Material Culture and the Social Dynamics of Residential Life at a Company Town: Archaeological Investigations at the Fairfax Townsite (45PI918), Pierce County, Washington, USA

by

Breanne Taylor

B.A., Portland State University, 2010

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

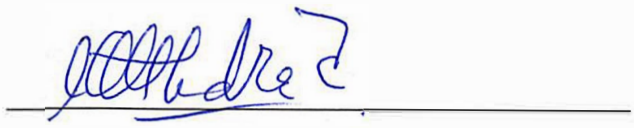
in the
Department of Archaeology
Faculty of Environment

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
Spring 2020

Approval

Name:	**Breanne Taylor**
Degree:	**Master of Arts (HRM)**
Title:	**Material Culture and the Social Dynamics of Residential Life at a Company Town: Archaeological Investigations at the Fairfax Townsite (45Pl918), Pierce County, Washington, USA**
Examining Committee:	**Chair:** Dana Lepofsky Professor

Catherine D'Andrea
Senior Supervisor
Professor



Robert Kopperl
Supervisor
Archaeologist
Willamette Cultural Resources Ltd

Ross Jamieson
External Examiner
Associate Professor

Date Defended/Approved: March 4, 2020

Abstract

Fairfax, Washington (site 45PI918) was a thriving, company-owned coal mining and lumber town that operated between the late 1890s and 1941. Like most company towns in the western United States, the place was an isolated, ethnically diverse, and male-dominated settlement. Today it is a ghost town, but at its peak, Fairfax was shaped by paternalistic systems, the social dynamism of its residents, and their access to opportunity and material culture.

Initial archaeological investigations at the site reflect the everyday lives of working people in a Western Washington industrial town. This thesis attempts to identify the ways in which these families connected to the material world and how concepts of community and division based on race, ethnicity, gender, and class are visible in the documentary record. At the intersection of these constructs lies a story previously untold about the people of Fairfax and what they left behind.

Keywords: Historical Archaeology; Coal Mining Towns; Immigration; Labor Archaeology; Western Washington; Carbon River Canyon; Class; Gender; Race

Dedication

In Memoriam,

I dedicate this work to the Portland author, Daniel Tomcheff. Daniel was a dear friend and an important part of my life when I needed someone to remind me of its beauty. He always supported my work as an archaeologist. He was a feminist. He was an advocate for the worker. His was an immigrant's story and he wrote it himself.

It was an honor to know him and his life inspires me. I miss him, but I see him in every kind person I meet.

Acknowledgments

I must first acknowledge the support of my archaeological and cultural resource management community. My advisors for this work, Dr. Catherine D'Andrea, and Dr. Robert Kopperl have been so important to this effort. They have answered every question, and there have been many. I am so appreciative of their guidance and involvement.

This thesis is ultimately the result of the exceptional archaeologists who volunteered their time to this project: Nastya Smith, Glynis Irwin, Dana Holschuh, Anna Robison Mathes, Sean Stcherbinine, and Malika Hays. I am humbled by their help and endlessly impressed by their skills and commitment to the field. They are the best people I know. I owe a debt of gratitude to Kate McCourt, Lisa Eisenberg, David Carlson, Daniel Gilmour, David Ellis, Todd Ogle, Paul Solimano, Kanani Paraso, and the Association of Washington Archaeology, whose grant contributed to the funding of this project.

A great deal of goodness exists in your local historical society. I am thankful for the staff at the Foothills Historical Museum in Buckley, Washington and at the Washington State Historical Society in Tacoma.

My family has been incredibly supportive of my education from the get-go. They provided a life that ties me to the state of Washington forever. My dad influenced my passion for history and archaeology and sparked a regional wanderlust that enriches my life every day. Lastly, but most importantly I thank my husband, Josh Moss. His support is infinite. He is a good man and my greatest field find.

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*Photo courtesy of Stuart Miller Collection, Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma (Wash.)

"Merely having seen the season change in a country gave one the sense of having been there for a long time." Willa Cather

Chapter 1.

Introduction

Today, Fairfax, Washington is little more than scattered industrial and municipal features obscured by overgrown vegetation on the landscape. Situated on an alluvial terrace of the Carbon River in east Pierce County, it is accessible by pedestrian trail and visited regularly by recreationists who are on the way to Mount Rainier National Park, or who have sought this place out for its particular ghost town appeal. One can still see the paths of old roads through the town, earthen railroad berms, the remains of 60 brick coke ovens, and the concrete walls of the area's first heated swimming pool. However, one would be hard-pressed to tell from the current landscape that this place once supported more than five hundred men, women, and children who made up the Fairfax District; a multi-ethnic, working community that produced the coal and timber that powered an industrialized west coast from 1896 to 1941.

Archaeological and demographic research conducted at the Fairfax Townsite (45PI918) for this thesis aims to shed light on the daily lives of residents, their relationships to the various companies who employed them, to the landscape, and to each other. Whether their lives were settled at Fairfax with families and extended social networks, or their time at this place was ephemeral; for the purpose of work, they left an imprint on the landscape and in the documentary record. To support the previous pedestrian survey conducted at the Fairfax Townsite in 2008 (Kopperl and Smith 2009), this thesis presents the findings of subsurface archaeological excavations conducted at site 45PI918 in August 2018 (Figure 1). Three spheres or loci in the residential area of the town were assessed, each reflecting the disposition of refuse on community and household scales.

The site has been moderately impacted by looting activities and the secondary purpose of this work was to conduct a damage assessment within the current area of interest. Manually dug pits and shovel scrapes across the landscape reflect generational damage that appears to span from the mid-twentieth century to the present-day. A portion of these disturbances were formally excavated to both assess the extent of vertical impact and to capture meaningful archaeological data even in the absence of complete artifacts that have been taken from the site.

Figure 1. Site (45PI918) location map.

Small and fragmentary items provide substantial information to the archaeologist. At Fairfax, artifacts were collected from the visible surface of looting disturbances in order to discourage future unregulated excavation. Fragmented artifacts are used to “fill in the gaps” and the materials left behind by looting provide a ready data source that can address archaeological research goals. In this case, collection from disturbances across the site contributed to a three-fold methodology, at once preliminary site testing, informed salvage, and damage assessment (Deetz 1977; Little 1994:8; Mayne 2008:105).

A research design was developed for this project to better understand the material manifestations of class, gender, ethnicity, and race at the Fairfax Townsite during its years as a company town (1896-1941) and to evaluate the level of spatial segregation that occurred in the town based on these constructs. The racial and ethnic segregation of residential and working life is a commonly studied theme at historic company towns and provides an excellent catalyst for interdisciplinary studies that can incorporate architectural and oral histories, demography, zooarchaeology, and geoarchaeology (Hoagland 2010; Beaudry and Mrozowski 1988; Mrozowski 1990, 1993; Shifflet 1991). At Fairfax, it is clear that the quality and location of housing, as well as access to job opportunities reflected historic divisions of class, gender, race, and ethnicity, even though the generally accepted regional narrative tells us that Fairfax was a place where all men were equal and all families lived well (Hall 1980; Jacobin 1917).

Another point of inquiry focused on the evolution of corporate management styles at Fairfax, including the relationship between the working and managerial classes. Through the information presented in the following chapters, I attempt to address historic issues of labor, paternalism, power, and resistance at the site within a Marxist framework. Marxist archaeology is a critical line of theory that is used to redress the injustices perpetuated by a univocal history, one so frequently written and recorded by the most powerful members of a society (Leone 1995, 2003; McGuire 1992, 1993, 2009). The company town is commonly situated in pop culture and the American psyche as an exploitative and dirty place where people lived hardscrabble lives under the thumb of corporate oppression. This picture is not an untruth; however, it can obscure the variability of life in these towns and the community dynamism that existed to some degree at each one (Allen 1966).

Using the earthen remains of the main Northern Pacific Railroad grade (main grade) at Fairfax as a delineating marker, initial excavations were concentrated to the east and west of this feature, within areas identified as residential from georeferenced historic period maps,

photographic evidence, and the written record. These areas also correspond with the high sensitivity zones delineated during previous work for both their archaeological data potential and vulnerability to looting (Kopperl 2008).

Although towns like Fairfax came and went with the discovery, extraction, demand, and decline of resources like coal and timber in the Pacific Northwest, their stories are consistent with the fast capitalism of modern American society. In this regard, one could easily argue that the company town has not died, but has rapidly expanded (Green 2012). Many surviving towns and cities in the West were shaped by the demand for timber, metal, coal, and oil. Those that outlasted the bust of coal have often distanced themselves from that part of their history. When companies moved out of remote industrial towns such as Fairfax, the population often had no choice but to relocate and seek new employment. The geophysical isolation that was common of these places prevented their resurgence and without secondary uses for these towns, when the company moved out, so did the people (Keane 2000:91-92).

Fairfax holds an important place in the history of the Carbon River Canyon. Although long abandoned and razed, the amount of visitation the place receives is a testament to its survival in public interest and imagination. Initial subsurface investigations at the Townsite have provided insight into the presence, location, and density of archaeological deposits and the material representation of various functional groups and artifact types on either side of the main grade. Archaeological and demographic discoveries provide a cursory look at who lived in Fairfax, the tangible facets of culture they surrounded themselves with, how they lived, worked, and eventually left. The following establishes a baseline for future research endeavors at the site and contributes to a greater regional knowledge of historic company towns in Washington State and their working families.

1.1. Case Study: The Fairfax Townsite (45PI918)

By 1899, it was reported that twenty-six families were living at Fairfax. At the time, the Northern Pacific Railroad was preparing to extend its line into the town from Carbonado and 170 tons of coal, the town's first shipment, had been sent to Seattle and Tacoma (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer* 1899:3). This placed the town within a network of company-owned coal towns in Pierce and King Counties (Figure 2). Fairfax was the premier town in this stretch of the Carbon River Corridor, supporting the largest population over the longest period of time. The town was operational for roughly forty years, decades longer than nearby Melmont or Manley-

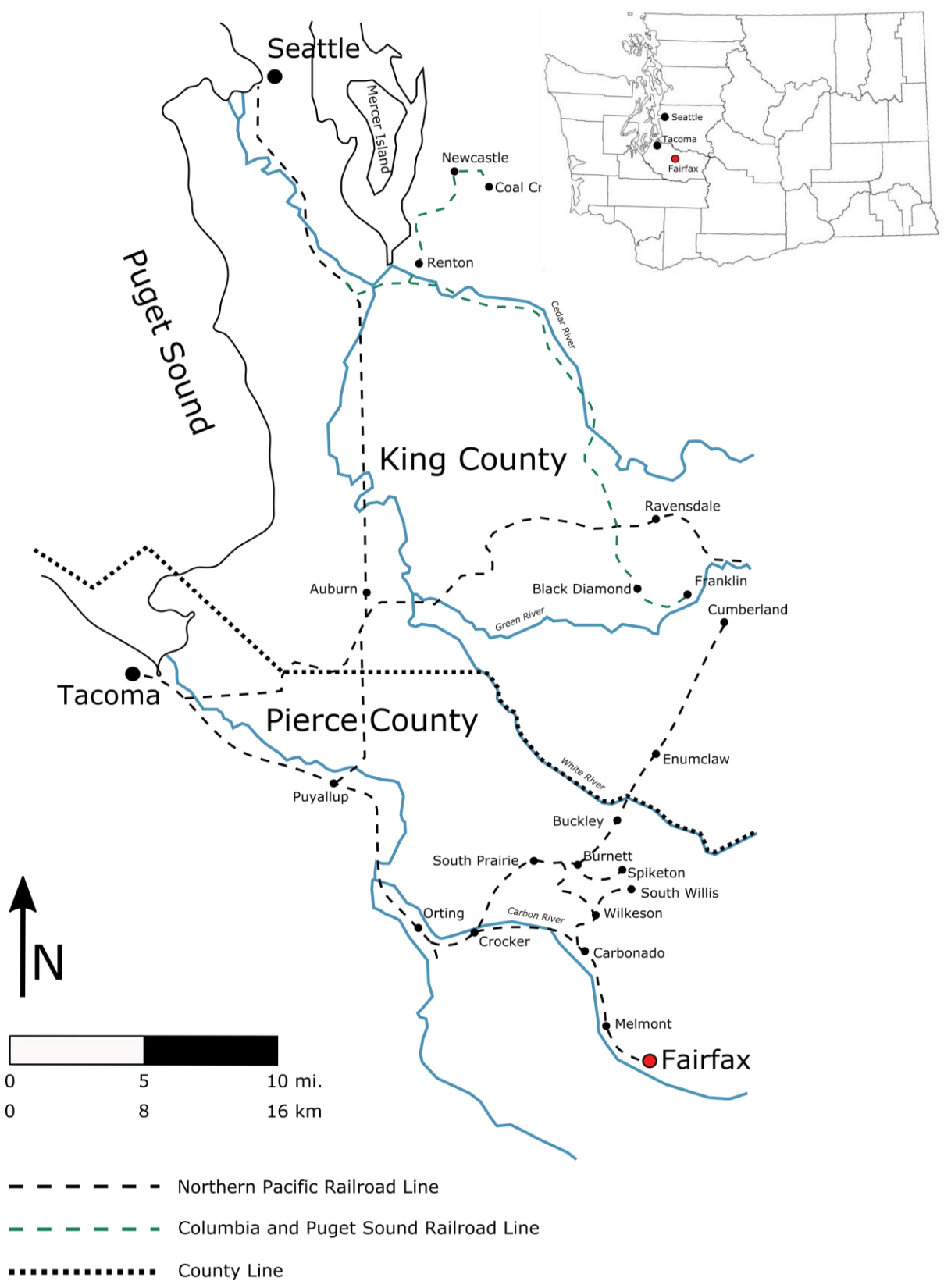


Figure 2. King and Pierce County Mining Towns. Adapted from Daniels 1914:Plate 11.

