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A THEME STUDY OF LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL,
TRANSGENDER, and QUEER HISTORY

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PRESERVING LGBTQ HISTORY

The chapters in this section provide a history of archival and architectural preservation of LGBTQ history in the United States. An archeological context for LGBTQ sites looks forward, providing a new avenue for preservation and interpretation. This LGBTQ history may remain hidden just under the ground surface, even when buildings and structures have been demolished.

LGBTQ ARCHEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Megan E. Springate

Introduction

The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and National Historic Landmarks (NHL) programs are place-based and to be included in them, the places (buildings, structures, landscapes, and archeological sites) must still exist. This is a challenge when looking at the history and heritage of historically marginalized populations, who are often located at the edges of society. These are places that become targets of demolition, redevelopment, urban renewal, and gentrification—all of which impact the physical places and force their inhabitants and customers elsewhere. In addition, the further back in time we go, the more likely it is that the buildings and structures that we often associate with historic places are no longer standing and that landscapes have changed (forests grown or cut down, land tilled or left fallow, streets and railroads torn up or built; rivers channelized and mountains razed). Archeology—the study of past peoples and societies through the physical remains they left behind—is one way of studying the marginalized who are often neglected (or are otherwise under- or mis-represented) in the historical record; of learning

about the past from physical remains when aboveground structures or landscapes are gone or changed; and of learning about the history of the people who inhabited what we now know as the United States for thousands of years before Europeans arrived.¹ Archeology is especially well-suited to revealing the everyday lives of people as reflected in the ordinary objects of day-to-day life. While documentary records often identify specific individuals, archeology focuses on the aggregate study of people in a place—household members (kin, chosen family, boarders, servants, slaves, etc.), workers in factories and other workplaces, and people in communities.

Like other marginalized populations, sexual and gender minorities were often located at the edges of society—both figuratively and literally. It is a broad category that encompasses many identities and practices that Western society has viewed as different from, and often inferior to, social norms. Other cultures, including some Native American groups, do not consider these identities as different or inferior; just less common. For consistency within the theme study, LGBTQ and queer are used here broadly to refer to gender and sexual minorities. I use lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, two-spirit, and other specific terms when referring to specific identities.

This chapter introduces an archeological context for LGBTQ sites.² It includes an overview of the archeology of LGBTQ and two-spirit sites, presents the kinds of questions that archeology can answer, and provides examples of how those questions can be addressed using the archeological record. Issues of archeological site integrity and other concerns directly associated with the listing of archeological sites on the

¹ Many people are not represented, misrepresented, or underrepresented in historical documents. These include those who did not or could not own property, could not vote, could not serve in the military, were “others,” and/or who did not make news. This includes LGBTQ, two-spirit, women, working classes, children, immigrants, and others.

² Also important, but not included here, are the experiences and discrimination of LGBTQ and two-spirit archeologists in the field. See Dawn Rutecki and Chelsea Blackmore, eds., “Special Section: Towards an Inclusive Queer Archaeology,” *Society for American Archaeology SAA Record* 16, no. 1 (2016): 9-39.

NRHP or being designated an NHL are discussed elsewhere in the theme study.³

National Register and National Historic Landmark Criteria

Both the NRHP and the NHL programs have criteria that encompass the archeological record. This includes places where only the archeological material survives and places where archeology can contribute additional information to a place with standing buildings and structures or surviving landscapes. While we often consider archeology as limited to Criterion D/Criterion 6, archeology can also address other criteria, most likely (but not limited to) NRHP Criteria A and B and NHL Criteria 1 and 2.

National Register of Historic Places, Criterion A: [Places that] are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

National Register of Historic Places, Criterion B: [Places that] are associated with the lives of significant persons in our past.

National Register of Historic Places, Criterion D: [Places that] have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

National Historic Landmarks, Criterion 1: [Places that] are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained.

³ See Springate and de la Vega, this volume.



National Historic Landmarks, Criterion 2: [Places that] are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States.

National Historic Landmarks, Criterion 6: [Places that] have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

Introduction to the Archeology of Gender and Sexual Minorities

I do not refer to queer archeology here, as the term refers to a specific field of inquiry. While queer archeology began by challenging heteronormative assumptions deeply ingrained in how archeologists traditionally have thought about the past (i.e., that everyone in the past were in or interested only in opposite-sex relationships; that the nuclear family of a husband and wife and children living in a household was the norm; and that only two sexes or genders exist), it has broadened in scope to challenging other assumptions (like the clear demarcation between past and present) and different ways to interpret the past (like sensory archeology).⁴

⁴ Important works in queer archeology include: Thomas A. Dowson, "Why Queer Archaeology? An Introduction," *World Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2000): 161-165; Barbara L. Voss, "Feminisms, Queer Theories, and the Archaeological Study of Past Sexualities," *World Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2000): 180-192; Robert A. Schmidt, "The Iceman Cometh: Queering the Archaeological Past," in Ellen Lewin and William L. Leap, eds., *Out in Theory: The Emergence of Lesbian and Gay Anthropology* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 155-185; Karina Croucher, "Queering Near Eastern Archaeology," *World Archaeology* 37 (2005): 610-620; Thomas Dowson, "Archaeologists, Feminists and Queers: Sexual Politics in the Construction of the Past," in P. L. Geller and M. K. Stockett, eds., *Feminist Anthropology: Past, Present, and Future* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); A. Asa Eger, "Architectures of Desire and Queered Space in the Roman Bathhouse," in Susan Terendy et al., eds., *Que(e)rying Archaeology* (Calgary, Alberta, Canada: Chacmool Archaeological Association, 2009), 118-128; Barbara L. Voss, "Looking for Gender, Finding Sexuality: A Queer Politic of Archaeology, Fifteen Years Later," in *Que(e)rying Archaeology*, 29-39; Chelsea Blackmore, "How to Queer the Past without Sex: Queer Theory, Feminisms and the Archaeology of Identity," *Archaeologies* 7, no. 1 (2011):

Gender and sexuality are distinct, and yet deeply intertwined, aspects of human life. The specifics of how these behaviors and identities are expressed, understood, and influence each other, however, are historically and culturally specific.⁵ The study of gender and sexual minorities in archeology developed out of gender, feminist, and queer archeologies.⁶ These, in turn, were informed by the work of anthropologists like Gayle Rubin who disentangled sex, gender, and sexuality as areas of study, and of theorists like Judith Butler, who showed us that gender is a context-specific and reflective performance that requires both actors and audience. Other influential theorists include Michel Foucault and Eve Sedgwick.⁷

