbtsites.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/NY_NewYorkCounty_EarlHall.pdf); and Kentucky's Whiskey Row, [https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/pdfs/AD89000385\\_03\\_13\\_2017.pdf](https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/pdfs/AD89000385_03_13_2017.pdf).

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### ***National Register/National Historic Landmark Nominations:***

- Pauli Murray Family Home, National Historic Landmark Nomination, 2016, <https://www.nps.gov/nhl/news/LC/fall2016/PauliMurrayFamilyHome.pdf>.
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- Kentucky's Whiskey Row, National Register of Historic Places Additional Documentation, 2017, [https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/pdfs/AD89000385\\_03\\_13\\_2017.pdf](https://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/pdfs/AD89000385_03_13_2017.pdf).