Moore. The company town's tale is twofold, with the earliest phase of use related to the Western American Company's extraction of bituminous coal from the Fairfax Mine. The second occupation of use was related to timber. The Manley-Moore Lumber Company centered their operations east of Evans Creek in Upper Fairfax (also known simply as Manley-Moore) beginning in 1910. Some workers of Manley-Moore and their families lived at the Fairfax Townsite, while others lived close to the mill operations at Upper Fairfax. In 1941, the site was abandoned when Manley-Moore terminated efforts in the area. Few houses were left standing at this time, some of which were privately purchased in the years that followed or squatted in by people seeking the solace and isolation of the Cascade Foothills. All structures were ultimately razed in 1991 by Burlington Northern (Carlson 2003; Hall 1980; *Seattle Post Intelligencer* 1979). Today the property is public land, owned and managed by Pierce County.

The Fairfax Townsite was inextricably linked to Montezuma and Manley-Moore because workers at the mine in Montezuma on the bank of Evans Creek and in the logging woods and mill of Manley-Moore lived at or visited Fairfax. The Townsite provided the main post office and the primary means of transport to and from the area. Population cross-over undoubtedly occurred and the Fairfax Townsite, Upper Fairfax, Montezuma and the Manley-Moore logging camp to the southeast were grouped together as the "Fairfax District" for census designation. For the purpose of this work, I will refer to site 45PI918 as the Fairfax Townsite, Upper Fairfax as the area east of Evans Creek and the Fairfax District when discussing census information (see Figure 1).

The Fairfax Townsite was originally recorded as archaeological site 45PI918 in 2008 (Kopperl and Smith 2009). Archaeologists recorded 199 surface features at the site related to industrial, municipal, commercial, and residential activities. They also documented historic-period artifacts on the ground surface and areas disturbed by looting. Until the current work, no subsurface investigation had been conducted at the site. In the decade following the original site recordation, the Fairfax Townsite has experienced widespread looting impacts, which are discussed further in Chapter 5.

1.1.1. Upper Fairfax NRHP District and Manley-Moore: The Importance of a Neighboring Company Town in the Development of Research Goals

In 1981, prior to the razing of buildings at Manley-Moore and the Fairfax Townsite, the Upper Fairfax District was nominated for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). The

district is approximately 19-acres (7.7-hectares) in size and located 0.3 mi. (0.5 km) east of site 45PI918 (Collins 1981). Collins reported that approximately 250 men worked between the mill and the forest for the Manley-Moore Company. Men with families lived within the Upper Fairfax NRHP District, but they also resided at Montezuma and the Fairfax Townsite. Single men reportedly lived in the hotel built by Manley-Moore at Upper Fairfax. Collins noted that Japanese workers had their own separate accommodations built by the company, proximal to the railroad (1981). Construction began on worker housing at Upper Fairfax in 1910, more than a decade after the Fairfax Townsite. Eastern Europeans, Scandinavians, and Japanese immigrants worked for Manley-Moore, and according to Collins, they all took home the same wages and enjoyed the same benefits offered by the company and the town. Collins described the three company partners of Manley-Moore and the mill supervisor as being progressives in the industry and charitable *for their time* (1981:3).

It is clear; however, that the Japanese community was “othered” in some sense. They lived in a separate enclave, built by the company. To what degree they were relegated to this space is unknown, but researchers of company housing suggest that residential segregation was a deliberate move of power and control by company owners (Fishback 1992; Ford 2011; Porteous 1970).

The Upper Fairfax NRHP District has not experienced an archaeological survey or excavation; however, the associated Manley-Moore Logging Camp and Railroad Grades to the southeast were sites of substantial data recovery efforts in 1998. Research questions asked by archaeologists at the Manley-Moore sites have influenced, in part, the line of questioning for my inquiry at Fairfax, especially those regarding the material and demographic record of racialized minorities (Miss et al. 2000).

1.1.2. Initial Visit to Fairfax: the Argument for Subsurface Testing and Damage Assessment

Several visits have been made to the Fairfax Townsite outside of formal excavation fieldwork to assess the site in various seasons and informally document continued looting activities. The first of these visits occurred in November of 2017, at which time it was clear that looting activities were actively impacting site 45PI918. Following this initial visit, Jessica Stone, Natural Lands Steward with Pierce County Parks and Recreation was contacted and sent a brief correspondence including overview images of particularly large disturbances. These impacts to

the site directly informed the decision to pursue subsurface investigations under Washington State Archaeological Permit 2018-34 (Appendix A), as opposed to more conservative research alternatives at the site such as detailed ground surface documentation or the analysis of previously documented features. It was decided that the most appropriate approach to an archaeological project at Fairfax should include a damage assessment, with the hope of inspiring interpretive signage and stewardship efforts at the site. Additionally, a small-scale subsurface program would be conducted to identify the presence/absence of intact archaeological deposits and collect an assemblage that faced the ongoing threat of removal without context or interpretation.

1.2. Research Objectives and Questions

Research for this project was focused on two main objectives; to assess the damage of looting at the site and to conduct a small-scale subsurface testing project to recover a sizeable data-set for current functional analysis and future methods of analyses. In this way, the work at Fairfax could be considered research-driven salvage, with the goal of retrieving diagnostic items before their context is lost, through a theoretically-based design.

Two primary sets of data were used for this work; cultural material recovered from archaeological investigations and demographic data from U.S. Census records for every year the Fairfax District was enumerated. The two sets were analyzed in conjunction to address research questions developed prior to the study. Research questions were formed by an initial review of available background literature, namely Nancy Irene Hall's book, *Carbon River Coal Towns* (1980) and previous cultural resource investigations in the vicinity and at the site itself (Kopperl and Smith 2009; Miss et al. 2000). I posed research questions to uncover information regarding the social constructs of gender, race, and class at the site. Particularly, how did these constructs affect relationships in the town, between workers and management, workers and their living environments, and with each other? Were themes of racial or ethnic segregation, social inequity, community, or individualism expressed in the material record, and if so, how?

The project was designed at a community-scale, with three spheres of residence identified and delineated prior to fieldwork; the west and east sides of the main railroad grade, and the Hotel Sphere. The west side of the Fairfax main grade consisted of single-family houses, boarding houses, and commercial and municipal buildings. The east side was characterized by fewer single-family dwellings on larger lots. The hotel was a large two-story

structure with an adjacent butcher shop. Hotelkeeper John T. Mulcahey's house was located in front of the hotel (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910). The hotel was the only structure in photographs that appeared to have a concrete foundation. How would deposits of archaeological refuse connect to each sphere? What could material from each sphere tell us about the individuals who lived in that part of town? Was there a "good side" or a "bad side" of the tracks?

It was also clear from the onset that this would be a project rooted in labor archaeology. Fairfax was a town sustained by laborers and the spheres of interest were part of the broad residential areas workers inhabited when they were "off the clock," but still under the gaze of management.

1.2.1. Research Questions

1.) Is site occupation by racial or ethnic minorities; Japanese or African American workers, represented in the material culture at Fairfax? To what extent? Nancy Irene Hall notes that African American and Japanese workers were brought in during the 1890s when white miners were on labor strike (1980:147)

2.) To what extent were peoples and activities spatially segregated at Fairfax; e.g., managers versus laborers?

3.) Is long-term residence by minority groups evidenced in the material record at Fairfax? Collins (1981) suggested that Japanese workers for the Manley-Moore Lumber Company resided in Upper Fairfax well after WWI and that they enjoyed the same wages and privileges as white families.

4.) How is the archaeological refuse associated with the hotel different from that of more permanent family residences?

5.) What can be inferred about "the family" at Fairfax, i.e., gender roles and domesticity?

6.) Are women represented in the material culture of the hotel (an area commonly known to be bachelor's quarters)?

7.) To what extent have looters impacted site integrity?

Using archaeology as a tool to better understand the social relationships at resource-driven company towns is particularly significant when situated in the realm of late-stage capitalism we currently live in. It illuminates the continuum of social injustice caused by racism, sexism, and corporate dominance as well as individual and community-level resilience. The research conducted at Fairfax sheds light on the history of working-class and immigrant families in Washington State, who made the region an industrial success, but who go largely unrecognized in the collective memory of the state.

By identifying and documenting the extent of looting at the site, this work concludes with the recommendation of protective and interpretive measures that will assist in future stewardship efforts. It is important for the public to connect with the history of people and of place. At Fairfax, the visiting public should be able to link the landscape to the historical processes and people who shaped it. The archaeology at Fairfax provides an excellent catalyst for this goal. Industrial and municipal remains at the site are already telling part of the story. It is important to recognize that looters may themselves identify as stakeholders in the site. Provided information about the site and the illegality of disturbing it, it is possible that looters may, in turn, become stewards. However, the archaeological integrity of the Fairfax Townsite will remain in jeopardy until methods are employed to interpret the site and dissuade artifact collection.

1.3. Thesis Organization

To meet the goals of this project, Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework that guides the research design and archaeological efforts at the site. The chapter is a discussion on the use of a Marxist archaeology in approaching predominant research domains within historical archaeology, particularly as they pertain to the intersections of class, gender, ethnicity, and race at historic-period townsites. Chapter 3 presents the environmental and cultural context of Fairfax, including background on the geophysical processes that shaped the Carbon River Corridor and the history of its peopling up until the historic period of interest. Chapter 4 introduces the methods used to attain and interpret the archival and archaeological data at the site. Primary and secondary documents, including, but not limited to census records, newspaper articles, datebooks, historic photographs, maps, and local literature were accessed to answer questions about the residential population at Fairfax.

The results of archaeological testing at site 45PI918, including a functional analysis of the complete artifact assemblage, are present in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 concludes this thesis with

a discussion of how the archaeological and archival data apply to original research questions. Additionally, the chapter presents recommendations for further work and measures to protect the cultural resources and data potential of the Fairfax Townsite.

Chapter 2.

Theoretical Framework

2.1. A Marxist Approach

Marxist archaeology is an applicable framework for interpreting the intersections of what scholars deem the “triplet” of post-processual research; class, gender, and race at the Fairfax Townsite (Eagleton 1996; McGuire 1993; Wurst 1999). These loci of interest are not separate from the overarching themes of capitalism and power, with the players at a place like Fairfax belonging to two camps: the owners of the means of production, the bourgeoisie, and the workers or producers, the proletariat (Marx and Engels 1848).

At towns like Fairfax, social behaviors were influenced by wage work. Social changes occurred as a result of the relationship between industrialists and the workers who sold their “labour power” to survive (Marx 1933:19-21). Because work was a commodity, the owners of industrial towns could drive down costs by pitting groups of workers against each other and introducing cheaper sources of labor when strife arose. In the endeavor of selling labor, a worker could attain their subsistence, a means to shelter and nourishment. However, *life* revolved around the ability to, “sit down at a table, to take his seat in the tavern, and to lie down in bed” when work was done (Marx 1933:19). In company towns, these comforts were attached directly to the capitalist who bought the work.

Early proponents of American post-processualism in the 1970s acknowledged the goal of making archaeology more inclusive of disenfranchised communities, the people left out of the historical record on purpose (Deetz 1988:362-363; Leone 1995:251). The archaeology of capitalism and social inequality, subfields under the post-processual umbrella, have grown substantially since the 1980s and offer the promise of historical insights into modern processes of exclusion and inequity that can link the past, present, and future (Little 1994; Mrozowski 2014; Paynter 2000; Shackel 2004; Wood 2002). A pragmatic approach to historical archaeology will ultimately consider modern human needs and have “consequences for life today,” therefore making the discipline unavoidably political (Saitta 2003; Duke and Saitta 1998). The field of historical archaeology should be relevant to the living and necessarily critical of the written history of the past because everyone contributed to the archaeological record,

regardless of their position in society (Leone 2003:20; Saitta 2003:15). Opponents of Marxist archaeology point out that the vehemence with which it is pursued can negate any positive impact or outcome (Dyson 1993). However, no change for the greater good comes from a place of dispassion.

Common themes emerge in the study of western company towns. These include resource extraction, corporate paternalism, labor, immigration, identity, and resistance, all of which can be readily connected to a Marxist approach. This theoretical framework provides a link between the industrial past, memory, and the problems of a modern capitalist system that disproportionately fails the working class (Leone 1995; McGuire 2008; Shackel 2004). Marxist archaeology is hardly an island of research, as the intersections with feminist, world systems, and spatial theories are especially clear in a company town context wherein the predominant inquiries concern the daily lives of the laboring classes (Paynter 1982).