75-96; Meredith Reifschneider, "Towards a Queer Materialism in Archaeology: Materiality and the Sexed and Gendered Subject," presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology Conference, Quebec City, Canada, 2014; Joel Lennen and Jamie Arjona, "Queering Historical Worlds: Disorienting Materialities in Archaeology," presented at the Society for American Archaeology Conference, San Francisco, California, 2015; Dawn Rutecki, "Ambiguous Iconography: Queering the Shell Game," presented at the Society for American Archaeology Conference, 2015; James Aimers and Dawn M. Rutecki, "Brave New World: Interpreting Sex, Gender, and Sexuality in the Past," *SAA Archaeological Record*, 16, no. 1 (2016): 12-17; and Katrina Eichner and Erin Rodriguez, eds., *Queer Theory issue of Historical Archaeology*, forthcoming.

⁵ For examples of this, see González and Hernández, Harris, Meyer, Roscoe, Stryker, and Sueyoshi (this volume).

⁶ For references in queer archeology, see Note 3. Margaret W. Conkey and Janet Spector, "Archaeology and the Study of Gender," in M. B. Schiffer, ed., *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* Vol. 7 (New York: Academic Press, 1984), 1-38; Joan M. Gero, "Socio-Politics and the Woman-At-Home-Ideology," *American Antiquity* 50, no. 2 (1985): 342-350; Janet Spector, *What This Awl Means: Feminist Archaeology at a Wahpeton Dakota Village* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1993); Sandra E. Hollimon, "Gender in the Archaeological Record of the Santa Barbara Channel Area," *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 9 (1996): 205-208; Margaret W. Conkey and Joan M. Gero, "Programme to Practice: Gender and Feminism in Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26 (1997): 411-437; Laurie A. Wilke, "The Other Gender: The Archaeology of an Early 20th Century Fraternity," *Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology* 11 (1998): 7-11; Maria Franklin, "A Black Feminist-Inspired Archaeology?" *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1, no. 1 (2001): 108-125; Sarah M. Nelson, *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006); Laurie A. Wilkie and Katherine H. Hayes, "Engendered and Feminist Archaeologies of the Recent and Documented Pasts," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 14, no. 3 (2006): 243-264; Rosemary A. Joyce, *Ancient Bodies, Ancient Lives: Sex, Gender, and Archaeology* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2008); Pamela L. Geller, "Identity and Difference: Complicating Gender in Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 38 (2009): 65-81; and Whitney Battle-Baptiste, *Black Feminist Archaeology* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2011).

⁷ Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in Rayna Reiter, ed., *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité* Vols. 1, 2, and 3 (France: Editions Gallimard, 1976, 1984, 1984; translation by Robert Hurley); and Eve Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).



In the last twenty years, a handful of historical archeologists including Barbara Voss and Eleanor Casella have been examining sexuality in archeology. Included under this umbrella have been a small handful of studies exploring same-sex relationships and an even smaller number of investigations of two-spirit identity in pre-contact and colonial periods. Few of these come from the United States, with the majority emerging from work in different parts of the world and representing a wide range of times and cultures.⁸ The excavations of queer sites from elsewhere can be useful in thinking about the archeology of LGBTQ and two-spirit identities. For example, Eleanor Casella's work at the Ross Female Factory, a mid-nineteenth century women's prison in Australia, identified a currency of relationships among women that could be variously and simultaneously predatory, strategic, economic, and affectionate.⁹

The lack of work that specifically addresses LGBTQ, two-spirit, and other sexual and gender minorities may reflect a documented hesitance by researchers to be associated with work considered controversial. They fear this may reduce their credibility (as through accusations of self-interest), or that this research might otherwise hurt their careers.¹⁰

Sexual and gender minority identities are historically and culturally situated, and we must be cautious in applying interpretations cross-culturally. This includes applying our modern ideas about lesbian, gay,

⁸ Keith Matthews, "An Archaeology of Homosexuality? Perspectives from the Classical World," in S. Cottam et al., eds., *TRAC 94: Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference* (Oxford, UK: Oxbow Books, 1994); Barbara L. Voss and Richard A. Schmidt, "Archaeologies of Sexuality: An Introduction," in Richard A. Schmidt and Barbara L. Voss, eds., *Archaeologies of Sexuality* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 1-32; Barbara L. Voss, "Sexuality Studies in Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 37 (2008): 317-336; Sandra E. Hollimon, Archaeology of the "Aqi: Gender and Sexuality in Prehistoric Chumash Society," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, 176-196; Sandra E. Hollimon, "The Archaeology of Nonbinary Genders in Native North American Societies," in *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*, 435-450; Eger, "Architectures of Desire"; Sandra E. Hollimon, "Examining Third and Fourth Genders in Mortuary Contexts," in *Que(e)rying Archaeology*, 171-175; Eleanor Casella, "Bulldaggers and Gentle Ladies: Archaeological Approaches to Female Homosexuality in Convict-Era Australia," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, 143-159; Eleanor Casella, "Doing Trade: A Sexual Economy of Nineteenth-century Australian Female Convict Prisons," *World Archaeology* 32, no. 2 (2000): 209-221.

⁹ Casella, "Doing Trade".

¹⁰ See, for example, Dowson, "Why Queer Archaeology?"; Gayle Rubin, "Sites, Settlements, and Urban Sex: Archaeology and the Study of Gay Leathermen in San Francisco," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, 65.

bisexual, transgender, and queer identities on to people who might have chosen not to take those identities or could not, as these categories may not have existed or were not culturally relevant.¹¹ Two-spirit identities of Native Americans, for example, fall outside the binary (male-female) sex and gender system dominant in Western culture.¹² Despite this, they are often described using terms like homosexuality and transsexuality—terms that are rooted in a binary sex and gender system. In Native American cultures that recognize multiple genders, these descriptors lose their usefulness. Similarly, while Western cultures tend to view gender and sexuality as essential and often static personal identifiers, many Native American cultures perceive these qualities very differently.¹³

Early archeological studies looked at evidence from burials, and identified individuals as two-spirit when their cultural gender (expressed by the artifacts they were buried with) differed from their physical sex (determined through osteological analysis).¹⁴ More recent work has taken

¹¹ These are themes that wind their way throughout the theme study. In particular, see Meyer, Roscoe, and Stryker (this volume).

