

**The Town of Loma Prieta:
Applied Archaeology in The Forest of Nisene Marks State Park**

A Project Report
Presented To
The Faculty of the Anthropology Department at
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements of the Degree of
Master of Arts in
Applied Anthropology

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5/24/2019

SAN JOSE STATE UNIVERSITY

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The Town of Loma Prieta: Applied Archaeology in The Forest of Nisene Marks State Park

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Abstract

This study is an applied anthropology collaboration with San Jose State University and California State Parks within the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park, Santa Cruz County, California. This project report presents the results of a study on the company town named Loma Prieta (which was occupied from 1883 to 1904). The goal is to generate academic knowledge concerning ethnic, class, and gender experiences in company towns during the Gilded Age (1870-1910). This study is relevant because historic documents often portray only the narratives of upper-class citizens. By using a mixed method approach of archival papers and archaeologically recorded objects and historical sites, my research goes deeper than the subjectivity of company papers and historical writings to study the working-class during the Gilded Age. My methods generated data which we can use to examine themes of paternalism, collective action, and the built environment within the industrial sphere of this company town.

This project has concluded that the stratification of class is indeed visible within the landscape of Loma Prieta and that multiple forms of paternalism and collective resistance occurred in this company town. These results support the ideology that despite living in a company-controlled town, residents of Loma Prieta were still active agents of their built environment. It is anticipated that the findings from my project report will be useful to California State Parks for future planning and public interpretation: it is within California State Park's mission to inventory, protect, and interpret historic properties within its jurisdiction, and the Loma Prieta Company Town site has shown to be particularly relevant to California State Parks historic preservation responsibilities. This investigation has the potential to serve as a case study for research on company towns and their present-day legacies.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to thank the Anthropology Department at San Jose State University for supporting me as an undergrad and welcoming me back as a graduate student. Thank you for the GRAD Grants that helped fund my research, publishing a short summary of my internship on the department website, inviting me to present at AnthROX, and generally making me feel loved. I would also like to acknowledge California State Parks for facilitating this research endeavor and granting me a State Parks archaeology research permit for work in the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park.

I would like to thank my support group that I was lucky enough to be born into: my family. I need to thank my parents, Janet Molina-Heathcote and Robert Heathcote for instilling in me the importance of education. You two fostered a love for school and a love for myself and all that I could be capable of with my life. Thank you to my four siblings, Patricia, Christopher, Jonathan, and Katherine and my brother-in-law Gavin for keeping me grounded. Thank you especially to my late sister Patricia Heathcote Darby, who was the first to go to college in the family and paved the way for me. Thank you to my partner, Sergei Anacker, for always pushing me to prioritize my education and being the only person who can successfully pull me back from an overthinking fit.

Thirdly, I would like to thank the support group that I crafted myself over time: my amazing girl gang. Thank you to Kristense Cameron for being a loving friend. Although we are in different programs, our parallel journeys in graduate school became a safe space for me to discuss anxieties and dreams for post-grad life. Thank you to Sarah Luce, AKA Tentie, for being my school big sister. I always felt like I could turn to you for advice and you were happy to give it, to complain with me, and to cry a little with me. Thank you to Alyssa Pappas for being my

only friend not in graduate school thus reminding me that there is more to life. I needed to be refocused or escape sometimes, and talks with you relieved me. Thank you to Alicia Hedges for helping me get through this program, reading my drafts, being an awesome co-worker, a great friend, and for that time at the SCAs.

I would like to thank the support group and family I magically fell into as a student at San Jose State University. Thank you to my cohort members, and faculty for being there and being understanding when I lost my sister in the first semester of graduate school. The love you all showed me, someone you hardly knew, will never be forgotten. I am overjoyed to call you all my colleagues and friends. To my fellow cohort members, our weekly get together and support for each other kept me sane these two years. Our friendships will last a lifetime, and I hope you feel the same.

Thank you to Jan English-Lueck for being intimidating, yet very approachable and nurturing. Thank you to AJ Faas for having more faith in my abilities to grow than I ever did and making me step out of my comfort zone on multiple occasions to present my work. Thank you to Alan Leventhal for taking an interest in me, being someone to bounce ideas off of, ensuring that I broadened my horizons, and all the dad jokes. Thank you to Mark Hylkema for allowing me to work in the beautiful Forest of Nisene Marks State Park and serving as a member of my committee. Thank you to Marco Meniketti for teaching me so much and for occasionally letting me be a part of your shenanigans. Most of my favorite graduate school memories involve laughing with you. Lastly, I want to thank Charlotte Sunseri for being my bedrock. My admiration and appreciation for you started in undergrad and has only flourished. Thank you for always listening to my fears and guiding me to be better and think deeper.

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1. Introduction

The archaeological investigation of the Loma Prieta Logging District presents an opportunity to explore how the residents of the company town of Loma Prieta, now the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park (Figure 1.1), negotiated social identities and community building during the Gilded Age (1870-1910) and how these identities might present themselves through material culture. According to photographs and oral histories (Calciano 1964a; Calciano 1964b), Loma Prieta was home to not just workers of the Loma Prieta Lumber Company, but also their families. Research on Loma Prieta focuses on the town and domestic life to provoke meaningful discussion about representing peripheral actors in company towns, such as the families of the workers. Moreover, this research explores the class, ethnic, and gendered experiences of the working-class, laborer's and their families, in a company town setting.

This research endeavor provides documentation to California State Parks that can assist in the preservation of the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park's cultural resources. Beyond showing the research potential at this town through investigating site integrity and relevant research inquiry, this project is concerned with site protection and preservation. Public visitations significantly impacted the cultural resources, mostly from looting, and this project seeks to prevent further loss of site integrity at the town of Loma Prieta and interprets experiences of workers in this townsite through analysis of documentation and material culture. This research project involves multiple deliverables: 1) This Masters Research Project acts as my official report to California State Parks, 2) Appendix A provides a draft district nomination for the Loma Prieta Logging District which California State Parks may use as a starting point for nomination

to the National Register of Historic Places, and 3) Appendix B includes Primary and Archaeological Record forms for each site recorded during this project.

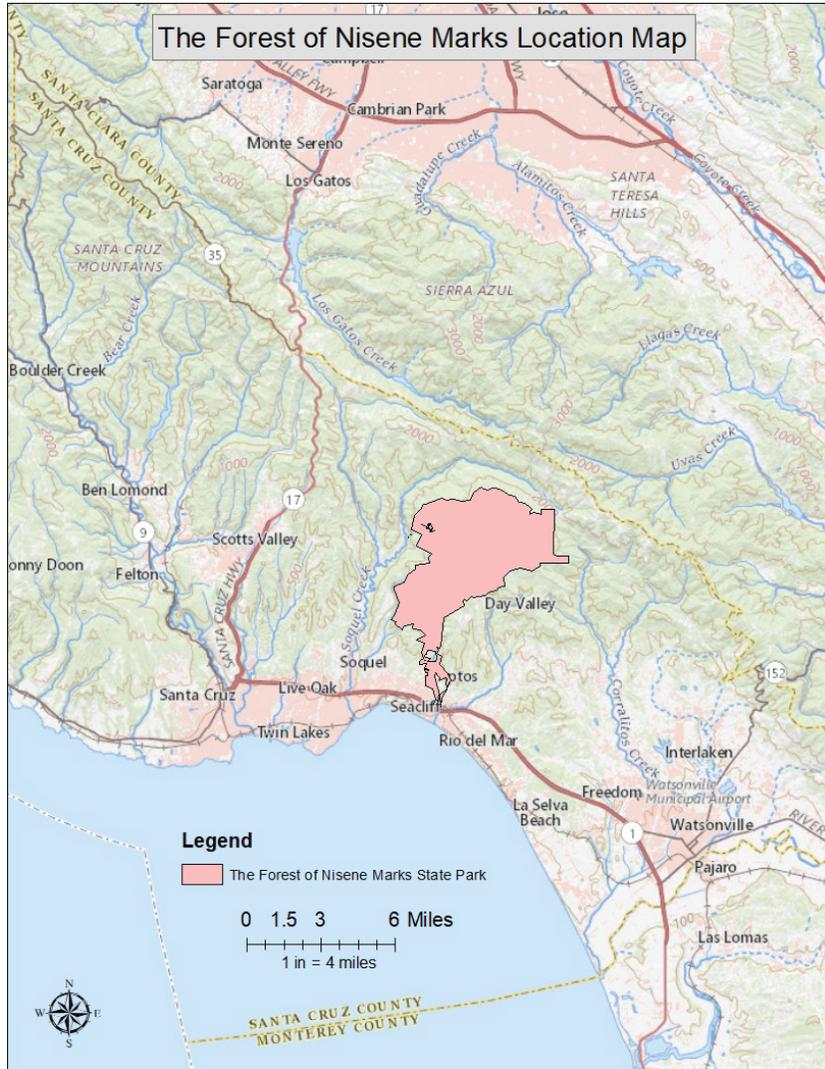


Figure 1.1: Location of The Forest of Nisene Marks State Park

Academic Objectives

This research addresses the construction and maintenance of social identities, such as class, gender, and ethnicity, in a company town setting (Baxter 2012; Beaudry 1989; Franzen 1992; Hardesty 1990; Purser 1991). It is essential to explore how identities were created, maintained, and negotiated in history as doing so sheds light on legacies of the past and allows us

to reflect on how racism, classism, and sexism continue to have significant impacts on our contemporary society (Matthews 2010; Sunseri 2017). This research has the potential to elicit deeper conversation about the parallels of life during the Gilded Age to life today. Studying history can give many insights to how our society has been shaped, and in this situation, it is hard to miss the differences between two periods of American that had such intense beliefs on immigration, American exceptionalism, and power of mega-corporations (Walley 2017). Therefore, this study's significance expands past the archaeological discipline and into a case study that might be used to better our society during what appears to be a second Gilded Age (Wurst 2015; Wylie 1999).

This research seeks to elucidate social identity construction and expression during the Gilded Age in America, particularly among the working class in the West (Matthews 2012; Mullins and Jeffries 2012; Orser 2011; Shackel and Palus 2006). By looking at instances of collective resistance and labor organizing, class tensions and inequalities, as well as gender ideologies, I piece together a story of what it was like to live in Loma Prieta. With the goal of "giving voice to the voiceless" (Little 1996) or those ignored in written history, this historical archaeology seeks to illuminate the experiences of marginalized groups, especially when we consider that mostly upper-class, educated, white males were the authors of documentation during this period, and interpretations of historic American West has a tendency to romanticize the past (Cowie 2011; Dixon 2005; Little 1996; Rose 2009; Singleton 1999). It is useful to look at the material culture and historical documents left behind by all those who lived in company towns to gain a fuller understanding of the community as a whole so that the contributions of the marginalized are not overshadowed by those in power (Baxter 2012; Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1996; Brashler 1991; Cowie 2011).

Historical Background and Preliminary Research

The Gilded Age (1870 to 1910), was a time of distinct class lines and heightened xenophobia as well as shifting labor relations. The era received its name from the writings of Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner (1873) who labeled the period in reference to how America seemed to be in a golden age from the outside, but was deteriorating and corrupt below the surface. Historical sites of industrialism and resource extraction represent a hub of capitalistic production during the late 1800s. The Loma Prieta Lumber Company operated multiple sawmills in the Santa Cruz Mountains from 1883 until 1923 and managed a town of its employees from 1883-1904. In recent years, many archaeological studies focus on historic work camps and theoretical approaches to capitalism (Baxter 2012; Beaudry 1989; Cowie 2011; Furnis and Maniery 2015; Mullins and Jeffries 2012; Metheny 2007). While research of earlier, Gold-Rush era (1848-1855) company towns is a popular field of study in archaeology, until recently researchers typically overlooked company towns built later in the Gilded Age (Mullins and Jeffries 2012). An archaeological study of company towns in the Gilded Age presents an opportunity to further study class consciousness, economic growth in California from resources extraction, and intersectional relationships between class, ethnic, and gender of the working class during a time that was notably prosperous for only the elites.

Methods and Research Questions

This research benefits from a historical archaeology perspective which uses mixed methods of documentary analysis, geospatial analysis, and interpretations of artifacts to provide an in-depth picture of peoples' activities both in public and private spaces (Baxter 2012; Cowie 2011; Hardesty 1996; Metheny 2007). A spatial study of the town layout and viewsheds, artifactual analysis of households, and archival study of company documents are jointly used to

infer residents' experiences and town design. This research asks: How are the class, gender, and ethnic identities of the residents of Loma Prieta in the Gilded Age represented in the archaeological remains of their daily practices? As a milling town in the forest, how did the town's proximity to an industrial site of resource extraction impact residential layout and the household material culture? Using practice theory (Bourdieu 1977; Ortner 2014) and historical contexts of the Gilded Age and American industrialism (Kline 2011; Matthews 2012; Meniketti 2019; Mullins and Jeffries 2012; Orser 2011; Shackel and Palus 2006), this research presents a geospatial and material culture study alongside archival evidence from the town of Loma Prieta to answer these research questions.

Value of Project to California State Parks, and the Public

This research was done in partnership with the Santa Cruz District of California State Parks under an Archaeological Investigation Permit issued by Parks Archaeologist, Mark Hylkema. The results from my investigation at the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park assists the Santa Cruz District in their responsibilities to inventory cultural resources while also encouraging public engagement through interpretation of this historic district (King 2013). For California State Parks, access to such interagency interactions can lead to high-quality cultural resource inventories for the lands that they manage and can create potentially useful on-going collaborations with academic institutions. The Forest of Nisene Marks State Park General Plan (California State Parks 2005) noted that additional cultural resources have yet to be recorded within the park.

The Cultural Resources Program of the Santa Cruz District of California State Parks interprets park history and how its industrial sites connect to regional development. In particular, the Loma Prieta Lumber Company supplied fuel and timber that was shipped all over California

to support its rampant growth. The townsite of Loma Prieta has been mostly untouched by archaeologists, although site surveys and documentation of the nearby Loma Prieta Mill were completed recently during the field research of Marco Meniketti (2016 [2019]). For California State Parks, it is crucial for the agency to be aware of the cultural resources within each park in their district so that they may, 1) form strategies for resource preservation, 2) monitor site impacts, and 3) engage with the public concerning interpretation of history and cultural resources in the park. The Forest of Nisene Marks State Park provides a unique opportunity for studying constructed and contested identities in regulated company towns as California State Parks has preserved several such towns from destruction by urban development.

The Aptos Historical Society has also granted support to this study as they too find great value in learning their local history. Obtaining and preserving local history can bring communities together and teach people of all ages about how their society has changed. Outcomes of this project include a presentation of findings to archaeologists at the Society for California Archaeology annual meeting and community members at the Aptos Historical Society and San Jose State University. By disseminating my results to the local community, I hope to generate interest in our shared past and provide a more inclusive voice on the history of the region (Davis 1997; Jameson 1997). Through written and oral presentations, the findings discussed in this report can be used for educational purposes and reach a wider audience than is the case for “gray literature” (works not written for formal publication) in archaeology.

Report Outline

The next chapter sets the stage for a story about Loma Prieta with the known historical context of the town in the Gilded Age. The archaeology of company towns, class, ethnicity, and gender in previous works develops an archaeological approach to link method and theory in such

studies. Chapter Three discusses the relevant archaeological theory of material remains and their linkage to daily life through practice theory and how archaeologists typically study company towns. Chapter Four, methods, highlights the work done to discern data from archival searches and fieldwork. The results chapter of this report details the research findings and relies heavily on spatial analysis of the park and its cultural elements. In the discussion chapter, findings are interpreted to understand the life of Loma Prieta residents. This report concludes with a discussion of research limitations and avenues for future research. It is the hope that this chapter might be of most interest to those seeking guidance for future research in the park, or studies similar to my own.

2. Historical Context

Historical archaeology studies the past using multiple data sets and mediums of analysis, and provides a new perspective on themes of anthropological interest. This chapter serves to provide the necessary historical, social and cultural background of the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park and the broader political and zeitgeist during the occupation of Loma Prieta. This chapter begins with an overview of the known written history of Loma Prieta. This information is pulled from multiple books, articles, legal documents, and historians' interpretations. The latter section of this chapter provides a broader history of California in the late 1800s with a focus on the Gilded Age, the economics of resource extraction, and immigration.

Historical Overview of Loma Prieta and the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park

The Forest of Nisene Marks State Park is presently comprised of second-growth redwood forest; the original forest was clear cut in the late 1800s into the early 1900s (Meniketti 2016 [2019]; Newhouse 2018). Earlier occupation of portions of this district include Mexican Period residences of Rafael Castro's family, who in 1833 acquired some areas as a land grant (California State Parks n.d; Meniketti 2016 [2019]; Newhouse 2018; Spitzer 2015). Later, during the American Period, the Santa Cruz Railroad Company built railroads in the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park in partnership with Southern Pacific Railroad Company (Newhouse 2018). In 1872, the Castro family sold their land to Claus Spreckels for sugar beet farming (Spitzer 2015). In 1880, some of Spreckel's property and some land still owned by Carmelita Fallon (a member of the Castro family) was purchased by Southern Pacific Railroad Company who financed the Loma Prieta Lumber Company and the Loma Prieta Railroad Company (Grusauskas n.d.; Newhouse 2018; Spritzer 2015).

The Loma Prieta Lumber Company was supported by investors who had close financial ties to Southern Pacific Railroad Company (California State Parks n.d.; Harrison 1892; Whaley 2014). The Loma Prieta Railroad Company began building railroads in the area in 1882 (Robertson 1998). In 1883, Chinese immigrant were employed to construct a grade for a standard gauge railroad following Aptos Creek; this serves as the present-day Aptos Creek Road (California State Parks 2005; Grusauskas n.d.; Meniketti 2016 [2019]; Whaley 2014). The railroad line from Loma Prieta to Aptos was called the Loma Prieta Branch (Feagans 2010).

The founders of the Loma Prieta Lumber Company created the milling business in 1882, but the mill operations began in 1883 (California State Parks 2005; Spitzer 2015; Whaley 2014). On November 26th, 1883 The Loma Prieta Lumber Company was fully formed along with other logging camps in the Santa Cruz Mountains (Newhouse 2018). Aptos Creek was dammed just to the north of the mill to create a mill pond (Calciano 1964a; Whaley 2014). The mill ran for roughly 11 hours a day, six days a week, and was able to produce up to 70,000 board feet of lumber a day during the height of their business in the late 1800s (Whaley 2014; Spitzer 2015). To the north of the mill, and south of Bridge Creek, on both sides of Aptos Creek was the town of Loma Prieta (Whaley 2014). Lumber from this mill was shipped to areas all along California and even Nevada and Arizona (Calciano 1964a; Spitzer 2015).

Mill operations were moved to Olive Springs from 1904-1917 until landslides made it challenging to stay (Calciano 1964a; Spitzer 2015). The original Loma Prieta Mill site was used again by the Loma Prieta Company in 1918 and continued until 1923 (Calciano 1964a; Calciano 1964b; Whaley 2014; Spitzer 2015). The Loma Prieta Mill was the largest in the Santa Cruz Mountains (California State Parks n.d.). After its closure, structural material including bricks and wood from the mill and town were dismantled and sold off to community members who often

used the materials to build homes and other establishments (Calciano 1964a; California State Parks 2005).

Some key players in the startup of the Loma Prieta Lumber Company included two members of the Porter Family: John (who emigrated from the East Coast) and his son Warren (Thomson n.d.; Harrison 1892). Warren Porter was born in 1861 in Santa Cruz and graduated in 1880 from St. Augustine College in Benicia (Harrison 1892). In 1884, he became the Secretary of the Loma Prieta Lumber Company in Aptos (Harrison 1892). During this time, Warren lived on an acre plot that consisted of three homes; one for him and his wife, Mary Easton, one for the company's President, and one that served as a boarding house for when members of the board and company came to visit (Calciano 1964a; Thomson n.d.; Harrison 1892). Easton and Porter lived in Loma Prieta until work at the mill slowed down in the late 1800s, at which time they moved to Watsonville (Thomson n.d.). Warren Porter would become Lieutenant Governor of California in 1906 and return as a director of the Loma Prieta Lumber Company in 1911 as work regenerated (Thomson n.d.). In 1892, the Loma Prieta Lumber Company's president was Timothy Hopkins, the Vice President was A.C. Bassett, N.T. Smith was the Treasurer, and Warren R. Porter the Secretary (Harrison 1892). T.B. Bishop, John T. Porter, W.P. Dougherty, James S. Severance, and James, Dougherty sat on the Board of Directors (Harrison 1892). The company employed 150-200 men, many of whom lived in the town of Loma Prieta (Harrison 1892; Spitzer 2015). During the winter, work at the mill was non-existent. Therefore, many employees had to find other jobs during winter seasons (Calciano 1964a; Spitzer 2015).

The town of Loma Prieta (Figure 2.1) was built approximately a quarter mile north from the mill where roughly 300 people (including employees and their families) lived (Thomson n.d.; Calciano 1964a; Harrison 1892; Newhouse 2018; Spitzer 2015). This town was largely made up

of immigrant workers from Ireland, Italy, and other European countries. The town, financed by the company, consisted of a school, telegraph office, company store, a post-office, a Wells Fargo express station, many homes, and other establishments (California State Parks 2005; Thomson n.d.; Calciano 1964a; Harrison 1892; Whaley 2014; Spitzer 2015). The company did not build the town on a grid system, and individuals built their homes in irregular patterns (Calciano 1964a) with neighborhood distinctions limited to designated zones for management's households.

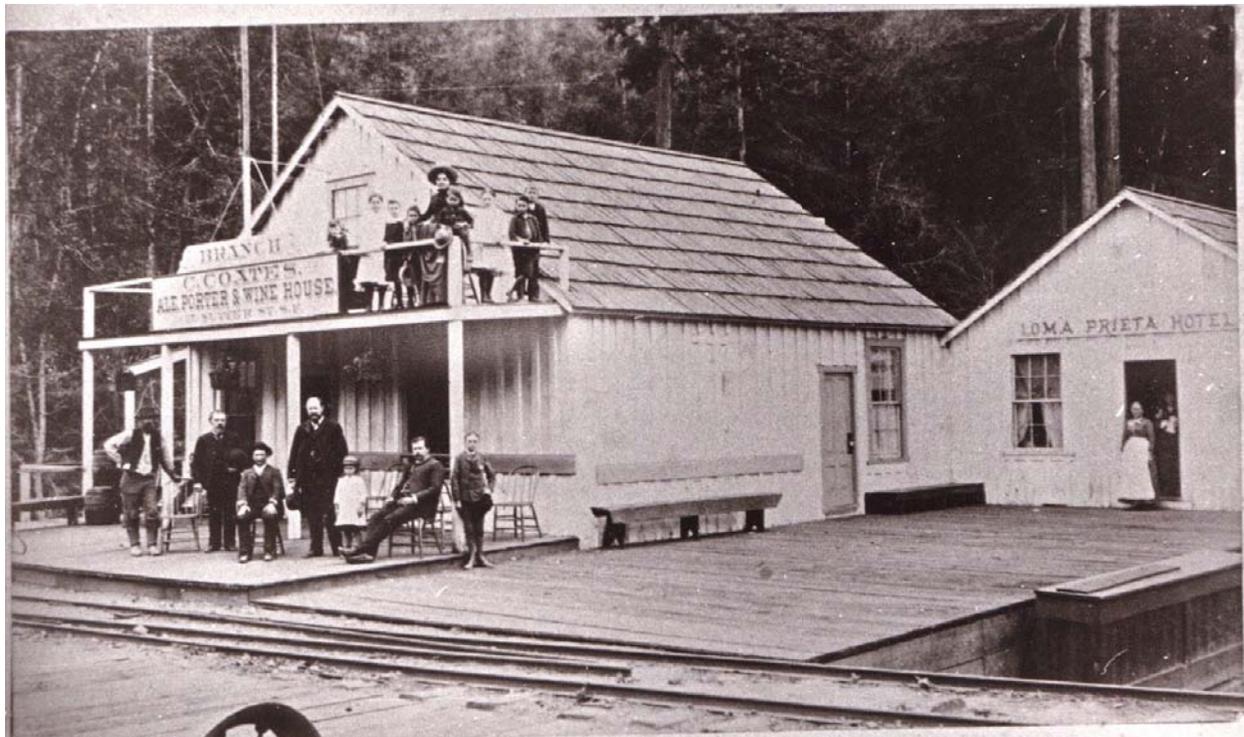


Figure 2.1: Town of Loma Prieta

Besides the industrial activities centering around the felling and transport of trees and milling of lumber, other activities that occurred in the town were occasionally recorded in newspapers and other documents. Working and living in Loma Prieta proved dangerous due to both natural disasters and work-related accidents (Spitzer 2015). In 1901, an explosion seriously

injured Herbert E. Houghton when he and his wife were walking near some railway construction. Houghton died days later from his injuries (McFarland 1907). Harriet E. Houghton sued the Loma Prieta Lumber Company, claiming the explosion was due to company negligence and they did not ensure that people were aware of the danger (McFarland 1907). The company claimed it was not their fault, as an independent contractor was in charge of that particular work (McFarland 1907). The court sided with the widow, but an appeal was brought forward by the Company, and the judge reserved the decision (McFarland 1907). On April 23rd, 1906, a landslide in the Hinckley Creek Gulch killed nine men who worked for the lumber company, including their Chinese cook, while working at the Olive Springs location (Calciano 1964a; San Francisco Examiner 1906).

Logging in the district ended in 1923 and the Loma Prieta Lumber Company began to sell off its assets. The Marks family of Salinas, consisting of siblings Herman, Agnes, and Andrew Marks, purchased 9,300 acres from the Loma Prieta Lumber Company and other lumber companies in search of oil in the 1950s (California State Parks 2005; Grusauskas n.d.; Trail Link n.d.). This endeavor proved fruitless. The Marks family deeded the property to California State Parks in 1963 in honor of their mother Nisene Marks, requiring that the land be a natural preserve (California State Parks 2005; Grusauskas n.d.; Meniketti 2016 [2019]; Newhouse 2018).