Archaeologist Randall McGuire argues that a multidimensional approach to the field of historical archaeology adds the desired involvement, moving away from the "layer-cake model of social stratification" in which questions concerning differentiation and the root of inequality are lumped together (McGuire 1983:99). Marxist theory is defined as critical but can equally be seen as a "liberating theory" which attempts to free an oppressive class history (Holschuh 2013; McGuire 2014a; Nida 2013). The argument for capitalism as a primary focus of historical archaeology was first made decades ago and continues to drive many lines of archaeological research within industrialized settings (Little 1994:15). This includes projects at industrial settlements and company towns in Washington State (Bowden and Larson 1997; Carlson 2016, 2017; Hedlund and Vernon 1994; Kaehler et al. 2008)

Marginalized communities are illustrated to some degree in all societies through the accumulation and distribution of material. They are also defined spatially in a company town context. Workers who lived on the periphery had unequal access to community services, buildings, transportation networks, or in other words, "the footprint of society." These 'fringes' provide research opportunities for those studying the processes of a capitalist society, including the segregation of racialized workers (McGuire and Reckner 2002:46; Paynter 1982:111-113). Historic mining communities in the western United States can serve as optimal "laboratories" for the study of labor and inequality (Dixon 2014:202). These studies may attempt to criticize and revise a history written by the elite. They can undermine publicly held images or myths of the frontier, industrialization, immigration, and gender roles and give voice to the historically

"voiceless" (McGuire and Reckner 2002; Rose 2008; Shackel and Palus 2006a, 2006b; Walker 2017). The move to a critical and more democratic history results from the study of the working poor, in particular. Company towns present a special case study as sites of dependency, struggle, and resistance (Crawford 1996; Mrozowski et al. 1996). These sites deserve more attention from the archaeological community.

2.2. Theoretical Intersectionality and a Marxist Framework for Company Towns

In *A Historical Archaeology of Capitalism*, Mark Leone remarks that people have not been left out of the narrative by accident (Leone 1995:251). This short and direct statement should be the torch that lights the way for all archaeological endeavors, and since the post-processual movement, it has inspired many historical archaeologists to pursue more inclusive research that strives to both uncover information about those "left out" of history and listen to those oppressed in modern society. Leone's view of archaeology as a means to correct the idea of a personal, natural, and universal fate should speak directly to American archaeologists working in the twenty-first century. After all, we work in the presence of continued systemic racism, sexism, and xenophobia that shapes the daily lives of the people "left out" and perpetuates a false class-consciousness, one that fuels the idea that the good life (monetary wealth and material accumulation) is personally manifested, merely the result of an individual's choices.

The memory of immigrant heritage, for example, is of heightened importance when abject racial and ethnic violence is at the forefront of the American news cycle. Understanding the history of marginalized people can have a real and lasting impact in modern discourse. For example, the commemoration of the lives of workers and their families that were lost in American labor battles at Blair Mountain, West Virginia; Lattimer, Pennsylvania; and Ludlow, Colorado through archaeology and public interpretation contributes to a shared worker consciousness that is so necessary right now (McGuire 2014a, 2014b; Nida 2013; Shackel and Palus 2006b; Walker 2003).

While recognizing the importance of capitalist systems in the formation of race, gender, and class-based hierarchies, it is of equal importance that the archaeology of a company town reflects the depth of community in place and the fact that these towns were not purely the manifestations of owners and superintendents, but structured by the relationships between

workers (Shifflett 1991:33). That said, the layout of many company towns was the result of purposeful geophysical divisions between peoples based on ethnicity, race, and/or status. Towns were engineered in this way to mold a compliant workforce (Allen 1966; Hoagland 2010; Shifflett 1991:37). In coal towns in the eastern United States as well as the west, racial and ethnic minorities often faced prejudice from their employers and fellow workers, which was signaled in exclusionary housing practices and in turn the exclusion from what Historian Crandell Shifflett refers to as "contentment sociology," an accumulation of working conditions, living wages, available facilities, leisure, and access to medical care (1991:38-40, 53).

2.2.1. Marxism and Gender

In addition to the intersectional studies of class and race hierarchies, gender is distinctly part of power relations in a company town setting. Historian Laurie Mercier posits that scholars must attempt to introduce the stories of women and non-white workers who shaped the workforce in order to remedy the over-dominance of white male narratives in the broader history of Pacific Northwest class relations (2001:61). Societal divisions based on gender are uniquely positioned in class processes and the study of gender at archaeological sites is necessary to democratize the discipline (Purser 1991; Wylie 1991).

Modern feminist archaeologists have argued for the re-examination of previously gendered study units like "private", "domestic", and "household" spheres. They have advocated for an archaeology that identifies and highlights the transformations of gender roles through time, the stories of women of color, and the intersection of gender with class and status, while avoiding some of the previous gender assumptions archaeologists have made. One particularly important departure from past practice is the understanding that gender has a place in archaeological studies regardless of whether "gendered" material is identified on site (Purser 1991). Material analyses of "women's artifacts" often relegates this half of the general population to the household, which prevents a studied vision of their lives "beyond the yard" – a trend that Purser argues is akin to the census enumeration of women as "keeping house" (Purser 1991:13-14).

Marxist feminists argue that unpaid domestic labor is a pillar of capitalism which "reproduces the waged labor force daily and generationally" (Spencer-Wood 2011:184). The unpaid work of women at industrial towns such as Fairfax was considered unskilled, albeit the most respectable thing a woman in society could do. Viewed as living largely within the private,

domestic sphere of communities, unemployed women were the consumer decision-makers for their families or households and therefore made a huge imprint on the archaeological record of historic period sites. This begs the question, what wasn't a woman's artifact?

In its "privateness," the "respectably domestic" life was very separate from that of domestic service, which was socially stigmatized. At Fairfax, the majority of female residents were listed on census records as full-time homemakers, while few were reportedly secondary income-earners for their families through domestic tasks related to housing boarders. Even fewer were employed as cooks and private servants, positions that were likely seen as low-class due in part to their "publicness" (Spencer-Wood 2011:184-185). The household and emotional labor, as well as the external work done by women in company towns, situates them solidly as community producers. The material and demographic record at Fairfax clearly illustrates this.

2.2.2. An Archaeology of Class

Modern scholars look at class in historical contexts as varied and flexible within capitalist systems that are constant, particularly at urban and industrial sites (Orser 2010:129; McGuire 1993; Mrowoski 1993). Class is a difficult point of study. Especially troublesome, Walker suggests, because the current "dominant mythology" prevents it (Walker 2003:70). The idea of class has been second to discussions of socioeconomic markers in archaeological endeavors, with research focused instead on differences in wealth-based status. This has commonly been approached through the study of ceramic and faunal assemblages at historic sites. However, there are problems with using "objective" correlations to argue wealth and therefore status, through material alone. The lack of class-based research can likely be attributed to the absence of a useable framework for truly understanding class dynamics at a site, although plenty of scholarly discussion regarding dominance and resistance has taken place.

Wurst and Fitts (1999) warn that relating artifacts to dominance or resistance can mask the real relations between workers and managers. It can effectively obscure the issues of shifting social status, transnational identity, and the act of negotiating class relations. Wurst argues that class is not a category, but a formation and that a unit of study such as cost indices of ceramics is not related to the reality of status. Although it can be used as an "analytical concept," class is not identifiable in the material record alone and it is never an isolated attribute (Wurst 1999:9). The discussion of class may be useful when applied to the relationships of

labor, but it is dangerous to assume “whiteware belonged to the oppressed and transfer print – the oppressor” (Wurst 1999:10-11, 17).

There is very little historical distance from the industrial past and I would argue none when it comes to class struggle. The erasure of the negative aspects of industrialized labor in American society can stand in the way of honest reflections and discussion (Shackel 2004:74). Additionally, an over-emphasis on personal agency in the context of industrial sites can obscure the very real systemic conditions that groups faced, particularly workers whose efforts at a “social group agency,” i.e. unionization, were thwarted by company owners. Individualism and agency are powerful concepts that can shroud the fact that race, gender, and class are social constructs and not natural to an individual (Orser 2007; 2010:128; Wurst 1999:7).

2.3. The Company and the Workers in Historical Archaeology

2.3.1. Paternalism, Class Consciousness, and Identity

In his work on Appalachian coal towns, Crandell Shifflett presents three evolutionary phases: a Frontier Phase when the first towns were built (late 1880s-WWI), a Paternalistic Phase from WWI to the Great Depression, and an Aging-Decaying Phase from the mid-1930s to mid-1950s. He suggests that during the first phase, employers were less concerned about working conditions and satisfaction, but that began to change with the transition into the Paternalistic Phase, during which owners were more supportive of families – constructing schools, churches, and outlets for recreation (Shifflett 1991:48-49).

Ultimately, the shift to a paternal character was a strategic move to acquire and retain a morally upstanding workforce. Coal miners were largely mobile until they were either indebted to the company to the point of no escape or inspired to settle down in these communities that afforded the trappings of comfortable family life. The latter was obviously preferred. Shifflett proposes that data from each period on sex, age, and marital status would provide a better understanding of the transitions in individual towns (1991:49). This lifecycle of a company town is visible at Fairfax, where the establishment of community services and the increase in family settlement occurred contemporaneously during the Paternalistic Phase, beginning in the 1910s.

Labor struggles in the earliest phase, “The Frontier,” often served as the impetus for company owners making their towns more livable. However, a lingering Frontier period was common in the western United States, where many mining towns were “closed,” isolated and

under the control of a single capitalist (Crawford 1996; Schwantes 1987). Frontierism is a common theme in the historical archaeology of early mining and logging camps in western North America and is frequently interpreted through studies of the American Gold Rush (Dixon 2014, Hardesty 1994; Rose 2013). It also has a place in the formal industrial towns of the west, which so often grew out of more temporary extractive camps. In this setting, the western worker had to exist somewhere between a “wage working dependency” and the “rugged individualism” of their isolated environs. Even though wage work in towns like Fairfax was temporally distanced from the gold rush era by decades, one could argue that at the turn of the twentieth century, prior to the rise of the nuclear family, the town possessed a frontier spirt (Schwantes 1987:40).

As early as the 1870s, some coal companies were shifting towards more paternalistic management styles, in part due to the rise of the Knights of Labor, a labor organization that grew to have a presence in nearly every company town in the west. During the shift to paternalism, the efforts to provide a ‘better life’ for workers were rarely afforded to the foreign-born and workers of color. These residents often bore a disproportionate weight of the negative aspects of a paternalistic system. The ‘better life’ was regularly used as a mask for the extension of moral policing and the enforcement of community rules (Crawford 1996:29-33; Schwantes 1997; Shifflett 1991:66). The transition from paternalism to decay was commonly witnessed in factors such as mechanization, resource depletion, the mass-availability of the automobile, and increased unionization (Mrozowski et al. 1996:2; Shifflet 1991:49).

These phases and the transitions between each affected the gendered and racialized divisions of labor in the mines, forests, and mills of Western Washington and Fairfax was no exception. It was common for the workforce in company towns to be heavily segregated. Skilled, higher-paying jobs were not afforded to all members of the society and racial bias often dictated the type of work a resident did (Dillingham 1910). In Appalachian coal towns, African Americans were largely hired to do the manual labor of operating coke ovens, while Italians were considered by owners and superintendents to be the best at underground mining (Shifflet 1991:71-74). At Fairfax, Italians were also predominantly underground miners, while nearly every Japanese male was employed by the mills of Upper Fairfax (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930).

Industrialization and the rise of the company town also led to increased labor segregation based on gender, whereas it had been customary for men and women to share the

responsibilities of earlier agrarian life (Shifflett 1991:81). Women at Fairfax were predominantly laboring in the home, although after the transition to the Paternalistic Phase, they took on various clerical, service, and housekeeping positions. They also took in boarders, grew gardens, and raised livestock for secondary income streams. A few women are listed on the census rolls as servants in the private homes of the managerial class.

Due to the physical extremeness and quotidian dangers of work in the mines, logging forests, and mills, a foundation for group identity or a "shared working-class culture" was often established in industrial communities (Shifflett 1991:111, 161-165). Group work and the closeness of living quarters fueled this shared consciousness at towns like Fairfax, particularly amongst immigrant and racialized populations who commonly lived in clustered communities (Carlson 2003; Hall 1980; Nomura 2001).

Because it is often easier to identify and remark on the divisions between groups of people in the archaeological and written record, the popular image of the powerful and the powerless in company towns is often perpetuated. This can override the positive collective working-class memories of people who made a life in these towns, towns that were not uniformly exploitative (Fishback and Lauzsus 1989:140; Shifflett 1991:149; Walker 2003). The workers in these towns were both controlled and controller, they were dependent on the company and the company depended on them. Their lives were undoubtedly shaped by paternalistic forces *and* autonomous choices, which is evident in both the documentary and archaeological record. There were two members in the paternalistic system of industrial towns: the worker and the employer, and they were both "powered over" and empowered, or "powered with" (group consciousness) (Hoagland 2010). An archaeology of the working class in company towns is disserviced by an either/or dichotomy (Spencer-Wood 2011:188-189).

2.3.2. Memory, Negotiation, and Race at the Company Town

In his work on labor history and the impacts of industrialization, Paul Shackel suggests that there are frequent inconsistencies between the "official" and "unofficial" reflections of industrial life (2004:44). Due to the lack of available oral histories, and the confines of this project, the full picture of individual or collective memory of life in the town of Fairfax is unclear. Some understanding of socialized identities at Fairfax can be interpreted through both the documentary and archaeological records. Social identities are the "negotiations of power relations" which manifest in wage-labor contexts as resistance and assimilation to capitalism

(Orser 2010:125-127; Shackel 2004:46). In the industrial towns of Washington, this is especially clear in the self-protection that methods of assimilation offered transnational communities (Azuma 2005; Carlson 2003; Geiger 2011; Orser 2007).

In his work at Wilkeson, a town linked to Fairfax by rail, Peter Alter argues that the lived experience in small industrial communities, particularly by ethnic minorities is overlooked in broader discussions of transnationalism (the maintenance of social networks in two or more countries). Alter (1993:6) suggests that in a town like Wilkeson, residents created a "common multi-ethnic peoplehood," which spanned constructs of class. This idea is also echoed in Nancy Irene Hall's discussion of Fairfax (1980). However, neither interpret how the construct of race was used to exclude non-whites from such "peoplehood," even though Chinese, Japanese, and black workers were routinely discriminated against in multi-ethnic towns to the point of being run out of communities or even killed (Dillingham 1910; Schwantes 1997).