¹² The term two-spirit is used here as an umbrella term encompassing identities in both the past and the present. See Roscoe (this volume).

¹³ For a nuanced discussion of two-spirit identities and archeological interpretation, see Hollimon, "Nonbinary Genders." The role of sexuality and gender as essential, core characteristics of Western identity is described by Barbara Voss as being at the root of coming out stories where confusing or puzzling feelings or actions are "explained" when the narrator realized they are "really" gay, lesbian, bisexual, and/or transgender. Barbara L. Voss, "Sexual Subjects: Identity and Taxonomy in Archaeological Research," in Eleanor C. Casella and Chris Fowler, eds., *Archaeology of Plural and Changing Identities: Beyond Identification* (New York: Kluwer/Plenum, 2005), 64, 66. Note that these Western ideas of essential sexuality and gender identities are despite the work of Alfred Kinsey, who found in part, that people's sexuality shifted and changed according to social circumstances in their lives. Alfred C. Kinsey et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1948); and Alfred C. Kinsey and the Institute for Sex Research, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1953).

¹⁴ See Mary K. Whelan, "Gender and Historical Archaeology: Eastern Dakota Patterns in the 19th Century," *Historical Archaeology* 25, no. 4 (1991): 17-32; Hollimon, "Gender in the Archaeological Record"; Sandra E. Hollimon, "The Third Gender in Native California: Two-Spirit Undertakers among the Chumash and their Neighbors," in Cheryl Claassen and Rosemary A. Joyce, eds., *Women in Prehistory: North America and Mesoamerica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997). For a summary of these early studies, see Voss, "Sexual Subjects," 64-65; Hollimon, "Nonbinary Genders." Similar approaches have been used elsewhere in the world to identify gender diversity; for an overview see Bettina Arnold, "Gender and Archaeological Mortuary Analysis," in Sarah M. Nelson, ed., *Women in Antiquity: Theoretical Approaches to Gender and Archaeology* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007), 107-140; Joanna Sofaer and Marie Stig Sørensen, "Death and Gender," in Sarah Tarlow and Liv Nilsson Stutz, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), 527-542. For work that addresses the false dichotomy of biological sex, see Anne Fausto-Sterling, "The Five Sexes: Why Male and Female Are Not Enough," *The Sciences*



a more nuanced and holistic approach to understanding two-spirit identities, and has been undertaken in contexts beyond burials. For example, Sandra Hollimon has re-examined Chumash burials in a broader context, including gender, sexuality, religion, and occupation.¹⁵ She concluded that 'aqi identity in the Chumash culture is usually associated with those who are members of an undertaking guild and who do not engage in procreative sex. This includes several categories of identity that Western culture sees as distinct: biological men who live as women; men who have sex with other men; men without children; celibate people; and postmenopausal women. Similarly nuanced work has also been done by archeologist Elizabeth Prine in her study of the *miati* of the Hidatsa and by Perry and Joyce in their examination of Zuni *Ihamana* identities.¹⁶

Since the 1980s, there have been many archeological investigations that address gender, including some, like work done at brothels across the United States, which are sexual in context.¹⁷ Even in these cases, however, sexuality is rarely addressed. One notable example is found in Barbara Voss' *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco* in which she includes sexuality as part of a broad,

March/April (1993): 20-25; Anne Fausto-Sterling, "The Five Sexes, Revisited," *The Sciences* July/Aug (2000): 18-23; and in archeological context, Sofaer and Sørensen, "Death and Gender," 535.

¹⁵ Hollimon, "'Aqi'". The Chumash studied by Hollimon were located in the Santa Barbara Channel area of coastal southern California. The Chumash continue to live in and around this area.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Prine, "The Ethnography of Place: Landscape and Culture in Middle Missouri Archaeology," PhD diss., University of California Berkeley, 1997; Elizabeth Prine, "Searching for Third Genders; Towards a Prehistory of Domestic Space in Middle Missouri Villages," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, 197-219; Elizabeth M. Perry and Rosemary Joyce, "Providing a Past for 'Bodies that Matter': Judith Butler's Impact on the Archaeology of Gender," *International Journal of Gender and Sexuality Studies* 6, no. 1/2 (2001): 63-76. The Hidatsa studied by Prine lived in palisaded villages along the Missouri River in North Dakota from the fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries. The Hidatsa continue to live in and around this area. The Zuni studied by Perry and Joyce lived in New Mexico. The Zuni continue to live in and around this area.

¹⁷ Donna J. Seifert, "Within Sight of the White House: The Archaeology of Working Women," *Historical Archaeology* 24, no. 4 (1991): 82-108; Donna J. Seifert et al., "Mary Ann Hall's First-Class House: The Archaeology of a Capital Brothel," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, 117-128; J. G. Costello, "Red Light Voices: An Archaeological Drama of Late Nineteenth-Century Prostitution," in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, 160-175; Michael Foster et al., "The Soiled Doves of South Granite Street: The History and Archaeology of a Prescott Arizona Brothel," *KIVA* 70, no. 4 (2005): 349-374; Timothy J. Gilfoyle, "Archaeologists in the Brothel: 'Sin City,'" *Historical Archaeology and Prostitution*, *Historical Archaeology* 39, no. 1 (2005): 133-141; Michael D. Meyer et al., "City of Angels, City of Sin: Archaeology in the Los Angeles Red-Light District ca. 1900," *Historical Archaeology* 39, no. 1 (2005): 107-125; Catherine H. Spude, "Brothels and Saloons: An Archaeology of Gender in the American West," *Historical Archaeology* 39, no. 1 (2005): 89-106; Rebecca Yamin, "Wealthy, Free, and Female: Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century New York," *Historical Archaeology* 39, no. 1 (2005): 4-18.

intersectional analysis of people becoming *Californios*.¹⁸ Another notable example that deals with gender and same-sex sexual relationships among women is the work by Eleanor Casella at the Ross Female Factory, described above.

