

Public versus Private Faces of Gender: A Feminist perspective of Gender Roles on the Late Victorian Montana Mining Frontier

By: Marta A. Timmons



Kenneth W. Brown Collection

Coloma, “The Mystery Camp of The Garnets”

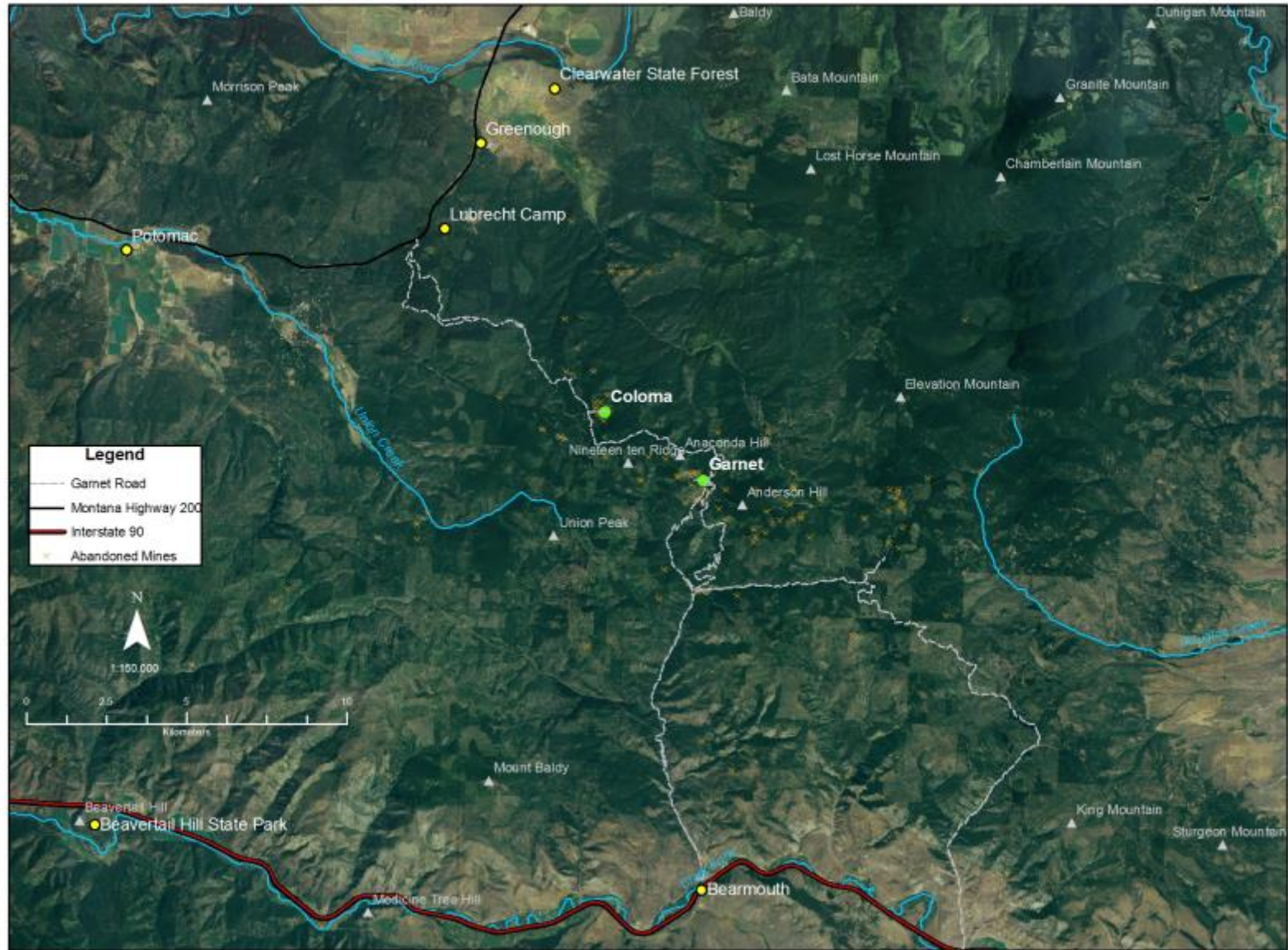
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Coloma Archaeological Project