Within historical archaeology, there has been a large focus on ethnicity with little mention of race or racialization. The work of assigning artifacts as "ethnic markers" has been viewed as data-driven stereotyping and more than two decades ago, Charles Orser was calling for a more holistic view of how ethnicized material fit within an understanding of group identity (1998). Attempting to understand how race fits into class processes at a place like Fairfax can tell an archaeologist more than the presence or absence of ethnic markers and is one reason for a multidisciplinary approach. Ultimately, a better understanding of group identity and memory at Fairfax may come out of proposed future work with the people who lived there or their descendants.

2.3.3. The Control of Wage Labor through Housing

The designers of company towns commonly utilized layouts that supported power dynamics, serving the company first and foremost. The layout of Fairfax, with a single, large manager's house on the hill high above, and offset from the rest of the town was no exception. This layout is consistent with a panoptic design, wherein the managerial class is in a position to oversee the workers below, and the workers are in a geophysical position to gaze above at their watchers (Leone 2005). This can result in paranoia or feelings of aspiration among the laboring class; either way, the design is not simply fortuitous. The manager's property at Fairfax was not identified during fieldwork for this project, as access is extremely limited. However, it is present on historic period maps and in photographs. The manager's house was reportedly accessed by

a trail of wooden stairs that led up the hill. It is said to have had its own tennis court (Hall 1980:160).

Fairfax was owned and operated by a string of different companies and it is unclear how many superintendents or mine bosses lived in this house with their families. It is known that Frank Angeline, the last mine boss at Fairfax, did live in the manager's house. Angeline was raised in the Carbon River area by a prominent mining family and managed the mines at Fairfax from 1925 to 1930, under the Wilkeson Coal and Coke Company (Hall 1980:160). The first mine Superintendent, Walter McNeil, is listed on the 1900 U.S. census as living at the Fairfax Hotel, probably prior to construction of the house (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900).

Housing was perhaps the clearest extension of power and paternalism in industrial towns. The layout, design, and construction of housing was used by employers to maintain an industrious workforce, reward moral behavior, and prevent resistance or unionization. The buildings in a town were a direct illustration of prevailing management styles. Houses had to appeal to workers and their families in location, quality of craftsmanship, and size, particularly during times when towns struggled to obtain a sizeable workforce (Hoagland 2010; Shackel 2004). The spatial layout of houses commonly reflected the division of workers based on race and class. It has been argued that identical row housing is a reflection of increased corporate control, a method used in the design of towns since the years following the American Revolution (Crawford 1996:11; Ford 2011:737; Gradwohl and Osborn 1984).

In extractive communities, the proximity of homes to industrial buildings and features speaks to the intertwined nature of home and work life. When workers were able to purchase homes or live outside of the planned community, it was often interpreted as a sign of resistance to the company (Ford 2011:737). In some cases, racial minorities built their own homes, living on the margins of town centers. This type of settlement pattern is referred to by researchers as "clustering" and it occurred at towns across the west where transnational populations lived and worked (Shackel 2004; Welch and Daugherty 1993). Paternalistic companies, especially in isolated settings, were apt to combine the work and home lives of their employees. In these scenarios, company owners could evict residents, control who took in boarders and who boarded, and decide who lived in what houses (Hall 1980; Hoagland 2010). This was ultimately at the expense of racialized groups, who were much less likely to live in houses of equal quality to those rented to white, skilled, family men. For example, at the lumber company town of Potlach, Washington, Greek, Italian, and Japanese workers lived in inferior homes, farthest from

the center of town and from their jobs (Carlson 2003:29). Housing exclusion was a useful tool to divide workers and prevent the formation of worker consciousness (Ford 2011:738-740).

The landscape archaeological project conducted at the Boott Corporation's mill housing in Lowell, Massachusetts studied how the design of the town affected the everyday lives of workers and their refuse disposition. At Lowell, the agent or superintendent's house was elevated and detached from the town, secluded by a wrought iron fence suggestive of power and social hierarchy (Mrozowski et al. 1996). A similar barrier existed at the company town of Virginius Island in West Virginia, where the railroad provided a physical and symbolic marker between worker and owner (Shackel and Palus 2006a:831). The boarding houses at Lowell had no official yards, and therefore no real opportunities for landscape beautification – which Mrozoski et al. (1996:39-40) suggest is tied to their systematic detachment from leisure and comfort. At Lowell, the archaeological record speaks to the unequal living conditions of the company agent and the workers. A large amount of rat faunal remains were uncovered in association with the boarding houses, while none were encountered during excavations at the Agent's house (1996:53). Much higher levels of lead were identified in the boarding house yards than the mill agent's (Mrozowski 1990:28). In this way, the archaeology at Lowell corroborated the idea that housing was inequitable and that worker's housing was comparatively unhealthy and unsafe.

Allison Hoagland's work in the Vermont Copper Belt focuses on the idea that industrial housing divisions were made on the basis of "worker character," as defined by the ability to speak English (2010:34). In this way, companies could keep foreign-born workers from decent housing (Hoagland 2010: 39). The housing policy at Fairfax appears at the surface to have been relatively benevolent, with the widowed, unemployed, and elderly living in houses in the District with similar rents. However, it is clear from census documentation that the only enumerated racial minority in the Fairfax District, the Japanese, were rented considerably cheaper and presumably lesser quality houses (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920, 1930).

Houses at Fairfax appear to have consisted of three types; what I refer to as single-family dwelling, two-story boarding, and family property (houses with large yards, or plats). The houses were generally homogenous. From a review of historic photographs, all appear to have been built on wood sill foundations with white-washed clapboard siding. On the west side of town, houses were laid out on linear streets running northeast-southwest. Houses on the west side included single-family dwellings and boarding houses, save for one residence that appears

to be a family property. On the east side, all houses were either one-story single-family or family properties with large yards. The layout of houses on the east side of town was less uniform (Figures 3 and 4).

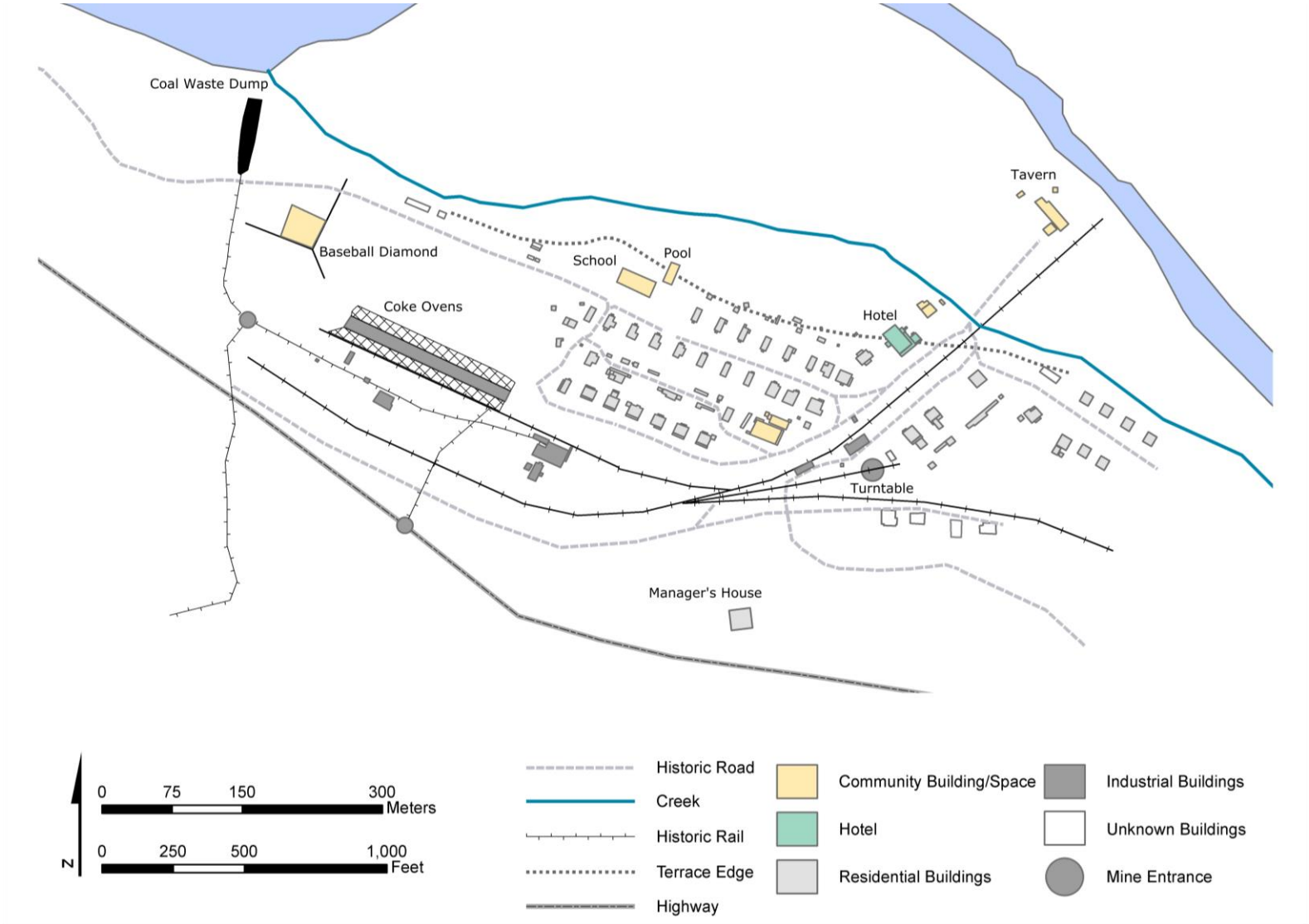


Figure 3. Overview of structures and features within the Fairfax Townsite, adapted from Department of Natural Resources maps from 1913, 1917.

Figure 4. Overview of coal miner Frank Gleason's single-family house, east of the main railroad grade in 1916. Courtesy of Foothills Historical Society.

At the turn of the 20th century in Washington State, very few people had water, electricity, or sanitation services. Even by the 1930s and 1940s, indoor plumbing was uncommon in isolated company towns (Carlson 2003:24). Coal towns were known for their insufficient sanitation, but those that provided decent services could promote them as employment incentives. By 1922, a study of over one hundred coal towns indicated that 3% of miner's homes had indoor toilets, which was comparable to small non-industrial towns where residents largely depended on pail and vault privies (Fishback and Lauszus 1989:125-127). A correlation was made by Fishback and Lauszus between wage demands by miners and poor sanitation nationwide (1989:135). In highly mobile markets, workers could demand decent housing and sanitation services and they did.

Union Agitation and Potential Strike at the Fairfax Mines: Knights of Labor in the Washington's Company Towns

What author Alan Hynding calls the "rural industrial slum landscape" of early coal mining in Washington was rife with safety issues, unfair wages, and excessive hours (1970:222). In 1885, three of the largest coal mines on the west coast were operating at Roslyn, on the eastern

flanks of the Cascade Mountains. At Newcastle, southeast of Seattle, the Oregon Improvement Company was running the second largest mine in Washington Territory. In the late 1880s, the Knights of Labor had a presence at both towns, demanding an eight-hour workday and better working conditions, as well as the firing of all Chinese workers. The resulting labor strikes in these towns pitted the privately employed armies of the companies as well as black strike-breakers against previously employed white workers and the Knights of Labor. When Washington was admitted as a state in 1889, the state constitution included provisions that would prevent the rise of private armies and give greater power to local governments in such events (Hynding 1970:221-230).

By the late 1880s, the Knights of Labor were present in nearly every company-owned town in Washington State, demanding a say in the firing and hiring of workers, worker safety, and improved standards for whites. At Newcastle, they wanted to convert the local tavern into a reading room in part to distribute anti-Chinese propaganda (Campbell 1982:147). In some instances Chinese workers were employed at half the wage of white workers and even following the Chinese Restriction Act of 1882, companies like the Oregon Improvement Company were smuggling Chinese workers in from British Columbia. In parts of Washington where the quality of coal was inferior, companies relied on their control of labor costs to turn a profit. The union agitation of the Knights of Labor incited violence against Chinese workers and their racist efforts combined with the company employment of minorities to break strike were both factors in the prevention of a truly organized labor in Washington State.

In 1888, The Northern Pacific Coal Company brought 400 black workers from the Midwest to the mines at Roslyn and in 1891, 500 black miners and their families arrived to work at Franklin, replacing striking whites (Campbell 1982:148-149; Diaz 2002:70-71). Although viewed by racist whites as corporate pawns, black workers at Roslyn and Franklin were predominantly skilled miners who brought their families with the intention of settling permanently in the west. They made the economically viable choice to align with the Oregon Improvement Company (Campbell 1982:150-153; Shideler 1986:52). Facing exclusion from both industry and the unions back east, black workers migrated to the northwest to make a better life for their families, even if it meant being used as strike breakers in regional mining disputes (Diaz 2002:72-76).

Ultimately, the Knights of Labor lost their grip on Western Washington towns after the 1891 strike at Franklin, wherein two men were killed when white workers returned to the mines that year. The economic panic of 1893 further halted the Knights mission (Campbell 1982:153).

