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THOSE OF LITTLE NOTE

Gender, Race, and Class in Historical
Archaeology

edited by *Elizabeth M. Scott*

The University of Arizona Press
Tucson & London

in memory of Eugenia May Scott (1898-1993),
my grandmother on my father's side

The University of Arizona Press

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Class, Gender Strategies, and Material Culture in the Mining West

Donald L. Hardesty

Gender is one of the principles that structure the social and cultural organization of human groups and that must be considered in interpreting the documentary and archaeological records of the past (Conkey and Gero 1991). The urban mining frontier in the nineteenth-century American West provides an interesting example of the role played by gender in the evolution of frontier communities under conditions of rapid social and cultural change. Mining towns typically were "instantly" urban; unplanned; geographically remote and isolated; impermanent and marked by boom/bust economic and demographic cycles; cosmopolitan; demographically unique, with strongly unbalanced sex and age ratios and with high turnover rates; ethnically diverse; and class structured (Barth 1975; Hine 1980; Paul 1963; Smith 1967).

The impact of these unique societies upon gender relationships is not well understood. Historians, for example, explain how the frontier experience affected women and men in the western United States with three models (see, e.g., Petrik 1987, xiv-xv; Stefanco-Schill 1981): the Turnerian

or Heroic Model, the Reactionist or Oppression Model, and the Stasis Model. Following the Frederick Jackson Turner interpretation of the frontier experience, the Heroic Model portrays the frontier as congenial to the ambitions both of women, who became strongly independent, self-reliant, and masculine, and of men. In contrast, the Oppression Model interprets the experiences of men and women moving to the American West as quite different; men responded in a variety of ways but women rather consistently became "lonely, displaced persons, demeaned and worn out by the rigors of the frontier" (Petrik 1987, xv). Finally, the Stasis Model interprets the frontier experience as having no effect at all on women and men. Both continued to live in the same world and to play the same roles they played before emigrating. Julie Roy Jeffrey (1979), for example, found that women's lives changed little after moving to the frontier, commenting that "my original perspective was feminist; I hoped to find that pioneer women used the frontier as a means of liberating themselves from stereotypes and behaviors which I found constricting and sexist. I discovered that they did not" (xv-xvi). Whatever their differences, the three models are the same in stereotyping the responses of women and men to the frontier. In particular, the experiences of the few exceptional, downtrodden, or unchanged women who have been documented and the experiences of women in rural farming communities are taken as typical.

None of the models, however, adequately describes or interprets the great variety of ways in which men and women coped with the nineteenth-century U.S. frontier in general and with mining towns in particular (Petrik 1987). The archaeological remains of mining towns are an enormous repository of information about gender strategies. To date, however, the archaeological study of gender in the mining West has been limited mostly to brothels, all-male residences such as bunkhouses, and family residences. Excavations of brothels, for example, have taken place in the red-light district of the coal mining town of Blairmore in Alberta, Canada (Kennedy 1983), and at the Vanoli sporting complex in Ouray, Colorado (Baker 1972). In addition, Simmons (1989) reviewed documentary data on and developed a predictive model of the material correlates of brothels in Cripple Creek, Colorado; Virginia City, Nevada; Jacksonville, Oregon; Silver City, Idaho; and Helena, Montana. The three studies provide archaeological and documentary information about the material expression of brothels as a household strongly organized by the principle of gender. Other archaeological studies document all-male and family households in Nevada and elsewhere in the American West (e.g., Blee 1991; Hardesty 1988). All of these, however, focus upon the material expression or artifact "signatures" of households

containing either all men or all women. None considers the more general problem of how to analyze and interpret the engendered archaeological record of mining towns with the aim of documenting the way in which the social and cultural organization of mining towns reflects gender. Toward this end, this chapter develops an interpretive framework within which an engendered mining archaeology can evolve. First is a more detailed documentary model of the class and ethnic structure of mining towns within which gender played a role, followed by a prospectus for an engendered archaeology of the nineteenth-century American West.