Photograph by Rose Campbell

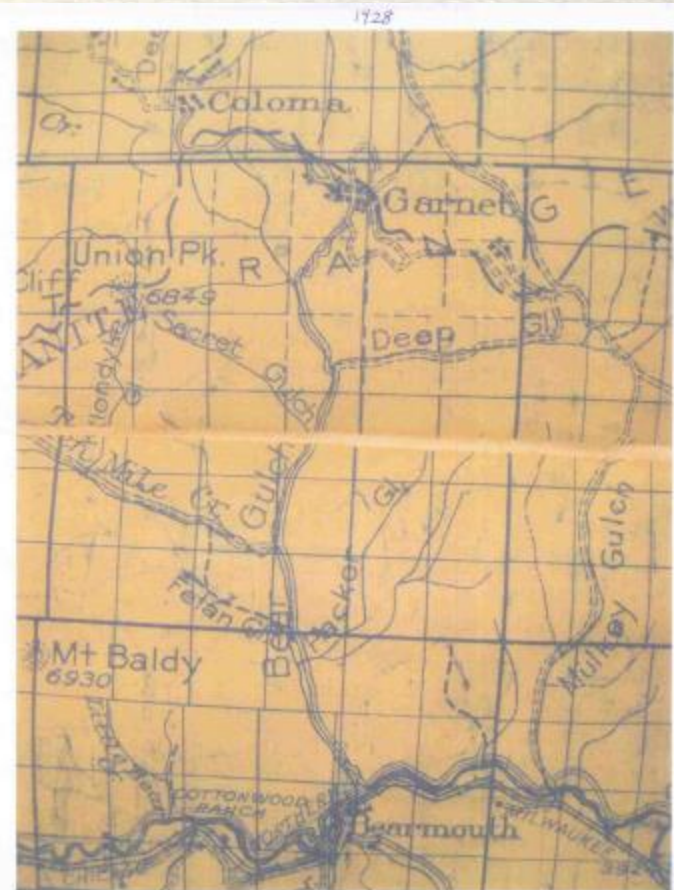
Coloma/Garnet Ghost Town Vicinity Map



Coloma Archaeological Project

Coloma Timeline -

- 1852 - Discovery of Gold in Montana
- 1867 - Gold Discovered at Garnet
- 1868 - Mammoth Lode Discovered
- 1885 - Cato Mill Operational
- 1890 - Mammoth Gold Mining Company
Acquired the Mammoth Mine
- 1893 - Six Hard Rock Mines in Operation
- 1894 - Mammoth Mill Purchased
- 1895 - First References to the Town of Coloma
- 1896 - Coloma and Garnet are Linked by Road
- 1898 - Road is widened for wagons
- Mammoth Mine Defaults on its Loans
- 1900 - Mammoth Mine Reopens



Coloma Timeline, continued -

- 1905 - Mammoth Mine Reports Significant Water on All Levels, 350 Through 150 Levels Underwater, \$500,000 of Blocked Out Ore Inaccessible
- 1906 - Mammoth Mill Returns to Operation
- 1907 - Mammoth Jr Claim Filed
- 1908 - Coloma Post Office Closes
- 1910 - Dewatering Tunnel Underway
- 1916 - Last Deep Mining Ceases at Start of WWI

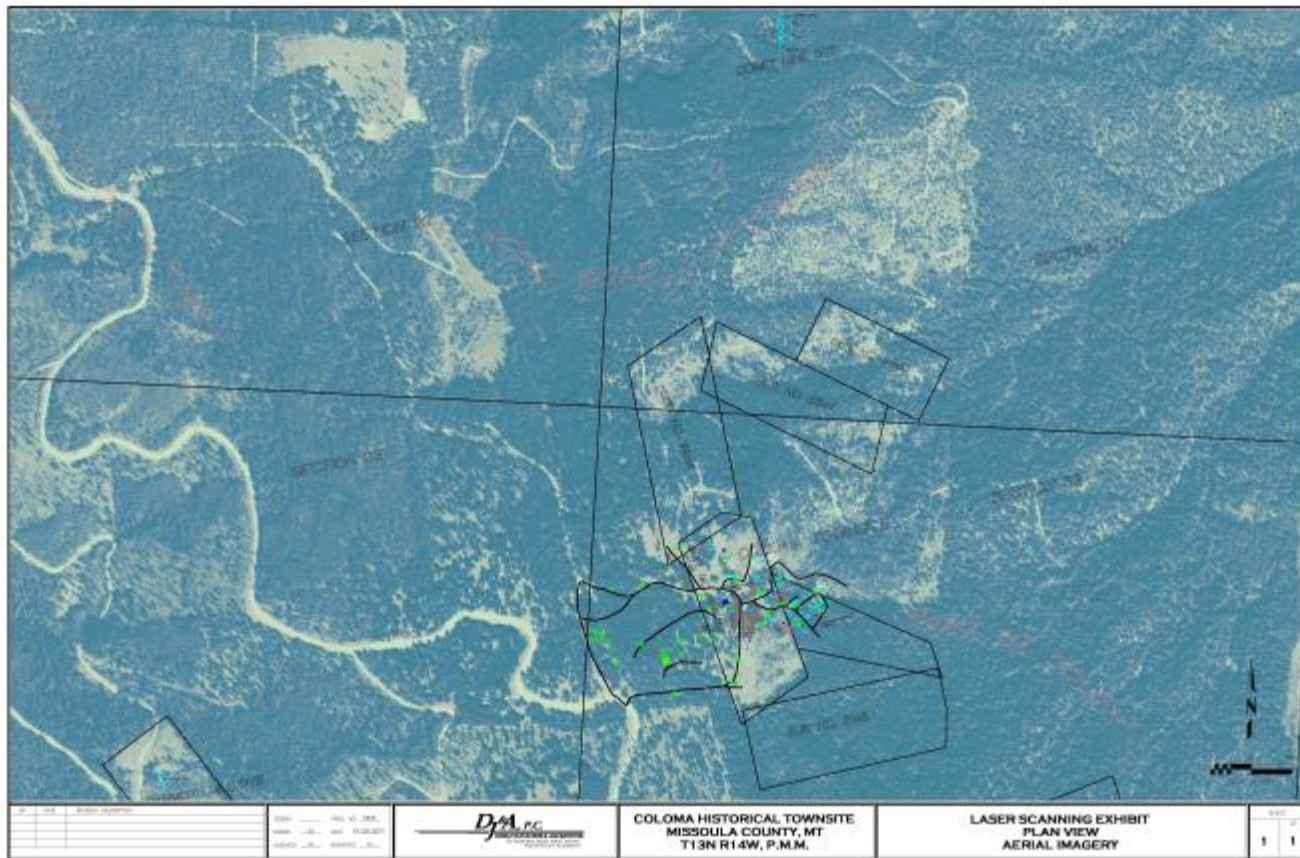
Coloma School House, circa 1902-04



Moss Peterson Collection

1916 - 1950 Coloma Mines are Sporadically Operational at Shallow Depths Producing Gold, Silver, and Copper