Although regional literature suggests the Knights of Labor had some presence in Fairfax, it is unclear when and to what avail (Hall 1980; Jacobin 1917). The level of labor strife and disputes between the various coal companies at Fairfax and their employees remains elusive; however, the absence of news articles regarding strikes at Fairfax is telling. The *Industrial Number – Wilkeson Record* from 1917 indicates that a series of Japanese and black strike breakers were employed at the Fairfax Mine early on, but no additional information has been identified during this work. There were publically reported instances of unjust work practices in the Fairfax District, however. In 1904, the *Tacoma Times* reported that Henry Hewitt, Jr., a miner at Fairfax, was seeking retribution for himself and fifty of his coworkers for having not been paid by the Montezuma Mining Company for over a month (1904 Jan:3).

The Softer Hand: Shopping and the Absence of a Company Store

Where Fairfax was perhaps a different kind of town is reflected in property ownership, entrepreneurship, and leisure at the site. Unlike many company towns, the general store at Fairfax was privately owned by a man named Charles T. Brehm of Wilkeson, Washington (Carlson 2003; Jacobin 1917). The store did not work on a scrip system, which is seen as one of the more oppressive acts of wage-work in an industrializing America (Allen 1966; Crawford 1996). Goods were paid for in cash and even though the building was leased from the company, Brehm was allowed to operate a successful, private business in the town. This alone attests to a level of consumer liberty at Fairfax. The cycle of scrip-based indebtedness and credit discrimination that occurred at company run stores appears to have been a non-issue at Fairfax.

During the 1880s, Brehm operated the general store at Wilkeson with his brothers, eventually opening up an outpost at Fairfax in 1899 (Figures 5 and 6). The Brehm stores at Wilkeson and Fairfax had an inventory worth twenty thousand dollars and two clerks were employed by Brehm at the store in Fairfax (Jacobin 1917:44; US Census Bureau 1920). Items that could be purchased at either store included a variety of groceries, dry goods, feed and hay, hardware, furnishings, automotive parts, apparel, footwear, guns, ammunition, patent medicines, mining supplies, and school supplies. It is very likely that a large number of artifacts recovered at Fairfax would have been purchased at the Brehm store. The Brehm general store was the largest above Carbonado and it served families in the surrounding areas. Charles

Brehm was also the postmaster at Fairfax. The post office serving Fairfax, Montezuma, and Manley-Moore was located in the back of his store (Jacobin 1917:43-45). Early on, home deliveries were made with a horse-drawn cart, which was kept at a small stable directly behind the building (Hall 1980:152; DNR 1913).

Items recovered during archaeological excavations are reflective of goods identified in Sears Roebuck Catalogs of the period, from which Brehm may have ordered wholesale. Residents also had the option of ordering from the catalog independently and it is likely that following the construction of the Carbon River Road in 1921, families were freer to travel to the cities of Tacoma and Seattle, where they could partake in supplemental shopping. The general store at Fairfax was reportedly a well-stocked establishment that catered to miners, loggers, and their families. The extent to which Brehm stocked ethnic food items or goods is unknown, but it was common for *Issei* (first generation Japanese) residents in Western Washington towns to access culturally relevant items in larger cities (Carlson 2017:36; Ichioka 1988). Large shipments of fish were reportedly ordered by the Manley-Moore Lumber Company and delivered to the town for *Issei* residents (Hall 1980:184).

In addition to Brehm's store, residents of Fairfax were apparently able to purchase goods outright from peddlers who visited the town. The opportunity to buy items from traveling sales people was not a given in company towns. Companies often forbade this kind of peddling as it was in direct conflict with the wealth consolidation of owners and the indebtedness of laborers perpetuated by the company store model. At Fairfax, peddlers did not pose the same threat to monopolistic pricing or a scrip system and the sale of goods was allowed door-to-door (Hall 1980:157).

Figure 5. Exterior view of the Brehm Brothers store at Fairfax, facing west. Date unknown. Courtesy of Foothills Historical Society.

Figure 6. Interior of Brehm store at Fairfax, circa 1917 (Jacobin 1917). Catalog No. 1996.40.36, Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma (Wash.)

Home Ownership and Secondary Income

The first census records to explicitly denote homeownership were from the 1920 enumeration. This census indicates that although the majority of residents in the Fairfax District paid monthly rents directly to the companies at Upper Fairfax and the Fairfax Townsite, few families owned their homes outright. These residents included those who homesteaded outside of the company boundary, those who were self-employed in the district, and residents with a high rank in the company. By 1920, six male and one female heads-of-household are listed as owning their homes "free," while two are listed as owning their homes through mortgages. Members of the Zavitski family, early farmers in the Carbon River Canyon, are listed as owning homes, as is Robert D. Moore, superintendent of the Manley-Moore Logging Company. Two laborers, one working for the Manley-Moore sawmill and one at the Fairfax coke ovens were also listed as homeowners by 1920 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920).

The option of livestock raising and gardening to supplement nutrition and income was available at Fairfax, particularly to those who occupied single-family dwellings with large lots on the east side of the railroad grade. Families also took in boarders to earn extra money. Thirty-two percent of residents at Fairfax were listed on the census as boarders in 1920, living between the hotels of Fairfax and Manley-Moore and in private boarding houses. Only one person, a 19-year-old man, is listed as "keeper" of a boarding house, which seems to suggest that women who kept boarders were noted simply as "homemakers". Five people are recorded on the 1920 census as having occupations related to boarding houses, including: keeper, porter, cook, and second cook. The one Japanese man living at Fairfax not employed by the sawmill at this time is listed as a boarding house porter (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920).

Taking in boarders garnered extra income for families, and allowed single men the option of paying their rents to a family as opposed to the company directly, which may have been a preferred detachment. These boarders had less in the way of material possessions and private space, but they had the flexibility and mobility of a life less linked to the company (Hoagland 2010). Alternatives to renting directly from the company suggest that residential control at the town may have been relatively relaxed although management still approved who could run boarding houses and demanded a fee for each lodger.

One family who reportedly took in boarders were the Demkos. Mary Demko supplemented the household income by renting rooms to lodgers. In turn, she was required to pay the company two dollars a month per boarder. The Demkos also had the first small dairy at

Fairfax, which provided the only source of fresh milk in the town for a period of time. Their products were often sold directly to the mine superintendent (Hall 1980:149-150). These acts of individual entrepreneurship speak to the level of arrangements that could be made at Fairfax to pursue additional income, enhance family nutrition, and retain some agency in a company town. In five years' time, the Demko family, whose head of household worked on the mine gangway, was able to purchase their own farm in South Prairie. The flexibility to move, and to move on, is starkly juxtaposed with the more heavy-handed company towns of the American west, wherein workers were tied to the town through chronic indebtedness to the company store, low wages, and no opportunity for additional income sources (Allen 1966; Garner 1984; Larkin and McGuire 2009; Shackel 2004).

Leisure and Recreation

Tangible markers of leisure are present at Fairfax, including immovable features on the landscape and artifacts suggestive of recreational activities. One element of a paternalistic social design is the corporate provision of good community services, recreation and leisure activities, and associated spaces. The most prominent of these resources at Fairfax was the heated swimming pool, which was located adjacent to the town schoolhouse. Built in the 1910s, the concrete walls of the pool are still standing at the site and the feature is a popular draw for visitors. The company also provided a baseball diamond and a team sponsored by the Manley-Moore Lumber Company played at the Fairfax Townsite regularly (Figure 7). The baseball diamond is visible in historic photographs, and the presumed area was located during archaeological reconnaissance for this project; however, no mark of its existence is visible on the landscape.

Community events were common at Fairfax, including an annual Fourth of July horse race down Main Street and a Christmas gathering. Although the majority of the archaeological assemblage at Fairfax is reflective of utilitarian items related to foodways, clothing, and structural development, few items are clear signifiers of individual leisure and recreational activity, including alcohol bottles, tobacco pipes, munitions, and metal harmonica reeds. There is also a looming question of whether mason jar fragments, which were found in abundance across the site are representative of food storage, or the activity of moonshining – a pastime known to occur at the town (Hall 1980; *Seattle Post Intelligencer* 1979).

Figure 7. The Manley-Moore sponsored baseball team at Fairfax. Catalog No. 2014.45.1.43., Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma (Wash.)

2.4. Summary: A Marxist Archaeology at Fairfax, Washington

A Marxist archaeology of historical company towns links the past to the present by identifying the root of corporate dominion that pervades society today. Viewing and interpreting history through this framework, we can see how it relates to the modern praxis of the gig economy, corporate "campuses," and a false consciousness that perpetuates the myth of merit in a capitalist society. Evidence of corporate paternalism is all around us and presents in the integration of work into home life. Examples include the culture of corporate campuses in Silicon Valley and the growing Silicon Forest, where companies are directly involved in personal health and "wellness," offering everything from free snacks and gym memberships to subsidies for female employees to freeze their eggs. Promoted as innovative, these offerings are not that different from the company-built baseball diamond at Fairfax, or the tavern, or the pool, the import of specific foods to town, or the sponsorship of community parades.

Marx theorized that classes form from the relationship to the means of production and that inequality stems from these class distinctions. A multi-dimensional model of this understanding within archaeology includes the analysis of multiple lines of inequality – at

varying scales (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1988; McGuire 1983, 2008). Studies in historical archaeology can harness the processes that created our modern class structure in order to better understand a myriad of social issues. Modern archaeology will attempt to uncover information about the margins of society to accentuate previously unheard perspectives, many of which are invisible in the written context of company towns (Mayne 2008:115). Through this, we can begin to reckon with the idea of a place where “unusual care” was “bestowed on the comfort and welfare of employees,” (Jacobin 1917:8) and residents were resolutely kicked out of the town when they were injured, ill, or old (Hall 1980:149).

The goal of the previous chapter is to express the importance of theoretical intersectionality, but also the appropriateness of an overarching Marxist framework for archaeology at company towns. The access and accumulation of material goods, resources, and opportunities along racial and class lines at Fairfax was not dissimilar to company towns in the northwest and the greater United States; however, the combined attributes of paternalism, individualism, class consciousness and negotiation, ownership, and leisure at the site are unique to Fairfax.

Chapter 3.

Context

3.1. Introduction

This chapter provides the geophysical and cultural context for the Fairfax area, from the natural processes that originally shaped the Carbon River Corridor to its current geology and vegetation, a background on the First Peoples of the Mount Rainier region, including archaeological and ethnographic accounts of pre-contact villages and sites, and the historic period development of the Fairfax Townsite itself. Previous archaeological work at the Fairfax Townsite and cultural resource projects conducted in the vicinity are discussed to provide the backdrop for current investigations.

3.2. Environment

Washington and Oregon possess some of the most varied and extreme geologic landforms in the United States, with geological features forming as early as the Paleozoic era and continuing to the present. The project area lies within the broad Southern Washington Cascades physiographic province as defined by Franklin and Dyrness (1988). The Southern Washington Cascades Province runs from Snoqualmie Pass south to the Columbia River and is defined by a series of ridge crests and steep canyons with a general elevation of 1,200-2,000 meters (m) above mean sea level (amsl) (Franklin and Dyrness 1988:21; Franklin et al. 1988). The province boundaries encapsulate episodically active volcanoes: Mount St. Helens, Mount Adams, and Mount Rainier. Substantial work has been conducted analyzing the geological processes of Mount Rainier National Park (Crandell 1963, 1969; Crandell and Miller 1974).

The Southern Washington Cascades Province is characterized by lakes and valleys carved out by glacial processes during the Pleistocene (2.58 - 0.012 million years ago). Substantial precipitation sustains perennial streams and lakes in the region. The lowlands west of Mount Rainier, including the area around Fairfax, receive 100-127 centimeters (cm) of annual rainfall (Crandell and Miller 1974:6). Stratigraphy in the region originally formed during the Precambrian epoch (4,600 - 541 (+/- 1) million years ago) (Ricketts et al. 1999:228-229). Up to 90% of the province is comprised of basalt and andesite deposits, lava flow breccia and tuffs

which formed in four temporal ranges, the Eocene to lower Oligocene, Upper Oligocene to lower Miocene, middle Miocene, and Pleistocene to recent. Pleistocene to recent deposits include the andesitic rocks that make up the slopes of Mount St. Helens, Mount Adams, and Mount Rainier. These peaks are mantled in varying pumice deposits. The most recent pumice deposit near Mount Rainier occurred 100 to 150 years ago, during an eruption event (Franklin and Dyrness 1988:22).

The Mount Rainier region lies on the crest and flanks of the Cascade Range, north to the White River and south to the Cowlitz River. Elevation ranges from less than 300 m along the western extent up to the 4,393 m at the cone of Mount Rainier (Crandell and Miller 1974:2-3). Common soils in the Mount Rainier region are Inceptisols formed from parent materials including basalt, andesite, and pumice. These soils are poorly developed and range from gravelly sandy loam to silt loam. In the alluvial deposits associated with tributaries that run west from Mount Rainier, like the Carbon River, soils consist of Xeropsamments (Regosols) and Haploxerolls (Prairie soils). These range from loamy sand to sandy loam (Franklin and Dyrness 1973:22). Bedrock between the White and Cowlitz Rivers is made of basaltic and andesitic lavas and breccia, volcanic sedimentary rocks, and coal-bearing sandstones and shales (Crandell and 1974:6). These coal deposits were the impetus for historic period developments in the region.