Class, Ethnicity, and Gender in Mining Towns

Mining towns in the western United States in the nineteenth century have been described as "class-conscious and masculine" first and foremost (Jameson 1977, 166; see also Hine 1980). How mining towns were organized by gender, therefore, has to be interpreted within the context of class divisions. The fundamental economic class structure of most of these towns included the poor, a lower class of unskilled and semiskilled workers, an artisan class of skilled workers, a middle class of white-collar professionals and merchants, and an elite class of mining capitalists and managers (Petrik 1987, xviii). How women interacted with this hierarchical scheme is not well understood; however, the class structure for women probably was similar enough for this to be a reasonable model that can be modified with additional information.

The extent to which mining towns had a well-developed class structure, however, varied enormously. Hogan (1990), for example, has classified nineteenth-century mining and other towns in Colorado as either "caucus" or "carnival" according to class and power structure. Large-scale corporate interests or elite groups working "behind the scenes" to manipulate economic and political power controlled caucus towns; power in the carnival town was controlled at the grassroots level by working-class miners and entrepreneurs. Peck (1993) also shows that the formation of a working class of wage miners on the Comstock was marked by the emergence of a new ideology of risk-taking that focused upon physical rather than financial risk, in contrast to the middle class.

In mining towns caucus-type and carnival-type organizations have to be understood within the context of technology and the workplace. The nineteenth-century mining frontier in the western United States was marked by two quite different patterns of mining technology: a nonindustrial pattern and a corporate industrial pattern (Hardesty 1988, 115-16).

The use of low-cost and low-energy mining technology with little capitalization characterized the nonindustrial pattern along with little variation in yield, wealth, and political power; a decentralized system of power control; and miner-owner entrepreneurs. Communities with Hogan's carnival-type power organizations and a poorly developed class structure emerged within this technological context. In contrast, the corporate industrial pattern included the use of high-cost and high-energy industrial mining technology with high capitalization; considerable variation in yield, wealth, and political power; centralized power control in elite groups; and wage laborers. This pattern encouraged the development of social organizations with well-developed classes and a caucus-type power structure. Class-based "coping strategies" focused on elite-group domination, and working-class resistance also emerged within this context. Both patterns strongly influenced how gender structured the social and cultural organization of mining towns.

Middle-Class Women

The largest group of women immigrating to the urban mining frontier were middle-class married women from the midwestern or eastern United States. Within this group, the stereotyped gender ideology and practice of nineteenth-century America included (1) the cults of true womanhood and domesticity, which made dedication to "home, morality, children, and femininity" and the personality of "submissiveness, self-sacrifice, and passivity" the ideal for women; and (2) the doctrine of separate spheres, which limited the social and economic activities of women to the home (Armitage and Jameson 1987; Jameson 1977, 186; Jeffrey 1979; Myles 1982; Petrik 1987, xvii; Schlissel et al. 1988). As the guardians of morality and children, the power base of these women resided in the churches and the schools. Another important institution was networking, which brought together friends, church groups, and civic organizations into an informal support group when needed. Working-class women of the time typically carried similar gender ideologies and practices but with significant differences. In general, the ideas about gender that women brought to the urban mining frontier varied along the lines of ethnicity, class, and regional culture.

Petrik's (1987) study of the gold and silver mining town of Helena, Montana, illustrates the experiences of middle-class women living on the U.S. mining frontier. Although she did not find dramatic "evidence that the influence of the frontier transformed women's lives and set them apart . . . from other nineteenth century American women," she did come to the conclusion that "the peculiar demography of the frontier created significant

(and often contradictory) differences in their lives" (67). In early Helena, great age differences between married men and women, long absences by men on business trips, and high frequencies of divorce gave more independence to women than was typical of other U.S. middle-class women between 1865 and the 1880s. Partly as a result, the first women in Helena pursued a greater variety of economic activities both in and outside the home than was typical in the rest of the United States in that century. Furthermore, the shortage of women in mining towns such as Helena required more work in the home and made women increasingly critical of the ideologies of domesticity and sexual inequalities. At the same time, frontier mining towns broke up the informal "social network" of friends and relatives that acted as a support group to other nineteenth-century American women, making it more difficult for the women emigrants to break away from the private sphere of the home and the cult of domesticity. Finally, churches and schools, the institutional power base of American women of the time, were poorly developed if present at all on the urban mining frontier.