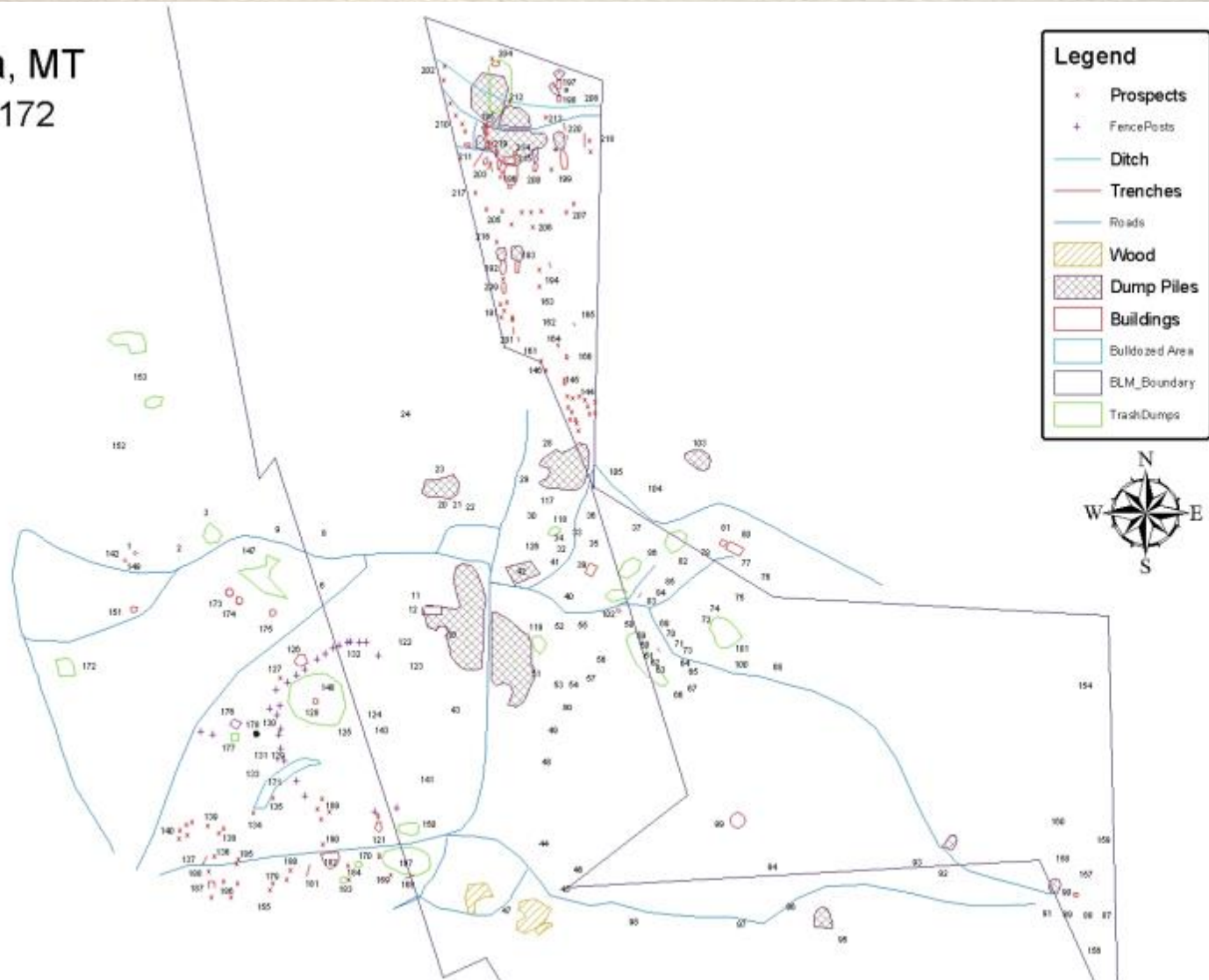
The Coloma Archaeological Project 2005-2010