Avenues of Inquiry

Archeology at LGBTQ sites and of LGBTQ identities and practices broadens our understanding not just of the queer past, but can also contribute to wider discussions in archeology and anthropology. Lacking a broad body of American LGBTQ and two-spirit specific work to draw from, this archeological context poses questions, problems, and issues that can be addressed through excavation and interpretation at these kinds of sites. The types of properties of interest include domestic spaces; meeting places; commercial sites; sites of resistance and protest; public cruising places; sacred places; and institutions. While one of the fundamental questions is if and how LGBTQ material remains differ from those found associated with heterosexuality, important work can also be done examining the formation and negotiation of political and social communities and identities. Many possible avenues of inquiry at LGBTQ sites like these parallel research by archeologists working in other contexts, including African American sites, those looking at gender, and those who study class. The work that has been done in these other areas provides precedence for methods and interpretive frameworks. The types of broader questions that archeological investigation at LGBTQ and two-spirit sites can address include the following.

¹⁸ While there is little mention of same-sex sexualities in this work, it is an example of the importance of gender and sexuality in understanding cultures and cultural change. Same-sex sexuality is mentioned briefly as an example of the “savagery” of the indigenous people in the area, as described by missionaries and other early settlers. Barbara L. Voss, *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race and Sexuality in Colonial San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 51. See also Barbara L. Voss, “Colonial Sex: Archaeology, Structured Space, and Sexuality in Alta California’s Spanish Colonial Missions,” in *Archaeologies of Sexuality*, 35-61.



Classification and Identification

A key tension in archeological investigations of identity is determining the scale of analysis: identities vs. communities vs. populations. For example, when looking at gender and sexual minorities, are we looking at individuals who personally identify with particular social or political categories (i.e. lesbian, gay, queer, etc.), populations whose sexual preferences and activities or gender presentations are statistically in the minority, or are we looking at communities that form around shared identities, activities, or politics?¹⁹ In addition to these questions of scale, researchers must also grapple with some very fundamental questions when looking at LGBTQ and two-spirit identities in the archeological record. How do we use artifacts and other things that survive physically to see variations in gender expression? Or to see heterosexuality compared with sexual minorities including those who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, and queer? How does this materiality show up in the archeological record?

While answers to these questions can be debated on a broad, general level, they are also culturally, temporally, and site specific.²⁰ Thinking about these questions will influence the type of research questions asked around a particular project, the methods used to collect data, and the interpretation of what is recovered. There are no easy answers to these fundamental questions. There are, however, places to start thinking about them. First, do not assume that the people who lived in a place had only two genders, two sexes, or were necessarily heterosexual. This forces us as researchers to look closely at what the evidence tells us, rather than forcing the evidence into our own assumptions. In some cases, historical documents, oral histories, and ethnographic studies will be available. Those that have detailed information on how people organized themselves both interpersonally and spatially, and which have good descriptions of material culture and how it is used will be particularly useful in considering

¹⁹ Barbara Voss, in personal communication with the author.

²⁰ See, for example, the discussion of personal artifacts and identity in Carolyn L. White and Mary C. Beaudry, "Artifacts and Personal Identity," in Teresita Majewski and David Gaimster, eds., *The International Handbook of Historical Archaeology* (New York: Springer, 2009), 209-225.

what to look at, how to find it, and how to think about it in analysis and interpretation.²¹

Emergence and History of LGBTQ and Contemporary Two-Spirit Identities

Gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, queer, and two-spirit identities are historically situated. For example, a woman in the early twentieth century would not have identified herself as a lesbian (first used as a noun in 1925), just as someone before the late twentieth century would not have identified using the word transgender (first appearing in 1988). The word homosexual itself was not used until the turn of the twentieth century, introduced and defined by the psychological profession.²² Examining the relationship between these changing categories of identity and material things and spaces is an important avenue of archeological investigation. How have people used physical things and places to both stabilize and transform their identities? How have they responded when, as with psychologists “inventing” homosexuality at the turn of the twentieth century, they have had identities thrust upon them? Work done on LGBTQ and two-spirit sites can inform broader investigations into the materiality of identity by serving as case studies and in raising both issues and possible solutions to what is one of the key questions in archeology. Previous work on the archeology of identities and on emerging identities can serve as springboards for work at LGBTQ and two-spirit sites.²³

²¹ For examples of this kind of approach, see Prine, “Third Genders” and Hollimon, “Aqi”. For historical archeology, the work done by art historian Kevin Murphy on gay and lesbian summer houses in New England could serve as a good jumping-off point for considering these types of issues. Kevin D. Murphy, “‘Secure from All Intrusion’ Heterotopia, Queer Space, and the Turn-of-the-Twentieth-Century American Resort,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 43, no. 2/3 (2009): 185-228. We must also, however, be cautious and critical when using the ethnographic record, particularly when considering pre-contact cultures. These records are written from particular points of view, and these have historically been ones that ignore or demean these identities.

²² For more detailed discussion, see Meyer (this volume). See also Gayle S. Rubin, “Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality,” in Richard Parker and Peter Aggleton, eds., *Culture, Society and Sexuality: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1984), 149.

²³ See, for example, Voss, *Ethnogenesis*. For a discussion of personal artifacts and identity, see White and Beaudry, “Artifacts and Personal Identity”. For a summary of current work in the archeology of ethnogenesis, see Terrance M. Weik, “The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 43 (2014): 291-305. Gerald Sider, “Identity as History: Ethnohistory, Ethnogenesis, and



Shifting Personal Identities

This question looks at changing identities at a more personal, rather than cultural level. Early work in identity, including LGBTQ and two-spirit identities, treated aspects of identity (including race, sexuality, and gender) as essential and innate characteristics of individuals that do not change. In reference to sexuality, this was largely the result of sexological and other medical work in the early twentieth century that defined and categorized sexuality and gender expression. This bias affected research in both LGBTQ and two-spirit contexts. Despite Kinsey's work in the 1930s and 1940s that acknowledged that people's sexual orientation shifted along a continuum based on their changing social circumstances, it has only been in the relatively recent past that the essential nature of these aspects of identity have been challenged, and that there has been a broader acknowledgement that identities are malleable and can shift over a lifetime.²⁴

Can archeologists see the development and shift in a person's identity reflected in the archeological record? This is challenging, as archeology is best suited to looking at broad patterns through time, rather than associating individual artifacts with specific individuals and specific events.