Working-Class Women

Although the experiences of middle-class women on the mining frontier are much better documented, working-class women typically arrived first. The 1860 federal population census for Virginia City, Nevada, for example, shows that the first group of women to arrive were the wives of teamsters. Two gender-based adaptive strategies (problem-solving rules or guidelines) developed by poor and working-class women to make a living and sometimes prosper illustrate the role of gender in the organization of frontier mining towns. The strategy of "prostitute-entrepreneurship" appears to have worked best in the early stages of community formation in "carnival-type" and nonindustrial frontier mining towns (Goldman 1981; Hogan 1990; Petrik 1987, 25-58). Masculine, "wide open," and not controlled by elite groups, carnival towns provided more opportunities for single young poor or working-class women to move out of the private sphere of the household and into the public marketplace. In a nineteenth-century society that greatly limited the social and economic opportunities of women outside the home, mining towns made prostitution an important way that single young underclass women could not only survive but also gain material wealth (Petrik 1987, 56). To be sure, prostitution exploited the sexuality of those women, but it did allow for a profit and control over the terms of the relationship. Carnival towns allowed prostitutes not only to practice their craft and to own their businesses but also often to move

into the lofty ranks of "respectability" with no more effort than accumulating property and legally changing names and lifestyles. With the shift to a caucus-type power structure controlled by elite groups and a corporate industrial pattern, however, the municipal government increasingly circumscribed and licensed the brothels, forcing prostitutes to work as wage-laborers for pimps rather than as independent small-business entrepreneurs and owners.

Another type of "working-class" adaptive strategy developed by women in corporate industrial and caucus-type towns is illustrated by Cripple Creek, Colorado. Between 1894 and 1904, the Western Federation of Miners organized the Cripple Creek miners to oppose the interests of corporate capitalists; a militant and intense working-class identity emerged among both men and women that strongly affected gender strategies. Unions and wage work guaranteed good incomes to domestic households, attracted abundant working men, and left women with few paid jobs available outside the home. The labor union not only gained good wages for the miners but also supported the traditional nineteenth-century ideology of genteel "True Womanhood" and "True Manhood." Concepts of "home, morality, children, and femininity" and the private sphere organized the ideal middle-class domestic household (Jameson 1977, 186). As a result, the militant working-class women in Cripple Creek fought for and entered into a world that often was just the opposite of what middle-class women wanted. In contrast to the prostitute-entrepreneur strategy, the new labor-union strategy increasingly restricted the public sphere to working-class women. Rather than increasing their independence and self-reliance, labor unions made the working-class women of Cripple Creek even more dependent upon the wages of men. The strategies of working-class women in Cripple Creek more closely resembled and complemented the class/resistance strategies of the male-dominated labor unions than the women's rights/civic reform strategies of elite women during the same time period (Jameson 1977, 180). In many cases, in fact, the strategies of working-class and middle- or elite-class women and men conflicted directly. Women in the labor unions, for example, sometimes boycotted or picketed women owners of boardinghouses and restaurants for using non-union products or labor.