Coloma Archaeological Project

Coloma Feature Map in 2005

Coloma, MT
24MO172



Bureau of Land Management

Research Timeline

2005 Research ~

Achieves
Oral Histories
&
Construct a
History timeline



2006 Field Season ~

Feature 300, Depression Era Dump



Coloma Archaeological Project



Coloma Archaeological Project

Alex Baer
Sarah Tarka
Benjamin Woody

2007 Field Season ~

Feature 172, 1890's town Dump



Coloma Archaeological Project

Jennifer Ogborne

Feature 131, Residence



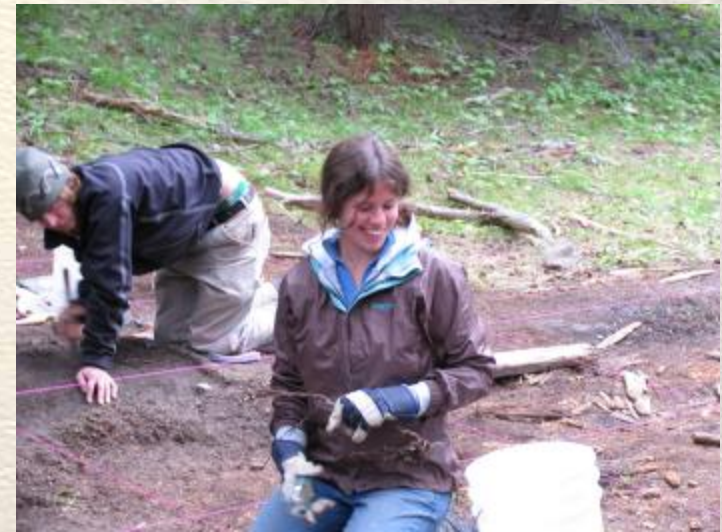
Coloma Archaeological Project

2008 Field Season ~

Feature 131, Residence



Coloma Archaeological Project



Coloma Archaeological Project

Maggie Thurlo

2009 Field Season ~

Chamberlain House

Feature 141



Coloma Archaeological Project
Cellar



Coloma Archaeological Project

Artifact Scatter



Coloma Archaeological Project
Privy

2009-2010 Laboratory Season ~

Victoria Luksha



Coloma Archaeological Project



Coloma Archaeological Project



Coloma Archaeological Project

Photographs by Rose Campbell

2010 Field Season ~

Comet Mine



Ryan Wendel

Coloma Archaeological Project

Work to be completed ~

Final Oral Histories and Archival Research

Artifact Analysis for a Cross Community Comparison

Construction of a Final Feature Map and its Integration with the GIS and Laser Scanner Data

Rectifying the Prior Cultural Inventories with the Feature Map

***A Cross Community
Study -***

Coloma Montana, circa 1900



Kenneth Brown Collection

Garnet Montana, 1898



Leipheimer Collection

**- From an inclusive
feminist perspective.**

A Feminist Approach

An Inclusive Feminist Approach – Assuming no
“Fixed singular universal role” Spencer-Wood 1996:403

“Consider the possible diversity, complexity, and
flexibility in gender relationships” Spencer-Wood 1996:402

A focus on individual female agency

The Three C's of Historical Archaeology

21-0107



Research Goals and Questions

1. Develop a Detailed History for Coloma
2. Document Coloma's Cultural and Geographic Features
3. Locate and Identify the Chamberlain House
4. A Cross Community study of Coloma and Garnet
5. Community Level Expressions of Gender
6. Public and Private Spaces / Victorian Assumptions
7. Gender Roles on the Frontier