Historical Context of Capitalism and the Gilded Age

Capitalism is as much an ideological and social system as it is an economic one; the ideology of individualism coincides with the acceptance of capitalistic ideologies. Individualism placed importance on the person, at the expense of community or kin, as capitalism emphasized private property and the ability to competitively sell one's own (and other's) labor. Capitalist

ideologies value not only affluence but showing off wealth with lavish purchases and competitive consumption.

The American Gilded Age ranged from the mid-1800s to the early 1900s (Cowie 2011; Kline, 2011; Orser 2011). During the Gilded Age, American agricultural landscapes underwent a drastic change from food production to industrialism (Shackel and Palus 2006). Industrialism signaled the beginning of a great divide in wealth for American citizens. In the Gilded Age, privilege blinded the upper-class who often overlooked the struggles of marginalized groups while stating that America was the greatest and all they had accomplished was exceptional (Matthews 2012). In this age of American exceptionalism, the stratification of class was a more substantial indication of one's success than one's ethnicity. If one were not wealthy, one would find more commonalities with those of the same class than those from the same ethnic group who were elites (Orser 2011). Orser found artifacts during excavation in Five Points New York that emphasized this homogeneity among those of different ethnic groups who shared class statuses as represented at that site.

During the onset of industrialization, there became a greater separation of workspaces from home spaces (Hartmann 1976; Matthews 2010; Wall 1994). According to Matthews, domesticity became the marker of family morality during this time in America, and as industrialism grew, specializations emerged and, as a result, segregation of specialties that lead into the Gilded Age. Hartmann (1976) also discusses how capitalism during this time changed the focus from controlling women in the home to control of women through their available occupations which launched the ideals of women belonging to the domestic sphere (Hartmann 1976; Matthews 2010). Moreover, women would take part in communal activities that could help

supplement their income and diet, which deepened the divide of the domestic and industrial sphere and gender roles (or lack of roles) in each.

Often, industrialism made the wealthy even more affluent, and when it did not, the elite blamed immigrants and class-based collective action (Matthews 2012). The influx of immigrants meant cheap labor and resource extraction would not cost wealthy businessmen much considering the return they received from their investments (Kline 2011; Matthews 2012; Orser 2011; Walker 2001). The exploitation of resources and the exploitation of immigrants and an illiterate workforce run parallel in the course of history (Meniketti 2016 [2019]). During this time in California, the economy was prosperous because it was heavily involved in what scholars are now referring to as “resource capitalism” (Walker 2001). Under this model, economists can project value and wealth from property owned and extractable resources available (Walker 2001). As California became more accessible with railroads, access to natural resources brought forth an age of wealth in exploitation (Kline 2011; Walker 2001).

During the Gilded Age, when the Loma Prieta Mill began operations in 1883, lumber was in high demand as the state was growing both in population and economy (Bliss and Brown 2014; Kerr 2014; Kline 2011). The Loma Prieta Lumber Mill was actively making shingles, other building materials, and wood for fuel, even though in the late 1800s coal and crude oil for fuel were on the rise (Kline 2011). Before California became a state in 1850, America was consuming more lumber than it could produce, and the resource was considered scarce (Kline 2011). After statehood, people were eager to exploit the many resources that were now made available (Kline 2011; Walker 2001).

The redwoods quickly became the favored lumber for consumers and an object of concern for conservationists like John Muir (Farmer 2013; Kline 2011; Melnick 2000; Pisano

1985). During this time, conservationists vocalized an interest in preserving landscapes which began the processes which ultimately triggered the creation of National Forests and the Yosemite Grant (Kline 2011; Melnick 2000). In the late 1800s, a group of individuals, backed by Muir, worked together to save coast redwoods in what is now Big Basin State Park (Bliss and Brown 2014). Big Basin State Park was a huge win for people seeking to take the preservation of natural resources into their own hands and became the first park bought by the public for the public. During the 1800s, federal laws restricted the number of acres logging companies could have at a given time (Libecap and Johnson 1979).

The era in which Loma Prieta existed was filled with an economic push for resource extraction and resistance from conservationists. The town of Loma Prieta only existed to facilitate a capitalistic endeavor to use coast redwood trees for financial gains and ceased to exist once the site of production was no longer viable. This statewide historical context of California and the narrower history of Loma Prieta set a stage for the actors who created and lived in this company town. I explore experiences of workers in this setting, consider themes of corporate paternalism, collective action, and resistance as other anthropologists have done at similar capitalist contexts, and interrogate multiple data sets in this study of The Forest of Nisene Marks State Park.

3. Archaeological and Anthropological Approaches to Studying Identity Construction and Built Environments in Gilded Age Company Towns

Archaeologists can use the debris of daily life and household spaces in company towns like Loma Prieta to understand cultural identities, experiences in social constructs of race and gender; and how capitalism was negotiated or accommodated by the working class.

Archaeologists studying company towns look at themes of control and paternalism, built environments, and resistance (Cowie 2011; Baxter 2012; Beaudry 1989; Hardesty 1994; Dixon 2005; Matthews 2010; Metheny 2007). Discarded trash has the potential to piece together daily patterns and is used to illustrate a story of how families experienced wage-earning capitalism and negotiated social identities in this space (Deetz 1996; Orser 2007; Matthews 2010; Mullins 1999).

In-Situ: The Agency of an Object

Archaeological endeavors dig up the past to piece together a narrative about life long ago. For archaeologists to produce such information, they must record artifacts and features and investigate them in their original context or in-situ. Once an artifact is removed from its context, especially if removed before archaeological work, it loses its contextual integrity. Artifacts found in-situ and properly recorded can portray past activities. Objects can have many meanings and require interpretation within their whole context for a richer understanding. However, sometimes a single object can speak volumes about its experience and the experiences of those who interacted with it (De Cunzo 1996; Deetz 1996; Worrell, Stachiw, and Simmons 1996).

During an examination of multiple mining company towns in America, Hardesty categorized personal items as, “Male-specific (e.g., suspender clasps, tobacco pipes, pocket knives), female-specific (e.g., corset strays, garter snaps, perfume bottles), and child-specific

(e.g., toys, diaper pins) ...” (1994: 137). However, archaeologists cannot ascribe artifacts to a particular gender. For example, Hardesty (1994) categorizes the tobacco pipe as a male object yet Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski (1996) claim that all people used pipes. Dixon’s (2005) study of saloons in Virginia City, found DNA belonging to a female on the stem of a tobacco pipe. Dixon’s study considers artifacts as active objects that could have had more than one meaning and need to be placed in a physical and historical context to be understood genuinely.

Paternalistic Control and Collective Resistance in Company Towns

Archaeologists describe a company town as a community in which the company has control and ownership of most businesses, access to resources, and housing (Cowie 2011; Metheny 2007). Often, these towns are hastily made and abandoned when there are no longer resources to extract (Dixon 2005; Metheny 2007). The supervisors were supposed to act as an example of morality and portray proper “American” ideals that the workers should strive for in their lives (Matthews 2010).

Paternalism was deeply rooted in industrial spheres during the Gilded Age (Shackel and Palus 2006). During the industrialization of America, people were being replaced with machines, and those who were left were not allowed to think for themselves in the work setting (Matthews 2010). Supervisors felt that they knew best, and workers should do what the company deemed moral and correct in both work and home settings (Cowie 2011; Matthews 2010; Metheny 2007; Yelvington 1995).

Paternalistic attributes in some company towns can result in multiple forms of collective resistance and action. In the workplace, collective resistance might manifest as workers purposefully taking longer breaks and seeking out possible unionization (Yelvington 1995). In studies done on historical company towns, employees would find ways to subvert acts of

paternalism by taking part in actions considered inappropriate by the company (i.e., excessive drinking) in any private spaces, if available (Beaudry 1989). Forms of resistance on the work site include drinking on the job, unkept work areas, and *industrial wasters* (the name for workers who would throw their mistakes out the window) were apparent during this time (Matthews 2010; Yelvington 1995). In the home, resistance to company control manifested as planned operations of collective action. Women used their power in the community and in their households to contribute to collective action and are often represented in oral histories (Saitta 2013). While acts of collective action in the lumber industry are minimal, one recorded strike in Saginaw Valley is considered to be one of the more significant strikes of the 1800s (Kiler 1976). This strike occurred in 1885 when lumberman reacted to their daily wages dropping by demanding their work days also be shortened from eleven hours to ten hours. This strike bled into local politics and even involved Michigan's governor, a mill owner himself, but ultimately failed to achieve their strike's goals. Aside from strikes, the organization of labor movements and dissent by lumberman in Eureka showcase how during the Gilded Age, the working class began to use their power (i.e., production of timber) to seek out better working conditions (Cornford 1987).

Power and The Built Environment

Company towns are products of power structures, making the study of such dynamics essential to understanding controlled landscapes (Cowie 2011). Power structures are visible in landscapes that limit private spaces, in management chains, and local businesses. In a capitalistic society, power is not only in the wealthy, but in the stratification of gender, ethnicity, and class that impede those deemed as "other" from obtaining wealth. Anthropologists define closure as limiting the resources of others to protect social stratifications or control over a population

(Yelvington 1995). The concept of closure is evident in company towns in their company stores which acted as a significant bridge between work and home life interactions. Often, companies would pay their employees in “scripts” that were only redeemable at the company store. Employees would easily incur debt at the company store therefore being indebted to the company. These establishments had the power, especially in company towns that were far from other settlements, to limit resources and jack-up prices of goods (Dixon 2005; Metheny 2007).

Company owners typically designed employee housing to have as few private spaces as possible (Baxter 2002; Baxter 2012; Beaudry 1989; Matthews 2010). Sometimes, if the landscape permitted, the employers would build supervisors’ homes above the laborers’ to be able to watch over them at home as they might at work (Baxter 2012; Beaudry 1989; Matthews 2010). Via photographs, maps, oral histories, and archaeological survey and excavation, archaeologists can piece together the layout of a historic company town. A detailed account of one way to structure a company town comes from the writings of George Pullman who built the company town of Pullman to fit his paternal-capitalistic, utopian ideologies (Baxter 2012). This effort was unsuccessful, and the paternalistic ideologies of the company town sparked a strike in the late 1800s. Workers who lived in the company town resided in lined up houses with no fencing, making the availability of private spaces scarce. George Pullman built the town of Pullman so that managers and executive housing was up above, overlooking the employee housing so they could literally and figuratively look down on their lowly employees.

Like the Pullman model, other company towns were planned with similar layouts that lacked private spaces for employees and a strategically located manager housing such that surveillance of the workforce was possible. Archaeologists examining these towns explore how a company subjects its employees and residents to a built environment that is controlling and

adheres to a strict layout and regime (Beaudry 1989; Matthews 2010). Other archaeologists have identified ways that residents often played a more active role in the built environment (Baxter 2002; Cowie 2011; Metheny 2007), pushing back against company control. Archaeologists have taken note of such negotiations in case studies where the growth of the company town was uncontrolled and allowed for more agency by the residents to choose where to build their homes.

Practice Theory and Striving for an Archaeology of Intersectionality

Archaeologists use recovered artifacts as physical representations of daily practices that inform the researcher of an individual or family's lived experiences. Practice theory explores *habitus*, or how people subconsciously process the world in the contexts of their cultural backgrounds and experiences (Bourdieu 1977; Ortner 2014; Yelvington 1995). In this view, we live our life in patterns or structures of reactions to events that have been prescribed by our background (Lightfoot 2006; Lightfoot, Martinez, and Schiff 1998; Ortner 2014). Researchers use these concepts to establish a theoretical framework for understanding how material culture can be analyzed to understand someone's habitus (Matthews 2010). The practices that inspire one's habitus can come from many constraints including externally and internally ascribed identities of class, ethnicity, and gender (Brighton 2011; Conkey and Gero 1997; Matthews 2010; Orser 2011; Pursur 1991; Silliman 2006; Voss 2006; Yelvington 1995). Habitus relies on the basic knowledge that each human has individual reactions to even the same experiences and how you may react is developed by past experiences. For example, Yelvington studied how class, ethnicity, and gender played a key role in the habitus of employees at different levels in Trinidad factories though they were all experiencing the same occupation circumstances, in the same place, at the same time.

Externally and internally ascribed identities play an extensive role in how one experiences life (Orser 2011). Externally ascribed identities are crafted by how an individual is perceived (skin color, clothing, mannerisms) by those around them and therefore how others treat the individual. Internally ascribed identities are formed by the individual about themselves and can be contradictory to how others see the individual. These ascriptions are dynamic and impacted by many factors such as time, place, and the individuals. Studying an archaeological site with an intersectionality approach, one that takes into consideration all possible class, ethnic, and gender identities involves analyzing all these potential factors instead of looking at an individual as an isolated being.

All ascribed identities, in a capitalistic system, impact one's potential for work, wealth, and power. Often, stratification of people based on ethnicity, class, and gender derives from the production of power relations constructed from hierarchies of control and access to scarce resources and the means of production (Matthews 2010; Yelvington 1995). By creating distinct identity groups, those in power believe themselves to have better control over who can succeed and how readily available resources are to specific individuals.

Capitalism instills an ideology that other's success is a threat to one's own, which in turn creates systems of inequality where ascribed identities control a person's potential to thrive by societal standards (Matthews 2010). In the archaeological record, we see how different ethnic groups change their traditions to try to assimilate, but we can also see how these groups maintain traditions in resistance to American capitalism (Leone 1995). During the 1800s, what was considered "white" in America was heavily contested and a shifting racial category, depending on perceived social or economic threats of various ethnic groups who immigrated in significant numbers (Brighton 2011; Orser 2007; Orser 2011). Orser (2007; 2011) delves into Irish and

Chinese immigrant experiences and how the material culture (goods they brought from their home countries, alternative medicines, etc.) represent their ascribed lower status as immigrants. Within company towns, ethnicity is often a key indicator of what skilled crafts one may perform and wherein the company town you may live (Cowie 2011; Metheny 2007).

Studying gender in company towns allows us to interpret ways men and women interacted in hierarchical systems and how this differed by ethnic and class ascriptions. Often, when women are studied, they are either wealthy women or prostitutes (Brashler 1991; Hardesty 1994). This is counterproductive as most people were middle-class and working-class and might have participated in other occupations and community building. Metheny (2007) argued that women in a Pennsylvania coal company town worked to create networks, grew gardens to supplement their family's diet, and took control of the household budgeting. Community building, in particular, became a meaningful way for women to gain some control by banding together in schools, churches, and women's group's settings (Hardesty 1994; Matthews 2010).

Theoretical Objectives in Loma Prieta

In this research, I apply a theoretical approach to examining power and identity (Baxter 2002; Baxter 2012; Cowie 2011; Hardesty 1994) in the Loma Prieta company town. Using practice theory, I can apply the archaeological analysis of artifacts and features to understand the daily practices of community members through their consumed products (Dixon 2005; Mullins 1999; Orser 2007). I am combating normative narratives to produce a holistic adaptation of company towns which allows for a richer understanding of intersectionality constructs in the capitalistic realm. I accomplished this by focusing not only on single objects but their context and interactions with features, historical documents, and oral histories.

4. Methods

This project used historical archaeology methods and multiple lines of evidence to explore the lived experiences of workers and managers at Loma Prieta. Mixed methods included qualitative document analysis (photographs and recorded oral histories) and quantitative artifact and geospatial data collection and interpretation. This approach is best for sites representative of historical industrialism (Hardesty 1990) and allows for active voices in the analysis of observed material culture (Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1996).

These methods are used to interpret the diverse identities of Loma Prieta residents as derived from their material culture and archival documents. For this project, I considered spatial elements of townsite layout and Mill locations (e.g., worker's housing, supervisor's housing). I combine this data with a geospatial study of the town to understand how the company and the residents negotiated their built environment. Archaeologists can observe and record evidence of company structure, and resistance, in how housing and towns are laid out (Baxter 2002; Baxter 2012; Cowie 2011, Metheny 2007).

Analysis of Archival, Documentary, and Oral History Data

For this research, I visited three California archival repositories: the California Room in The Martin Luther King Library in San Jose, The National Archives in San Bruno, and the Santa Cruz Museum of Art and History in Santa Cruz (SCMAH). While the first two repositories were lacking in information, SCMAH had a collection that included 19 photos of Loma Prieta, letters written to the Loma Prieta Lumber Company's office in Watsonville, a company ledger dated after residents had abandoned the town of Loma Prieta, and an undated newspaper clipping about a bet between the lumbermen from Loma Prieta and Valencia mills concerning who could mill the most wood in a day. Although the 1890 census was lost in the 1921 fire in Washington, DC, I

was able to find voter registration records from Loma Prieta on Ancestry.com. Two published oral histories recorded in the 1960s speak of the location of the town and details concerning working for the company and living in Loma Prieta and were used to bolster information on the site (Calciano 1964a,1964b).

Voter Registration

For this study, I looked at the voter registrations in Loma Prieta in 1886 and 1896. While this data is not as informative as census records, voter registrations demonstrate the percentage of the residents who practiced their right to vote (over 18, male, and US citizen). Twelve individuals from Loma Prieta registered to vote in the 1886 records, but by 1896 this amount had tripled to 36 individuals. Both episodes of voter registration asked for name, occupation, age, place of residence, country of nativity, date of naturalization, and location of naturalization. However, the 1896 record asked more in-depth questions such as hair color, eye color, complexion, height, visible scars, ability to read and write in English, and ability to write one's name in English.

Archival Photograph Analysis

I coded nineteen historical photos (Appendix C) housed at SCMAH in an archival box labeled "Loma Prieta Lumber Company." These photos range from the beginning to the end of the company (1882-1920s). Most of the pictures had dates and general location information on them. I coded these photographs by reviewing each one and looking for trending themes between the pictures.

Keeping my research objectives in mind, I wanted to code for themes of domestic versus work spheres, working versus upper class, kinships, and leisure versus work activities. I searched

the eHRAF World Cultures website (eHRAF World Cultures 2018) for the proper Outline of Cultural Materials (OCM) codes. Many of the OCM codes can be narrowed down. Sometimes, more than one OCM code was appropriate. I then created a codebook (Table 4.1) with ten primary core themes (represented by the first two digits in each code), thirteen subcategories (represented by the third digit in each code), and thirty-eight axial variables (described by the decimal number in each code).

Table 4.1: Variable Codebook for Historical Photographs

Main OCM Name	Number	OCM Subcategory	Number	My Variables	Decimal
Animal husbandry	230				
		Animals (domesticated)	231		
				Dogs (companion)	0.1
				Horses (working)	0.2
				Cattle (working)	0.3
Clothing	290				
		Normal garb	291		
				Everyday clothes	0.1
				Work clothes	0.2
		Special garments	292		
				Party outfit	0.1
				Fashionable	0.2
Resource exploitation (non-food products)	310				
		Lumbering	313		
				Town of Loma Prieta	0.1
				Lumber industry	0.2
				Mill Pond	0.3
				Mill Site	0.4
				Milled lumber	0.5
Equipment and maintenance of buildings	350				
		Grounds/Landscape	351		
				Overview shot of Landscape	0.1
				Close up shot of a particular landscape	0.2
				Landscape only (no people)	0.3

Main OCM Name	Number	OCM Subcategory	Number	My Variables	Decimal
				Landscape with people present	0.4
				Building present in the photo	0.5
				No building present in the photo	0.6
				Inside	0.7
Labor	460				
		Occupational specialization	463		
				Misc lumber employee	0.1
				Train conductor	0.2
				Business owner	0.3
				Wagon driver	0.4
Land transportation	490				
		Railways	496		
				Train	0.1
				Railroad tracks	0.2
		Rail transport	497		
				Moving lumber with train	0.1
Living standards and routines	510				
		Leisure time activities	517		
				Walking for fun	0.1
				Party	0.2
Art	530				
		Visual Art	5311		
				Posed portrait	0.1
				Candid portrait	0.2
Social Stratification	560				
		Gender status	562		
				Woman	0.1
				Man	0.2
		Class	565		
				Working class	0.1
				Upper class	0.2
Interpersonal relations	570				
		Social relationships and groups	571		
				Co-workers	0.1
				Kin (through marriage or blood)	0.2
				Friends	0.3
Marriage	580				
				Married couple	0.1

Since many photographs depicted categories of landscape (351) and lumbering (313), axial categories for each of these describe their variability. Lumbering was broken up into five axial categories that represented both places associated with the lumber industry (i.e., “Mill Pond”-313.3) and products (i.e., “Milled Lumber”-313.5). To break down landscapes further, I distinguish between overview photos of the landscape (i.e., forest and landscape features) and close-ups of a place on the landscape (i.e., a house).

In my attempt to seek out photos that represent domestic versus industrial spheres, I coded for animals in photos that appeared to be pets or used for labor. Depicted in these photos are three different types of domesticated animals (horses, dogs, and cattle). In these representations, dogs appear as pets, and the horses and cattle are being used to move work equipment. Therefore, in my codebook, I named the variables to reflect the animals and their occupation (i.e., “dog (companion)” is 231.1).

Oral Histories

In 1964, Elizabeth Calciano, affiliated with the University of California, Santa Cruz, interviewed two past employees of the Loma Prieta Lumber Company (Figure 4.1), one of the secretaries, Albretto Stoodley, and a lumberman, Michael Bergazzi (Calciano 1964a,1964b). These interviews are free to read for the public on the University of California, Santa Cruz library website. While the oral histories discuss many experiences in the lives of these two men, for my research, I focused on the sections describing their experiences working for the Loma Prieta Lumber Company. This process involved reading both oral histories multiple times and paying close attention to the themes concerning the lumber industry, working for Loma Prieta Lumber Company, living in Loma Prieta, and their descriptions of the greater Santa Cruz area landscape and community.



Figure 4.1: Photos of Michael Bergazzi (left) and Albretto Stoodley (right), circa 1964

Archaeological Survey and Artifact Analysis in the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park

Archaeological data collection at the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park focused on describing the built environment through a survey of architectural features, and town layout and artifactual analysis of surface artifacts and features associated with neighborhoods of workers and supervisors. I completed a close- interval pedestrian survey (Collins and Molyneaux 2003; Lightfoot, Schiff, and Holm 1997) of sites in what I am recommending as the Loma Prieta Logging District (Appendix A) and defined the layout of employee housing, including supervisors' and workers' housing areas, and the main strip (Loma Prieta Station with businesses and a schoolhouse) of Loma Prieta. An initial survey identified four areas of cultural concentration and isolated artifacts (Figure 4.2, Table 4.2). These loci within the Loma Prieta

Logging District were more intensively studied using multiple 3x3 meter units (exact number depended on the apparent extent of the locus's cultural constituents) of "catch-and-release" surface survey blocks for counting and weighing architectural and artefactual remains (Lightfoot, Schiff, and Holm 1997). The units were laid out along a datum for each locus at the SE corner from which I laid my grid in an N/S and E/W pattern (Figure 4.3). During this process, I would notice that the locus extended further than initially anticipated and the datum would no longer be the SE corner.



Figure 4.1: Survey Coverage Map

Table 4.2: Datum Locations

ID#	Name	Datum UTM's	Datum Description
1	Locus 1: Loma Prieta Station	[REDACTED]	Placed Pin
2	Locus 2: Collapsed Historic Structure	[REDACTED]	NE Corner of Structure
3	Locus 3: Worker's Housing	[REDACTED]	Placed Pin
4	Locus 4: Loma Prieta Supervisor Houses	[REDACTED]	Placed Pin



Figure 4.3: Orange Pin Flags, Spaced 3m Apart, Demarcating the West Axis of Locus 4

I mapped each locus using a compass and measuring tapes (See Appendix B for site sketch maps). Within each locus, probabilistic sampling using simple random sampling (Collins

and Molyneaux 2003; Hester, Shafer, and Feder 1997) was used to determine which 3x3m sections I would perform full documentation of artifacts and features. Artifact categories in each unit were counted and recorded on a surface observation data sheet. I photographed each diagnostic artifact and features. In addition to counting, I weighed glass, both bottle, and window, as well as ceramic pieces. Archaeologists typically call surface survey in cases like this “catch-and-release”; when researchers record, but do not collect artifacts, and the survey is expected to provide a detailed map of surface features (Collins and Molyneaux 2003; Lightfoot, Schiff and Holm 1997; Sunseri 2016). In these situations, above-ground cultural constituents are anticipated to display a pattern across the site without the need for excavation (Furnis and Maniery 2015). I performed intensive surface documentation of 15 units in Locus 1, 7 in Locus 2, 10 in Locus 3, and 25 in Locus 4. I entered data from this survey into an Excel spreadsheet of surface artifact counts/weights. I then inputted this information into ArcMap Geophysical Information Systems (GIS) and Surfer 16 modeling software.

Using Surfer 16, I created worksheets with XYZ data for each artifact type I planned to make distribution maps of for each locus. X data was my E/W axis for each unit within the grid of the locus, Y was my N/S axis, and Z was the count of the artifact type for a particular unit (Sunseri 2016). Using the Grid Function of Surfer 16, the software created distribution maps from the data I had inputted into each worksheet. This technique shows where artifacts are concentrated and can display patterns that I may have missed in the field.

I recorded each datum with a Garmin *GLO* with a Bluetooth enabled GPS receiver. This device connected to my Android phone to boost the GPS signal. Due to the dense tree canopy, a GPS signal is difficult to achieve in the park. Without *GLO*, my accuracy was 10-20m, with the device I was able to bring it up to 5-10m accuracy. I used a GPS application called Avenza for

collecting GPS data. This app allowed me to track my survey in lines and polygons, record linear features, and collect UTM coordinates for datums and isolates. This geospatial data was then downloaded from Avenza as shapefiles then imported into ArcMap GIS. These maps allowed me to visually see the town layout and the proximity of supervisors' and workers' housing to the town structures, the mill, and the railways. I used ArcMap GIS to document areas where looting has occurred, as well as location of features and diagnostic artifacts.