Ethnocide in the Southeastern United States," *Identities* 1, no. 1 (1994): 109-122 explores identity in the broader context of history, including a discussion of Native Americans both claiming and resisting identities thrust upon them by colonial powers. In her book, archeologist Laurie A. Wilkie, *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000) examines identities imposed on Africans in a slave context and discusses how they were adapted, maintained, and contested. Archeologist Alison Bell, "White Ethnogenesis and Gradual Capitalism: Perspectives from Colonial Archaeological Sites in the Chesapeake," *American Anthropologist* 107, no. 3 (2005): 446-460 looks at the ethnogenesis of whiteness in the colonial Chesapeake. Examples of overviews of other aspects of the archeology of identities include Siân Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Timothy Insoll, *The Archaeology of Identities* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Lynn Meskell, "The Intersections of Identity and Politics in Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31(2002): 279-301; and Geller, "Identity and Difference".

²⁴ See also Rubin, "Thinking Sex", 149; Kinsey *Human Male* and *Human Female*; and Hollimon "'Aqi". An important challenge to the essential nature of sexuality comes from Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1: *An Introduction* (New York: Pantheon, 1978). The idea of homosexuality as a social construct (rather than an essential state of being) came largely out of early research in LGBTQ history including Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics, and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800* (New York: Longman, 1981) and John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of the Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

However, archeology is good at trends at the household level. While archeologists cannot necessarily identify specific objects with specific people living in a household, it is possible to see changes both within and between households.²⁵ There are already archeological studies looking at the life cycles of households and the changing material and physical environments of young singles vs. households with children vs. empty nesters vs. the elderly.²⁶ These precedents can be used as jumping-off points for considering what the material signs of changing and shifting LGBTQ activities or identities of people within a household may be.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is the recognition that various axes of identity (gender, sex, class, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, geographical location, etc.) influence and are influenced by each other.²⁷ People with different sets of intersecting identities have different—often very different—histories. This is why, for example, this theme study includes chapters on transgender, two-spirit, African American, Asian American, Latino/Latina, and bisexual LGBTQ communities, as well as the separate chapters representing the queer histories of various cities across the United States.²⁸

²⁵ Examples of archeology of households across several contexts include Kerri S. Barile and Jamie C. Brandon, eds., *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004); Thomas J. Pluckhahn, "Household Archaeology in the Southeastern United States: History, Trends, and Challenges," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 18, no. 4 (2010): 331-385; Kevin R. Fogle et al., *Beyond the Walls: New Perspectives on the Archaeology of Historic Households* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015).

²⁶ Mark D. Groover, "Linking Artifact Assemblages to Household Cycles: An Example from the Gibbs Site," *Historical Archaeology* 35, no. 4 (2001): 38-57; and Deborah L. Rotman, "Newlyweds, Young Families, and Spinsters: A Consideration of Developmental Cycle in Historical Archaeologies of Gender," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 9, no. 1 (2005):1-36.

²⁷ An understanding of intersectionality goes back at least to the nineteenth century (Sojourner Truth (1851) "Ain't I A Woman" delivered December 1851 at the Women's Convention in Akron, Ohio). See work by black feminists including the Combahee River Collective Statement of 1977 for a discussion of interlocking oppressions and Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140 (1989): 139-167. See Springate on intersectionality (this volume) for a more in-depth discussion.

²⁸ See Auer, Capó, Graves and Watson, González and Hernández, Harris, Herczeg-Konecny, Hutchins, Roscoe, Shockley, Stryker, and Sueyoshi (this volume).



What can the study of intersectionality that includes LGBTQ and two-spirit identities contribute to the broader study of intersectionality in archeological contexts? How can we explore intersectionality in the context of LGBTQ and two-spirit archeological sites? Broadening the study of intersectional identities to include sexuality is an important intervention in research that has traditionally focused predominantly on gender, class, and ethnicity. It is only by looking at sexuality broadly that the role of LGBTQ gender and sexual identities can be understood in cultural context.

Understanding that different axes of identity influence each other is rather straightforward. Doing intersectional analysis and interpretation to tease out how they influence each other and play out in peoples' lives, including at archeological sites, is challenging. One approach is to include multiple narratives in interpretation; the "gumbo ya-ya" proposed by Elsa Barkley Brown, where everyone talks at once, telling their stories in connection and in dialogue with one another.²⁹ How, though, do you control for unaccountable or competing narratives? Philosopher and archeologist Alison Wylie advocates "integrity in scholarship," which entails being fair to the evidence and a methodological multivocality that brings multiple sources of information to bear on interpretations.³⁰ Another approach to intersectional interpretation is strategic essentialism, whereby diversity is explicitly and temporarily homogenized in order to achieve common goals or facilitate interpretation.³¹ Archeologists who have successfully done this kind of multivocal and intersectional work include Whitney Battle-Baptiste with her development of a black feminist archeology, Barbara Voss in her work looking at the process of

²⁹ Elsa Barkley Brown, "What Has Happened Here": The Politics of Difference in Women's History and Feminist Politics," *Feminist Studies* 18, no. 2 (1992): 295-312. In an archeological context, this multivocality can include the archeological record, historical record, ethnographic resources, oral histories, landscape analysis, architectural analysis, etc. See also Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000) for a broader look at working intersectionally.

³⁰ Alison Wylie, "The Integrity of Narratives: Deliberative Practice, Pluralism, and Multivocality," in Junko Habu et al., eds., *Evaluating Multiple Narratives: Beyond Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist Archaeologies* (New York: Springer, 2008), 201-212.