Research Methods

Community Study Approach

Testing Around Features

Archival Research

Remote Sensing Survey

Contour and Road Mapping

Mapping of Cultural Features

Structure Recording

Feature Excavation

Missing Building Identification

Artifact Cataloging & Curation

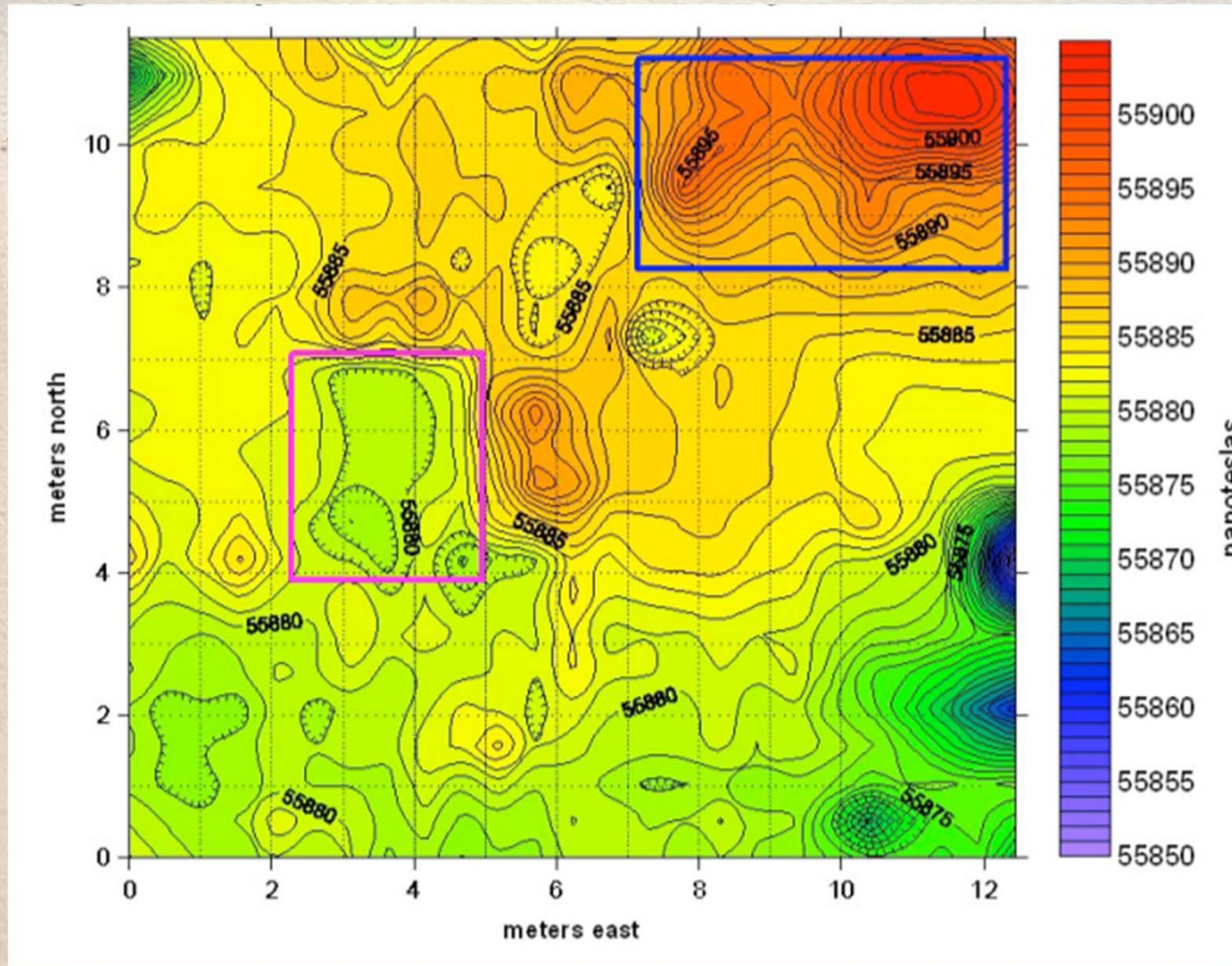
Artifact Conservation

Photographs

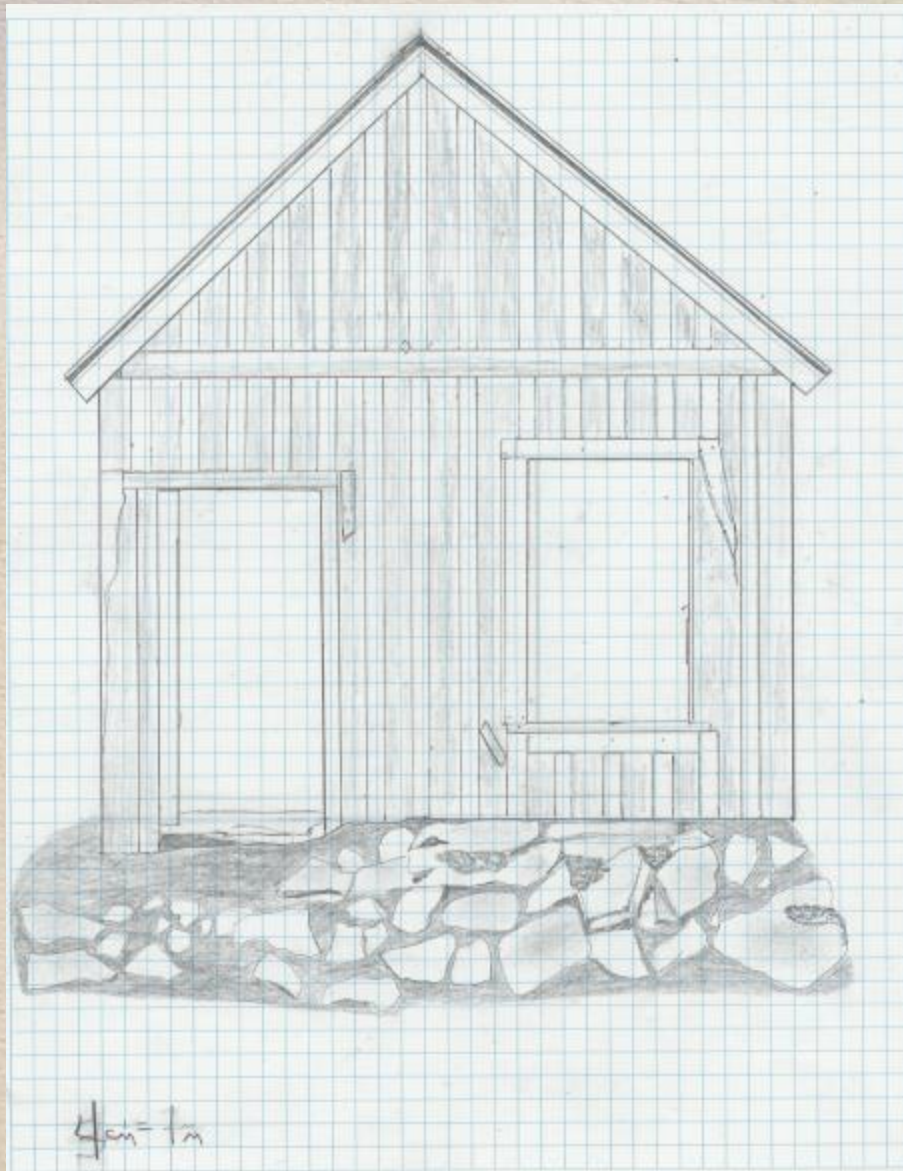
Zooarchaeological Analysis

Quality Assurance

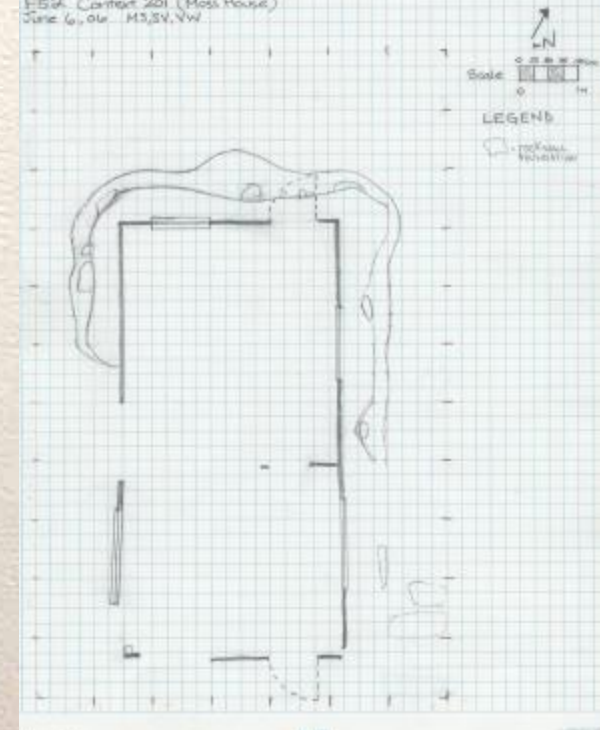
Magnetic Map of Sand Hill Cemetery



Coloma Archaeological Project



Coloma: 24M0172
ESR, Context 201 (Moss House)
June 6, 01r MS, SV, VW



Feature 52, The Moss House

3D Color Laser Scan of the Moss House

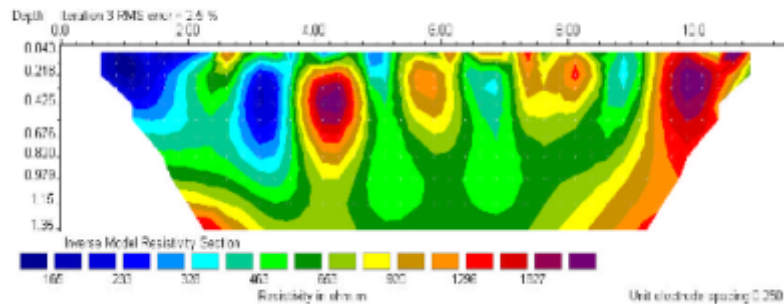


Coloma Archaeological Project

Resistivity Experiments at Sandhill Cemetery: 6/24/2008



The wood stake is the 13th electrode, at 6 meters on the results. The line (x=0) starts at the fence on the right (north) and goes south 11.5 meters with an electrode every 0.5 meters. The electrodes are deployed along the tape measure. Note that the next image is looking the other (easterly) direction.



Resistivity result (model) from a dipole-dipole array in the NE corner of the Sandhill Cemetery (looking east). It is hard to imagine that the alternating blobs are not graves given the other indicators. It is a little puzzling that some are highs, others lows. The feature around 8 meters is about where the trees are. The feature at 10 meters seems to continue to depth but is too close to the edge of the results to be conclusive.

Electrical Resistivity Experiments at Coloma, 6/17/2008

Equipment, software, general protocol

- Iris Instruments 24 channel automatic switching unit (aka the Syscal Kid)
- 24 electrodes spaced at 0.25 meters
- Data collected for Wenner and dipole-dipole electrode configurations
- 3-10 stacks (averaging of multiple experiments) per electrode group
- Stacking stopped when standard deviation drops below 3%
- Prosys II software from Iris instruments
- RES2dINV v 3.4 inversion software from Geotomo Software