The five major river valleys of the Central Washington Cascade Range: White, Carbon, Puyallup, Nisqually, and Cowlitz were formed during a series of Pleistocene glaciations, flowing from Mount Rainier. During this period of repetitive glacial activity, till was deposited from the slopes of Mount Rainier into the Carbon River Valley (Crandell and Miller 1974). The Carbon River flows westward from the north side of the mountain, connecting with the Puyallup River in the Puget Sound Lowland (Burtchard 1998:7; Crandell and Miller and 1974:3). Melt-water channels like the Carbon River were carved along the Puget lobe of the Cordilleran ice sheet during its maximum extent of each glaciation (Crandell and Miller and 1974:3). During the Vashon Stade of the Frasier Glaciation, a lake formed in the river valley. Lake sediments from this period have been identified in the Carbon River Canyon near Fairfax (Crandell and Miller 1974). The Frasier Glaciation reached its maximum extent at approximately 15,000 years B.P. In 14,000 B.P., the ice sheet began retreating and by 11,000 B.P. it had receded to the Canadian border (Kruckeberg 1999:55-57). Pleistocene glacial deposits in the Carbon River Valley have been largely buried, reworked, or eroded. However, one area northeast of the Fairfax Townsite, in Section 14 of Township 18N, Range 6E contains documented weathered till

that was deposited by an approximately 450 m thick alpine glacier (Crandell and Miller 1974:11). The Lily Creek Formation, a broad area of fluvial deposits and lahars up to 250 m thick has been recorded south of the Carbon River to Twenty-Five Mile Creek (Crandell 1963). These deposits were formed in the early-middle Pleistocene.

The stratigraphy in the Carbon River Valley proximal to Fairfax includes identified deposits of Hayden Creek glacial till. These deposits are present in the uplands on either side of the valley. The extent of the Hayden Creek drift is defined by a lateral moraine. Areas in the valley that were once interpreted as landslides may be moraines created during glacial recession, according to Crandell and Miller (1974:22). The sand and gravel deposits that characterize the Hayden Drift were identified at Upper Fairfax, just southeast of the Fairfax Townsite. A rudimentary stratigraphic profile consists of recent terrace deposits overlying up to 5 m of oxidized gravels. The similar Evans Creek till is present in the valley walls of Evans Creek, east of the Fairfax Townsite (see Figure 1) (Crandell and Miller 1974:22).

The Evans Creek Drift is characterized by poorly sorted sand and gravel till associated with the terminal moraine of the Carbon River Glacier. This till is overlain by lake sediments. These lake sediments were deposited when the Puget Glacier lobe damned the Carbon River, approximately 8 km downstream of Upper Fairfax (Crandell and Miller 1974:30). By the mid-1700s the Carbon Glacier, which in the Pleistocene would have terminated near to Fairfax, was retreating rapidly. Crandell and Miller recorded the height of the outwash terrace at Fairfax as 39 m above the Carbon River line in the 1970s (1974:31). Terrace erosion was recorded by archaeologists in 2008 (Kopperl and Smith 2009) and is clearly ongoing along the bank of the Carbon River as of 2018.

3.2.1. Vegetation

Mudflows or lahars have periodically decimated the forests of the major river valleys in this region; however, the Carbon River Valley has not experienced these events in recent history (Franklin et al. 1988). Site 45PI918 is within the *Tsuga heterophylla* (western hemlock) ecogeographic province which is known for its dense and productive forests dominated by coniferous species including *Pseudotsuga* (douglas fir), *Tsuga* (hemlock), *Abies* (fir), *Chamaecyparis* (cedar), *Picea* (spruce), *Pinus* (pine), *and Thuja* (arborvitae) (Franklin et al. 1988:16). *Pinus monticola* (western white pine) and *Pinus contorta* (lodgepole pine) are encountered on glacial drift in the region (Franklin and Dyrness 1988:72). This zone is part of

the temperate mesophytic forest region defined by Daubenmire (1978). *Tsuga heterophylla* is the most expansive zone in Western Washington and Oregon and has been the most extensively logged in the historic period (Franklin and Dyrness 1988:70-71). Additionally, wildfire has been a dominant destructive agent for the forests surrounding Mount Rainier for the last thousand years (Franklin et al. 1988:20). Following timber harvesting in the *Tsuga heterophylla* Zone, which typically involves clearcutting followed by controlled burning, the first growth season includes the ground cover of residual species in addition to invasive species like *Senecio sylvaticus* (heath groundsel), *Epilobium angustifolium* (fireweed), and *E. paniculatum* (orchid) (Franklin and Dyrness 1988:83-84).

The *Tsuga heterophylla/Polystichum munitum* (western hemlock/western swordfern) Association as identified by Franklin et al., is prominent on the west side of Mount Rainier National Park, extending into the Carbon River Valley. This association includes stony soils developed in alluvium, colluvium, lahar, and tephra. It is characterized by large, mature trees and a major understory of *Berberis nervosa* (Oregon grape) (1988:52).

3.3. Culture

3.3.1. Archaeological Context

Archaeological work across the Pacific Northwest suggests that human occupation has occurred in the region for the last 12,000 years, although radiocarbon dates from Cooper's Ferry and Wilson Butte (Idaho) and Paisley Caves (Oregon) suggest much earlier dates of occupation, as early as 16,000 years ago (Ames and Maschner 1999; Banse 2019; Carlson and Dalla Bona 1996; Jenkins et al. 2012). Broad, general Northwest Coast chronology assigns this earliest phase of occupation to the Paleondian period which is characterized by a sparse population evidenced by fluted and stemmed projectile points. The Archaic period or Olcott Phase (10,500 – 4,400 BC) was characterized by highly mobile hunter-fisher-gatherers. Archaeological evidence for the Olcott Phase in Washington originally came from Snohomish County assemblages of stone tools located on river terraces. The Early Pacific Period (4,400-1,800 BC) witnessed the stabilization of sea levels, directly influencing changes in human subsistence and settlement on the Northwest Coast. This period ushered in increased social complexity and the sustained use of coastal and estuarine areas. The dominant use of shellfish resources led to an increase in sedentism, marked by the archaeological evidence of large midden sites. The Middle (1,800 BC to AD 200/500) to Late (AD 200/500-c. AD 1775) Periods of

the Pacific Phase were marked by economic specialization and the evidence of plank houses and villages signifying the transition to seasonal sedentism (Ames and Maschner 1999; Angelbeck 2016). The Middle Period witnessed the introduction of the bow and arrow and enhanced warfare. The Late Period was in part characterized by the "rise of powerful Chiefs" among Northwest Coast Tribes (Angelbeck 2016:54).

Volcanic events during the Holocene, including successive tephra deposits and lahars, have impacted the visibility of the precontact archaeological record in the areas surrounding Mount Rainier (Burtchard 1998:9). The most recent major lahar event occurred 500 years ago. The Electron mudflow ran west through the Mowich and Puyallup Rivers, inundating the Puyallup Valley and extending west into the lowlands (Burtchard 1998:11-12). These events have helped to determine temporal periods of Mount Rainier occupation and land use but are not seen as sufficient to have impacted broad land use patterns in the region (Burtchard 1998:12-13). However, repeated stream realignments and damming would have undoubtedly affected native fish populations, influencing resource predictability. Burtchard argues that due to these lahar events, Mount Rainier's forested river valleys were likely never as important to precontact populations as the resource-rich subalpine meadows of the mountain (1998:13, 2007:4).

Limited populations of Coho salmon and steelhead trout have been historically documented in the Carbon River (Burtchard 1998:22). Debris-flows and the high energy of the Carbon River would have affected the extent to which anadromous fish were present. Burtchard posits that Rainier's river valleys are too low in elevation to sustain huckleberry habitat, too narrow for substantial ungulate habitat, and the river, too silty and lahar susceptible for successful fishery use, suggesting that areas like the Carbon River Valley would have been used more temporarily, or as a transportation corridor en-route to Mount Rainier (1998:25).

3.3.2. Previous Precontact Archaeology

The western foothills of Mount Rainier, along the upper reaches of the Puyallup and Nisqually Rivers, have yielded limited precontact archaeological data despite substantial survey efforts (Burtchard 1998). There are no documented precontact sites within several miles (mi.) of the Fairfax Townsite. The closest is the Howard Peak Lithic Site #1 (45PI984), approximately 8.8 kilometers (km) (5.5 mi.) southeast of 45PI918. This site is comprised of a sparse cryptocrystalline silica (CCS) lithic scatter with one projectile point (Sullivan and Allen 1997).

The active nature of Mount Rainier volcanism and lahar flows during the early Holocene may have limited the occupation of the region and the degree with which sites are identified in the foothills. The lack of a cultural chronology for the Rainier region has been noted by various researchers as problematic since archaeologists tend to prescribe Columbia Plateau chronologies to sites in the Western Cascades. Precontact sites and isolated finds are more common in the higher elevation montane settings of the Southern Cascades, dating as far back as circa 8,500 B.P. (Burtchard 1998).

3.3.3. Indigenous Peoples and Ethnographic History

The location of Fairfax falls within the traditional territory of Southern Coast Salish populations of the Puget Sound, speakers of the Southern Lushootseed dialect who lived in the region for time immemorial (Suttles and Lane 1990). The Coast Salish were complex hunter-gatherers extending from southern British Columbia to southwest Washington State (Angelbeck 2016; Suttles and Lane 1990). Boundaries between the territories of Puyallup, Muckleshoot, and Nisqually Tribes were posited and refuted by a series of European American ethnographers in the 1930s and 1940s including Haeberlin and Gunther (1930), Smith (1940), and Spier (1936) (Smith 2006). However, the nearest documented village, at the confluence of the Puyallup and Carbon Rivers to the west belonged to the Upper Puyallup (*spuyaləpabš*) (Smith 1940:8).

Ethnographers who attempted to classify Indigenous groups by geography and cultural characteristics are responsible for an oversimplified narrative of the autonomous groups of the Puget Basin that participated in intra-tribal negotiation, coalition building, and the co-ownership or sharing of resource locations (Angelbeck 2016:52; Smith 2006; Suttles and Lane:485). However, it is generally understood that prior to the treaties of the 1850s, the communities of the Southern Coast Salish were especially tied socially by shared waterways and drainages. Within these regions, there were differences between groups including population size, access to resources, defense and hierarchical status. Prior to treaties with the federal government, there was no formal political system dividing these broader groups into tribal bands (Suttles and Lane 1990:485).

The Puyallup Peoples occupied the Puyallup River, its drainages, and tributaries, including the Fairfax area (Deloria Jr. 1977:7). It is generally recognized that Puyallup Peoples utilized the northwestern montane resources of *Takhoma*, renamed Mount Rainier by George Vancouver upon his expedition in 1791-1792 (Deloria Jr. 1977; Smith 1940; Smith 2006).

Interpretations for the Puyallup assigned *Takhoma* include “breast of the milk white waters” and “great white mountain,” whereas to the Yakima and Klickitat Tribes to the east *Tahoma* meant “rumbling like thunder near the skies.” The Nisqually word *Tacobud* was interpreted as, “the place where water comes from” (Clark 1953:27).

There is documented confusion regarding the structure of Puget Sound Salishan Groups, but the Puyallup, Nisqually, and Muckleshoot spoke nearly identical languages. They were all comprised of politically autonomous villages or village clusters and intermarriage was customary (The Puyallup Tribe of Indians 2018; Smith 2006). No substantial linguistic or cultural differences were recorded or understood of the villages on the lower to middle Nisqually and Puyallup Rivers. Those living on the upper reaches of these drainages were considered to have some Sahaptin dialect influence (Smith 2006:73-74). Three “treatments” of these communities were employed by various ethnographers (Smith 2006:74):

1. All villages in the southern sound region, including Puyallup and Nisqually River basins were grouped together due to geographic, linguistic, and cultural similarities (Smith 1940).

2. Resource acquisition differences were used to divide Puyallup and Nisqually groups; those proximal to the river mouths were saltwater or “canoe” people, while those in the middle or upper reaches were riverine or “horse” people (Smith 1940).

3. Puyallup and Nisqually groups were distinguished based on topography. Groups living in a single valley had closer ties with one another than those in adjacent valleys since their primary routes of transportation were along the same river. Allan Smith’s informant, Billy Frank of the Nisqually, reported that villages were present on either side of the Nisqually River from the mouth up to Eatonville. This social organization by river valley informed the recognition of two tribes, the Nisqually in the Nisqually River Valley and the Puyallup to the north, along the Puyallup and its tributaries, including the Carbon River (Smith 2006).

Contact and Cultural Continuity

The first documented contact between European Americans and Native Peoples in the region occurred in 1792, when British explorer George Vancouver led his crew through the Hood Canal and Puget Sound. At this time, the Vancouver expedition witnessed the impact of smallpox on Puget Basin populations. Although the first documented reference to Smallpox on the Northwest Coast came from the late 1700s, it is possible that disease introduction occurred much earlier, following the landing of Francis Drake's party in 1597. Smallpox epidemics occurred with some regularity among Native populations for the decades that followed, with outbreaks occurring roughly every generation (Boyd 1999:21-22).

Contact between European Americans and the peoples of the Upper Puyallup occurred when mobile trappers and traders with the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) penetrated the Puget Sound area in the 1820s. In 1833 the HBC developed a trading post and farm at Fort Nisqually (present-day DuPont, Washington), initiating the first sustained contact with Native Peoples in the area. In 1833, HBC Post Head, Dr. William F. Tolmie left Fort Nisqually and attempted to summit Mount Rainier. A Puyallup guide, "Nuckalkut," led Tolmie on this, the first direct ascent of Rainier by a white person (Smith 2006:89). They were joined by other Puyallup men who intended to use the excursion to hunt. The party took a route along the Carbon River, east, to the mountain. Smith (2006) suggests that Tolmie's account of an attempted ascent from the northwest corner with a party of Puyallup men validates the Puyallup claim to this quadrant of the mountain (pp. 89-90). The next wave of European Americans in the Puget Sound were Roman Catholic Missionaries who traveled through the region in 1839 and 1840 seeking to convert Indigenous populations (Suttles and Lane 1999:499).