³¹ Strategic essentialism is a concept put forward by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and the Subaltern Studies Group; see Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean, eds., *The Spivak Reader: Selected Works of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 214.

ethnogenesis in what is now California, and Janet Spector's early work giving multiple interpretations of a sewing awl in a Wahpeton Dakota village.³²

Different Genders

Considerable work has been done since the 1980s in theorizing and looking at gender archeologically. While much of the work has focused on women and female genders, some work on masculinities has recently begun to be published.³³ Other researchers are working to destabilize assumptions of a gender binary.³⁴ While two-spirit identities have often been used as "proof" that gender is socially constructed, they cannot be accurately interpreted using Western constructs.³⁵

Within LGBTQ communities are genders that have not previously been examined archeologically. How do we recognize and analyze different gender identities and expressions within LGBTQ communities, including the different genders of women who have sex with women (butch, femme, lipstick lesbian, stud), genderqueer, drag kings and queens, people who identify along the transgender spectrum, bears, and others?³⁶ Recent work in gender archeology, including investigations of masculinities, a gender spectrum, and how genders are formed communally (rather than

³² Spector, *What This Awl Means*; Voss, *Ethnogenesis*; Battle-Baptiste, *Black Feminist Archaeology*; Whitney Battle-Baptiste, "Standing at the Crossroads: Toward an Intersectional Archaeology of the African Diaspora," *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage*, forthcoming. See also Chelsea Blackmore and Leslie A. Crippen, "Queer Intersections: Sexuality, Race, and Strategic Essentialism in Historical Archaeology," *Historical Archaeology*, forthcoming; and Megan E. Springate, "Making Women: Gender and Class at an Early Twentieth Century Women's Retreat," *Historical Archaeology*, forthcoming.

³³ Conkey and Gero, "Programme to Practice"; Perry and Joyce, "Bodies that Matter"; Rosemary A. Joyce, "Embodied Subjectivity: Gender, Femininity, Masculinity, Sexuality," in Lynn Meskell and Robert W. Preucel, eds., *A Companion to Social Archaeology* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 2004), 82-95; Benjamin Alberti, "Archaeology, Men, and Masculinities," in *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*, 401-434; Geller, "Identity and Difference"; Barbara L. Voss, "Engendered Archaeology: Men, Women, and Others," in Martin Hall and Stephen W. Silliman, eds., *Historical Archaeology* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 107-127; Joyce, *Ancient Bodies*; and Voss, "Looking for Gender."

³⁴ Chelsea Blackmore, "How to Queer the Past".

³⁵ Voss, "Sexual Subjects", 64. See above for a discussion of the archeology of two-spirit identities.

³⁶ See Judith M. Bennett, "'Lesbian-Like' and the Social History of Lesbianisms," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9 (2000): 10-11 for a discussion of the instability of a lesbian identity (and therefore of other sexual/gender identities).



individually) has begun to provide methodologies and ways of interpreting data.³⁷

Work done by theorists and anthropologists outside of archeology can be used to help think about different genders and how they intersect with other axes of identity. For example, while butch and femme gender expressions among women who have sex with women have traditionally been associated with the working classes, a recent study suggests that the meaning of a masculine gender presentation can also vary by location.³⁸ Queer theorists like Jack Halberstam provide frameworks for understanding both how sexuality and gender interact to create multiple spectrums of identity and the possibility of (and ways of naming) more genders than male, female, and other.³⁹

Marginalization

In 1984, Gayle Rubin introduced the “Charmed Circle.” At the center of the circle are culturally ideal sexual behaviors; in the United States at the time the article was published, these included monogamous, heterosexual, married, not kinky, done within the home. At the edges and outside the circle are those behaviors considered less acceptable or deviant—in this case, multiple partners, homosexual, unmarried, kinky, done in public. The circle, however, is not fixed. In addition to being culturally specific,

³⁷ Alberti, “Men and Masculinities”; S. Voutaski, “Agency and Personhood at the Onset of the Mycenaean Period,” *Archaeological Dialogues* 17, no. 1 (2010): 65-92; Blackmore, “How to Queer the Past”.

³⁸ Esther Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972); Esther Newton, “Beyond Freud, Ken, and Barbie,” in Esther Newton, ed., *Margaret Mead Made Me Gay: Personal Essays, Public Ideas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 189-194; reprint of Closing the Gender Gap, *The Women’s Review of Books*, 1986); Elizabeth L. Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Esther Newton, “My Butch Career,” in *Margaret Mead*, 204-206 (originally read as the David R. Kessler Lecture, December 6, 1996, at the Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies, City University of New York); Ellen Lewin, “Who’s Gay? What’s Gay? Dilemmas of Identity among Gay Fathers,” in Ellen Lewin and William L. Leap, eds., *Out in Public: Reinventing Lesbian/Gay Anthropology in a Globalizing World* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 86-103. Emily Kazyak finds that female masculinity is associated with lesbian identity in urban areas, but in rural areas has no such association; Emily Kazyak, “Midwest or Lesbian? Gender, Rurality, and Sexuality,” *Gender & Society* 26, no. 6 (2012): 825-848.

³⁹ J. Jack Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998).

behaviors once considered deviant can become increasingly acceptable, moving towards the center, and vice versa.⁴⁰ The process through which groups come to be seen as socially and politically different—and to understand themselves through these lenses, has been a central dynamic shaping LGBTQ history.⁴¹ Using archeology, we can look at the material reflections of these shifts as, for example, homosexuality has become more or less socially acceptable, and also how it (and other sexual and gender identities and practices) might have been used to regulate “normative” behavior and identification.⁴²

As archeologists, we must also acknowledge more broadly that what is normal and what is deviant are not fixed, essential qualities. Archeologists looking for difference have held heterosexuality as the norm, looking to identify queer sites based on their difference from straight sites. Likewise, many analyses of the poor and working classes have held middle-classness as the norm, and ethnic analyses have held whiteness as the norm or as the point of comparison. These are powerful statements of what we, as researchers, consider normal and what we consider “other;” they can find their origins in structural privilege.⁴³ In order to truly understand the dynamics of power that mark some behaviors and people as deviant or other, we must interrogate and critically examine heterosexuality and other behaviors and identities held as “normal.”

Oppression and Resistance

Being LGBTQ or two-spirit (or engaging in same-sex sexual relations and/or having a different or transgressive gender identity) has often led to

⁴⁰ Rubin, “Thinking Sex”.

⁴¹ Barbara Voss, personal communication with the author.

⁴² Voss, “Sexual Subjects”, 67.

⁴³ For example, whiteness is not often actively engaged with as a racial or ethnic identity. An important and accessible exploration of how this kind of privilege plays out can be found in Peggy McIntosh, “White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences through Work in Women’s Studies,” Working Paper No. 189 (Wellesley, MA: Massachusetts Center for Research on Women, Wellesley College, 1988), often cited in various versions as “White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Backpack.” For an overview of the costs of these assumptions and a discussion of “deviance” in the archeological record, see Aimers and Rutecki, “Brave New World”.



both oppression and resistance to it.⁴⁴ How have LGBTQ and two-spirit individuals and communities responded to oppression, both by other individuals and by the state? For example, did LGBTQ households “hide” by maintaining a public façade of heterosexuality while internally organizing their homes to reflect the realities of same-sex interpersonal behavior? If so, what does this look like spatially and materially? How does this differ by ethnicity, class, gender, geographic location, and other intersectional axes?