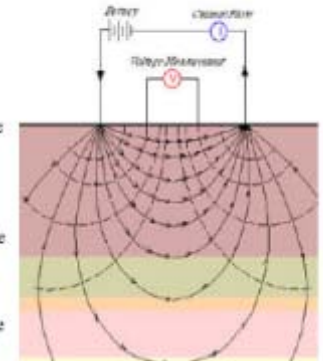


Figure 1. The Wenner electrode array is a typical arrangement for measuring subsurface resistivity in ohm-meters

Experiments at the potential grave site

I deployed 24 electrodes with an electrode to electrode spacing of roughly 0.25 meters. Some intervals were off by up to 20% due to rocks restricting driving the electrodes into the ground. Once placed the instrument tests the contacts of each electrode pair and, after all contacts are good, conducts the measurements. Once deployed, the Syscal Switch polls the electrode groups in a number of traditional arrangements; I used the traditional Wenner electrode arrangement and replicated the measurement three times.

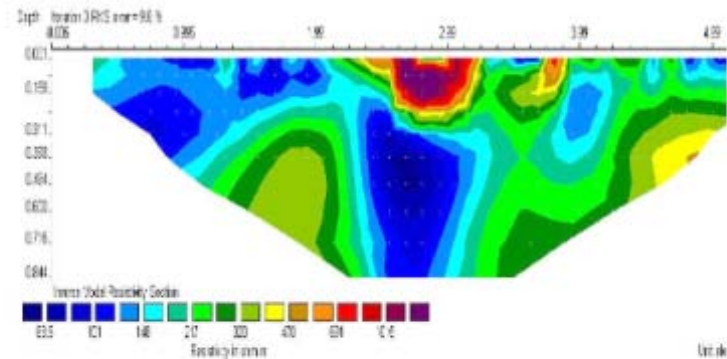


Figure 2. Depth section (model) of resistivity from the first Wenner profile. Distances are in meters and color contours are resistivity in ohm-meters. This is the calculated subsurface resistivity beneath the potential grave site as determined from the first Wenner profile. The high resistivity (red) area in the top-center is where the stones are; 2.75 meters is about the center of the stone pile. Beneath that is a lower resistivity zone which extends to at least 0.84 meters. That low resistivity (blue) zone disrupts higher resistivity ground to the sides and is likely an old excavation of some sort (trench, grave, pit). The second and third set of measurements in this configuration produced essentially the same result.

Data Analysis

Gender as a “Unit” of Analysis

How do researchers move from empirical material culture to making inferences about cultural abstractions such as gender and community?

Or, as Chris Merritt so aptly put it, “Where do you draw the lines? Where does Coloma start, and Garnet end?” The same question applies to gender: Where do male and female “forms” of material culture start and end?

Where do male and female “forms” of material culture start and end; and how do archaeologists make valid statements about gender from material culture?