5. Results

The layout of Loma Prieta and three housing locations reveals how the landscape was used to navigate class stratification and company control by residents. The archival data demonstrates the aspects of Loma Prieta life recorded through photographs, voter registration records, and oral histories. Results stemming from my fieldwork in the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park present an examination of the built environment of the town and create possibilities for archaeological interpretations of features and artifacts. The findings from this research support the claim that Loma Prieta's layout is a product of a corporate paternalistic desire for surveillance and separations of spaces. Comparing and contrasting the spatial and artifactual distribution patterns between the management housing and workers housing show how the landscape and spatial layout of the two are different and how the domestic and structural remains within each area invoke opposing narratives of use and deterioration.

Analysis of Archival, Documentary, and Oral History Data

Town Residents and Registered Voters

Using the 1886 and 1896 voter registration records for the Loma Prieta precinct, I compiled information concerning place of birth, occupation, age, and other identifiable factors of members of the Loma Prieta community who were eligible and registered to vote. In 1886, 12 men were registered in the Loma Prieta precinct and 36 men in 1896. Ages for both periods range from early-twenties to early-sixties with a median age of 35 in 1886, and 37 in 1896. While most of the residents recorded in these voter registration documents were born in America, there were residents in both periods who had relocated from other countries (Table 5.1). Most men, in both years, reported their occupation as lumberman or laborer, and other specialized professions (i.e., cook, engineer, etc.) were only occasionally noted.

Occupation	Count	Country of Origin	Count	States of Origin	Count
1886					
Laborer	1	Scotland	1	New York	4
Cook	1	England	1	Missouri	1
Brakeman	1	United States	10	Wisconsin	1
Lumberman	7			Maine	1
Teamster	1			Massachusetts	2
				California	1
				Pennsylvania	1
1896					
Laborer	16	Scotland	1	New York	5
Bookkeeper	1	England	1	Missouri	3
Woodsman	3	Sweden	2	Wisconsin	1
Lumberman	6	Prince Edward Island	2	Maine	4
Shingle Maker	1	Italy	2	Massachusetts	1
Foreman	1	France	1	Iowa	1
Woodchopper	1	Nova Scotia	1	Pennsylvania	1
Mill Hand	1	Canada	2	Ohio	1
Sawyer	1	Ireland	2	Illinois	1
Storekeeper	1	United States	23	Michigan	1
Engineer	1			California	9
Hotel Keeper	1				
None Listed	1				

The 1896 records illuminate the population both in quantity and in the diversity of information with data collected concerning the physical characteristics of the 36 men who registered to vote (Table 5.2). The records report that 9 of the 36 men had visible marks or scars on their bodies. The documents also indicate a diversity of skin color and stature among the voting men.

Name	Occupation	Age	Height	Skin	Eyes	Hair	Visible Marks or Scars
Anderson, Louis	Laborer	47	5'6"	Fair	Blue	Light	
Anderson, Axel	Woodsman	45	5'7"	Light	Gray	Light	
Bell, John							
Mattison, Jr.	Laborer	21	5'8"	Fair	Dark	Dark	
Bell, George Henry	Laborer	21	5'5"	Dark	Dark	Dark	
Berry, George							
Herod	Laborer	25	5'11"	Light	Blue	Light	
Canbiano, Antonio	Lumberman	34	5'10"	Light	Gray	Light	
Combs, Jacob							
Gentry	Laborer	45	6'1.25"	Dark	Brown	Dark	
Cook, Frank H.	Lumberman	32	5'9"	Light	Blue	Brown	Scar at base of right thumb

Name	Occupation	Age	Height	Skin	Eyes	Hair	Visible Marks or Scars
Craghill, Charles	Shingle						
William	Marker	40	5'9"	Dark	Brown	Brown	
Denison, George	Hotel Keeper	59	5'7.75"	Light	Gray	Brown	
French, Thos. F.	Laborer	62	5'11.25"	Light	Hazel	Gray	Scar on right wrist and index finger
Hamilton, William							
Thomas	Laborer	21	5'6.5"	Light	Gray	Light	
Hanahan, Martin	Lumberman	48	5'8"	Dark	Dark	Dark	A joint off first two fingers of the right hand
Harvey, John I.	Laborer	33	5'5.5"	Fair	Blue	Dark	
Hicklin, Geo. M.	Lumberman	23	5'10"	Light	Blue	Dark	Scar on the palm of the left hand
Hoke, Theodore							
Leslie	Engineer	34	5'8.5"	Dark	Brown	Dark	
Hornberger,							
Charles	Laborer	45	5'7"	Light	Brown	Brown	
Kent, Isaac Blair	Storekeeper	44	5'7"	Light	Dark	Dark	
Lemieux, Louis	Sawyer	45	5'10"	Dark	Gray	Gray	Scar on forehead
McArthur, John	Woodsman	37	5'11"	Light	Gray	Brown	
Peaslee, Fred	Laborer	39	5'10.5"	Fair	Gray	Dark	
Peaslee, George							
Henry	Lumberman	43	5'8"	Light	Blue	Light	Thumb and two fingers right hand-off
Poole, William	Laborer	53	5'7.5"	Dark	Brown	Dark	
Porter, Warren							
Reynolds	Lumberman	35	5'11"	Light	Gray	Dark	Left thumb off
Rodriguez, Joseph							
Estinislus	Mill Hand	26	5'7"	Dark	Brown	Black	Crooked finger on left hand; scarred thumb
Schilling, Fred	Wood						
Alfred	Chopper	28	5'10"	Dark	Dark	Dark	
Schilling, Lornce	Laborer	25	5'7"	Dark	Blue	Black	
Sheehan, Cornelius	Laborer	43	5'7"	Dark	Brown	Gray	
Starkey, Andrew	Lumberman	38	5'7"	Light	Blue	Auburn	
Titus, Watson A.	Laborer	40	5'8"	Light	Blue	Brown	
Trayers, Michael	Woodsman	35	5'6"	Fair	Blue	Brown	
Valencia,							
Francisco J.	Laborer	42	5'10.5"	Dark	Black	Black	
Valla, Eugenio	Foreman	37	5'7"	Dark	Blue	Dark	
Walker, James W.	BLANK	32	5'11"	Fair	Gray	Dark	
Wright, George							
Frederick	Laborer	21	6'4.25"	Dark	Dark	Dark	

Historic Photographs

The historic photographs of Loma Prieta were coded to track evidence for built environment reveal how town layout structured its use and worker experiences. There is only one photo in this collection of indoors, and only one other picture is a close-up of a building that obscures the surrounding landscape features. Nearly every photo in this series had a Mill

structure, railroad tracks, or both. To understand the core landscape theme further, with the abundance of outdoor images, this project examined six subcategories or axial codes: overview shots of the landscapes, close-ups of the landscape, photos only of landscapes, photos with human subjects, landscapes with buildings present, and landscapes with no visible structures. These codes present an image of Loma Prieta as a mainly industrial sphere, and the company’s control therein, and negate the domestic aspect that was also present.

Many photos depict men working at the Loma Prieta Lumber Mill. Therefore, a significant theme is labor which involves working class, work clothes, and specific occupation codes. This theme also included the Mill site work areas which are the subjects of most of these photos. This leads me to believe that the photographers who took these photos were trying to capture the everyday work operations of the Loma Prieta Lumber Mill. Photographs from Loma Prieta are missing some critical components of the town such as women, children, and employee housing. Why were these peripheral actors and their homes left out in the photographic record? Likely, their role as peripheral actors in a company town did not necessitate such documentation; alternatively, it could show that those living in the dispersed employee housing withheld permission for certain photographs to be taken.

Table 5.3: Photograph Coding Results

OCM Codes	Description	Count	OCM Codes	Description	Count
231.1	Dog (Companion)	2	463.1	Misc. Lumber Employee	9
231.2	Horses (Working)	1	463.2	Train Conductor	3
231.3	Cattle (Working)	1	463.3	Business Owner	2
291.1	Everyday Clothes	2	463.4	Wagon Driver	1
291.2	Work Clothes	9	496.1	Train(s)	6
292.1	Party Outfit	1	496.2	Railroad Tracks	10
292.2	Fashionable	1	517.1	Walking for Fun	1
313.1	Town of Loma Prieta	1	517.2	Party	1
313.2	Lumber Industry	1	5311.1	Posed Portrait	10
313.3	Mill Pond	3	5311.2	Candid Portrait	2
313.4	Mill Site	16	562.1	Women	2
313.5	Milled Lumber	10	562.2	Men	11
351.1	Overview Shot of Landscape	4	565.1	Working Class	8

OCM Codes	Description	Count	OCM Codes	Description	Count
351.2	Close up of Landscape	14	565.2	Upper Class	3
351.3	Landscape Only	7	571.1	Co-Workers	9
351.4	Landscape with People	11	571.2	Kin	1
351.5	Building(s) Present	13	572.3	Friends	2
351.6	Absent of Building(s)	7	580.1	Married Couple	1
351.7	Inside Building	1			

Oral Histories

Interviews collected in the 1960s by Elizabeth Calciano (1964a; 1964b) with Loma Prieta workers Michael Bergazzi, and Albretto Stoodley shed some additional light on life working for the Loma Prieta Lumber Company and living in the town. The Loma Prieta Lumber Company employed Bergazzi after working at Hinckley Basin Lumber Mill (Calciano 1964b). Bergazzi's interview talks of a strike that occurred in 1902 for an hour lunch that they won. In 1904, the employees held another strike for a higher wage. The company, however, did not comply with this and Bergazzi and a few others quit. When Bergazzi returned to the Loma Prieta Lumber Company in the 1920s, the mill had moved from Olive Springs back to its original location near the town of Loma Prieta (Calciano 1964b). Bergazzi talked about his work, moving his way up the ladder as a laborer in the company and described interesting tidbits like the lumbermen wearing fuzzy hats since helmets would not do much if a tree fell on you.

Albretto Stoodley lived a somewhat different life in the company, he started as a clerk and later on became the Secretary of the Loma Prieta Lumber Company (Calciano 1964a; California State Parks 2005). Like Bergazzi, Stoodley began working at the mill in its late era, once it had moved to Olive Springs. In his interview, Stoodley talks about men leaving Loma Prieta to go to Aptos on the weekends and drinking so heavily that the company worried if they would have enough employees for their work come Monday. The company would have liked

Aptos to be a dry town to keep the employees from wanting to leave Loma Prieta on their one day off a week. Stoodley was part of selling houses and building parts at the end of the company and even built his own home in Capitola from parts of two houses and the one-room schoolhouse in Loma Prieta in 1904 (Calciano 1964a). Stoodley also discussed nationalities in the area during his work at the Loma Prieta Lumber Company, stating that there was a fair amount of Italians in the area and other nationalities were congregated more in San Jose (Calciano 1964a). When asked about literacy among workers, Stoodley mentioned that some would sign their checks with “x” but he felt that there were few illiterates as most of those who signed with an “x” were literate in other languages. The authors of the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park General Plan state that Stoodley had a cabin in the forest right off the Aptos Creek Road (California State Parks 2005).

While both these interviews have similar themes of the lumber industry in Santa Cruz County, the individuals had very different experiences. Stoodley discussed the Loma Prieta Company from the perspective of a businessman focused on his work, holdings, and business elements. Bergazzi’s stories tell more about the people and interactions of employees with the company.

Archaeological Survey and Artifact Analysis in the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park

Fieldwork in the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park involved the documentation of four archaeological loci (sites) associated with the town of Loma Prieta and three isolate finds. These four individual sites are part of the larger archaeological district of the Town of Loma Prieta (Figure 5.1). Locus 1 is Loma Prieta proper which consisted of the Loma Prieta Station, post office, school, hotel and company store, Loci 2 and 3 represent working-class dispersed housing, and Locus 4 is the location of company management housing.

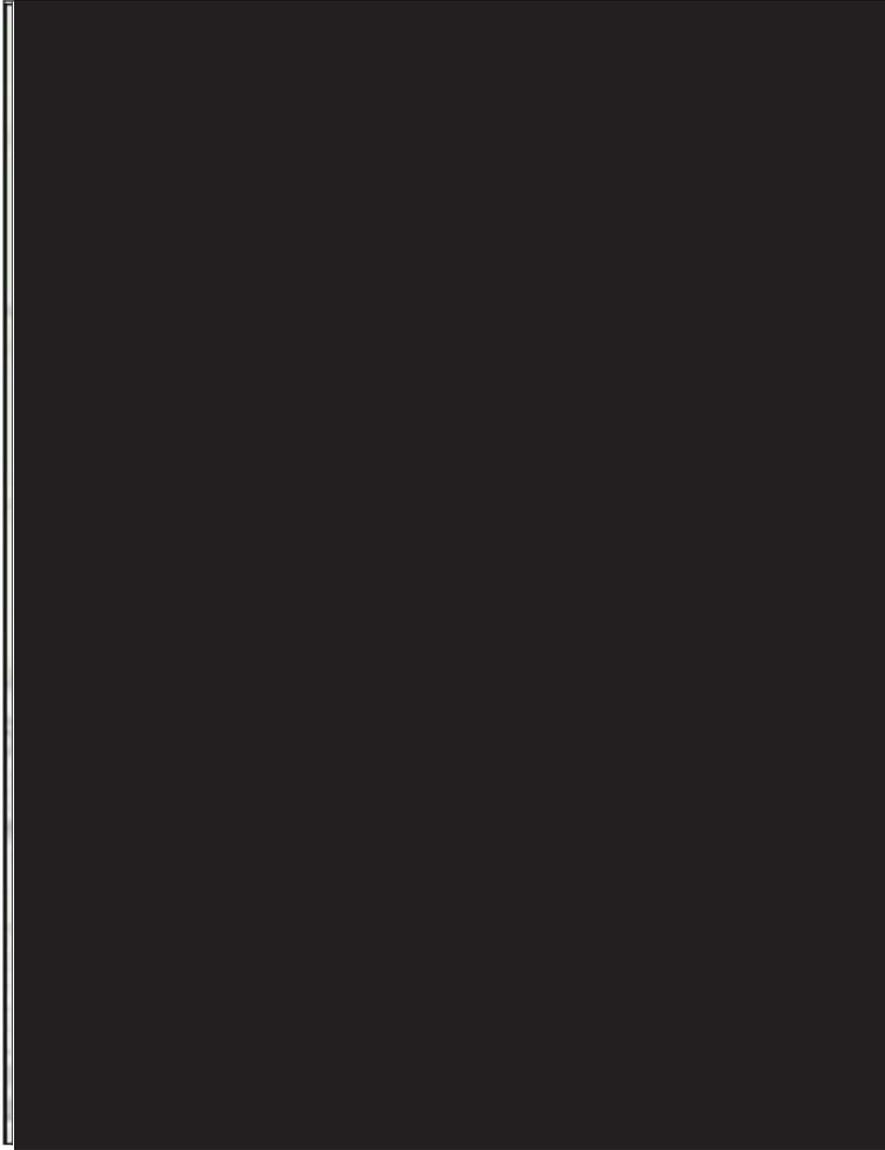


Figure 5.1: Overview of the Town of Loma Prieta Archaeological District

Locus 1

I interpreted Locus 1 as the site of Loma Prieta proper using oral history (Calciano 1964a) and surface features. Bergazzi (Calciano 1964a) stated that the town was located approximately a quarter mile north from the mill. Further, the location of Feature 4, a berm for the railroad track alignment, matches the rail line in a town photograph. From the picture of the town, you can see that there are buildings built on high platforms to meet the berm's height.

Since the time of Loma Prieta, this site has been heavily picked over by looting and impacted by multiple dirt bike and hiking trails. The archaeological signature of the town has been eroded on some areas, modern trash is abundant, and poison oak has taken over due to management practices. These factors made it difficult to interpret the site during this research since I did not perform vegetation clearing or ground disturbance.

I divided Locus 1 into two levels; the lower level is at the current Aptos Creek level while the upper level is above and where the town of Loma Prieta was and is along Aptos Creek Road. I selected my datum in the lower level as what, from the initial pedestrian survey, appeared to be the SE corner of cultural remains, and while the bounds of the level did migrate further south from this point after investigation, the level concentrations remained to the west of the datum. I placed a pin from a pin-flag to represent the datum. On the upper level, I placed the datum along the east side of Feature 4 with a pin. Like in the lower level, the upper level has units to the west, north, and south of this datum but none to the east. I recorded surface artifacts and features across 20 units, and 15 of these contained cultural elements and features. The four main features of this locus represent structural remains of the railway that bisected the town (Figure 5.2).

Feature 1 is a large rectangular ditch that measures 8.84x22.31ft and 3.3ft deep (Figure 5.3). This feature, while on the lower level, follows a berm alignment on the upper level and is parallel to Feature 2. Feature 2 is a ditch that was likely, with Feature 1, for bridge supports (Figure 5.4). This ditch, which is nearly completely covered with downed trees, is 7.87x 27.23ft and 3.3ft deep. This feature has bottle glass and one cement brick associated with it.



Figure 5.2: Map of Locus 1

Feature 3 is a half-moon shaped rock pile on the far west side of the site (Figure 5.5) on the lower level. This rock pile is 2x3.5ft and sits at 3.75ft tall. This feature may have been structural support. Feature 4 is a berm alignment that runs on the upper level. Locus 1 is easily discernable from the Aptos Creek Fire as Feature 4 runs through it in an E-W direction (Figures 5.6 and 5.7). This feature curves through the upper level of the locus and is 141.1x19.69ft by

3.3ft high. This feature has two walking/dirt bike trails that impact it and are deteriorating the feature. I documented two pieces of milled wood on the feature.



Figure 5.3: Feature 1 of Locus 1, facing northwest.



Figure 5.4: Feature 2 of Locus 1, facing northwest



Figure 5.5: Feature 3 of Locus 1, facing northeast



Figure 5.6: Feature 4 of Locus 1, facing southeast



Figure 5.7: Loma Prieta Townsite Looking East from Bridge Along Railroad Berm

This locus contained the least number of historical artifacts upon the surface and appeared to be the most impacted by looting from visitors. In this locus, I recorded 14 units with cultural constituents consisting of bottle glass, window glass, structural metals, and ceramic. I did not observe any diagnostic artifacts in this locus. Below I describe the types and distribution of each artifact class:

- a. Bottle Glass (Figure 5.8). I recorded seven pieces of bottle glass (aqua, clear, and green) within only the lower level of Locus 1. This artifact type is mostly isolated in the SE area of the level.
- b. Bricks. None observed in site.
- c. Ceramic. The site contains one whiteware and one crockery ceramic shards on the upper level and one piece of whiteware on the lower level.
- d. Faunal. None observed in the site.
- e. Historic Cans. None observed in the site.

- f. Milled Wood. Three pieces of milled wood planks were observed on Feature 4.
- g. Other Domestic Artifacts. None observed in the site.
- h. Structural Metals. All metals were located on the lower level of this locus and consist of two bridge hinges and two pieces of non-diagnostic scrap metal.
- i. Window Glass (Figure 5.9). Within this locus, I documented ten shards of window glass all along the upper level, where establishments were located. Window glass is concentrated to the east end of this locus level.

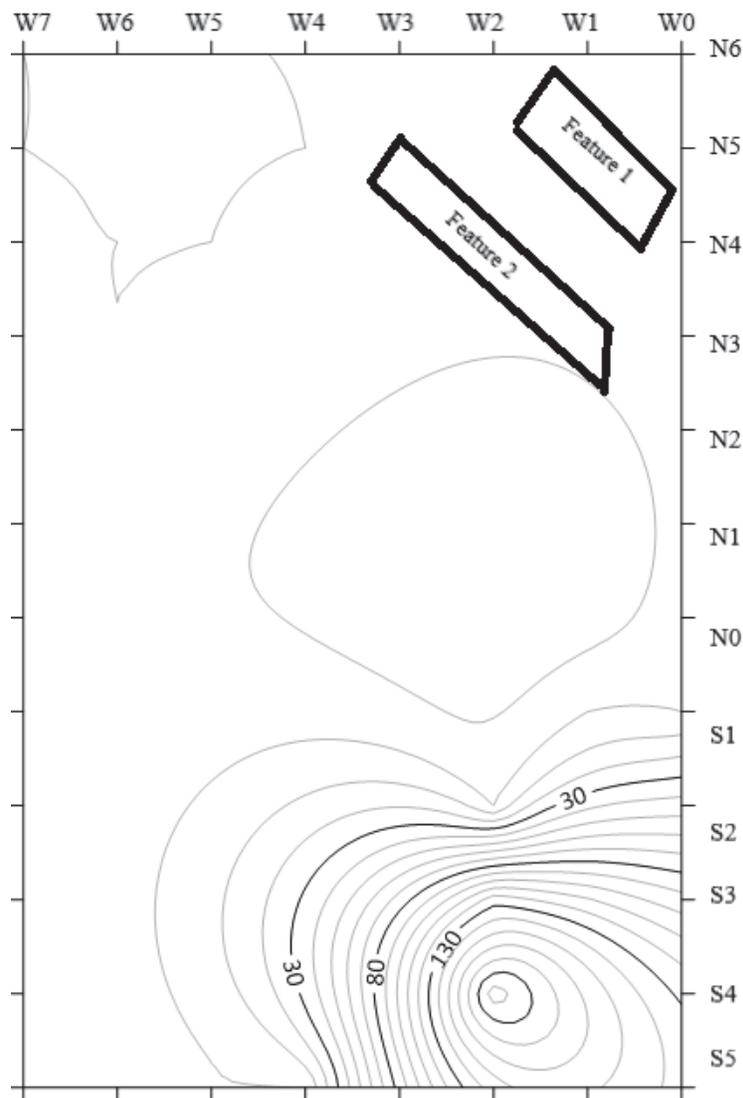


Figure 5.8: Locus 1 Lower Level Bottle Glass Weight Distribution

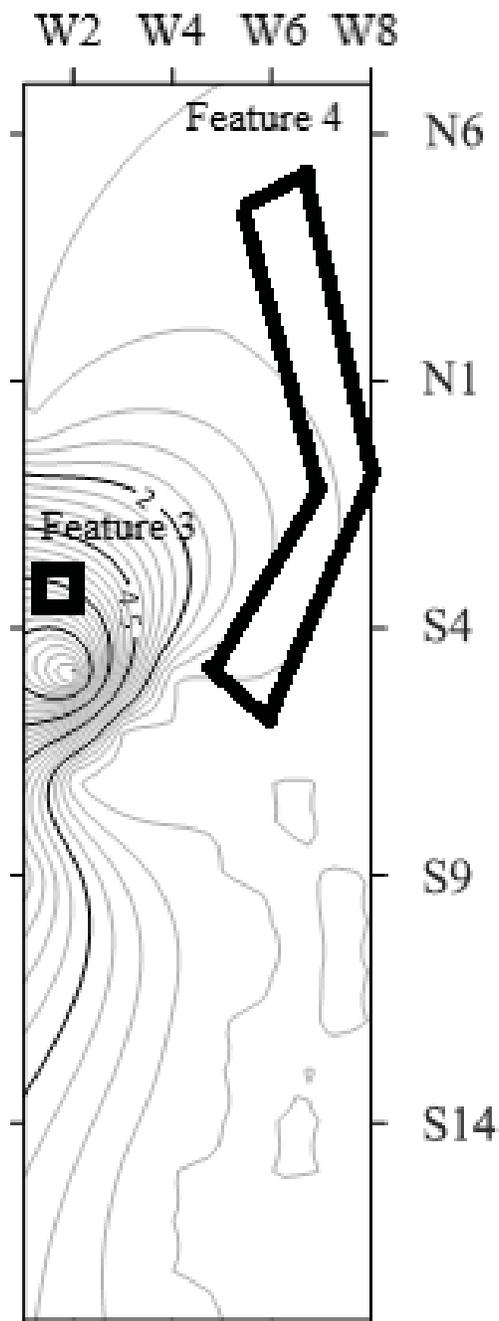


Figure 5.9: Locus 1 Upper Level Window Glass Weight Distribution

Locus 2

Locus 2 is less than a quarter mile from Locus 1 and is the smallest of the sites (Figure 5.10). It consists of cement footings and wooden alignments, arranged in an 8x7ft rectangle with historical artifact scatter surrounding the feature. This locus is interpreted as a residential

building foundation surrounded by a domestic artifact scatter. This location, which is easily accessible from the Aptos Creek Road, but covered by enough trees that hikers cannot see it from the trail, appears to have been a favorite for drinking for nearly a century from the range of alcohol containers spanning from the time of Loma Prieta to present day.



Figure 5.10: Locus 2 Feature Map

This locus is bounded along the northwestern edge by a drop off to Aptos Creek and along the southeastern edge by Aptos Creek Road. The size of the site allowed for full coverage survey and recordation of the area. I used the NE corner of Feature 1 as my datum and divided

the site into 3x3m units along a North/South axis from the datum and recorded seven units with artifacts. The majority of these units were absent of cultural constituents and acted as a 6m site boundary buffer around the units in which features and artifacts are present. The boundaries of the site to the east, north, and south are justified by the absence of cultural elements. However, the west edge of the site is defined by the topographic nature of a cliff overlooking Aptos Creek.

Feature 1 is a cabin foundation that is raised off the ground by 1ft and is a 7.55x9ft rectangle (Figure 5.11). This feature has cement footings at two of the four corners with wood platforms outlining the sides of the structure. Within the outline of the foundation, there is wood flooring that had been heavily damaged likely from natural causes.