Ethnicity and Gender

In addition to class, gender also interacted with ethnicity in mining towns. Cosmopolitan mining towns absorbed a large variety of immigrants and emigrants carrying quite different cultural and social traditions, affecting

the way in which gender structured the community. Perhaps the most dramatic example is the social and cultural context of overseas Chinese women. At first, most Chinese women arriving in the western United States came for arranged marriages or as wives of physicians and merchants who migrated with their families (Hirata 1979; Tsai 1986). A few, however, came on their own as prostitutes and worked as independent entrepreneurs (Hirata 1979, 225; Wegars 1993, 231). Only a handful of women came with the large Chinese immigration between 1850 and 1880. After the mid-1850s the Chinese tongs (voluntary associations) brought many more Chinese women into the American West either as domestic slaves or as prostitutes. During the 1860s and 1870s, overseas Chinese women living in mining towns and elsewhere in the West engaged in prostitution more than any other occupation (Hirata 1979; Wegars 1993, 233-39). The overseas Chinese community in California recognized both higher-class and lower-class prostitutes. Higher-class prostitutes, who serviced only Chinese men, worked under relatively good conditions; lower-class prostitutes engaged anyone who could pay their fees and worked under poor conditions. Overseas Chinese women in mining towns, however, also worked in other occupations. In addition to "keeping house," they worked as laundresses, actresses, lodging house operators, seamstresses, miners, servants, laborers, cooks, gardeners, fishers, and shoe binders.

Although wealthy merchants and professionals in the community had wives, family households could be established only with great difficulty by the Chinese working class in the mining towns. Wives literally had to be purchased from the Chinese tongs; the going price for wives on the Comstock in the 1870s, for example, was four to eight hundred dollars (Magnaghi 1981, 146). Once married, both kidnapping and abuse appear to have been a constant threat to wives. Living conditions varied considerably within the community. The wives of wealthy Chinese merchants, for example, often lived "leisured, secluded lives revolving around their husbands and children" and "until the birth of their first child, they were not often seen in public, and then only at Chinese New Year, weddings, and funerals, and sometimes at the (Chinese) theater" (Wegars 1993, 237).

The Archaeology of Gender in Mining Towns

How is gender reflected in the archaeological record of nineteenth-century frontier mining towns in the western United States? Comparative studies of towns such as Bodie, California; Shermantown, Nevada; Hayden Hill, California; Copperton, Wyoming; and Battle, Wyoming, suggest several

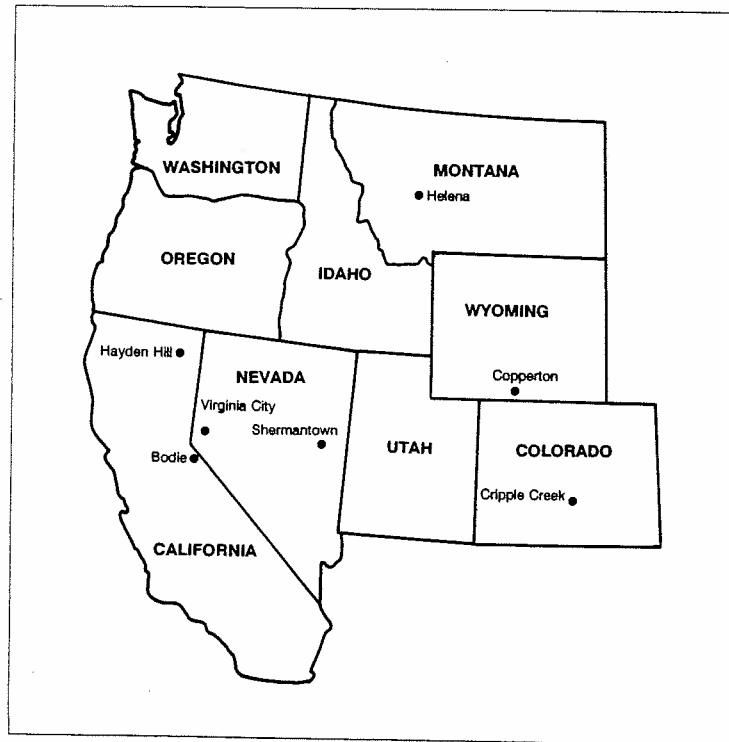


Figure 7.1. Map of major mining towns discussed in the text.

things about how gender is reflected in the archaeological record (fig. 7.1). As with the documentary record, class and ethnicity are the key variables. The evidence of gender principles, however, is arranged geographically and hierarchically in the archaeological remains of the household, the local settlement or town, and the mining district or regional settlement system.