In 1903, W. E. B. Du Bois described African Americans’ experience of double consciousness or “two-ness”: the tensions and struggles of living both within and outside two distinct worlds defined by color. In 1991, cultural theorist Chela Sandoval described differential consciousness as a way that people survive and operate within oppressive environments while simultaneously developing beliefs and tactics to resist domination and oppression.⁴⁵ Archeologists studying African Americans, both free and enslaved, have done considerable work in exploring double consciousness and differential consciousness using archeological data. This includes looking at oppression, resistance, and living lives that appear one way in private and another in public, as well as assimilationist versus oppositional responses to oppression.⁴⁶ Archeologists studying labor,

⁴⁴ Examples of oppression include physical violence, being fired or denied housing, vilification, incarceration, harassment, social exclusion leading, for example, to being closeted, higher rates of suicide and homelessness, etc. Examples of resistance include street protests, secret signs like wearing a green carnation in one’s lapel to indicate homosexuality or a double-headed axe (labrys) indicating identity as a lesbian.

⁴⁵ W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903), 3; and Chela Sandoval, “US Third World Feminism: The Theory and Method of Oppositional Consciousness in the Postmodern World,” *Genders* 10 (1991): 1-24.

⁴⁶ For slave resistance and rebellion, see Charles E. Orser, Jr. and Pedro P. A. Funari, “Archaeology and Slave Resistance and Rebellion,” *World Archaeology* 33, no. 1 (2001): 61-72. For African and African American resistance and rebellion in the US, see Terry Weik, “The Archaeology of Maroon Societies in the Americas: Resistance, Cultural Continuity, and Transformation in the African Diaspora,” *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (1997): 81-92; and Christopher C. Fennell, “Early African America: Archaeological Studies of Significance and Diversity,” *Journal of Archaeological Research* 19 (2011): 29-33. For work dealing with double consciousness, see Megan E. Springate, “Double Consciousness and the Intersection of Beliefs in an African American Home in Northern New Jersey,” *Historical Archaeology* 48, no. 3 (2014): 125-143; Kathryn H. Deeley, “Double “Double Consciousness”: An Archaeology of African American Class and Identity in Annapolis, Maryland, 1850-1930,” PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2015. For a discussion of religion, see Lu Ann De Cunzio, *A Historical Archaeology of Delaware: People, Contexts, and the Cultures of Agriculture* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2004); Fennell, “Early African America”, 34-36; and Springate, “Double

violence, and sabotage, as in the coal fields of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Colorado, are also laying the groundwork for the investigation of oppression, resistance, and survival.⁴⁷

Community

Moving to a broader lens, archeology can be used to trace the development and decline of LGBTQ neighborhoods at various scales. Largely urban phenomena, like the Philadelphia gayborhood, there are also less urban examples like Provincetown, Massachusetts; Fire Island Pines and Cherry Grove, New York; Saugatuck, Michigan; and Guerneville, California. These neighborhoods and the people who live there come together and dissipate for many reasons.⁴⁸ These include patterns of property ownership, gentrification, redevelopment, police harassment, and more recently, changes associated with an increase in the acceptance of LGBTQ people, particularly in urban areas.⁴⁹ Archeology can be used to study these processes and effects at the levels of individual properties

Consciousness". Important work on the archeology of late twentieth century repression and resistance has also been done in a Latin American context; Pedro P. A. Funari et al., *Memories from Darkness: Archaeology of Repression and Resistance in Latin America* (New York: Springer, 2009).

⁴⁷ For the Colorado Coalfield Strike, Ludlow, Colorado, see Randall H. McGuire and Paul Reckner, "Building a Working-Class Archaeology: The Colorado Coal Field War Project," *Industrial Archaeology Review* 25, no. 2 (2003): 83-95; Karin Larkin and Randall H. McGuire, *The Archaeology of Class War: The Colorado Coalfield Strike of 1913-1914* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2009). For the Lattimer Massacre, Pennsylvania, see Michael Roller, "Rewriting Narratives of Labor Violence: A Transnational Perspective of the Lattimer Massacre," *Historical Archaeology* 42, no. 2 (2013): 109-123. For the Battle at Blair Mountain, West Virginia, see Brandon Nida and Michael Jessee Adkins, "The Social and Environmental Upheaval of Blair Mountain: A Working Class Struggle for Unionisation and Historic Preservation," in Laurajane Smith et al., eds., *Heritage, Labour, and the Working Classes* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 52-68.

⁴⁸ While the thread of community coalescence and dissipation winds its way throughout this theme study, several chapters in particular look at this; see Hanhardt (this volume) as well as the individual city chapters in this theme study.

⁴⁹ Discussions of gentrification, redevelopment, and police harassment in the shifting neighborhoods of San Francisco can be found in Rubin, "Urban Sex"; in Washington, DC, in William Leap, "Professional Baseball, Urban Restructuring and (Changing) Gay Geographies in Washington, DC," in *Out in Public*, 202-221; and in Atlanta in Petra L. Doan and Harrison Higgins, "The Demise of Queer Space? Resurgent Gentrification and the Assimilation of LGBT Neighborhoods," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 31, no. 1 (2011): 6-25. Amin Ghaziani looks at changes in LGBTQ neighborhoods as LGBTQ individuals have become more accepted in American society; Amin Ghaziani, *There Goes the Gayborhood?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).