A Measles epidemic hit Fort Nisqually in 1847, likely carried from Fort to Fort via the HBC steamer vessel *Beaver,* which carried personnel and supplies between outposts. Dr. Tolmie recorded the first case in December of that year. In early 1848, there were documented cases of the outbreak among the Nisqually, who along with other groups of the Puget Sound, traveled to the Fort with some frequency (Boyd 1999:153-156). Dr. William Tolmie was responsible for vaccinating large numbers of Native Peoples in the Puget Sound against Smallpox during the 1850s. Between 1855 and 1857, approximately 5,000 Native People perished from introduced disease. This estimation was made across temporary Indian Reservations in the Northwest (Boyd 1999:170-171).

In 1850, the passage of the Donation Land Act encouraged a new influx of European American settlers who claimed land that belonged to the Puyallup, Nisqually, Duwamish, and Muckleshoot in the region. The need to clear land for European American title led to the systematic removal of Native Peoples to various reservations in the Puget Sound and greater Pacific Northwest.

The Treaty of Medicine Creek

The Treaty of Medicine Creek was signed by Western Washington Tribes on December 26th, 1854 with Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens. Tribes ceded their lands in exchange for a financial payout of $32,500, and the right of access to traditional fishing and hunting grounds, provided they relocate to reservations (Meany 1909). Following the Treaty of Medicine Creek which established the Puyallup and Nisqually Reservations, Native Peoples of the Puget Sound rose up to fight for their land rights, particularly to their traditional fishing locations. Immediately after the Washington State treaties were signed, European American settlers began squatting in large numbers on traditional lands. The Nisqually Tribe, who had been relocated some distance from their fishing territories, retaliated under Chief Leschi in 1856, attacking the settlement of Seattle. Chief Leschi was hanged as a result. The Muckleshoot Reservation was established in 1857 by executive order and the Nisqually reservation was redrawn to include areas with more favorable fishing. The influx and assumed dominion by European American populations disrupted traditional Native lifeways in the Puget Sound (Deloria, Jr. 1977:47-50).

3.3.4. Historic Map Review

The earliest formal mapping of the project area was conducted by General Land Office (GLO) surveyors in the 1870s. At this time, no developments would have been present within the Fairfax site or its vicinity. Deposits of coal are depicted on the landscape, the closest of which is shown due north, across the Carbon River. This corresponds with the location of the Fairfax Mine on a later DNR map (DNR 1923; GLO 1876). A map from 1889 also shows no development in the immediate vicinity; however, it depicts few land claims, along the Carbon River in Section 16, approximately 2.5 mi. (4 km) downstream (northwest) (Plummer 1889). Land within odd Sections 27 and 35 was claimed by the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1895 as part of their broad acquisition of western lands. Raymond Moore was issued the SW ¼ of Section 26, which encompasses a small portion of the Fairfax site, under the Land Act of 1820. This land was formally issued to Moore in 1891. Raymond Moore’s association, if any, with

Robert Moore, Co-Owner of the Manley-Moore Lumber Company, is at this point unknown. Andrew M. Stewart claimed the project area within Section 34, under the Coal Lands Act of 1873. Stewart was officially issued 120 acres (48.6 hectares) in 1898 (BLM 2018).

A United States Geologic Survey (USGS) topographic map from 1897 depicts an undeveloped Fairfax, which is inconsistent with the historical record. On this map, the Northern Pacific line terminates to the north at Carbonado, which had by this time been platted. A trail is shown running north-south from Wilkeson to the northern side of the Carbon River at Fairfax, indicating early movement between the towns (USGS 1897). Early USGS maps of the project area are at a large scale (1:125,000) and do not show a clear picture of the landscape at Fairfax (USGS 1897, 1900, 1913).

DNR maps offer the most accurate depiction of the Fairfax mine complex and associated town buildings from 1912 to 1928. The DNR map that presents the most above-ground structural features is one from 1913. It depicts several houses on either side of the railroad grade, the hotel, store, and tavern (DNR 1913). This map was georeferenced to establish the preliminary layout of proposed shovel probes and test units at the site (see Chapter 4). By the mid-twentieth century, after the townsite had been largely abandoned, the property was owned by the St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Company (Metsker Maps 1951, 1960, 1965).

3.3.5. Historic Period Development and the Mines at Fairfax

The Carbon River and its tributaries are characterized by canyons up to 600 feet (ft.) deep. These offered visible exposures of coal deposits to the earliest European Americans in the area (Watkin Evans 1924:43). Early settlers discovered coal “floats” in the streams of eastern Pierce County in the 1860s. In 1880, the Northern Pacific built a rail line up the Puyallup River Valley to access mines in the South Prairie region. This opened up the Pierce County Field, which eventually included mines at Wilkeson, Carbonado, Melmont, Burnett, South Prairie, and Fairfax. Early on, nearly all of the mined coal in the county was shipped to California for railroad use.

The initial discovery of coal in the Carbon River region occurred in 1862 near Wilkeson, where the first coal claim was filed in 1874 (Kopperl and Smith 2009:7). In 1892, coal was discovered at Fairfax by area resident, William E. Williams. In 1896, Fairfax began producing coal when the Western American Company opened the Fairfax Mine in Section 26 of Township

18N, Range 6E. In the same year, the town was constructed and the post office opened at Fairfax (Daniels 1979:118; Fuller Reese 1989: 42; Gatto 1965; Hall 1994:146). At its inception, the mine superintendent was Walter McNeil, who is listed on the US Census from 1900 as such (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900). Between 1897 and 1898, a Northern Pacific Railroad line was built from Carbonado to Fairfax, making way for the direct transportation of coal out of the region. Rail served as the impetus for regional expansion in the west, connecting peripheral towns in Western Washington to the urban cores; the ports of Tacoma and Seattle. Railroad construction brought the first migratory workers into the Carbon River area. The coalfields of Pierce County were of particular interest to the Northern Pacific who could monopolize both the raw material of coal and its transportation (Schwantes 1987: 42-43). The rail line between Carbonado and Fairfax was built by the owner of the mine, the Western American Company, but purchased by the Northern Pacific in 1899 (*The Seattle Star* 1899 December:3).

The town of Fairfax was platted and named for Fairfax, Iowa where the Western American Company President, Walter McNeill originated. The Iowa town had been named for the county in Virginia (Hall 1994:147). Fairfax, Washington was a planned industrial community, designed to maintain a stable and productive workforce and entrench company loyalty (Crawford 1996:51). On the surface, it seems to have done its job; however, labor issues purportedly arose at Fairfax during the 1890s, with disgruntled white workers fighting for better wages and conditions. Black workers were reportedly hired by company owners during a period of strike to keep the mine operational. When labor disputes continued to affect production, managers are said to have employed Japanese men. By 1900, an agreement was reportedly made between the company and white miners, who then returned to work (Hall 1980:147). These labor struggles were presented in the *Industrial Number - Wilkeson Record* from 1917, but no mention of the strife was identified in regional newspaper articles from the turn of the century and proof of strike or uprising at the town remains tenuous. What local periodicals do clarify is that both Washington State and the Fairfax District were desperately seeking laborers during the late 1890s.

In 1890, William Rust organized the Tacoma Smelting and Refining Company and purchased a smelter operation in Tacoma. The smelting of lead and copper ores in Tacoma required substantial quantities of coke. Rust purchased Fairfax for this resource in 1907. Rust opened a new mine on the property in 1911, under the company name Fairfax Mine, Inc. The mine was opened in Section 27, southwest of the residential section of town (Daniels 1979:118-119). During this period, the town expanded and additional dwellings were added to the property

(Hall 1980:148). In 1918 there were six operational mines employing ten or more men in Pierce County, and 72 state-wide. The coal at Fairfax was bituminous. It was clean-burning, but not the best quality for heating buildings. It was primarily used for rail and steamship power (Melder 1938:157-158). A fraction of coking coal at Fairfax supported the metallurgical endeavors of the state, powering the smelters of Tacoma. The county was the only part of Washington mass-producing coke, a product that required oven firing before being shipped out of the region. In 1918, four companies in the county produced over 90,000 tons of the material. By 1924, it was reported that the State of Washington had enough coal resources to supply the entirety of the west coast for many years to come (Watkin Evans 1924:1-2).

Due to the ash content of coal deposits in the Fairfax area, raw coal required screening, separating, and washing prior to export. A washery is visible along the Carbon River Road on DNR maps as early as 1913, approximately 1.4 km (0.9 mi.) southeast of the townsite (Daniels 1979:69; DNR 1913). Due to poor market conditions, many of the mines in eastern Pierce County closed during the 1910s. Few companies were able to continue their coking endeavors, but by 1927, coke production in beehive ovens similar to those built at Wilkeson and Fairfax largely ended. The dawn of World War II brought a brief renaissance to some Western Washington coking facilities, which were reopened to support the war effort (Daniels 1979:79-80; Melder 1938:163-164).

By 1914, the original Fairfax Mine in Section 26, on the north side of the Carbon River was closed and extraction had begun on two mines in Sections 27 and 34 (Daniels 1914:94; DNR 1913). The mines in Section 34 had their difficulties due to extreme faults and “crushed conditions,” therefore no uniform methods of mining were employed (Daniels 1914:94). By 1917, the owner of Fairfax Mine Inc. was employing approximately eighty-five workers and the 60 coke ovens at Fairfax were producing approximately 2,500 tons of coke per month for the smelters in Tacoma. At this time, the acting superintendent was J.R. Patzer and the mine foreman was Stanley Smith (Jacobin 1917:9). In 1925, Fairfax was sold to the Wilkeson Group. The Wilkeson Coal and Coke Company took over with Joe Lee as Superintendent and Frank Angeline as the manager of the mine. Angeline moved into the impressive company house on the hill south of town (Hall 1994:160). By this time; however, the market for coke had drastically declined. Fairfax produced coal briquettes for the few years that followed (1926-1929) and ended production entirely in 1930 (Carlson 2003:221-222; Daniels 1979:118-119).

The town of Fairfax also supported the logging activities of the Manley-Moore Lumber Company following the decline of the coal industry. Between 1910 and the 1930s, few Manley-Moore employees lived at the Fairfax Townsite, although most lived near the company sawmill at Upper Fairfax. By 1941, the townsite was entirely abandoned. For the decades that followed, the area was used primarily for recreation, but a small community lived in the Carbon River area. Some made homes in the remnant buildings of the Fairfax District prior to the complete razing of the site in 1991 by Burlington Northern (Carlson 2003:121; Kopperl and Smith 2009:8; *Seattle Post Intelligencer* 1979; personal communication: Foothills Museum Staff, 2018).

Lumber and Coal: Labor and the Partnership of Extractive Industries

The symbiosis of the coal and lumber industries at Fairfax maintained the working population and the townsite. Extractive towns supported by more than one resource were commonly found in the west. The raw materials and products of the mine, logging camp, and sawmill were all necessary for town sustenance. Having a direct source of timber production meant that mine shafts and ladders could be maintained. Coal powered the machinery and trains that moved all goods in and out of the area. By 1883, large coal bunkers had been built at the port of Tacoma for shipment out of the Puget Sound. A *Scientific American* article about their construction proclaims, "*The great coal and iron mines practically inexhaustible and the vast forests of this region, make its future as a prominent industrial point certain*." (1883: 146).

Lumber and coal industries were simultaneously productive in Washington State, but at Fairfax coal was the impetus for town building. By 1910, logging and milling also supported the Fairfax District. Workers in the mills and forests of Washington were some of the highest-paid in the American logging industry. An average wage in the northwest timber industry was more than fifty-six dollars a month, almost twice that paid the average Midwest logger. These higher wages brought workers from the Midwest and eastern states in droves during the 1880s onward. Even during the early years of operation at Fairfax, it was clear that Washington State desperately needed laborers. In conversation with Washington labor contractor Nelson Rich, Chicago contractor Henry Cowper remarked,

> I am now convinced that the state of Washington is in a more prosperous condition than a majority of the Eastern states I have visited this year. In many of the Eastern states, men are actually begging for employment at low wages, while in this state, work actually goes begging for men. It seems to me that the encouraging condition of Washington should be widely advertised in the East, if for no other reason than to get workmen here to carry on many improvements

> which have been undertaken and which are now nearly at a standstill by reason of a shortage of labor. (*The Seattle Post-Intelligencer* 1898:12).

This lack of available working men was echoed in newspaper articles about the construction of a railroad between Carbonado and Fairfax, "*The Populistic cry that there is no work for men in the state of Washington is now a dead letter, as the greatest trouble we now have is to secure a sufficient number of men to perform the work we have ahead of us*." (*The Seattle Post-Intelligencer* 1898: 6). This labor hurdle at Fairfax is perhaps evidenced in a newspaper listing from 1900, which shows that the Fairfax mine had produced only 250 tons of coal in the year compared to the tens of thousands Wilkeson and Carbonado had and the column for the number of men working at Fairfax was blank, while the Carbon Hill Company at Carbonado employed 500 (*Seattle Post Intelligencer* 1900:11).