Figure 5.11: Feature 1 of Locus 2, facing southwest

Feature 2 is a shallow .5ft deep, 3x3.5ft rectilinear depression next to a scatter of milled wood debris. This feature is interpreted as a privy, with likely intact buried deposits. Subsurface testing (by excavation units or test pits) bisecting this depression or remote sensing methods of imaging would be the best next move to determining its extent and content.

The surface artifacts in this locus consisted of bottle glass, bricks, beer cans, food can, milled wood, and scrap metal. Two artifact types are temporally diagnostic to the early to mid-1900s: multiple church keys (1930-1970) and a hole-in-top can (1800-1920). This locus has trash deposits that date from the early 20th century to the contemporary period. Based on multiple church-key cans and one hole-in-top can, this Locus represents activities from Loma Prieta through today (Figure 5.12 and Figure 5.13). For my distribution maps, I lumped historic cans (1 hole-in-top, 20 church key cans) for one map and all structural artifacts (1 piece of corrugated metal, 5 bricks, and 18 milled wood pieces) into one map:

- a. Bottle Glass. One piece of brown bottle glass was observed near the SE corner of Feature
- b. Bricks. See “h”.
- c. Ceramics. None observed in the site.
- d. Faunal. None observed in the site.
- e. Historic Cans (Figure 5.14). I documented 21 historic cans, consisting primarily of church key cans with one hole-in-top can, in this locus. This artifact is consistently spread throughout the site except for the NW corner.
- f. Milled Wood. See “h”.
- g. Other Domestic Artifacts. None observed in the site.
- h. Structural Metals. See “h”.
- i. Window Glass. None observed in the site.

- j. Structural Artifacts (Figure 5.15). This locus consists of 24 artifacts related to structures (corrugated metal, bricks, milled wood). I lumped these artifacts together to see the distribution of such elements within site. These artifacts are concentrated in the SE side but are apparent throughout the locus.



Figure 5.12: Church Key Can in Locus 2



Figure 5.13: Hole-In-Top Can in Locus 2

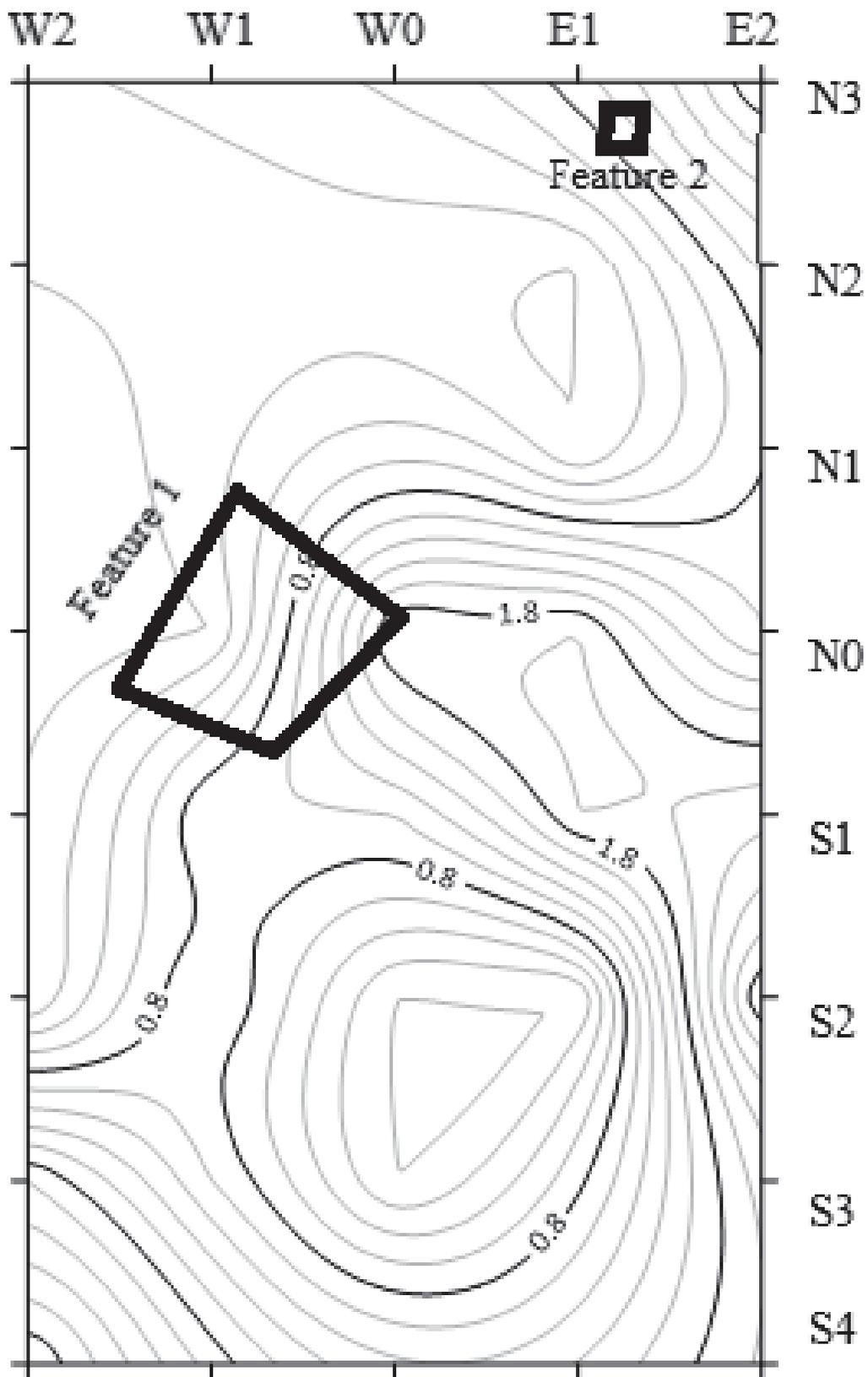


Figure 5.14: Locus 2 Historic Can Distribution

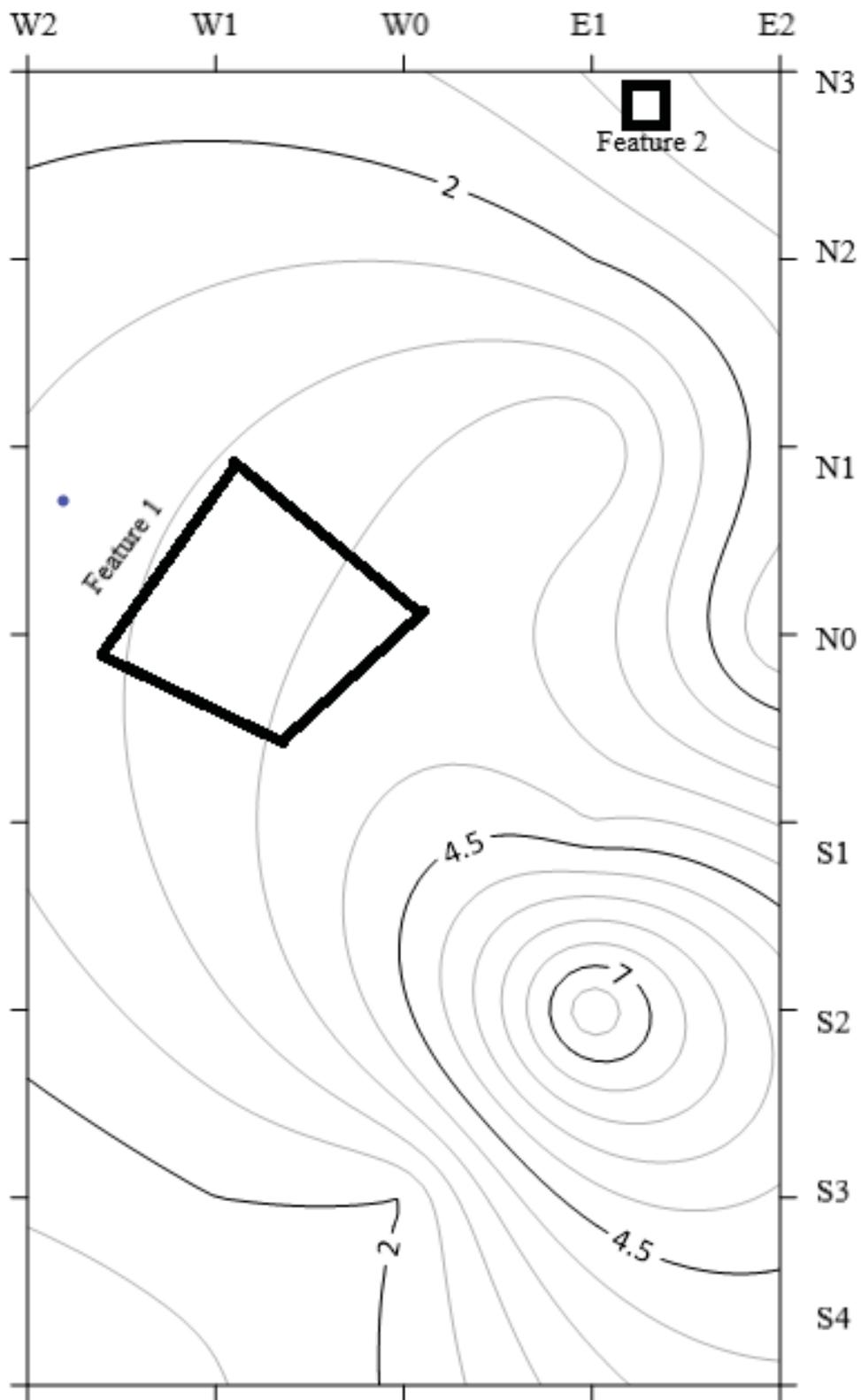


Figure 5.15: Locus 2 Structural Artifact Distribution

Locus 3

Locus 3 is across Aptos Creek Road from Locus 2 (Figure 5.16). I chose to investigate these loci individually as they have different artifacts types present as well as different kinds of features. This site also has numerous features that indicate it once had a water system of some kind, most likely to carry water from a spring. Although this locus is right off the Aptos Creek Road, it is elevated above it with no apparent way up. Despite the difficulty of access to the locus, I documented a pile of historical trash next to a tree stump that was likely piled by a visitor/looter.

In Locus 3, I selected a location for the datum that I believed, at my first visit to the area, to be the SE corner and placed a pin. I later extended the boundaries 9m to the south and 24m to the east to include features and artifacts later observed. I selected ten units for intensive surface documentation within this locus. Locus 3 has three pit features and various milled wood concentrations. Locus 3 artifacts consisted of domestic objects such as saw-cut bone, ceramics, and bottle glass.

Feature 1 is a pit with a post running through it and window glass and shell associated with it. The pit is 4.3x4x3.7 ft (Figure 5.17). This pit may have been underground storage for a structure. Feature 2 is a rectangular pit that is 5.64x2.6x1.44 ft with no associated artifacts (Figure 5.18). This feature was likely used for underground storage. Feature 3 is a pit with a pipe running across it next to a pile of trashed wood (Figure 5.19). This feature is 5x3.75x2.4 ft and may have been an access point for the water system apparent in the site.



Figure 5.16: Locus 3 Feature Map



Figure 5.17: Feature 1 Locus 3, facing south



Figure 5.18: Feature 2 Locus 3, facing south



Figure 5.19: Feature 3 Locus 3, facing north

Locus 3 has window glass, bottle glass, faunal, ceramic, milled wood, bricks, a segment of a leather boot, and shell. In this site, I recorded two sherds of whiteware ceramic plates with blue designs on their exterior. I found one bottle base from this site dated early to mid-1900s (Toulouse 1971) which is after the occupation of Loma Prieta (Figure 5.20). Like Locus 2, this area was likely inhabited on and off after the town. The site consists of ten saw-cut faunal bones, six whiteware ceramic pieces, one brick, one leather boot piece, and two shell pieces:

- a. Bottle Glass weight (Figure 5.21). I recorded 12 shards of bottle glass. However, I used their weight for my distribution map. This artifact pools in two section of the site: along the east edge and to the SW.
- b. Bricks. One brick observed near Feature 1.
- c. Ceramics. Six whiteware ceramic sherds recorded concentrated in the east side of the site.

- d. Faunal. Ten saw-cut faunal bones observed in middle of site.
- e. Historic Cans. None observed in the site.
- f. Milled Wood (Figure 5.23). I recorded 46 instances of milled wood in Locus 3. The distribution map shows that this milled wood was concentrated in the SE area of the locus.
- g. Other Domestic Artifacts. One leather boot piece found near Feature 1. One shell piece found near Feature 1 and one found near Feature 3.
- h. Structural Metals. None observed in the site.
- i. Window Glass weight (Figure 5.22). Four shards of window glass were documented in the locus. I recorded window glass near or within each pit feature which is likely why the distribution map shows two concentrations, near Features 1 and 2 and Feature 3.

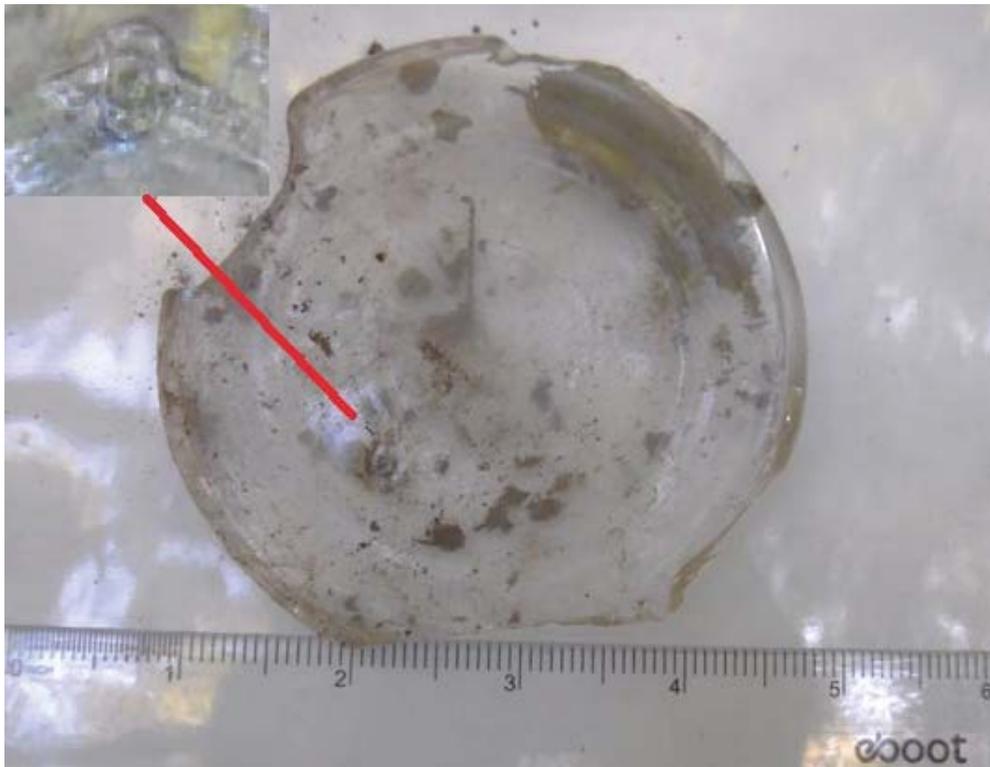


Figure 5.20: Owens Illinois Bottle Base from Locus 3

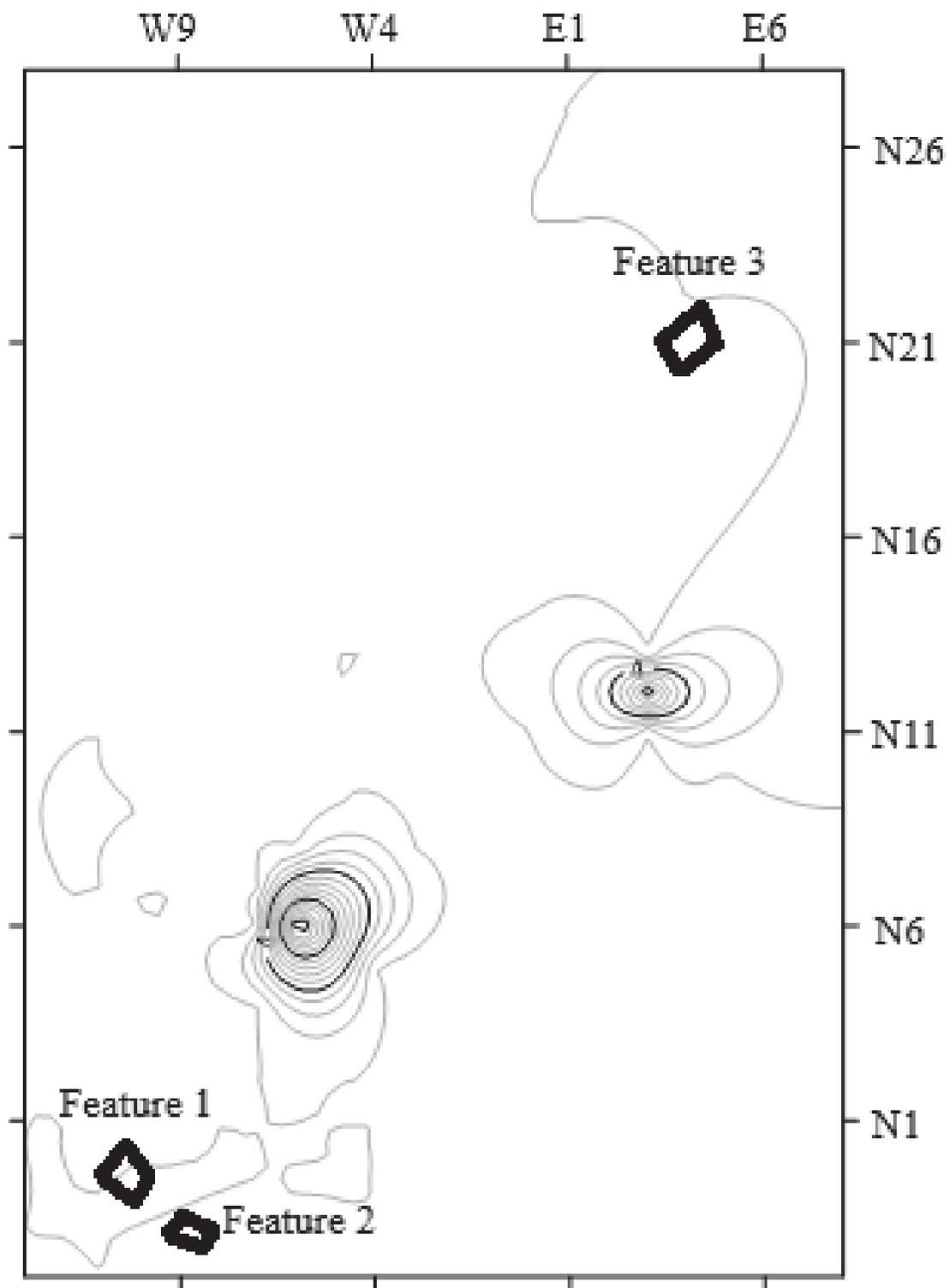


Figure 5.21: Locus 3 Bottle Glass Weight Distribution

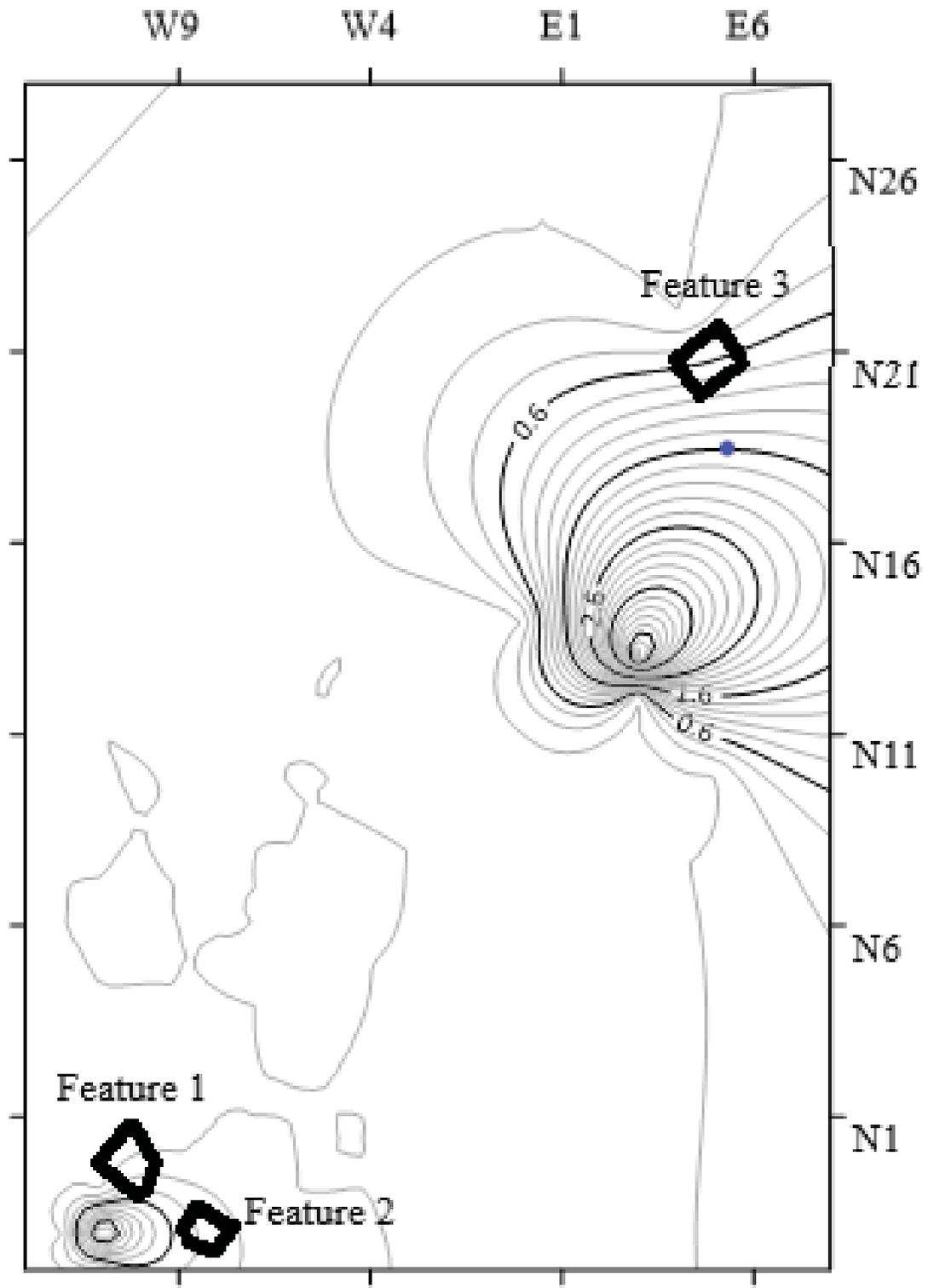


Figure 5.22: Locus 3 Window Glass Weight Distribution

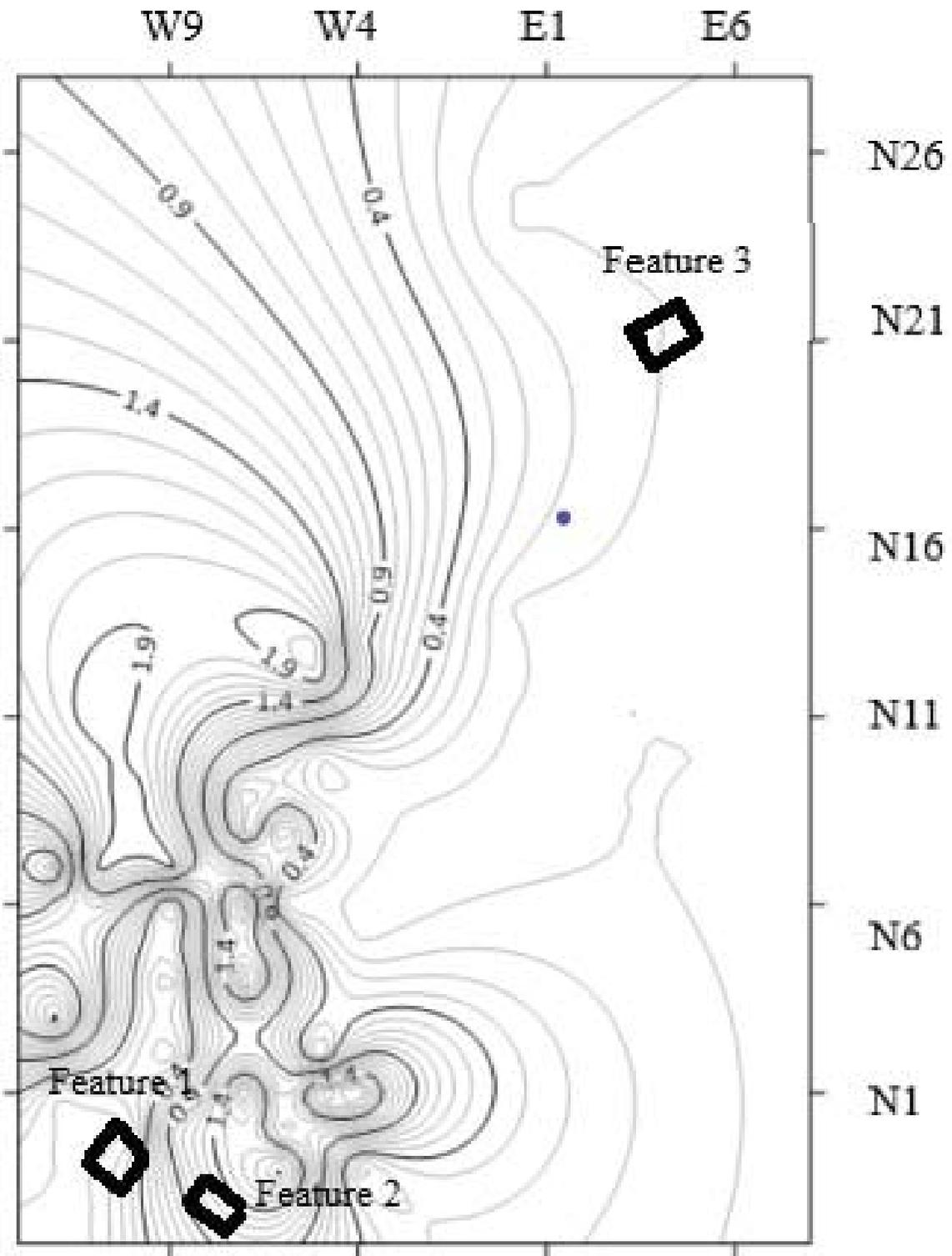


Figure 5.23: Locus 3 Milled Wood Distribution

Locus 4

Locus 4 is across Aptos Creek from Locus 1 (Figure 5.24). This area is marked by signage and on trail maps to be the home of the first secretary of the Loma Prieta Lumber Company, Warren Porter, his wife Mary Easton, and their children. Oral histories of workers at Loma Prieta described this area as containing three dwellings, one for the Porters, one for the president of the company, and one that acted as a boarding house for visitors to the company (Calciano 1964a). I selected this area for my research so I could compare the use of space and artifactual remains of workers housing and management housing.