(households, businesses, etc.) and communities as a whole, using artifacts, buildings (standing and demolished), and landscapes.⁵⁰

Archeology can also be a tool of civic engagement, empowerment, and emancipation. Through engagement with living communities, archeological research questions, methods, and interpretations can be used to address questions important to existing communities. Civically engaged and activist archeologies recognize that the past and the present are inextricably intertwined. There is an extensive literature on civically engaged and community archeology that includes methods, approaches, and case studies.⁵¹

Types of Sites

Assuming archeological deposits remain, any of the property types identified for this theme study can be investigated archeologically, whether or not a structure or building remains standing.⁵² A different way

⁵⁰ For landscape archeology, see overviews by Rebecca Yamin and Karen B. Metheny, eds., *Landscape Archaeology: Reading and Interpreting the American Historical Landscape* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996); Kurt F. Anschuetz et al., "An Archaeology of Landscapes: Perspectives and Directions," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9, no. 2 (2001): 157-211; Julian Thomas and David Bruno, eds., *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008); Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, "A Feminist Framework for Analyzing Powered Cultural Landscapes in Historical Archaeology," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 14, no. 4 (2010): 498-526. For archeological work on communities, see overviews and examples by Lynda Carroll, "Communities and Other Social Actors: Rethinking Commodities and Consumption in Global Historical Archaeology," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 3, no. 3 (1999): 131-136; Marcello Canuto and Jason Yaeger, eds., *The Archaeology of Communities: A New World Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2000); and Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, "A Feminist Theoretical Approach to the Historical Archaeology of Utopian Communities," *Historical Archaeology* 40, no. 1 (2006): 152-185.

⁵¹ Yvonne Marshall, "What is Community Archaeology?" *World Archaeology* 34, no. 2 (2002): 211-219; Carol McDavid, "Archaeologies that Hurt; Descendants that Matter: A Pragmatic Approach to Collaboration in the Public Interpretation of African-American Archaeology," *World Archaeology* 34, no. 2 (2002): 303-314; Dean J. Saitta, Ethics, "Objectivity and Emancipatory Archaeology," in Yannis Hamilakis and P. G. Duke, eds., *Archaeology and Capitalism: From Ethics to Politics* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2007), 267-280; Barbara J. Little and Paul A. Shackel, eds., *Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2007); M. Jay Stottman, ed., *Archaeologists as Activists: Can Archaeologists Change the World?* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2010); Gemma Tully, "Community Archaeology: General Methods and Standards of Practice," *Public Archaeology* 6, no. 3 (2007): 155-187; Sonya Atalay, *Community-Based Archaeology: Research With, By, and For Indigenous and Local Communities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Barbara J. Little and Paul A. Shackel, *Archaeology, Heritage, and Civic Engagement: Working Toward the Public Good* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2014).

⁵² See Springate and de la Vega (this volume).

of thinking about site types in the context of LGBTQ and two-spirit archeology is based on three different categories of site:⁵³

i) Sites, features, properties, and landscapes associated with community and identity formation, including those of events, people, organizations, businesses, etc. who are important to LGBTQ and two-spirit history (NRHP Criteria A and/or B; NHL Criteria 1, 2, and/or 5). Archeology at these locations will reveal the use and organization of things and spaces that reflect these individuals' or groups' identities, strategies, and daily lives, among other things. This would include places like the Dr. Franklin E. Kameny House in Washington, DC, and the area of the Stonewall Riots in New York City.⁵⁴

ii) Sites, features, properties, and landscapes associated with events, people, organizations, businesses, etc. who are important to other histories (NRHP Criteria A and/or B; NHL Criteria 1, 2, and/or 5) and which are also in some way associated with LGBTQ and two-spirit identities or histories. Archeology at these locations can contribute information about the relationship between sexual and/or gender minority status and the other historical events that the person, organization, etc. is significant for. Examples of these types of places might include Hull House in Chicago, Val-Kill in New York State, Rosebud Battlefield in Montana, and the Tanglewood Tavern in Virginia.⁵⁵

iii) Sites, features, properties, and landscapes associated with LGBTQ and two-spirit aesthetics (NRHP Criterion C; NHL Criterion 4). Examples include Philip Johnson's Glass House in Connecticut; the National AIDS Memorial Grove in San Francisco; Beauport, the Sleeper-McCann House in

⁵³ With many thanks to Barb Voss, in personal communication with the author

⁵⁴ The Dr. Franklin E. Kameny House in Washington, DC, was listed on the NRHP on November 2, 2011; Stonewall in New York City was listed on the NRHP on June 28, 1999; designated an NHL on February 16, 2000; and designated Stonewall National Monument (an NPS unit) on June 24, 2016.

⁵⁵ Hull House in Chicago, Illinois was listed on the NRHP on October 15, 1966 and designated an NHL on June 23, 1965; The Eleanor Roosevelt National Historical Site (Val-Kill) in Hyde Park, New York was designated in 1977; the Rosebud Battlefield Site in Busby, Montana was listed on the NRHP on August 21, 1972 and designated an NHL on August 19, 2008; the Tanglewood Tavern in Maidens, Virginia was listed on the NRHP on September 12, 2002.



Massachusetts; and the Georgia O’Keeffe Home and Studio in New Mexico.⁵⁶

iv) The study of archeological sites and landscapes to better understand the history of sexual and gender minorities at the individual, household, neighborhood, and community levels (NRHP Criterion D; NHL Criterion 6). These types of sites include locations where buildings and structures associated with any of the above types of properties are no longer extant, but can also encompass those types of places that are still standing, and where archeology can contribute to a more complete history and understanding of the place.

Conclusion

As a queer archeologist, it is tempting to look for myself and other LGBTQ and two-spirit people, just as we are today, in the past. To legitimize our existence by “proving” that we have always existed. And yet, to paraphrase Barb Voss, we need to be wary of projects that essentialize sexual and gender identities by using archeology to create a lineage of gay, lesbian, bisexual and queer forefathers and foremothers and transgendered foreparents for present-day identities.⁵⁷ Archeological projects that explore the full richness, diversity, and dynamism of gender and sexual minorities are ultimately much more useful. The archeology of LGBTQ and two-spirit places and landscapes can not only provide important information about past genders and sexualities, but also contribute to important dialogues in archeology about the relationship between and expressions of sexuality and gender, community, cultural change, and identity.

⁵⁶ Philip Johnson’s Glass House in New Canaan, Connecticut was designated an NHL on February 18, 1997; the National AIDS Memorial Grove in San Francisco, California was designated in 1996; Beauport, the Sleeper-McCann House in Gloucester, Massachusetts was designated an NHL on May 27, 2003; the Georgia O’Keeffe Home and Studio in Abiquiú, New Mexico was designated a NHL on August 5, 1998.

⁵⁷ Voss, “Looking for Gender”, 34