Gender Markers ~



Blacksmith Shop, 1961

BLM

- Even with the recent past, there are problems in
 - identifying archaeological signatures of gender,
 - specifically that of exclusivity of male or female use
-

Gender ideology predetermines gender roles and thus gendered artifacts. If gender ideology states that men and not women were miners, then all mining artifacts are male.



Statistical Models Identifying Over Whelming Male or Female Artifacts ~

(e.g., Spude 2005)

Garnet School 1900, 1st Grade, Miss Woods



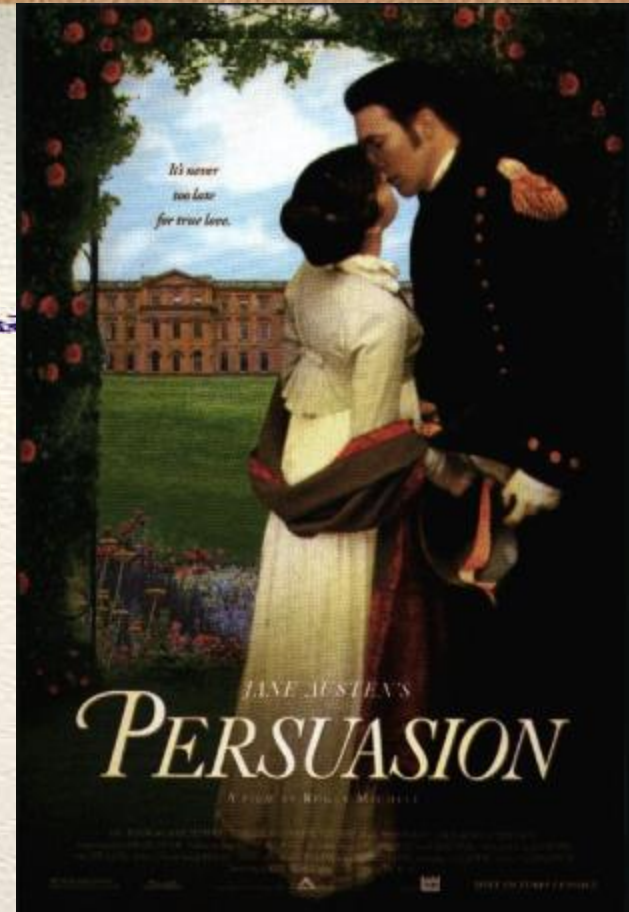
Luann Leipheimer Collection

Text ~ Oral History



Jane Austen

“[men] have had every advantage of us in telling their story. Education has been theirs in so much higher degree; the pen has been in their hands. I will not allow books to prove anything” (Austen 1818:242)



do re mi ~

(Rodgers, Richard and Oscar Hammerstein III, 1959)



A layered approach to gender using multiple lines of evidence ~

Gender markers in the Archaeological Record ~

Statistical models to identify use and gender ~

Text ~

Oral Histories ~

Women's history in their own words ~

Initial Inferences -

Coloma,
circa 1900



Kenneth W. Brown Collection

Hillma Hanson Kimbal



Montana Historical Society

Chamberlain House, 1897-98

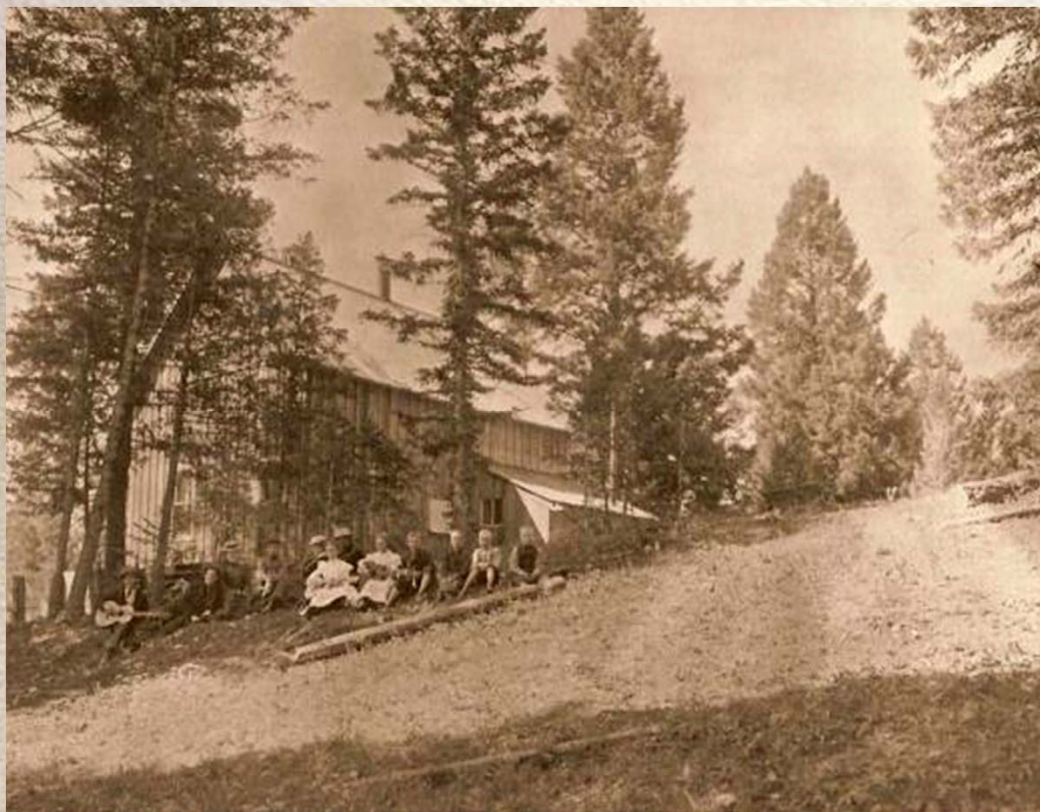


Montana Historical Society

Butte, 1904

Chamberlain House, Coloma MT 1897/1898

Nellie Chamberlain



Montana Historical Society



Chamberlain Family

Jarvis Montana
Sept 12th 1899

To whom this may
concern - I have this
day disposed of all
right interest & title
the house situated in
Coloua to Mrs J. W. Moss.
John, Arkansas