Household Archaeology

The widespread nineteenth-century U.S. ideology of the separation of gender spheres into the home and the public domain suggests that the archaeological record of domestic households should contain much that is of importance to understanding how the principles of gender organized frontier mining towns. Certainly the activities reflected in archaeological remains of

households can provide key information about how gender influenced labor and social relations at the grassroots level. Gibb and King's (1991) study of gender and houselot activity areas in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake Bay region, for example, illustrates the approach that should be taken in frontier mining towns. They found gender reflected archaeologically in the type and spatial arrangement of economic activities of men and women taking place in the household. Ruth Tringham's (1991) study of the "use life" of houses as a reflection of household cycles at the Neolithic Yugoslavian site of Opovo is another example. Architectural data on the "construction, duration, utilization, maintenance, abandonment, destruction, and replacement of buildings" were used to document transformations not only in household activities but also in household organization (107).

The most common patterns of organization of coresidential households in mining towns of the West reflect the principles of gender. These include family households, cooperative or mutual aid households, occupational households such as brothels, and all-male work-group households such as bunkhouses (Hardesty 1992). Features and artifact assemblages are sufficiently distinctive to identify the basic household patterns and suggest that variability and change in how gender organizes the domestic household can be studied through the archaeological record. Simmons (1989, 63-67), for example, develops a model of artifacts expected in the archaeological remains of high-, middle-, and low-status brothels in mining towns.

Blee (1991), however, goes further and analyzes several well-documented archaeological sites from the American West to more precisely define the artifact assemblages left by, among others, family households, all-male households, and brothels. Composite profiles of artifact assemblages from several excavated sites in Alaska, Colorado, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, and Utah were developed for each of the three patterns of household organization. The composite profile of artifact assemblages from the sites of fourteen family households, which ranged from working-class to wealthy, is dominated by artifacts used for the storage, preparation, and serving of food (e.g., canning jars, tablewares), which together make up nearly 40 percent of the total. Of these, decorated dishes make up about 8 percent of the assemblage. Male-specific (e.g., suspender clasps, tobacco pipes, pocket knives), female-specific (e.g., corset stays, garter snaps, perfume bottles), and child-specific (e.g., toys, diaper pins) artifacts each make up between 2 and 3 percent of the assemblage. Most interesting in many ways, however, is the relatively high percentage of liquor-related artifacts in the family household assemblage (over 18 percent), a considerably higher percentage than that of patent medicine and other pharmaceutical bottles (only 6 per-

cent). One interpretation is that women members of the household consumed alcoholic beverages at home instead of in public places.

Personal artifacts (e.g., combs, coins, carpetbags, tooth powder), which make up nearly half of the total, dominate the composite profile of artifact assemblages from ten all-male household sites, mostly labor camps, from the western United States (Blee 1991). Male-specific artifacts are the next most abundant (16.1 percent), and artifacts associated with women and children are absent. Unlike family households, artifacts used for the storage, preparation, and serving of food are sparse—only one-ninth that of family household sites—and decorated tablewares make up less than 1 percent of the assemblage. Blee (1991) attributes this and the small size of the assemblage in general to the fact that all-male households tend to be transient rather than long-lasting (177). The artifact assemblages of all-male residences also have two other distinguishing characteristics: a low percentage of liquor-related artifacts and a relatively high percentage of armaments (9.9 percent). The low number of liquor-related artifacts suggests that men drank in saloons and other places outside the residence; drinking in public was acceptable behavior for men in mining camps but not for women.

Finally, the composite profile of artifact assemblages from two brothels is dominated by liquor-related artifacts and bottle stoppers/caps, both of which make up almost half of the total. Certainly the consumption of alcoholic beverages is one of the principal activities taking place in brothels, and in this way the artifact assemblages are quite similar to those of saloons. Female-specific artifacts are relatively common, greatly outnumbering male-specific artifacts and nearly three times as abundant in the assemblages of brothels as in family household assemblages. Undecorated dishes also are common, making up nearly 14 percent of the assemblage, and decorated tablewares make up less than 1 percent of the total; in this way the assemblages of brothels are similar to those of restaurants, hotels, and boardinghouses.