Figure 5.24: Locus Boundaries and Feature Locations

Locus 4 includes a large surface artifact scatter and architectural remains of Loma Prieta's management housing. The boundaries of this locus are arbitrary and may not include the entire extent of the residential area related to management; further study may identify other

critical features of managers' households outside the zone studied in this area. I divided this locus into 3x3m units, and set the datum SE corner with a pin. Immediately to the east of this datum, the landscape dips into a gully where the railway bridge met the west side of Aptos Creek from the town of Loma Prieta (Locus 1) on the eastside of the creek. Within this locus, surface artifacts and features were across 29 units, 25 of which contained cultural elements. The site consists of three features, one sizeable rectangular cut into the landscape, one deep pit, and one small brick-lined pit.

Feature 1 is a large rectangular cut into the landscape measuring 31.5x21.65x26.6x18.4ft (Figure 5.25). Adjacent to the NE side of this rectangular feature is a metal pipe that likely provided water from a well to the structure that once stood there. Along the edges of this feature are chicken wire, one piece of milled wood, and one metal pipe system extends from the NE area of the feature. This feature appears to have been where a foundation was laid for a building.

Feature 2 (Figure 5.12) is an 8.8x8.3x5.3x5.7ft rectilinear depression with 2ft deep brick alignments. This is likely the remains of a diamond-shaped brick storage cellar. The walls alignments are at the ground level but perhaps have buried deposits below. The structure is made of brick covered in a thin layer of white plaster. Within the feature, I recorded decomposing brick, shell, and window glass.

Feature 3 is an 8.3x4.6x5.9x9ft and 4.6ft deep depression with a wood post in the center (Figure 5.13). This feature makes up the western border of the site. While new tree growth may obscure evidence of a structure over this feature, perhaps this pit functioned as underground storage.



Figure 5.25: Feature 1 of Locus 4, facing northwest



Figure 5.26: Feature 2 of Locus 4, facing north



Figure 5.27: Feature 3 of Locus 4, facing south

Surface artifacts patterning across this locus can show where household structures once stood. The 25 units with cultural features and artifacts contained window glass, bottle glass, faunal remains, brick, cans, clay pipe, charcoal, metal pipes, barbed wire, coil springs, and milled wood:

- a. Bottle Glass. Green, brown, and clear bottle glass, totaling 101 pieces, were counted in the east side of the site.
- b. Bricks (Figure 5.16). This artifact totaled 162 specimens with the highest density in the SE corner of the site.
- c. Ceramics. None observed in the site.
- d. Faunal. Two pieces of saw-cut bones recorded in south area of site.
- e. Historic Cans. Two church key cans observed in the NE corner of site

- f. Milled wood (Figure 5.14). I recorded a total of 33 milled wood pieces in the site. This distribution is throughout the site but heavily concentrated in the SE area. Three pieces of milled wood were recorded as decorative (crown molding, painted, and paneling).
- g. Other Domestic Artifacts. One clay utility pipe shard recorded in the SE corner of the site. One charcoal piece found near the north edge of the site. Two metal spring coils, likely from a bed frame, were recorded in the SE corner of the site.
- h. Structural Metals. Two metal utility pipes and one strand of barbed wire recorded near NE corner of site.
- i. Window Glass. Fragments totaled 240, and the distribution map (Figure 5.15) of glass weight shows its high density in the southeast portion of the study area.

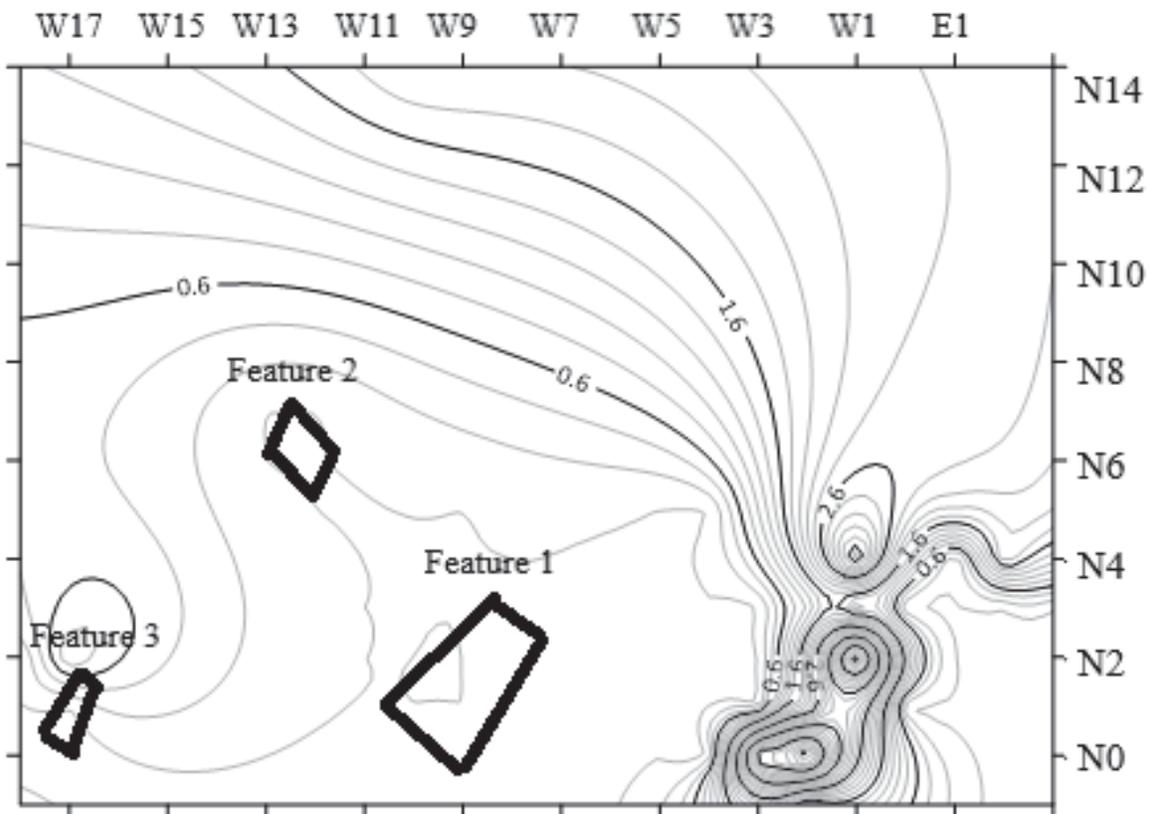


Figure 5.28: Milled Wood Distribution in Locus 4

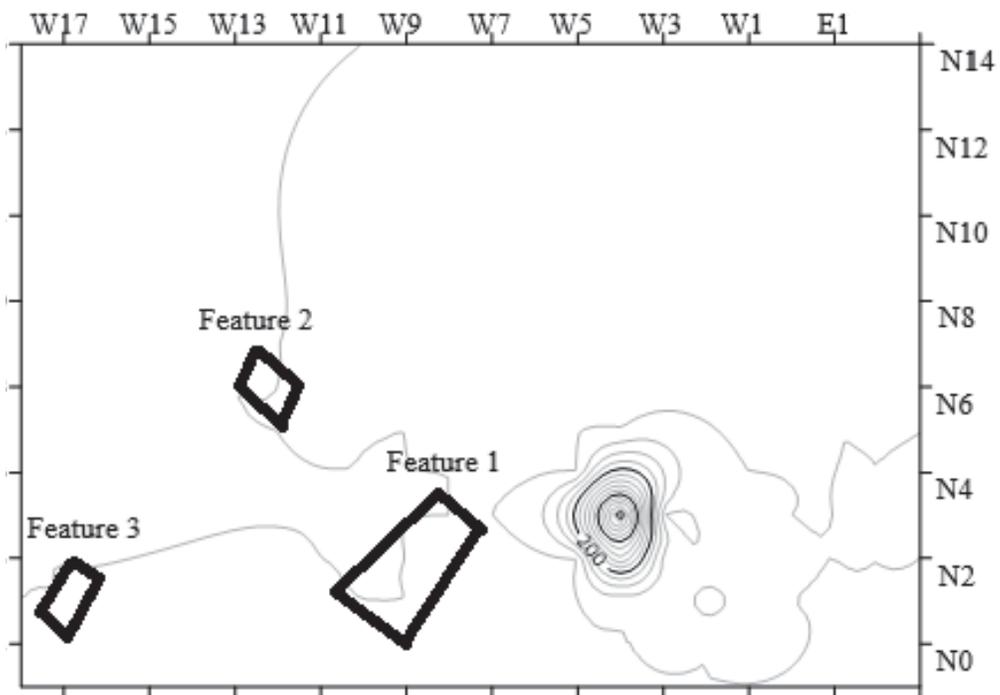


Figure 5.29: Window Glass Distribution in Locus 4

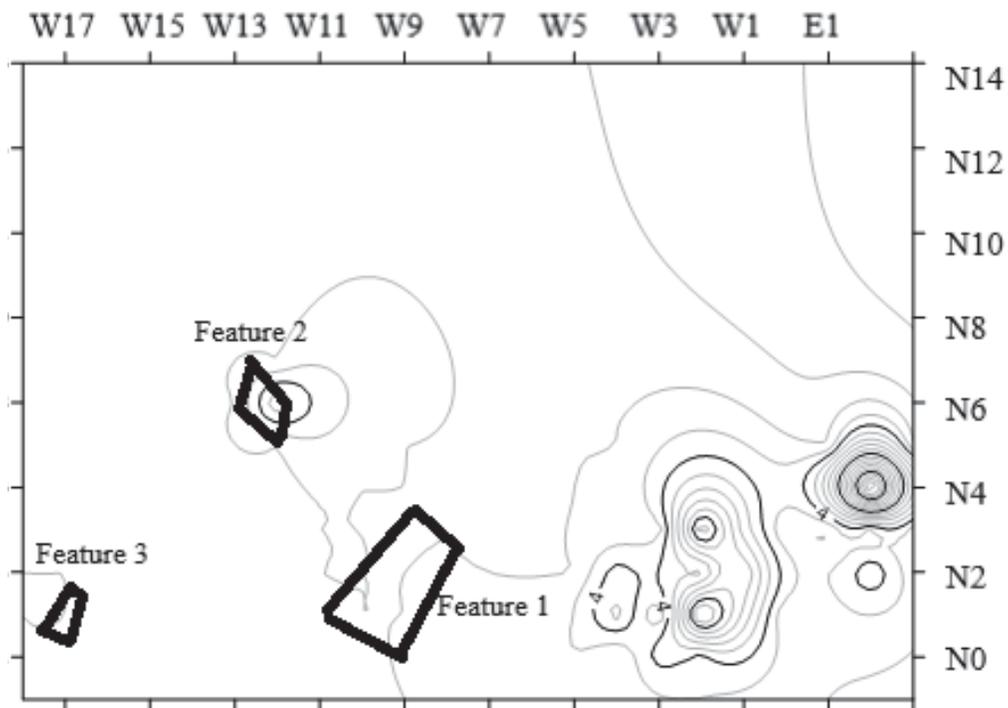


Figure 5.30: Brick Distribution in Locus 4

While this locus's features are on the western side of the locus, the majority of the artifacts, consisting mostly of structural material, lie on the east side above the railroad tracks that once crossed Aptos Creek. The distributions of milled wood, bricks, and window glass together show a possible structure located in the southeastern corner of the survey area or an area used to pile structural materials during the deconstruction of Loma Prieta Lumber Company buildings in 1904. As previously discussed, salvageable parts of Loma Prieta, management housing, and employee housing were sold off and taken to build other structures. It is reasonable to assume that during the demolition of the three management buildings reported in this area (Calciano 1964a), unsalvageable components were left behind closer to the railroad tracks where they could be carted off to a dump. Also, the artifacts represent archaeological signatures of managers' houses and more ephemeral outbuildings, which are left long after the structures themselves were removed.

Isolates

Table 5.4: Isolates

ID#	Artifact	UTMs	Nearest Locus
1	Ross's Belfast Soda Bottle		Locus 1
2	Ceramic		Locus 2
3	Bucket		Locus 3

Isolates are considered artifacts found more than 10m away from a Locus boundary, without other artefactual or architectural context, and too insubstantial to be a site on their own. My survey of the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park discovered three isolates (Table 5.4). I found the first isolate, a Ross's Belfast Soda Bottle, in Aptos Creek below Locus 1 (Figure 5.31). The bottle was intact, aside from its cork, and I agreed with State Park staff that the container should be collected and added to the Loma Prieta Collection currently housed at San Jose State

University to be archived with California State Parks. This procedure protects the artifact from possible looting, especially given its condition and proximity to known past looting endeavors. Soda water companies made Torpedo shaped bottles in the early 1800s until 1910 in England (Powers et al. n.d.). Their unique shape allowed merchants to store the bottles on their side and was supposed to help hold in the carbonation. Soda water bottles, such as Isolate 1, was used as a cure-all mostly by Irish Immigrants with limited access to health care (Linn 2010). The appearance of this artifact in Loma Prieta may be evidence of Irish workers and their preference for Irish soda water, limited medical access for the working class, and that trade in the area made access to the global market, such as soda bottle from Europe, accessible for residents in Loma Prieta.



Figure 5.31: Ross's Belfast Soda Water Torpedo Bottle

Isolate 2 is a whiteware ceramic sherd with a blue floral design and cut rim. I recorded this ceramic sherd along the Fire Road near Locus 2. The last recorded isolate was a metal bucket. This bucket was located in an open area further to the North of my four recorded sites.

Ain communication with the author, a local hiker, described how the open space was a part of the railway and was the site of a bridge for trains to cross the creek.

Summary

Mixed methods approach for this research demonstrated multiple avenues for interpreting landscape and life in Loma Prieta. Voter-registration records provided insight into the potential ethnic diversity and occupations of Loma Prieta residents. Coding of photographs assisted in understanding the landscape of the town, locating features of the town, and displayed how the domestic sphere of laborers has been quietly left out. Oral histories of two employees found anecdotal stories of life working for the Loma Prieta Lumber Company. Lastly, the archaeological survey in the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park resulted in four loci which demonstrate the differences in layout and artifactual deposits of management housing and workers housing. The data described in this chapter are utilized in the next to weave a story of Loma Prieta and her residents.

6. Discussion

The layout of the town of Loma Prieta reflects the separation of upper class and working-class living areas, possible company surveillance in town, and worker's constructing living spaces out of sight of the company. The goal of this research was to understand better the diverse identities and power, control, and negotiation of the built environment by the residents of Loma Prieta during the Gilded Age. I specifically sought to understand control and negotiation of worker's externally and internally ascribed identities by the company, and how the built environment and material culture in Loma Prieta might exemplify this.

From material and architectural distributions, there is evidence that the placement of the stores, management housing, and dispersed employee housing was planned in a way that created private space for the management across Aptos Creek while still allowing for an element of surveillance. While this layout portrays the power structure in the company working itself into the domestic sphere, there is a reason to believe that those who built their own homes near Loma Prieta townsite negotiated this control through selection of areas that were hidden from management housing and the town businesses. Through this research, evidence of Loma Prieta residents acting as active agents, not just victims of a capitalistic system, as they worked collectively for better wages, built their homes away from the company eye, and consumed imported good.

Class, Gender, and Ethnic Identity and Agency

The town of Loma Prieta had roughly 300 residents. I identified all who had registered to vote in the Loma Prieta district in 1886 (first couple years of the town) and 1896 (near the end of Loma Prieta). What I can discern from these records is that the number of residents who

registered to vote tripled in ten years. If we were to hypothesize that all who were eligible to vote were registered (which is unlikely), 12 individuals in 1886 and 36 individuals in 1896 is still a considerably small portion of the overall ~300 population of Loma Prieta. This likely is a fair representation of just how much the company depended on an immigrant or illiterate workforce for cheaper labor. Hiring more working-class immigrants would have made segregations of class in Loma Prieta easier for the company and more power over their workers.

The men who registered to vote became more diverse over the ten years between 1886 and 1896. In 1886, only two of the men were from other countries, and both countries were western Europe. By 1896, however, a little over 30% of the men were immigrants from nine countries in Europe and the Americas. From oral history we know that there was a mix of ethnic backgrounds in Loma Prieta (Calciano 1964a, 1964b). Although the voter registration records only represent US citizens among the Loma Prieta population, the records show many backgrounds across the country and the world, supporting that Loma Prieta had a diverse ethnic community. This statement on diversity has also been backed by the research of Marco Meniketti's (2016 [2019]) work at the Loma Prieta Lumber Mill.

The artifacts recorded during this research, however, did not represent an ethnically diverse town population. The reason for this can stem from multiple factors. Living in a company town, access to resources is often limited by what the company sells in their store (Cowie 2011; Metheny 2007). This kind of power is especially apparent in isolated towns, but Loma Prieta was near to Aptos, a local port, and goods from around the world were readily available. The lack of ethnic-specific cultural material fits with the archaeological theory that marginalized groups, especially during times of heightened white-supremacy and xenophobia like the Gilded Age, may purchase products that represent "American" culture in an attempt to

appear assimilated (Mullins 1999; Orser 2007) or due to lack of other options (Meniketti 2016 [2019]).

Some artifacts, such as a Ross's Belfast Soda Water Bottle, may be interpreted through the lens of both class and ethnicity in Loma Prieta. The presence of this soda bottle indicates access to the global market and enough Irish immigrants in the area for this particular product to be an imported good found in the Santa Cruz region. From the voter registration records and Stoodley's interview, I knew that Loma Prieta was diverse, but this soda bottle is the only archaeological remains identified in my survey results that speak as a preference for a single group (Linn 2010). Soda water was commonly used as a cure-all for those without access to proper medical care (Orser 2011). This artifact is likely one representation of how members of the Loma Prieta working-class coped with physical pain without being able to afford to see a physician.

Evidence of women and children in Loma Prieta come from photographs and brief mentions of families in Calciano's interviews (1964a, 1964b), but I did not identify clothing or objects that could be women or child-specific. In all photos with women and children, the subjects are well dressed and posing with smiles for the camera (Figure 6.1). The women of the working-class families were likely immigrants who were learning how to live in a new country while also moving from place to place, following the seasonal work of lumbering. In Locus 3, I recorded part of a leather work shoe, likely part of the leg or vamp section of the boot (Stevens and Ordoñez 2005) as the only artifact that could be deemed gender-specific, as part of a working man's boot (Figure 6.2).



Figure 6. 1: Women Walking Their Dog Along Loma Prieta Lumber Company Railroad tracks



Figure 6.2: Leather Boot Section from Locus 3

In the close-up photo of Warren Porter and May Easton's house, the landscape shows multiple plants growing on their front lawn and porch (Figure 6.3). Gardening was not only a pass time for women during this time but a way of supplementing diet and income for families (Metheny 2007). In Stoodley's interview, he states that many fruit trees were planted throughout the town and housing area by residents of Loma Prieta, making a case that it was not only the Porter/Easton family growing food in town.



Figure 6. 3: Porter House

A significant difference exists between the housing of management (Locus 4) and employees (Locus 2 and 3) regarding the distribution of structural and domestic artifacts (Figures 6.5 and 6.6). In Locus 4, I recorded few artifacts related to domestic activities as the site is overwhelmingly composed of structural material. The employee housing, however, is a more balanced display of structural and domestic artifacts. In fact, in Locus 4 there is no apparent trash

dumping from the domestic activities on site while Locus 2 and 3 seem to have residential trash strung across the whole of the sites. The appearance, or lack thereof, of domestic trash in the employee housing versus the management housing may represent different lived experiences concerning disposal of trash. As discussed in the literature review, cleanliness was often used by management in company towns to try and convey a moral high ground of the managers to their underlings (Baxter 2012; Matthews 2010). This distribution displays how the management may have had better disposal techniques than that represented at the working-class housing. Keeping with the theme of working to show one's employees that you are a moral figure, having tidy yards and effective trash disposal was meant to show off their moral character with cleanliness. Other implications for the difference between the management housing and the working-class housing include durability of artifacts and looting. The former stands true even today, often those with more money can purchase expensive, but well-made items, which then limits the amount of trash created by a family unit. This strategy could explain the difference in domestic historic refuse between the loci. As for looting, Locus 2 and Locus 3 are in secluded area, while Locus 4 is right along a trail. While access to Locus 4 is easier, the other areas have natural barriers that could prevent looters from getting caught. Looters, who often leave behind broken artifacts, could have strung the artifacts across these areas. Looting in an area right along a trail, like in Locus 4, could prove challenging and might be why the site does not have as much historic artifacts upon its surface.

Power and the Built Environment

According to Stoodley (Calciano 1964a), the company built the management housing, single men's barracks, and most of the town stores, but there were family and dispersed workers' housing that they did not build. The town of Loma Prieta, from my interpretation of photographs,

archival documents, and archaeological survey data, was structured by the company to assert some control over employees at work, home, and establishments within Loma Prieta proper (Baxter 2012; Baxter 2002; Beaudry 1989). The location of supervisors' homes across the creek from the main town structures and workers' housing reveals how this physical barrier preserved the privacy of domestic spaces of the supervisors' and enhanced surveillance of workers.

In other company towns, when employees decided where to build their homes, they tried to be on the outskirts of town or have natural features blocking the view of them from their employers (Baxter 2002). The working-class housing areas surveyed here (Locus 2 and Locus 3) would not have been visible from the management housing, as the hillside likely blocked the view even when trees were clear-cut (Figure 6.4). The irregular pattern of what might have been cellar pits in Locus 3 suggest that the area was not planned out or built all at once, instead employees may have selected that location and then built structures incrementally, or on an as-needed basis.

Collective Resistance

When communities gather together and develop plans to collaborate, to push back against those in power, and to seek out better circumstances they participate in collective resistance or labor action. Collective resistance and action can take many forms such as partaking in activities looked down upon by the company like forming a union and striking (Beaudry 1989; Matthew 2010; Saitta 2013). In the town of Loma Prieta, members of the community participated in building connections inside of Loma Prieta and the nearby town of Aptos, thus strengthening their supports to more than just the company.



Figure 6.4: Map of Archaeological District of The Town of Loma Prieta

Other activities often looked down upon by the company, while not as directly against the company like collective action, include partaking of vices. Multiple sources and two photographs show that there were places in Loma Prieta to purchase and consume alcohol that, if not financed

by, was acceptable to be in the community by the Loma Prieta Lumber Company (Figure 6.5). Despite access to liquor in town workers left on the weekends and ventured to nearby Aptos, where they would be out from under the company's thumb (Calciano 1964a). Stoodley discussed how the company wanted Aptos to be a dry town in an attempt to make trips out of Loma Prieta less appealing. Stoodley and other company supervisors were concerned when employees left for weekends that they might party too hard and not make it back in time for work the next day. Understandably, the pressure that may have been in Loma Prieta for temperance before a work day likely made employees more inclined to leave. Also, more options for kinds of beverages were in Aptos or other local communities (Calciano 1964a). Lastly, how much one consumed could be limited or reported back by paternalistic morality crafted by the company as immoral act (Cowie 2011).

Other company towns may have banned the sale of alcohol altogether to curb the consumption by their employees, but for the management of Loma Prieta Lumber Company, they allowed the sale likely to persuade residents to stay in town and possibly to bring revenue in from tourists (Calciano 1964a, Cowie 2011). While in Aptos, these lumbermen could drink without fear of being monitored by the company and could socialize with other lumbermen from neighboring camps and talk shop. Discussions between lumbermen from different camps and companies may have also threatened the Loma Prieta Lumber Company as it has the potential to lead to more significant strikes and forms of collective action not only in their mill but throughout the Santa Cruz Mountains.