Gender in the Archaeological Record



Public vs Private
Victorian Gendered
Interpretations

Frontiers as a crucible of social change ~



(<http://campus.lakeforest.edu/~ebner/peckbe/pioneerwom>)

the presence of women had implications beyond the demographic structure of the population - Women's participation influenced the economic base of the settlement, the ways in which work was organized; diet the appearance of the homes, social activities and more - Women were not only present in the settlement, they actively and significantly shaped the ways in which the community operated and saw itself - Our focus on men and machines has obscured the complexities of gender on the frontier - The impact of women, behind the public face that is projected may be far more extensive than reported in the male produced written word - (Susan Lawrence, 2003)

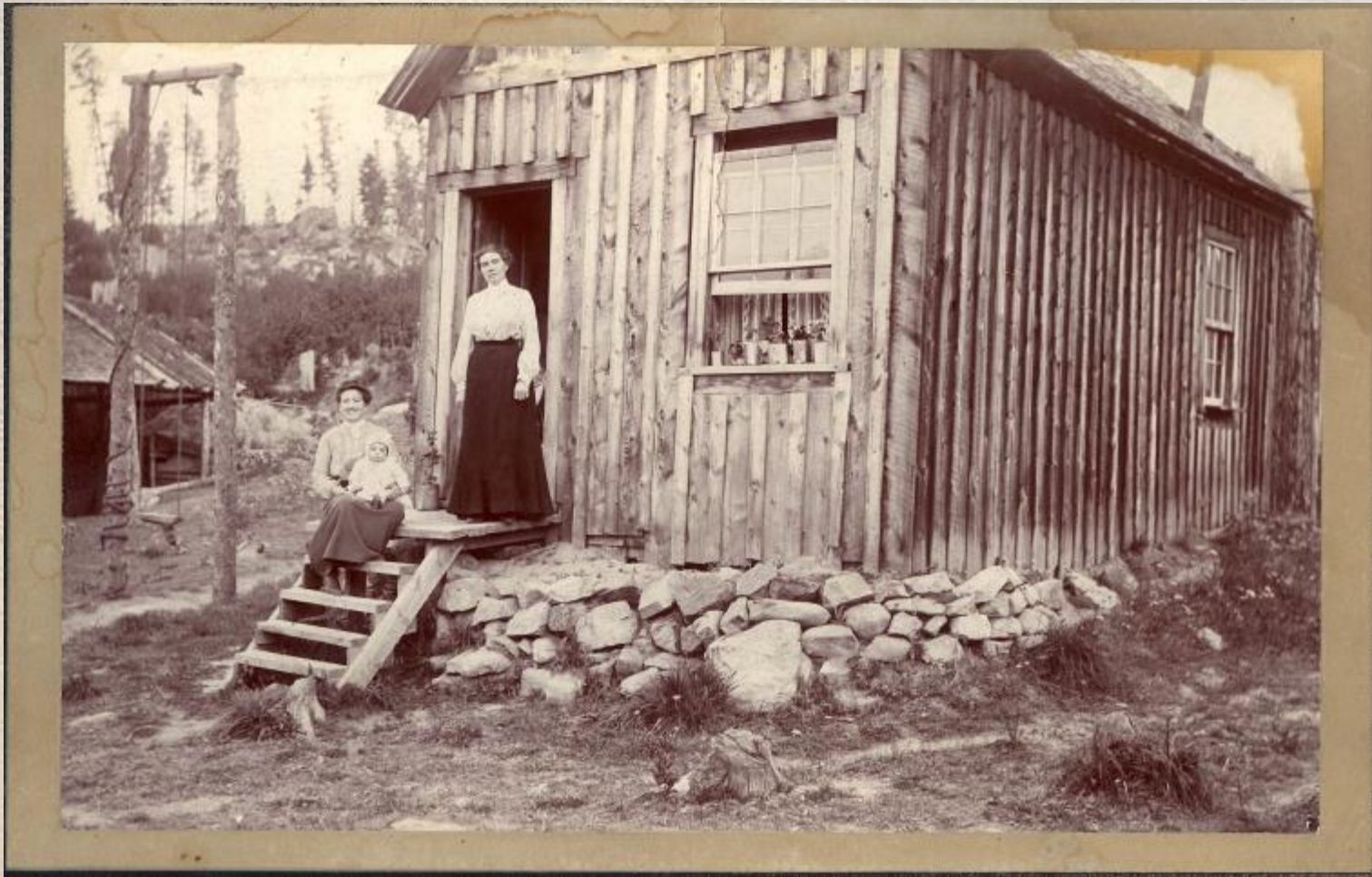
The Public vs Private dichotomy fails to account for women who had working partnerships with their husbands -

Emma Wolf, Montana circa 1900



Western Memories Project

Moss House, Coloma MT 1904



Mary McKuen Moss and "Billie" 1904

Peterson, Moss Collection

Anna Elmira “Billie” Moss, Coloma MT



Peterson, Moss Collection

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- ~ Chris Merritt, USFS
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