The material expression of overseas Chinese women in mining towns or elsewhere in the American West is poorly known, archaeologically or otherwise. Wegars (1993, 241–49) documents jewelry (such as gold earrings), hair ornaments and grooming devices (bone hair picks, hair combs, and fine-toothed lice combs), fan handles, cosmetics such as perfume bottles and toilet water (e.g., Florida Water), and Chinese medicine bottles. Archaeologists found a rosewood hairdressing stand with compartments for combs, brushes, and other things in the loft of a standing building in the Chinese settlement at Lovelock, Nevada. Excavations in Idaho recovered fragments of jade rings, which may have been used as bracelets by Chinese women

and men or attached to the lids of sewing baskets. Other artifacts include inlaid boxes and trays and “Chinese marriage cups,” shoes for bound feet (associated with upper-class women), and “a large-sleeved robe of silk or cotton, over a long garment, under which are loose trousers sometimes fastened around the ankle” (Williams 1941, 97, 99; cited in Wegars 1993, 248).

Whether the degree to which households were organized according to the traditional nineteenth-century American ideology of “home, morality, children, and femininity” can be studied archaeologically is a questionable but interesting proposition. Greater stress upon the cult of domesticity in the labor union towns of Cripple Creek, for example, may be reflected archaeologically in the exclusion of “public sphere” activities from the home. Church and school activities may be reflected in the middle-class households of women building their power base. Furthermore, the extent to which domestic households reflect this ideology is expected to vary by class and ethnicity.

Settlement Archaeology

If gender works on labor and social relations at the household level, it also plays a key role in structuring the social and cultural organization of the local community and beyond. Without question, the principles of gender structured the layout of frontier mining towns. Most had geographically separated poor, working-class, and middle/elite-class neighborhoods that incorporated women in various ways, and the spatial organization of the archaeological record of the towns is so structured. “Red-light” districts, for example, were a common feature of most towns and included many of the single young women (e.g., Goldman 1981; Petrik 1987). Thus, most of the brothels in Bodie, California, clustered downtown on Bonanza Street (Wedertz 1969, 28). The historian Paula Petrik (1987, 28) notes further that the Helena red-light district in Last Chance Gulch was organized along class lines. Elite-class brothels clustered in the upper section, working-class brothels further down the street, and poor Chinese brothels at the lower end of the street. Simmons (1989) documents similar patterns in Jacksonville, Oregon; Cripple Creek, Colorado; Silver City, Idaho; and Virginia City, Nevada.

Middle- and upper-class neighborhoods also were geographically segregated and typically included most of the married women. In the Gold Rush town of Nevada City, California, for example, the neighborhoods of Aristocracy Hill and Piety Hill had emerged by the end of the 1850s as residential islands containing not only most of the upper-class merchants and professionals but also most of the married women (Mann 1982, 65, 96).

Most of the middle/elite-class family households in Bodie, California, were in the Green Street neighborhood downtown, but a few were scattered in the "working-class" residential satellite settlements that grew up around outlying mines and mills (Wedertz 1969, 16). Archaeological studies of Shermantown, Nevada, suggest the presence of geographically separated "nucleated clusters" of house sites associated with what appear to be the archaeological remains of upper-class family households (Hardesty 1989).