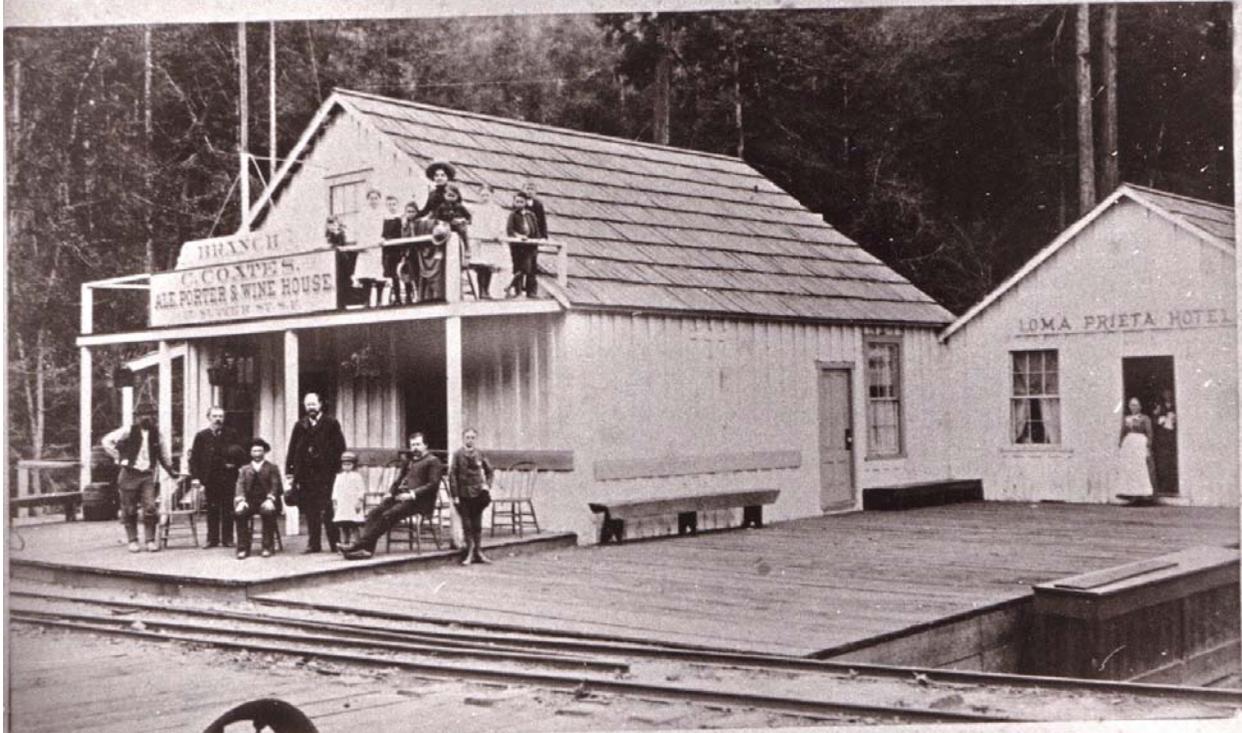


Figure 6.5: Loma Prieta Station Ale House and Hotel

Strikes and other forms of collective action ignited a paradigm shift for middle-class workers concerning their agency and future development within the company (Beaudry 1989; Cornford 1987; Kiler 1976; Saitta 2013). When workers banded together, they held more power over their employers than they initially expected. Bergazzi stated that he was involved in three strikes against the Loma Prieta Lumber Company for longer breaks and higher wages (Calciano 1964b). When the demands of the third strike were not met, he and others who he had partnered with, left the company. This narrative demonstrates that the ability to strike, to band together against the company, gave working-class employees a sense of not only power but of self-worth would not be crumbled after one loss. Bergazzi chose to move on with his career elsewhere instead of giving in to the company's control and staying.

Summary

Loma Prieta residents were more than cogs in the machine of the Loma Prieta Lumber Company and used their agency to build a dynamic life in a company town setting by choosing to engage in activities out of town, striking against the company, and building their homes away from direct company gaze. Work at the lumber mill was seasonal, and the population of the town grew and shrunk throughout the year. This seasonal company town, unlike some other company towns studied by archaeologists (Beaudry 1989; Baxter 2012; Metheny 2007), was characterized by control over workers, yet working-class residents managed to live somewhat outside settings of surveillance. Their homes were away from the prying eyes of managers and company officials, and they socialized in spaces apart from the company-run saloons or recreational rooms. The oral histories discuss settings in which employees left town to partake in leisure activities (Calciano 1964a), and this opportunity may have led the working class to feel more in control of their social and private lives.

The company's choice to allow their employees to build homes outside of their view gave their employees agency concerning their living areas while also established separate spaces for the different classes and isolation of the workers. Study of the management housing displayed a well-kept space and immaculately run household, as was documented in writings (Harrison 1892) and photographs, as well as the sparse archaeological signatures of domestic artifacts. On the other hand, the employee housing area has historic artifacts dispersed throughout the area signifying differential use of space and perhaps less investment in the upkeep of their temporary homestead. While this practice could have ignited paternalistic feelings from the company's management, such acts are not apparent, while the lack of photographic information on

employee housing does raise questions about if the company did not want to showcase their employee's dwellings.

In my research, I aim to understand how the ethnic, class, and gender identities of Loma Prieta residents are apparent in their discarded material culture, while the town's layouts and archival documents suggest the separation and different experiences based on class; ethnic and gender experiences are not as obvious making an intersectionality approach limited at this time. At Loma Prieta we see a lack of ethnic-specific artifacts compared with an abundance of "American" goods, perhaps showing immigrant attempts to assimilate (Mullins 1999; Orser 2007), or that they had few other choices in the capitalistic setting of a company town (Meniketti 2016 [2019]). Another possible explanation is that the seasonality of the work may have attracted more nomadic spirits who did not feel a need to bring traditions with them. I can interpret some gendered experiences in Loma Prieta from archival data such as photographs, oral histories, and legal documents (Calciano 1964a; 1964b; McFarland 1907). Women, even if they were not working in the mill, still lived a dangerous life from explosions and landslides due to deforestation (Meniketti 2016 [2019]). From the literature, we know that in company towns in which the company's work was male-specific, women often took part in community building, worked with labor unions, took care of the homes, finances, and tended to gardens to supplement income and diet (Metheny 2007; Saitta 2013). In the next chapter, I discuss how future research in the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park can help fill the gaps in understanding the lived experiences of Loma Prieta residents.

7. Conclusion

This research was successful in creating the three main deliverables required in partnership with California State Parks: 1) This Research Report, 2) Primary and Archaeological Records for the four cultural sites, and 3) Draft nomination form for the Loma Prieta Logging District that California State Parks can add to for future submittal to the National Register of Historic Places. In partnership with California State Parks, this project report seeks to expand the story of Loma Prieta and its residents. This research brought forth new data for understanding the lives of those in company towns during the Gilded Age (1870-1910) and novel understandings of how class, ethnicity, and gender may have been experienced in this labor setting. This research looked at the households of company managers and the working class during the Gilded Age (Baxter 2012; Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1996; Brashler 1991; Mullins and Jeffries 2012).

Limitations of Research

Regrowth of vegetation within the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park has masked a lot of what once was a booming hub of industrialism. Nature's reclamation of the land, especially the thick patches of poison oak, likely has made looting less accessible and will continue to do so as rain, landslides, and plant growth occur in the coming years. Nonetheless, looting is apparent upon the landscape and is visible from looter holes in Locus 1, to artifacts strangely flung across the landscape in Locus 2. Even if visitors choose not to take artifacts home, the relocation of artifacts still removes them from their original position and I cannot be certain that most of the artifacts in the Forest of Nisene Marks State Parks are in-situ; many concentrations are easily accessible and people continued to work and live in the current park boundaries for years after the town of Loma Prieta was torn down and sold off by the company to be reused in other buildings. Documentation of looting in the Park General Plan (2005) and by individuals who spoke to me during my field research, or have posted online about others or themselves looting,

have bolstered my belief that the minimal markings of looting I can currently see on the landscape is nothing in comparison to nearly a century of the landscape being picked over.

Geospatial data was limited in this research as the thick tree canopy made taking GPS data extremely difficult. Early on in my research, I attempted to use a Trimble GPS unit and, even in a small clearing; it could not pick up enough satellite signals to even give me a guess on where I was. My phone's GPS, using Avenza software, was able to take points at an average of 10-15m accuracy. I then applied for a GRAD Grant through the San Jose State Anthropology Department to purchase GPS boosters. I first tried out the Bad Elf GPS receiver, a GPS booster for IOS products, but quickly found it both difficult to use and poorly made. I then purchased a Garmin GLO receiver that, when paired with my phone and used with Avenza software, made my accuracy 5-10m.

The last limitation I will discuss concerns subsurface survey. I chose not to request in my research permit to California State Parks to perform excavation during this research for many reasons; time, money, disturbance, and curation. I knew that if I excavated in the park, I would need to focus my research on only one area of interest, drastically limiting my scope of what the park has to offer. Excavation would also result in a possibly large collection, mostly of nails if the assemblage mirrored anything near what Meniketti's three field schools have collected. There is a current curation crisis in the field of archaeology that prompts new archaeologists, like me, to seriously consider if excavation is appropriate for each research topic. I do believe, however, that much more could have been learned if I had excavated. This knowledge, plus the understanding that this area has withstood many landslides that likely have covered artifacts and features, could mean that there is a plethora of intact features and potential information below the surface.

The potential for Future Research

My research has merely scratched the surface of what could be learned from the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park. There are many opportunities within the park to learn more about the logging industry, railroads, and social dynamics within the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park that occurred before its status as a state park. While my research heavily focused on the residents of Loma Prieta, the area offers something for those interested in railroads, industrial spheres, area economics, and impacts of immigrant workers. While someone might consider further research in any or all of the four concentrations I have discussed, the Loma Prieta Lumber Company had other mills, and other companies had their logging camps all along the area. As previously mentioned, I did not heavily examine all units in each locus (i.e., cleared of leaves and duff layer, items counted and weighed, etc.) therefore a larger picture is yet to be depicted. All of the concentrations have prime locations for excavation and ground penetrating radar (GPR). Future researchers in the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park might consider excavation as the surface level has been severely impacted by looting and landslides have covered deposits of cultural elements. All of the concentrations, except for Locus 2, had pipes in the area and at Locus 3 and Locus 4, the pipes were half buried indicating an underground water system. GPR, as well as metal detectors, could be used to map the whole system and possibly find the source (i.e., a spring).

Lastly, I would like to conclude this research report on a note concerning our present-day society and the relevance of Loma Prieta, a company town in the Gilded Age. Often, the study of the past is more about understanding our lives today, and historical archaeology is the study of capitalistic dispossession in America (Wurst 2015). This study sought to understand the lives of residents in a town mostly controlled by a company that only existed, thrived, and dissipated

along a parallel trajectory to resource extraction. These people were living during California's Chinese Exclusion Act that sought to put a hold to immigration and limit the success of those already here (Orser 2007; Orser 2011) and when the fight for redwood conservation was just starting to rage against the quick and profitable natural exploitation of these giants (Bliss and Brown 2014; Kerr 2014; Kline 2011; Walker 2001). This is not unlike our current society debating building walls (literally and figuratively) to keep "dangerous" immigrants out, protesting against oil pipelines, a shift in middle-class consciousness, and the prevalence and power of mega-corporations (Walley 2017). We seem to be living in our own Gilded Age, making the narratives of the working class, such as represented in this research report, all the more important. This research would work well as a case study for those who wish to further the knowledge of cycles of capitalism in America. With this in mind, I want to leave other archaeologists with the idea that the future of our discipline, as suggested by Wurst (2015) and Wylie (1999) is to connect the past to the present in an effort to improve our society.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Loma Prieta Logging District National Register of Historic
Places Nomination

Appendix B

DPR 523 Primary and Archaeological Forms

Appendix C

Coded Photographs from the Santa Cruz Museum of Art and
History

A1 Reuben Totten
1912 Capitola Loma
Prieta Lumber co. -
19120 Wagon full of
Tanning bark tan
back en route to
tannery

Codes:
231.2, 291.2, 313.5,
313.4, 351.2, 351.4,
351.5, 463.4, 562.2,
565.1



B1 Loma Prieta
Lumber Co. in Loma
Prieta

Codes:

313.4, 351.1, 351.3,
351.5, 496.2,



**C1 Loma Prieta
Mill 1897**

Codes:

313.4, 313.3,
351.1, 351.3,
351.5



**D1 Loma Prieta
Mill 1897**

Codes:

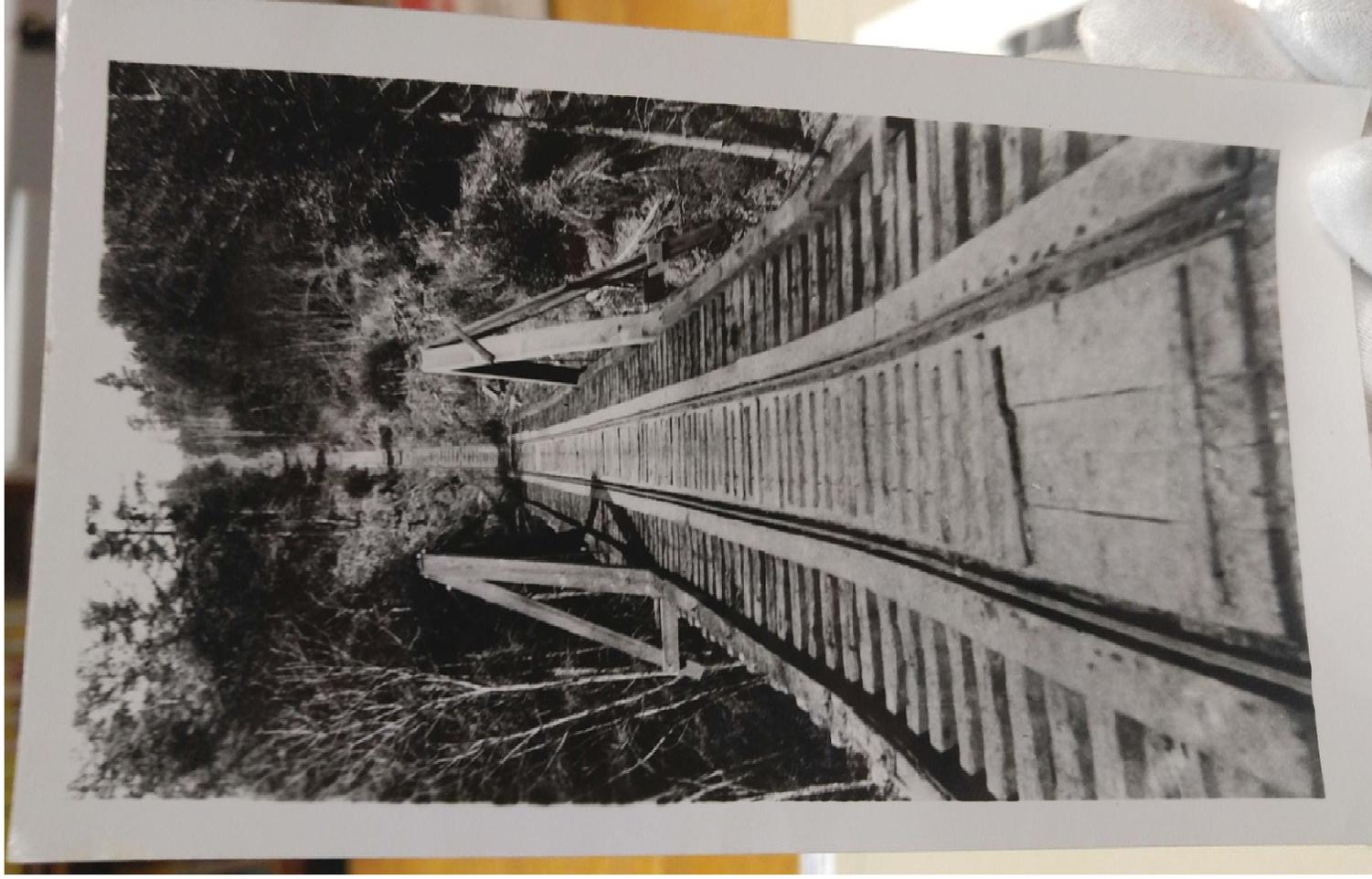
313.4, 313.5,
351.2, 351.4,
351.5, 496.2

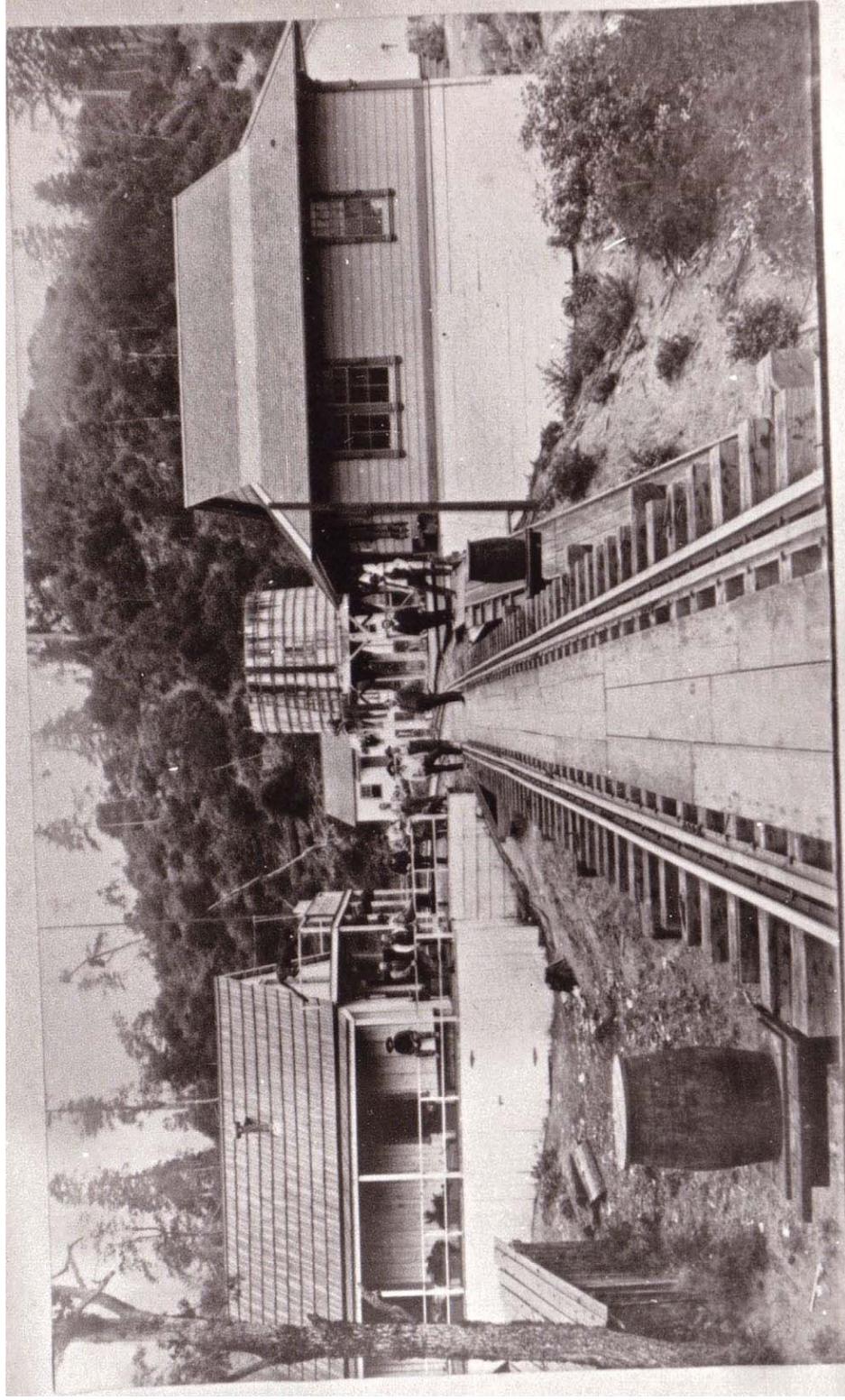


E1 Loma Prieta incline 1915

Codes:

351.2, 351.3, 351.6





**F1 Loma Prieta
town station**

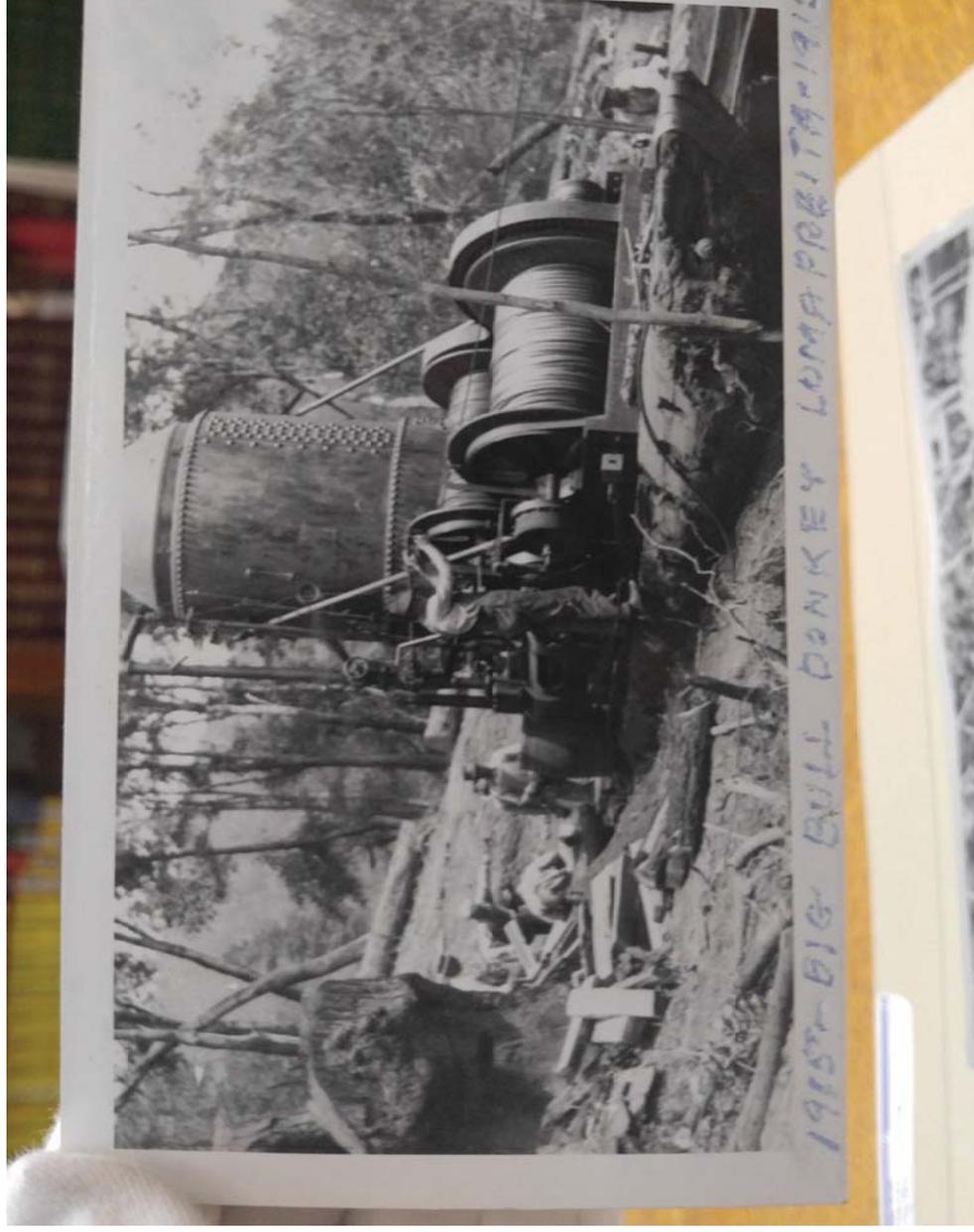
Codes:

291.1, 291.2,
351.2, 351.4,
351.5, 313.1,
463.1, 463.3,
496.2, 5311.1,
565.1, 565.2,
562.2, 571.1,
571.3,

**G1 1915 Big Bull
Donkey Loma Prieta**

Codes:

291.2, 313.4, 351.2,
351.4, 351.6, 463.1,
5311.2, 562.2, 565.1,
571.1



**H1 Loma Prieta Lumber
train 1888**

Codes:

291.2, 313.4, 351.2,
351.4, 351.5, 463.2,
496.1, 496.2, 5311.1,
562.2, 565.1



I1 Loma Prieta Lumber co. site
Mr. and Mrs. Hoffman near
lumbering shed 1888

Codes:

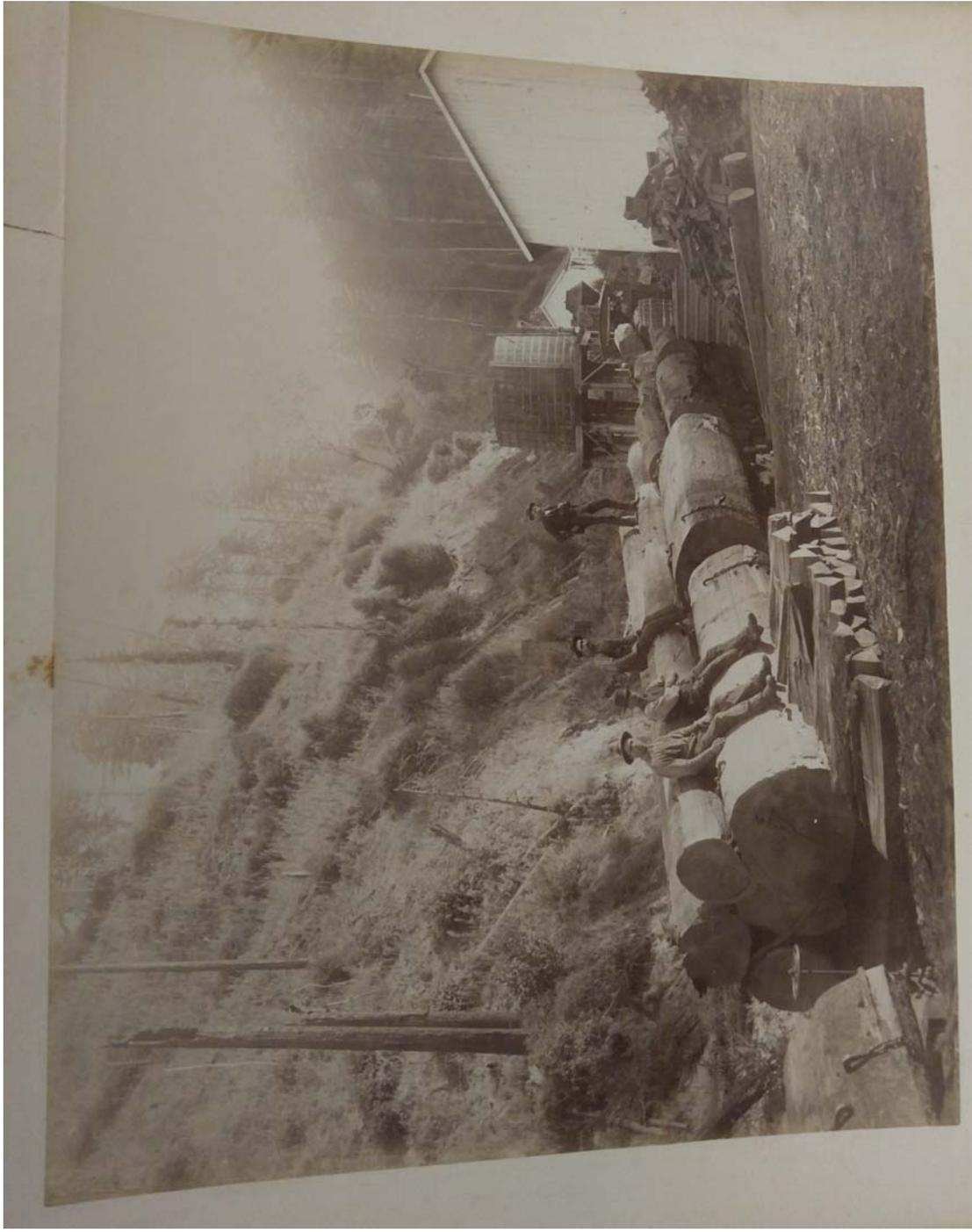
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463.1, 5311.1, 562.1, 562.2,
565.1, 571.2, 580.1



J1

Codes:

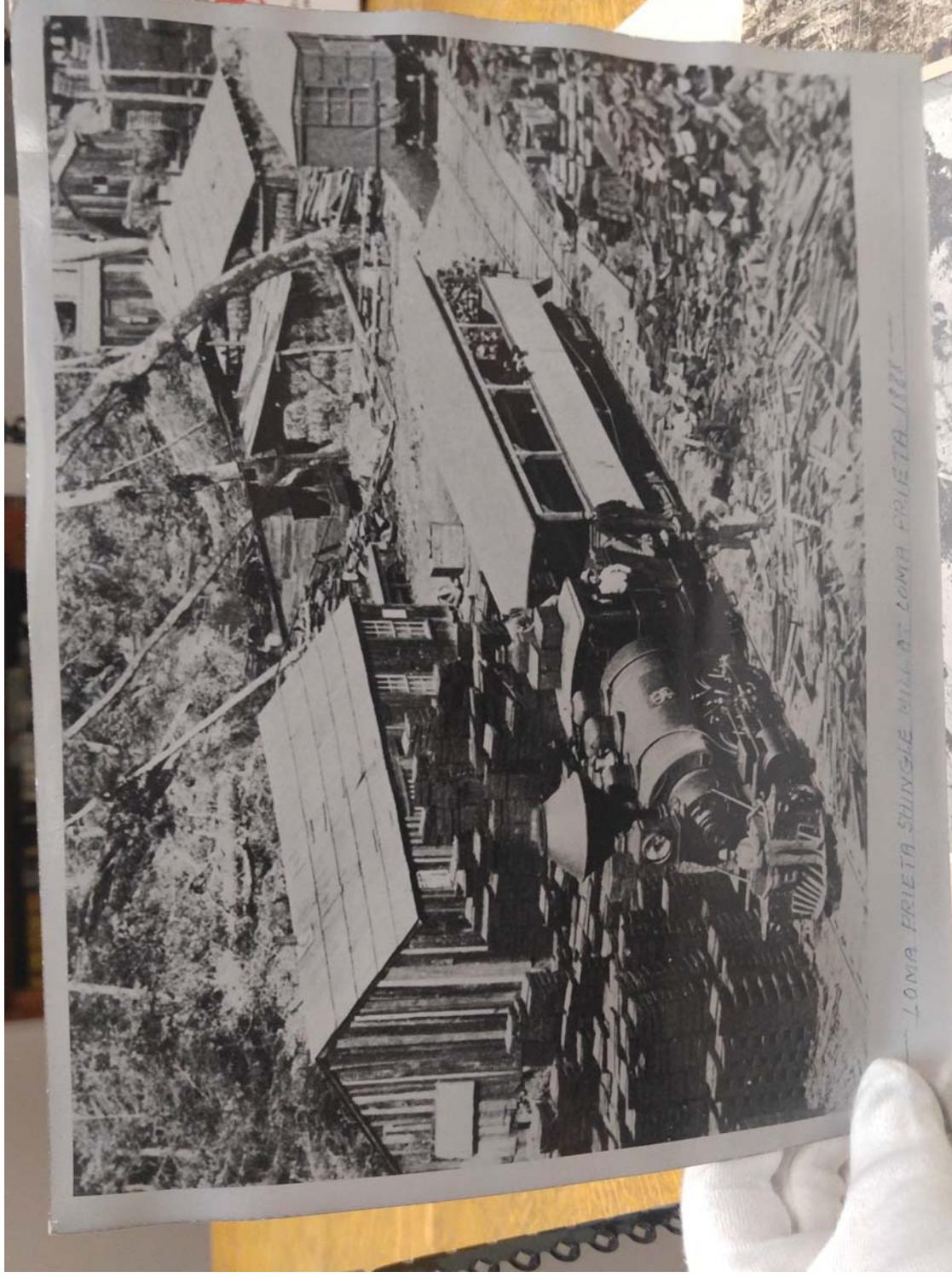
291.2 , 313.4,
313.5, 351.2,
351.4, 351.5,
463.1, 5311.1,
562.2, 571.1



K1 Loma
Prieta Shingle
mill at Loma
Prieta 1888-
1891

Codes:

313.4, 313.5,
351.2, 351.4,
351.5, 463.1,
463.2, 496.1,
496.2, 5311.1,
562.2, 565.1,
571.1



**L1 Loma Prieta Lumber co
building site 1888**

Codes:

231.1, 292.2, 351.2, 351.4,
351.6, 496.2, 571.3, 517.1,
5311.1, 562.1, 565.2



M1 Loma Prieta
building road to Monta
Vista 1891

Codes:

291.2, 313.2, 351.2,
351.4, 351.6, 463.1,
463.2, 496.1, 496.2,
5311.1, 565.1, 571.1



N1 1918 Loma Prieta Lumber co. Hoffman

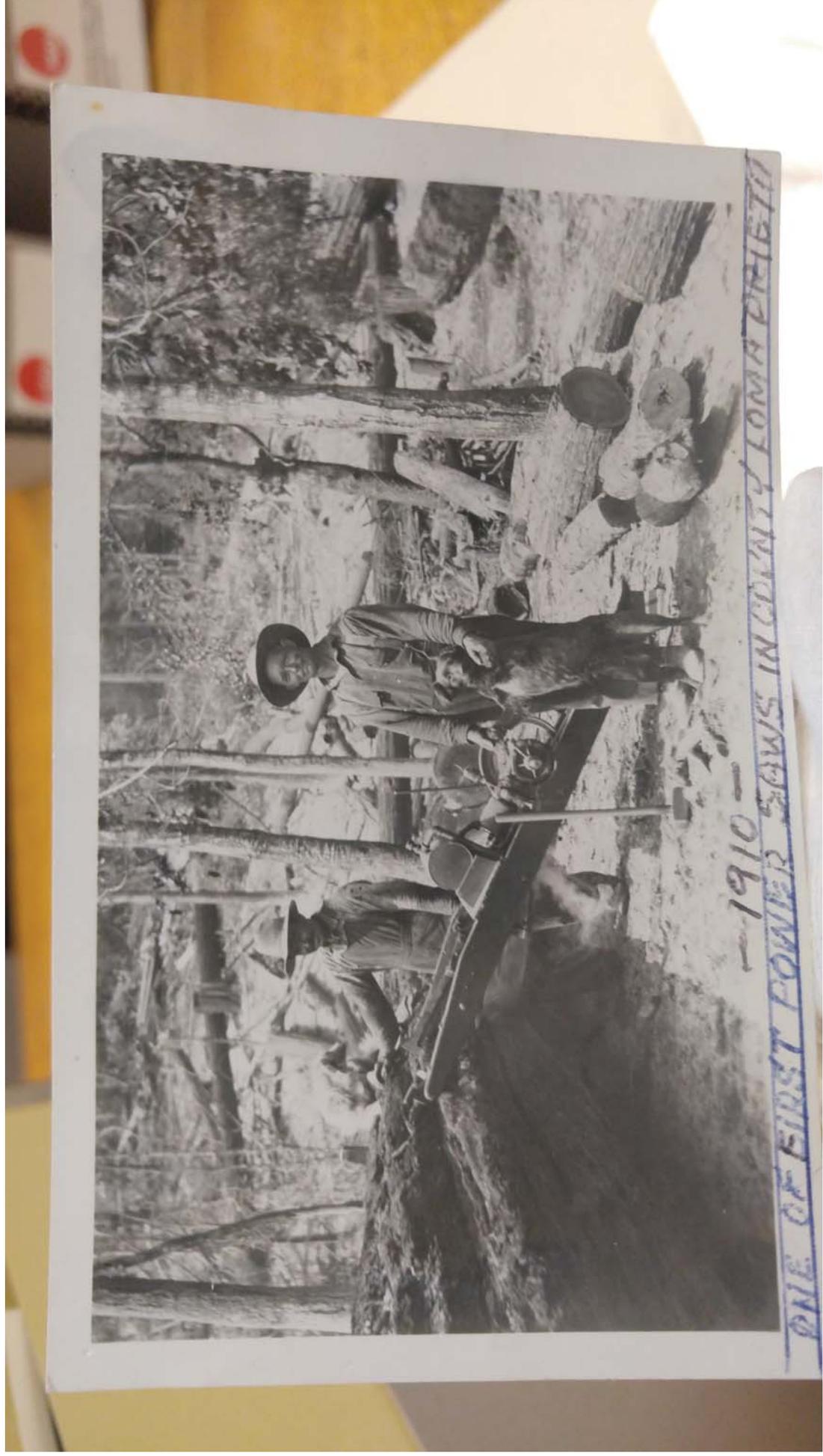
Codes:

313.4, 313.5, 351.1, 351.3, 351.5, 496.2



O1 1910 One of the first power saws in county at Loma Prieta

Codes: 231.1, 291.2 , 313.4, 313.5, 351.2, 351.4, 351.6, 463.1, 5311.1, 565.1, 571.1



P1 Watsonville, CA
home of John Porter,
part owner of Loma
Prieta Lumber Co.

Codes:

292.1, 351.7, 463.3,
517.2 , 5311.2, 562.2,
565.2, 571.1,



Q1 Mill Pond

Codes:

313.3, 313.4,
313.5, 351.3,
351.5, 496.1,
496.2, 497.1,



R1

Codes:

231.3, 313.4,
313.5, 351.2,
351.3, 351.6,
496.1, 496.2



S1 Mill Pond

Codes:

313.3, 313.4,
351.3, 531.1,
531.6



Appendix D

California State Parks Research Permit

DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION Application and Permit to Conduct Archaeological Investigations/Collections Instructions: Application must be Typewritten with original signatures on original and four photocopies of the application. USGS topographic map and other maps showing precise location of proposed work must be attached.	TRACKING NUMBER	
	DATE RMD RECEIVED	DATE DISTRICT RECEIVED
	DATE APPROVED/SENT TO DISTRICT	DATE APPROVED/SENT TO APPLICANT & RMD
	DATE SENT TO APPLICANT/DISTRICT	DATE SENT TO APPLICANT/RMD

<small>APPLICANT ORGANIZATION</small> San Jose State University, Anthropology Department	<small>PHONE NUMBER</small> 408-924-5713
<small>ADDRESS</small> 1 Washington Square San Jose, CA	

The above applicant hereby applies to the Department of Parks and Recreation for a Permit under the Public Resources Code 5097.5 to conduct archaeological investigations on lands of the State of California as follows:

<small>STATE PARK UNIT</small> The Forest of Nisene Marks State Park	<small>COUNTY</small> Santa Cruz	
<small>ETHNOGRAPHIC AREA/HISTORIC PERIODS</small> Loma Prieta Townsite, mid-late 19th century		
<small>USGS QUADRANGLE(S)</small> [REDACTED] CA		
<small>TOWNSHIP(S)</small> N/A	<small>RANGE(S)</small> N/A	<small>SECTION(S)</small>
<small>UTMS</small> [REDACTED]		
<small>SITE(S) (Use permanent trinomial if applicable)</small> Loma Prieta Townsite		

1. The aims, purposes, and methods of this investigation will be as follows (attach continuation sheets as necessary. For excavations, provide a research design and an outline of the report to be provided):
 The objective of this study is to map, record, and analyze the archaeological remains of the townsite of Loma Prieta (see attached proposal).

2. Expected duration of project (specify dates of field investigations, laboratory studies, and report completion):
 Field investigation for this project is expected to run from September through October of 2018. Expected completion of report is Spring of 2019.

3. General scope and nature of applicant organization's activities and goals:
 San Jose State University has an active program in historical archaeology. Each project has sought to understand and industry, labor, and contributions of ethnic minorities.

4. Name, title, address, telephone, and affiliation of principal investigator (Attach resume or curriculum vitae):
 Charlotte Sunseri, PhD. Professor of Archaeology
 Department of Anthropology, San Jose State University
 One Washington Square, San Jose CA 95192
 [REDACTED]

5. Name, address, affiliation and telephone number of person in actual direct charge of field work (attach resume and curriculum vitae if different from #4):

Arianna Heathcote, Applied Anthropology MA Student

[REDACTED] arianna@ariannaheathcote.com

San Jose State University, Anthropology Department

6. Laboratory work will take place at (institution, address, phone number, person to contact):

All lab work to be carried out at the Ingetrative Anthropology Laboratory, San Jose State University

One Washington Square, San Jose CA 95192

Charlotte Sunseri: [REDACTED]

7. Name and location of facility that has agreed to curate materials collected under this permit (must meet requirements under Standard Conditions and Restrictions):

This research will conduct "catch and release" with discovered artifacts and therefore there is no anticipation of collection and needed curation of artifacts. However, if an artifact is a risk for looting, it will be collected and curated at San Jose State University curation facility by the Anthropology Department. These artifacts would then be returned to California State Parks.

I have read and agree to adhere to the Standard Conditions and Restrictions. I am currently holding the following Archaeological Permit(s) with the Department of Parks and Recreation (list all for which any part is incomplete):

APPLICANT'S SIGNATURE ▶ <i>Arianna Heathcote</i>	APPLICANT'S NAME (Print or type) Arianna Heathcote	DATE 6.27.2018
-----------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------	-------------------

TITLE	SIGNATURE	DATE
DISTRICT ARCHAEOLOGIST REVIEW	<i>[Signature]</i>	7/15/2018
DISTRICT SUPERINTENDENT APPROVAL	<i>[Signature]</i>	8/14/2018
DISTRICT RESOURCE ECOLOGIST REVIEW		
SERVICE CENTER ARCHAEOLOGIST REVIEW		
CURATOR OF STATEWIDE RECORDS REVIEW		
CULTURAL HERITAGE SUPERVISOR APPROVAL		

APPLICANT MUST CARRY THIS PERMIT AT ALL TIMES WHILE COLLECTING

PERMIT VALID FROM 7/1/18 TO 12/30/2019

PERMIT CONDITIONS:

STANDARD CONDITIONS AND RESTRICTIONS

(ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERMITS)

Only archaeological material may be collected under issuance of this permit. *All artifacts and specimens collected remain the property of the State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation.* The applicant is responsible for arranging for the curation, accession, safeguarding, and preservation of all materials collected in accordance with accepted museum standards. These arrangements must be made with the Curator of Statewide Records (916-324-0192) *prior* to application for the permit. Any plan must address the continuing availability of the collection for public observation, scientific study, and display if curated (on loan) to institutions outside of DPR facilities. Artifacts must be cataloged using DPR accession numbers, which are to be obtained at the beginning of the project from the DPR Curator of Statewide Records (916-324-0192). It is the responsibility of the permit holder to provide DPR with four (4) copies of all catalogs, field notes, photographs, and reports, even if curation is arranged in a facility not under the control of DPR. Collection should be accomplished by methods that conserve resources and must be of some tangible benefit to the State Park System. The collections shall be used for scientific and educational purposes dedicated to public benefit only and shall in no case be used for commercial purposes or personal profit.

Permits must be approved by both the Cultural Heritage Supervisor and District Superintendent before work begins. All work to be accomplished shall be discussed with the District Superintendent prior to beginning of field work. The District Superintendent may specify additional restrictions or conditions due to site sensitivity, natural hazards in the area, visitor traffic patterns, etc. Field work shall be scheduled with the District Superintendent or Designee, who shall be contacted immediately upon arrival in the Park Unit. Should unanticipated changes in Park conditions occur during the course of the field work, additional restrictions may be required for reasons of health, safety, and resource protection. Direct any questions regarding this Permit to the Supervisor, Cultural Heritage Section, Cultural Resources Division.

Plant life and other features shall not be disturbed without permission of Department staff. After excavation, restore the area to as near its former condition as possible. Park unit staff should be consulted before and after backfilling for suggestions and approval.

Permits are issued for one year or a portion thereof, within six (6) months of permit expiration and at least thirty (30) days prior to filing final reports with any other agency. Permittee agrees to provide the Department of Parks and Recreation with four (4) copies of all site survey records, survey and excavation reports, photographs, and artifact and specimen catalogs for review. A final report is required within a year. Two (2) sets of the above specified documents will be sent to the District Superintendent, and two (2) to the Cultural Heritage Supervisor. Copies of any materials published shall be submitted to the Department and should include an acknowledgement of the Department of Parks and Recreation. For continuing studies, submit a new application with four copies of a progress report. Permittee agrees to file copies of archaeological reports and site records with the appropriate Regional Information Center.

Applicant agrees to indemnify, save harmless, and defend the State of California, its officers, agents, and employees against any and all claims, demands, damages, losses or liability of its officers, agents, and employees due or incident to, either in whole or in part, whether indirectly connected with, the activities described in this Permit or arising out of or in any way connected with or incident to the Permit issued from this application. In the event State is named as codefendant under the provisions of Government Code Section 895 et seq., the Permittee shall notify State of such fact and shall represent State in such legal action unless State undertakes to represent itself as codefendant in such legal action, in which event State shall bear its own litigation costs, expenses and attorney's fees. The Applicant, its officers, agents, employees, or others holding permits under this application, acting in the performance of this agreement, are not officers, agents, or employees of the State.

DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION ADDRESSES:

Supervisors
Cultural Heritage Section
Cultural Resources Division

Curator of Statewide Records
Museum Collections Section,
Cultural Resources Division

Department of Parks and Recreation
P.O. Box 942896
Sacramento, CA 94296-0001

2505 Port Street
West Sacramento, CA 95691

**Proposal for Archaeological Research at
The Forest of Nisene Marks State Parks**

**Supporting Documents to the Application and
Permit to Conduct Archaeological Investigations**

July 2018

Submitted for Review
By

Arianna Heathcote
Applied Anthropology MA Student
Department of Anthropology
San Jose State University

arianna@ariannaheathcote.com



Working Project Title: Uncovering Lost Narratives: An Archaeological Study in Nisene Marks State Park

Historical Background

The first wave of the American Gilded Age spans from the mid-1800s to the early 1900s (Kline, 2011; Orser 2011). During the Gilded Age, according to Shackel and Palus (2006), American landscapes saw a drastic change from agriculture to industrialism. Industrialism signaled the beginning of a great divide in wealth for American citizens. As discussed by Mullins and Jeffries (2012), the Gilded Age was a time for the upper-class to display their affluence through conspicuous consumption and much of archaeology in this period examines the ostentatious artifacts of the rich. However, most Americans during this time were not wealthy, and therefore this type of research leaves a significant gap in the historical literature about the Gilded Age (Mullins and Jeffries 2012).

During the Gilded Age, when the Loma Prieta Mill began operations, lumber was in great demand as the population was growing both from immigration and prosperity (Kline 2011). The Loma Prieta Lumber Mill was actively making shingles, other building materials, and wood for fuel, even though in the late 1800s coal and crude oil were on the rise for fuel (Kline 2011). Before California became a state, America was consuming more lumber than it could produce, and the resource was considered scarce (Kline 2011). Railroads, which required logging and resource extraction activities for people to open spaces for the railroads, allowed larger access to timber and mineral resources (Pisani 1985). Loma Prieta Lumber Mill, which was a few miles inland from Aptos, is an example of resources made accessible by railroads.

The redwoods, which were the resource those at the Loma Prieta Mill were extracting, quickly became favored lumber for consumers and an object of concern for conservationists like John Muir (Kline 2011; Melnick 2000; Pisani 1985). During this time, we begin to see a mild interest in preserving landscapes from conservationists that later triggered the creation of National Forests and the Yosemite Grant (Kline 2011; Melnick 2000). During the 1800s, federal laws restricted the number of acres logging companies could have at a given time (Libecap and Johnson 1979). There are reasons to believe that companies had a hard time with this and would acquire land and timber illegally to maintain business which angered many conservationists (Libecap and Johnson 1979).

Purpose and Significance

This project proposes a historical, archaeological study of the Loma Prieta townsite. This effort will collaborate with California State Parks at the Forest of Nisene Marks State Park to assist in compliance with federal law regarding the documentation of the site, public engagement, and interpretation of this historic district. California State Parks Archaeologist, Mark Hylkema, is the community partner for this research endeavor. Visitors have significantly impacted the cultural resources at Nisene Marks State Park. California State Parks is specifically interested in knowing the history of their land and how their land connects to regional development. Loma Prieta supplied fuel and timber to be shipped all over California for building communities.

This research has the potential to add to the general knowledge of identity construction and expression during American's Gilded Age (1870-1910) (Matthews 2012; Mullins and Jeffries 2012; Orser 2011; Shackel and Palus 2006). This project expands upon local knowledge

of identity, built environments, and trade during the Gilded Age to examine evidence of class, gender, and ethnic identities in a town within an industrial sphere. By looking at instances of collective resistance, labor organizing, class tensions, inequalities, and gender ideologies, I will piece together a story of what it was like to live in Loma Prieta during the Gilded Age. With the goal of “giving voice to the voiceless” or those ignored in written history, this historical archaeology seeks to illuminate the experiences of marginalized groups, especially when we consider that mostly upper-class, educated, white males were the authors of documentation during this period (Little 1996; Singleton 1999).

Loma Prieta Lumber Company ran a mill in the Santa Cruz Mountains beginning in the late 1800s until the 1920s near Loma Prieta town proper. As a site of industrialism and resource extraction, the Loma Prieta Mill, and nearby features represent a possible hub of capitalistic production during the late 1800s. In recent years, research of archaeological studies of historical work camps and how they represent capitalism during their eras have become more abundant, however, they are still lacking (Mullins and Jeffries 2012). The archaeological investigation of Loma Prieta provides an opportunity to focus on how the residents, not just the laborers, of Loma Prieta, negotiated class, ethnicity, and gender in the setting of a company town during the Gilded Age (1870-1910) and how these identities might present themselves through material culture.

Research on this topic benefits from a historical archaeology perspective over simply a historical one as it uses mixed methods of written documentation, geospatial analysis, and interpretations of artifacts to provide an in-depth picture of peoples’ activities in both the public and private spaces (Hardesty 1990). A spatial study of the town layout and viewsheds, artifactual analysis of households, and archival study of company documents will be used to infer residents’ experiences and town design. This research asks: How are the class, gender, and ethnic identities of the residents of Loma Prieta represented in the archaeological remains of their daily practices? How did the proximity to an industrial site of resource extraction impact the town’s layout and the material culture of its residents? Using practice theory (Bourdieu 1977; Ortner 2014) and historical contexts of the Gilded Age and American industrialism (Kline 2011; Matthews 2012; Mullins and Jeffries 2012; Orser 2011; Shackel and Palus 2006), this research will perform a geospatial study, analyze material remains, and archival documents from Loma Prieta to answer these research questions.

Methods

The site of Loma Prieta is of serious interest for academic research because it has the potential to enlighten the historical archaeological community on the daily practices of residents in an industrial sphere during the Gilded Age (Late 1800s-early 1900s). The information found in this research will result in three overall deliverables.

1. Site and survey reports for California State Parks of the town of Loma Prieta and surrounding sites.
2. Designs for an informational kiosk to be erected at the townsite for California State Parks. A kiosk will allow me to disseminate my research findings to the public.
3. Presentation of findings at the Society for California Archaeology annual meetings and at the Aptos Historical Society. These presentations will allow my information to be disseminated to other professionals, academics, and the local community.

This research will investigate how class, gender, and ethnic identities of Loma Prieta residents were (re)produced and contested in an industrial sphere. I will address this with

analysis of historical documents, artifacts and features found during the site survey, shovel test units (STUs), and artifacts collected by Dr. Marco Meniketti during his 2015-2017 field research in Nisene Marks State Park. This research uses the historical archaeology mixed methods of qualitative document analysis (photographs, maps, recorded oral histories) and quantitative artifact data collection and interpretation. This approach is best for sites of historical industrialism (Hardesty 1990) and allows for active voices in the interpretation of observed material culture (Beaudry, M.C., L. Cook, and S. Mrozowski 1996).