In addition to the layout of mining settlements, gender also structured the architectural and archaeological remains of special-purpose community buildings. Special-purpose buildings include those used by fraternal organizations, churches, schools, union halls, and social clubs. The buildings typically are symbols of the class and power structure within the community (see, e.g., McGuire and Paynter 1991). Three patterns of special-purpose buildings emerge from the archaeological and architectural records of frontier mining towns: (1) towns in which special-purpose buildings did not occur; (2) towns with special-purpose buildings used mostly for men's activities; and (3) towns with special-purpose buildings used for both men's and women's activities. The first pattern is typical of mining towns that have been "truncated" abruptly by a complete bust in mining activity after a short boom period. White Pine City, Nevada, is a good example. Not only did men dominate the population of the town, but the town failed to survive long enough to establish a well-defined class structure marked by symbols of power. The second pattern is typical of working-class mining towns that survived long enough to establish a well-defined class structure but either had an unusually high percentage of men or were strongly dominated by labor unions. Copperton and Battle, Wyoming; Gold Hill, Nevada; and Cripple Creek, Colorado, are good examples. The third pattern is typical of mining towns that survived for a relatively long period of time, had a well-defined class structure, and had populations with a more balanced sex ratio.

Middle-class women in frontier mining towns created adaptive strategies that included reform movements centered around the organization and development of churches and schools. For this reason, the archaeological and architectural remains of schools, churches, and local clubs must be interpreted not only as locations of religious, educational, or recreational activities but also as reflections of gendered activities. Artifacts in the domestic household assemblages of frontier mining towns that are related to church and school activities, in fact, may be good markers of elite-group strategies intended to increase the traditional power base of women within the community.

Regional Archaeology

Finally, gender principles structure the archaeological record at the level of the mining district or the regional mining community. Because of large-scale and fluid social interaction networks, the effective geographical boundaries of mining communities are best defined at the scale of the region rather than of the local settlement (Hardesty 1988; Hine 1980). The mining district often is a close approximation of the community. For this reason, research strategies aimed at identifying the ways gender helped organize the mining community must take into account the larger region or mining district.

Two regional patterns reflecting gender are evident. In mining districts centered around a town with a variety of outlying settlements, gender strongly structured regional geography. Most of the women, for example, lived either in the town, with families at outlying ranches, or at toll stations managed by families. Men occupied the working-class satellite settlements clustering around the mines or mills scattered throughout the district. A few women lived at boardinghouses or with the families of managers at the satellite settlements. However, one notable exception to this pattern can be identified. In mining districts with company towns closely regulated by corporations, special-purpose satellite settlements outside company control often emerged around the entertainment industry. For example, what Elliott (1966, 210) calls a "parasite" settlement emerged as a center of prostitution and other recreational services at Riepetown outside the limits of the company towns of Ruth and Kimberly in the Robinson copper mining district of eastern Nevada. Working-class women living in Riepetown were spatially separated from the middle-class women living in the company towns; furthermore, only company towns had churches and schools.

In addition to spatial separation at the regional scale, geographic mobility characterized both men and women on the nineteenth-century urban mining frontier. Middle-class women in mining towns, for example, frequently complained about the long-term absence of men from the home (e.g., Petrik 1987). For their part, women often engaged in a pattern of geographic mobility that replicated traditional nineteenth-century American "informal female networks" as a support group for women. Purser's (1991) documentation of "visiting" by women in Grass Flats, California, and Paradise Valley, Nevada, illustrates this pattern.

Gender, class, and ethnicity worked together to structure the society and culture of nineteenth-century mining towns in the American West. The

structuring took place at the levels of the household, the local settlement, and the regional community. Without question, the roles of women in mining towns were much more diverse than existing documentary models have implied. No place reflects the diversity better than the domestic household, where the impact of gender and power upon labor and social relations created the potential for enormous variability. Long-lived mining towns such as Helena and Virginia City expressed the most household variability, Shermantown and other short-lived towns the least.

The archaeological and documentary study of household cycles in frontier mining towns may be the key to understanding the role of gender in the community. At the same time, macrostudies of mining towns and regional analyses of mining districts and beyond also are clearly needed. Certainly the principles of gender not only structure the use of space and resources in towns and mining districts but also assign a gendered meaning to public and special-use buildings such as schools, churches, lodges, and union halls. As others have also stated, we need to maintain a proper balance of theory to inform and empirical data to guide the archaeology of gender on the mining frontier.

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