I will perform close interval pedestrian survey and use metal detectors to determine the site boundaries of the town and some supervisors' homes. The site will then be gridded using flags at 3x3 meter intervals for an intensive surface survey of architecture and artefactual remains (Lightfoot 1997). Survey zones will sample housing and the townsite areas of the park (See Map 1). The data collection for site assessment in this stage of the project will involve total station mapping of household and company building locations, historic roads and railroads, current roads and trails, and depressions and disturbed soils which likely resulted from looting. This information will later be put into ArcMap Geophysical Information Systems (GIS) to make a proper map of the site boundaries.

After I have established site boundaries, I will break up each site into 3x3m units. I will perform probabilistic sampling by using simple random sampling (Hester, Shafer, and Feder 1997; Collins and Molyneaux 2003) to decide which 3x3m units will have a more intensive survey and documentation of any artifacts or features, to best, represent the above-ground cultural constituents. Archaeologists typically call surface survey in cases like this catch-and-release; when researchers do not collect artifacts, and the survey is expected to provide a detailed map of surface features (Collins and Molyneaux 2003; Lightfoot 1997) and potential buried features (Furnis and Maniery 2015). I will count, weigh, and photograph all artifacts in every 3x3m unit that was selected by simple random sampling in a surface observation data sheet (See Figure 1). I will then input into Excel the data from the surface artifact counts/weights, and I will use software such as Surfer to construct 3-D surfaces of artifact frequencies and concentrations across the site. I can then overlay surface maps of artifacts in ArcMap GIS with a total station map in which I will document areas where looting has occurred, site features, and diagnostic artifacts.

I will examine all data collected on the town of Loma Prieta and the supervisors' along with data collected by Dr. Marco Meniketti in the workers' barracks and at the Loma Prieta Lumber Mill. This collection holds approximately ten boxes of artifacts that summer field schools from 2015-2017 collected. The contents of these boxes include architectural metals, industrial metals, ceramics, glass, faunal remains, medicinal containers, clothing items, and personal effects. These artifacts represent data concerning consumer patterns and ethnic, class, and gender ascriptions of the residents of Loma Prieta. When comparing existing data to the data I will collect, I will have a complete sample to draw on and hypothesize the experiences of the employees and their families.

Public Outreach

This research will allow for public outreach opportunities in the following ways

1. People involved in the fieldwork will be volunteers from the community. This opportunity will be marketed via California State Parks bulletins, Aptos Historical Society Newsletter, San Jose State Anthropology Department email list, and

general word of mouth. The aim of this is to incorporate locals in the preservation and research of their own local history.

2. This research will be presented to the public in two ways. To ensure that my research findings are disseminated to the local community, I will present my findings during a meeting of the Aptos Historical Society. I will also present these findings at the Society for California Archaeology 2019 annual meeting. This presentation will allow my research to be disseminated to professionals in the field of archaeology.
3. One of the deliverables for this project is designs for an informational kiosk that California State Parks could choose to place near the town of Loma Prieta. This will allow any visitors to learn a bit more about the history of Nisene Marks State Park.

Timeline

August 2018	Pre-field preparations, historical document analysis, and collecting information on potential volunteers.
September 2018	Survey within Nisene Marks State Park to establish site boundaries.
October 2018	Intense study of surface artifacts within discovered site boundaries.
November 2018	Analysis of field findings.
December 2018- March 2019	Writing of final report for California State Parks.
March 2019	Presentation of findings at the Society for California Archaeology.
April 2019	Presentation of finding at the Aptos Historical Society.
May 2019	Final report submitted to California State Parks.



Map 1: Map of Nisene Marks State Park. The yellow box indicates proposed project APE. The blue box indicates project area completed by Dr. Marco Meniketti during 2015-2017 fieldwork.

CHARLOTTE K. SUNSERI

Department of Anthropology *charlotte.sunseri@sjsu.edu*

One Washington Square (408) 924-5713 [Office]
San José, CA 95192-0113 (816) 536-0337 [Cell]

POSITIONS

Associate Professor Department of Anthropology, San José State University (2011-present)
Research Affiliate Archaeological Research Facility, University of California Berkeley (2011-present)

EDUCATION

Ph.D. 2009 University of California Santa Cruz, Anthropology
M.A. 2005 University of California Santa Cruz, Anthropology
B.A. 2003 Truman State University, Mathematics (Anthropology, minor)

AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION

Region: North America, California and Great Basin, South Africa
Methods: Quantitative methods, zooarchaeology, spatial analysis
Theory: Economic anthropology, social identity, archaeology of valuation
Foci: Historical archaeology, immigration and labor, social inequality, race and racialization

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

2018 Sabbatical Leave Award, SJSU
2017 Research, Scholarship, & Creative Activity Mini-Grant Award, SJSU
2015 College of Social Sciences Travel Grant, SJSU
2014 Research, Scholarship, & Creative Activity Award, SJSU
2013 College of Social Sciences Foundation Research Grant, SJSU
2012 College of Social Sciences Foundation Research Grant, SJSU
2008 National Science Foundation Dissertation Improvement Grant
2008 Teaching Sabbatical Fellowship, Graduate Division, UC Santa Cruz
2007 Sacramento Archaeological Society Student research grant, Sacramento, California
2006 Innovation in Environmental Research Graduate grant, STEPS UC Santa Cruz
2006 Spatial Perspectives on Analysis for Curriculum Enhancement (SPACE) fellowship Center for Spatially Integrated Social Science, UC Santa Barbara
2005 Quantitative Methods of Social Research Clogg Fellow, Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, University of Michigan
2002 Undergraduate Independent Research Grant, Truman State University

AWARDS AND HONORS

2017 COSS Teaching Excellence Award, San Jose State University
2009 Outstanding Teaching Assistant Award, University of California Santa Cruz
One of ten campus-wide awards given by the Graduate Division for teaching excellence.

PUBLICATIONS

- 2017 "Capitalism as Nineteenth-Century Colonialism and Its Impacts on Native Californians," *Ethnohistory* 64(4):473-497.
- 2015 "Taphonomic and Metric Evidence for Marrow and Grease Production," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 35(2): 275-290.
- 2015 "Food Politics of Alliance in a California Frontier Chinatown," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 19(2): 416-431.
- 2015 "Alliance Strategies in the Racialized Railroad Economies of the Mining Frontier," *Historical Archaeology* 49(1): 85-99.
- 2014 "Pelts and Provisions: Faunal Remains and the Emergence of Social Inequality in Central Coastal California," In *Animals and Inequality in the Ancient World*, Benjamin S. Arbuckle, Sue Ann McCarty (eds.), University of Colorado Press. Pp. 167-188.
- 2009 "Spatial Economies of Precontact Exchange in the Greater Monterey Bay Area, California." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Cruz.
- 2009 "An Earlier Extirpation of Fur Seals in the Monterey Bay Region: Recent Findings and Social Implications," with Diane Gifford-Gonzalez (first author), *Society for California Archaeology Proceedings* 21:89-102.
- In review *Labor, Race, and the Politics of Alliance at Mono Mills, California*. University of Nebraska Press. Series "Historical Archaeology of the American West."
- In review "Meat Economies of the Chinese-American West," In volume edited by Chelsea Rose, Ryan Kennedy (eds.), under review by University of Florida Press.
- In prep "Olivella Shell Bead Distributions and Exchange Systems Based on Stable Isotope Provenance Analysis in the Greater Monterey Bay Area, California," with Jelmer Eerkens.

PUBLICATIONS OF LIMITED CIRCULATION & TECHNICAL REPORTS

- 2016 "Archaeological Evaluation Report for Historic Sites in the Mono Mills Archaeological District: CA-MNO-116 & CA-MNO-2537, Mono County, California," Report on file with the United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service.
- 2012 "Archaeological Evaluation Proposal for Historic Sites in the Mono Mills Archaeological District: CA-MNO-116, CA-MNO-2394, CA-MNO-2534 & CA-MNO-2537, Mono County, California," Report on file with the United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service.
- 2010 "Mono Mills Cultural Resource Assessment, Mono County, California," with Paul Farnsworth (first author), Report on file with the United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service.
- 2010 "Transbay Transit Center Program: Archaeological Resources Report for Shaft and Shoring Wall Test Construction," Report on file with William Self Associates, Orinda, CA, Prepared for the Transbay Joint Powers Authority in collaboration with Heather Price, Aimee Arrigoni, Angela Cook.
- 2010 "Transbay Transit Center Program: Archaeological Resources Report for the Temporary Terminal," Report on file with William Self Associates, Orinda, CA, Prepared for the Transbay Joint Powers Authority with Heather Price, Aimee Arrigoni, Angela Cook.
- 2009 "Zooarchaeology Results for CA-SMA-222 & CA-SMA-238," Report on file with the California Department of Parks and Recreation, Felton, CA.

- 2009 "Site Faunal Results for the Utah-Nevada Pipeline Project Final Report: Historic Sites Volume," Report on file with William Self Associates, Tucson, AZ and used in preparation of final report publication.
- 2001 "Household Subsistence: Preliminary Analysis of Faunal Remains from the Knolle Site (TJ2), Lower Nueces River Valley," with Adam Watson, Report on file at the Corpus Christi Museum of Science and History.

INVITED SYMPOSIA PRESENTATIONS

- 2017 "Going Into Labor: Basketmakers on the Front Lines of Class Conflict in a Company Town," Symposium: Three-Minute Artifact Forum: Sharing the Past, Society for California Archaeology, Annual Meeting, Yosemite, CA (organizers: Rebecca Allen, Mark Hylkema)
- 2016 "Current Directions in Historical Zooarchaeology," Symposium: The Past and Future of Historical Archaeology in California: Agency, Academia, and CRM, Society for California Archaeology, Annual Meeting, Ontario, CA (organizers: Rebecca Allen, Mary L. Maniery)
- 2016 "Meat Economies of the Chinese-American West," Symposium: Being Chinese: Current Scholarship on the Chinese Diaspora in 19th-Century North America, Society for Historical Archaeology, Annual Meeting, Washington D.C. (organizers: Chelsea Rose, Ryan Kennedy)
- 2015 "Archaeologies by Community Mandate: Who makes the call?," Symposium: Archaeologies by Community Mandate: Practicing Collaborative and Community-Engaged Research, Society for American Archaeology, Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA (organizers: Heather Atherton, Jun Sunseri, Charlotte Sunseri)
- 2012 "Rising Above Anti-Chinese Sentiment on the California Mining Frontier," Symposium: Immigration Past and Present: Archaeology in Action, American Anthropological Association, Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA (organizer: Barbara Voss)
- 2009 "Trading Spaces: Economic Landscapes of Precontact California," Symposium: Communities in Time, Society for American Archaeology, Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA (Organizer: Eva Hulse)

INVITED TALKS

- 2013 Santa Clara University Department of Anthropology & Santa Clara Archaeological Society, "The Gilded Age in Our Golden State: Labor & Racism on a Forgotten Frontier." Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA.
- 2012 Santa Cruz Archaeological Society, "Labor, Power, and Community at Mono Mills, 1880-1915," Cabrillo College, Aptos, CA.
- 2010 Stanford Archaeology Center, "Social Inequality and the Economics of Value Among Native Californians," Stanford University, CA
- 2008 UCSC Archaeology Lunch Series, "Trading Spaces: Economic Landscapes of Precontact California," University of California Santa Cruz, CA
- 2008 Evening Lecture of Sacramento Archaeological Society, "The Investigation of Economic Landscapes of Precontact Central California," Sacramento, CA

OTHER CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- 2018 "Creating a Research Community at Mission San Jose in Fremont, California," Poster Session, Society for Historical Archaeology, Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA
- 2008 "Inter-group Alliances, Exchange, & Specialized Production in Central California," Poster Session, Society for American Archaeology, Annual Meeting, Vancouver, BC

- 2007 "Spatial Analysis of Central California Exchange Systems," Poster Session, Society for American Archaeology, Annual Meeting, Austin, TX
- 2006 "*Callorhinus ursinus* and human predation in precontact California," Poster Session, International Council for Archaeozoology. Mexico City, Mexico
- 2006 "Zooarchaeology of the Moss Landing Hill Site (CA-MNT-234): Implications of 8000 Years Faunal Exploitation on the Monterey Bay," with D. Gifford-Gonzalez (first author), JC Geary, SD Newsome, JB Peabody, Symposium Presentation, Society for American Archaeology, Annual Meeting, San Juan, Puerto Rico
- 2005 Mathematical Modeling of Human and Marine Mammal Interaction in the Prehistoric Monterey Bay," with Michael A. Etner, Poster Session, Society for American Archaeology, Annual Meeting, Montreal, Quebec
- 2002 "Animal Bones and Archaic Hunting Camps," Texas Archaeological Society Annual Conference
- 2001 "Household Subsistence: Preliminary Analysis of Faunal Remains from the Knolle Site (TJ2), Lower Nueces River Valley," with Adam Watson, Texas Archaeological Society Annual Conference

INVITED GUEST LECTURES

- 2009 "Designing & Undertaking Doctoral Research Projects Utilizing Zooarchaeology," for course "Zooarchaeological Research Design," Professor Diane Gifford-Gonzalez, University of California, Santa Cruz
- 2008 "Zooarchaeology of Subsistence and Exchange Economies," course "Zooarchaeology," Professor Diane Gifford-Gonzalez, University of California Santa Cruz
- 2007 "Exchange Theory and Complexity," for course "Origins of Complex Society," Professor Judith Habicht-Mauche, University of California, Santa Cruz
- 2007 "Cahokia: a city, its subjects, and a great collapse," for course "North American Archaeology," Instructor Jun Sunseri, University of California, Santa Cruz
- 2007 "Using Agent-based Modeling and Spatial Analysis to Elucidate Prehistoric Economies," for course "Archaeological Research Design," Professor Cameron Monroe, University of California, Santa Cruz
- 2006 "Zooarchaeological Investigations at CA-MNT-234, the Moss Landing Hill Site," for course "Zooarchaeology," Professor Diane Gifford-Gonzalez, University of California, Santa Cruz
- 2006 "Prehistoric Economy Along the Central Coast of California: An Agent-Based Modeling Approach," for course "Archaeological Research Design," Instructor Jun Sunseri, University of California, Santa Cruz
- 2005 "Zooarchaeology & Mathematical Modeling of Archaeological Data," for course "Archaeological Research Design," Instructor Sarah Ginn, University of California, Santa Cruz
- 2004-6 "Paleoecology & Bioarchaeology: Studying Environment, Human Ecology, & Subsistence," for course "Introduction to Archaeology," Professor Diane Gifford-Gonzalez, Professor Judith Habicht-Mauche, University of California, Santa Cruz

TEACHING

- 2017 Instructor, "Intro to Archaeology," "Historical Archaeology," "Anthropology of Native America," "Designing Research," "Quantitative Methods," San José State University

- 2016 Instructor, “Reconstructing Lost Civilizations,” “Historical Archaeology,” “Indians of California,” “Archaeological Methodology,” “Designing Research,” “Quantitative Methods,” San José State University
- 2015 Instructor, “Reconstructing Lost Civilizations,” “Intro to Archaeology,” “Historical Archaeology,” “North American Prehistory,” “Designing Research,” “Quantitative Methods,” San José State University
- 2014 Instructor, “Reconstructing Lost Civilizations,” “Intro to Archaeology,” “Designing Research,” “Quantitative Methods,” San José State University
- 2013 Instructor, “Intro to Archaeology,” “Reconstructing Lost Civilizations,” “Archaeological Laboratory Methods,” “Archaeological Methodology,” “Intro to Human Evolution,” “Quantitative Methods,” San José State University
- 2012 Instructor, “Historical Archaeology,” “Reconstructing Lost Civilizations,” “Indians of California,” “Archaeological Laboratory Methods,” “Quantitative Methods,” San José State University
- 2011 Instructor, “Reconstructing Lost Civilizations,” “Anthropology of Native America,” San José State University
- 2011 Instructor, “North American Archaeology,” University of California, Berkeley
- 2011 Visiting Instructor, “Foundations of Archaeology,” San Francisco State University
- 2009 Lecturer, “Archaeological Research Design,” University of California, Santa Cruz
- 2007 Lecturer, “Introduction to Archaeology,” University of California, Santa Cruz
- 2007 Lecturer, “Osteology of Mammals, Birds, & Fish, Anthropology,” University of California, Santa Cruz
- 2006 Lecturer, “Introduction to Archaeology,” University of California, Santa Cruz
- 2004-9 Teaching Assistant, “Introduction to Archaeology,” “Introduction to Cultural Anthropology,” “Introduction to Physical Anthropology,” “Zooarchaeology,” “Indigenous Art of the Americas,” Departments of Anthropology and Art and Visual Culture, University of California, Santa Cruz
- 2000-3 Tutor and Teaching Assistant, “Introduction to Logic,” Department of Philosophy and Religion, Truman State University, Kirksville, MO

OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 2011 University of California Berkeley, Summer Instructor (2 months)
- 2011 San Francisco State University, Visiting Instructor (2 months)
- 2009 William Self Associates, Senior Archaeologist (1 year)
- 2008 California Department of Parks and Recreation, Contract Zooarchaeologist (1 year)
- 2003 University of California Santa Cruz, Instructor & Teaching Assistant (6 years)
- 2001 Corpus Christi Museum of Science and History, Fieldschool Assistant (3 years)

SERVICE TO UNIVERSITY, DEPARTMENT, COMMUNITY

- 2015-18 Graduate Coordinator, Applied Anthropology M.A. program
- 2015-18 Member, College of Social Sciences ARC Advisory Committee
- 2011-18 NAGRPA (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act) Coordinator, San Jose State University
- 2011-18 Advisor, Anthropology & Behavioral Science Undergraduate Majors and Masters in Applied Anthropology Students

- 2011-18 Member, Anthropology Standing Committee
- 2013-18 Member, Anthropology Collections Committee
- 2011-13 Member, College of Social Sciences Scholarship Committee
- 2014 Member, College of Social Sciences Research Committee
- 2007-8 Graduate Student Teaching Mentor, Anthropology, UC Santa Cruz
- 2003-6 Undergraduate Research Mentor, Anthropology, UC Santa Cruz

RESEARCH AND FIELDWORK EXPERIENCE

- 2016 Co-PI of American Indian Urban Relocation Project, SJSU. Worked with two faculty colleagues and 9 students to develop an ethnographic film and archival study for a museum exhibit, in collaboration with the New Museum of Los Gatos (NUMU).
- 2012 Field School Director, Mono Mills Archaeological Project, SJSU. Principal Investigator and instructor for 4-week field project with 7 undergraduates and 4 MA students.
- 2009 Senior Archaeologist & Zooarchaeologist, William Self Associates, Orinda, CA: Zooarchaeological analysis and CRM report preparation (California, Great Basin, Southwest).
- 2008 Zooarchaeologist, California Department of Parks and Recreation, Sacramento, CA: Analyzed assemblages of mammals, birds, fish from sites CA-SMA-222, -238.
- 2007 Zooarchaeologist, University of California Santa Cruz, CA: Analyzed assemblage of mammals, birds, and fish from site CA-SCR-3, entered data into Filemaker database, completed report.
- 2003-5 Zooarchaeologist, University of California Santa Cruz, CA: Analyzed mammal assemblage from site CA-MNT-234 under supervision of Gifford-Gonzalez, entered data into Filemaker database.
- 2002-3 Field Supervisor & Zooarchaeologist, Corpus Christi Museum of Science and History, Corpus Christi, TX: Excavated habitation area, supervised field crew, completed preliminary analysis.
- 2000 Crewmember, Cahokia Mounds Fieldschool, University of Missouri St. Louis, MO: Excavated at a mound in Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site (Collinsville, IL) for 4-week fieldschool.
- 2000 Crewmember, Arrowrock Historic Fieldschool, University of Missouri St. Louis, MO: Excavated in 4-week fieldschool at Arrowrock State Historic Site.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Anthropological Association
 Register of Professional Archaeologists
 Society for American Archaeology
 Society for Historical Archaeology
 Society for California Archaeology
 Society for Historical Archaeology
 Sigma Xi Scientific Research Society

COMPUTER SKILLS

ArcGIS 10.1, Filemaker Pro 13, SigmaPlot 10.0, SPSS 22.0, Systat 10.2, Statgraphics Centurion XV, RePast J for Python 2.4, MapScenes for GTS.

LANGUAGE SKILLS

Spanish: reading and writing proficiency

distinguish between human and faunal remains, mapping of archaeological sites, and identification of American period archaeology. (September 2017-March 2018)

Fire Archaeology Intern, Yosemite National Park

Supervisor Jun Kinoshita, Park Fire Archaeologist

As an intern in Yosemite, I had the chance to work with scientists from multiple departments to achieve goals for the Resource Management division. I worked with wildlife to study Yosemite's growing population and to document the reintroduction of tree frogs to Santa Monica Mountains National Park's creeks. I worked with botany to record a burn regrowth plot in Santa Monica Mountains. I also worked with the interpretive team in the museum teaching patrons how to make beads out of pine nuts. The main objective of this internship was to write the 2017 Fire Needs Assessment report to send to Yosemite's Native American tribes. The Needs Assessment provided information to the tribes about what actions the park has taken to ensure the protection of archaeological sites during unplanned wildland fire and prescribed fires. To collect the information for the Needs Assessment, I performed post-fire assessments on archaeological sites, surveyed burned areas, updated the ASMIS database on archaeological site conditions, used ArcMap to create detailed maps of burned areas, worked in the archives to preserve historical documents, and attended Resource Advisor training to prepare me to be able to protect archaeology and other resources during wildland fires. (February-May 2017)

Volunteer, Inyo National Forest

Under the direction of Forest Archaeologists Jacqueline Beidl and Ashley Blythe

Assisted the archaeology office in filing site and project reports that pertained to the four districts in the Inyo National Forest. Worked on decluttering and reorganizing their archival room. I also participated in outreach endeavors, received basic ArcMap training, and gained experience with the USFS AMT database. (January 2017)

Lab Technician, Albion Environmental, Inc.

Project director Stella D'Oro

Cultural resource management project of a Mission Period and American Period site in Santa Clara, CA. Duties performed included: dry screening, wet screening, sorting artifacts, documenting artifacts, and database development. (August-September 2016)

ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRAINING

San Jose State University Archaeological Field School

Under the direction of Dr. Marco Meniketti

Historic site located in Loma Prieta, CA. Archaeological skills obtained via this field course include mapping using a theodolite, dry screening, surveying techniques, excavation, sorting, documenting artifacts, profile map creation, plan view, and map creation. (2016)

Cabrillo Community College Archaeological Field School

Under the direction of Dustin McKenzie

Prehistoric site located in San Luis Obispo, CA. Skills obtained include the ability to map a site by hand with a compass, use of a Trimble GPS device, wet screening, dry screening, surveying techniques, excavation, sorting, documenting artifacts, profile map creation, plan view, and map creation. (2016)

Mono Mills Collection Curation Internship

Under the direction of Dr. Charlotte Sunseri

Inventory and curation of Mono Mills excavation collections housed at San Jose State University. This internship required FileMaker Pro 12 database creation & use to input information about collections and organization skills to properly store the collections. (2015)

Santa Cruz Island Research Internship

Under the direction of Dr. Michael Glassow

Lab analysis of artifacts & soil samples collected during Santa Cruz Island excavations. Skills learned under Glassow's direction include the ability to use tools to clean artifacts and fundamental analysis and sorting of bones, lithics, shells, and organics. (2014)

RELEVANT COURSEWORK

Anthropology 155: Human Osteology

Taught by Dr. Elizabeth Weiss at San Jose State University

Gained knowledge of the human skeletal system as an anatomical structure and biomechanical system. Lab experience in identification of osteological material and recognition of diseases associated with bone.

Anthropology 190: Research Design

Taught by Dr. Charlotte Sunseri at San Jose State University

Created research design and research questions and hypotheses for mock NSF grants proposal. Wrote NSF grant research design to study human sexuality of people on the autism spectrum that implemented surveys, interviews, observation, and material culture to gather data. Went through the process of research conception, development and implementation of academic research and applied careers alike.

Anthropology 168: Archaeological Methods

Taught by Dr. Charlotte Sunseri at San Jose State University

This class focused on methods of archaeological inquiry, research design, and cultural resource management presented through case studies in historic and prehistoric archaeology. Obtained knowledge on how to utilize archives, Sanborn maps, aerial maps, city planning maps, census records, and directories in the California Room at Martin Luther King Jr. Library to produce a historical background and map study for a mock archaeological project in downtown San Jose, CA.

GRANTS

May 2016

Laura Good Undergraduate Research Grant \$300

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Uncovering Lost Narratives: An Archaeological Studies in Nisene Marks State Park

Research at Loma Prieta, a historical town near Aptos, to fill the gap in knowledge concerning ethnic, class, and gender experiences in company towns during the Gilded Age. This research is a collaboration with California State Parks to document and map the Loma Prieta townsite. (August 2017-Present)

Ethnographic Study of Archaeological Field Schools

Independent research funded by Laura Good Undergraduate Research Grant at San Jose State University. This research examined student's first steps into the archaeological community and how building connections with peers help people in the field get jobs post field school. Research methods include participant observation, ethnographic interviews, and computer surveys. Application to IRB completed and approved. (April-December 2016)

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

March 2017

SCA Poster on *Ethnographic Study of Archaeological Field Schools*

OTHER TRAINING

2017 Wildland Fire Resource Advisor Training

2017 DOI All-Hazards Resource Advisor Basic Training

2017 FEMA 100 Introduction to the Incident Command System