By the 1890s, some lumber companies in the northwest were cutting wages and replacing workers with emergent technology. Conditions of the logging camps and mills were less than ideal. Many lacked clean accommodations, water, and other necessities. Men were five times more likely to be killed in logging and mill accidents than any other industry in Washington (Ficken 1987: 72-73, 132-133). Industrial accidents in the Fairfax District were not limited to loggers and sawmill workers. In 1915, *The Tacoma Times* reported that the wife of the Fairfax school principal, J.H. Skiles was killed when a massive sawdust pile slid into the family home (1915:6). In the coal mines, men faced death by firedamp, falls, and electrocution (*The Tacoma Times* 1909:1, 1910a:7).

The Road and Decreased Isolation

Beginning in the 1910s, the residents of Fairfax began to insist on the establishment of a county road that would link the town to the greater region. The isolation of a rail-dependent town had repercussions, some that were fatal. If an accident happened in the mine, there was no convenient way to get injured men to the hospital. Particularly vocal about the need was company doctor and surgeon, C.E. Martin (Hall 1980:155-156). In 1921, the county constructed a road connecting Burnett to Fairfax. New roads and the rise of the automobile meant that workers, including loggers and miners could commute to work. This ultimately factored into the end of company towns nationwide (Ford 2011; Schwantes 1987:54). The Carbon Glacier Road (present-day Carbon River Road) which runs just south of the Fairfax Townsite decreased the remoteness of the place and brought additional tourists through the direct area. The trip from Seattle to Mount Rainier was now three hours by car (*The Seattle Star* 1921:11).

3.4. The Carbon River Company Town

Nancy Irene Hall's 1980 contextual work on Carbon River communities highlights the early coal and lumbering towns of the Carbon River Canyon and provides the most complete background on Fairfax and surrounding towns, based on local research and oral histories. It was used in part to develop research questions for this thesis as I was curious to see whether themes expressed in Hall's work were consistent with the archaeological and documentary record at Fairfax (Hall 1980). Fairfax was not an island and its success was the result of interconnectedness to other company towns in Western Washington (see Figure 2). The town was part of a network of extractive communities in the foothills of Mount Rainier, some of which are discussed below to provide a specific context on town building and abandonment in this stretch of the Carbon River Canyon.

Researchers of company towns have sought to categorize them by resource type, management style, and layout (Allen 1966; Garner 1984; Shifflett 1991). In his work on the history of Southern Colorado coal towns, John L. Keane describes three post-mining town "types":

1. Those that disappeared
2. Those that continue to be dominated by their mining past
3. Those that were reinvented for a non-industrial future (2000:3)

Prior to its "disappearance" from the landscape, Fairfax was a company town with linear streets lined with single-family residences, boarding houses, a 20-room hotel, a schoolhouse, and a privately owned store. The rail depot was located adjacent to the main grade, which bisected the town and crossed the Carbon River to access the original mine in Section 26. A tavern or "icehouse" was present in the northernmost portion of the site, just south of the Carbon River, and a baseball diamond was located at the western end of town (DNR 1913, 1917).

Few towns in the region fall somewhere between Keane's second and third description. They are residential in character but memorialize their mining pasts. They did not disappear. Towns like Wilkeson and Carbonado exemplify these qualities. Both predate the development of Fairfax by more than a decade and are early examples of the multi-ethnic peopling of the Carbon River region. Coal was the driving force that created these towns. Although it is not

erased from their existence today, it does not dominate their character. These places survived. Melmont, Montezuma, Manley-Moore, and Fairfax were depopulated and abandoned when their extraction efforts ceased. Brief sketches on these coal towns are provided to outline the place of Fairfax within a greater network of industry and of community. Fairfax served as a hub for smaller satellite communities like Montezuma and Manley-Moore and in turn, was a satellite community of larger towns like Wilkeson and cities like Tacoma.

3.4.1. Wilkeson

The first mines at Wilkeson, 11.1 km (6.9 mi.) northwest of the Fairfax Townsite, were established in the 1870s by the Northern Pacific Railroad and Tacoma Coal and Coke Company, prior to the presence of rail through the area. The first commercial coking endeavors in Washington State were established at Wilkeson (Melder 1938:157; Palmer and Weaver 1995). By the 1890s, Tacoma Coal and Coke and the Wilkeson Coal and Coke Company were producing a combined 60,000+ tons of coal and employing more than 150 men. In 1891, the total population of Wilkeson numbered 450. Wilkeson was a multi-ethnic community that, “contained many different nationalities and even though they were part of Wilkeson, they still had their own social structure within the town.” (Hall 1980:18). By 1900, the town had grown to support 1,000 residents and was linked to Fairfax through the business endeavors of Charles Brehm, who owned general stores in both locales (Hall 1980:22). Unlike Fairfax and Carbonado, Wilkeson offered the possibility of private ownership and many families chose to live in Wilkeson so they could own their homes (Hall 1980:23).

In 1995, the Wilkeson Coal and Coke Mine Complex (45PI562) was recorded as an archaeological site, southeast of the existing town of Wilkeson on land owned by the Plum Creek Timber Company. It includes the remains of the original company townsite and mining features like shafts and processing areas. Remnant roads and a baseball field were noted, as were historic period artifacts on the ground surface, although no collection was made. Archaeological site 45PI562 is comparable in scale and content to the Fairfax Townsite but has only received reconnaissance level investigation (Palmer and Weaver 1995).

3.4.2. Carbonado

In 1879, Robert Wingate, a mining expert, and scout for the Carbon Hill Coal Company identified a good prospect in the Carbonado area, about 8.3 km (5.2 mi.) downstream from

Fairfax near the Carbon River. The Carbon Hill Company opened its mines at Carbonado in 1883. Road building and the extension of the Northern Pacific Railroad line from Wilkeson followed (Hall 1980:63-64). Wingate and his associates promoted the use of a Chinese workforce for the construction of the town and underground mining. An estimated 100 Chinese workers were living at Wilkeson and Carbonado during this time (1980:68). At Carbonado, these workers built the first trail connecting the townsite on the bluff above to the mine shaft, an elevation difference of 900 ft. (Echtle 2018).

Carbonado was entirely company-owned. If private enterprise was approved by the company, they leased their land. By 1886, the heated anti-Chinese campaigns spearheaded by organizations such as the Knights of Labor in Pierce County resulted in mine closures at Carbonado when the Chinese workers were forced out of the county (Hall 1980:73; Schwantes 1997). Closures were short-lived and Carbonado continued to expand in both output and population, reaching its peak in the late 1910s with over 1,000 residents. Labor strikes in 1917, 1919, and 1921, the start of WWI, and a string of mine accidents in the 1920s temporarily affected the workforce. However, mining operations continued at Carbonado until 1937 when the company pulled out of town. Houses were sold to workers who could afford them, but the company still owned the coal resources underground. Small coal operations continued around the town, but the dominance of coal had lost its footing (Hall 1980:93-106). Company-built houses at Carbonado were nearly identical to those at Fairfax and consisted of white-washed, salt-box style cottages with one to two bedrooms for single families (Hall 1980:75).

In the early 1880s, the Carbon Hill Coal Company built small single-family dwellings for their workers. Each had its own outhouse and the company constructed accommodations to attract family men, who they viewed as less likely to unionize or strike. Approximately 60 Chinese laborers lived at Carbonado, separate from the main townsite in houses described as shanties (Echtle 2018). By 1890, the town swelled to over 700 residents and like Fairfax, the company produced coking coal in a battery of beehive ovens. Coke production peaked during WWI and the town added over one hundred houses and a high school. Electricity was supplied to worker housing at this time as well. The town had the facilities of Fairfax and then some, including three saloons, a hospital, and a bandstand (Echtle 2018).

3.4.3. Melmont

Melmont was a coal town owned by the Northwest Improvement Company, a division of the Northern Pacific Railroad. A post-office was operational at the town from 1902 to 1915 (Fuller Reese 1989:74). Melmont was a company town developed to produce coal for the railroad and was responsible for 4% of Pierce County's total output. Melmont, like the other coal towns in the Carbon River Canyon, was a multi-ethnic community and Hall suggests housing was clustered by ethnicity, "Many different nationalities lived in Melmont and each, such as Italian, Finn or Polish took a different row. They seemed to prefer it that way." (1980:166). The town had a hotel, saloon, rail depot, and schoolhouse. The houses at Melmont were largely single-family, one-story cottages in linear rows. They did not have the yard space of those at Fairfax and were more uniform in nature, with seemingly no house larger or on more property than any other, aside from the large mine superintendent's house (Carlson 2003:228; Hall 1980: 167-168).

In 1918, the Northern Improvement Company pulled out of Melmont, but the Carbon Hill Coal Company continued small-scale mining operations there for a few additional years. In the early 1920s, the town was destroyed by a fire (Carlson 2003:228). Melmont was roughly 3.2 kilometers (km) (2 mi.) northwest of Fairfax and was only accessible by train. Today, the foundational remains of the Melmont schoolhouse and other buildings bring recreationists to the property via a short trail built on the historic railroad grade. Pierce County also owns the Melmont property and an extension of the Foothills Trail is proposed through the area (Washington Trails Association 2019). It has not been formally recorded as an archaeological site.

3.4.4. Montezuma and Manley-Moore

The mine at Montezuma was located at Upper Fairfax, on the bank of Evans Creek, approximately 0.8 km (0.5 mi.) southeast of site 45PI918. A short-lived post office was present at Montezuma from 1901-1903. In 1901, Montezuma Mines Inc. built a 1,219 m (4000 ft.) long wooden flume to transport coal from the mine at Evans Creek to the Northern Pacific Railroad at Fairfax. The two communities were connected by this feature and a wagon road. The company built a store and few miners cottages on the west side of Evans Creek. Mining at Montezuma was terminated in 1909. Between 1910 to 1935, the Manley-Moore Logging Company (Manley-Moore) operated at Upper Fairfax, constructing a large sawmill and millpond to support their

logging camp in the wooded hills above, approximately 3.2 km (2 mi.) southeast of Fairfax (Hall 1980:175-179).

At Upper Fairfax, company owners and management lived in large homes on the hill above town similar to the layout at the Fairfax Townsite. A small store/post office and schoolhouse were built at Manley-Moore, but Brehm's store at Fairfax continued to serve as the main post office for the area (Hall 1980:183). After 1935, the Civilian Conservation Corps' Camp Carbon River was posted at Upper Fairfax along Evans Creek for a period of time before it was relocated to the Vancouver Barracks District in Vancouver, Washington (Fuller Reese 1989:76).

The mill at Manley-Moore was one of the largest in inland Washington State and at its peak, the company employed more than 100 men. In 1924, Roy and Harry Huling opened a shingle mill just east of the Manley-Moore property. Manley-Moore supplied the wood and in return, the Huling brothers split the profits of shingle sales with the company by 50% (Hall 1980 186-187). Through the 1920s, Manley-Moore was a thriving company town boasting one of the largest operations in Washington. However, the depression of 1929 hit the company hard and they were forced to shutter operations at Upper Fairfax. For a few years following their departure, Eatonville Lumber ran the town. The Huling brothers moved their shingle mill and in the early 1930s, industry at Manley-Moore was over (Carlson 2003:198). A couple of residents purchased the land and sold some of the houses to private buyers; however, this property was still on railroad land grants. By the time Hall wrote her background on the Carbon River towns, a few of the homes at Manley-Moore were still inhabited, but they were proposed for demolition by Burlington Northern. In 1991, all remaining structures were razed at Montezuma, Manley-Moore, and Fairfax (Carlson 2003: 183; Hall 1980: 189-190; Kopperl and Smith 2009).

3.5. Previous Historical Archaeology

The online GIS database of the Washington Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (DAHP) WISAARD was accessed to identify archaeological sites and historic properties within a 5 km (3.1 mi.) radius of the Fairfax Townsite. Four cultural resource surveys have been conducted within this radius, including the pedestrian survey conducted at Fairfax in 2009 (Kopperl and Smith 2009). Three historic period sites (Manley-Moore), one historic district (Upper Fairfax), and two above-ground historic resources (The Fairfax Bridge and the Zavitski Homestead) have been recorded within a 5 km (3.1 mi.) radius of Fairfax (Table 1).

The closest historic-period archaeological sites to the Fairfax Townsite are those related to the Manley-Moore Lumber Company. A detailed contextual background was developed by Miss et al. in their report for the data recovery at the Manley-Moore Logging sites (circa 1914-1920), which are located approximately 3.2 km (2 mi.) southeast of Fairfax and were occupied contemporaneously to site 45PI918 (Figure 8) (Burtchard and Miss 1998; Miss et al. 2000). Miss et al. excavated 85 discovery and collection units, identifying materials associated with the Manley-Moore Logging Camp (45PI474) and railroad grades (45PI475 and 45PI476). To date, this is the most extensive body of archaeological work proximal to the Fairfax Townsite and in this part of the Carbon River Valley.

Table 1. Previously Recorded Archaeological Sites and Above-ground Resources within a 5 Kilometer (3.1 Mile) Radius of the Fairfax Townsite (45PI918)

Site/Resource Number	Type	Name	Proximity to Fairfax	Work Conducted	Date	Eligibility	Reference
45PI474	Historic Camp	Manley-Moore Logging Camp	3.4 km (2.1 mi.) SE	Data Recovery	1999	Recommended Eligible	Miss et al. 2000
45PI475	Railroad Grade	Manley-Moore Incline Grade	4.4 km (2.7 mi).SE	Recorded 1997, Data Recovery 1999	1997-1999	Recommended Eligible	Miss et al. 2000
45PI476	Railroad Grades	Manley-Moore Railroad Grades	3.2 km (2 mi.) SE	Recorded 1997, Data Recovery 1999	1997-1999	Recommended Eligible	Miss et al. 2000
45PI573	Historic District	Upper Fairfax Historic District	0.5 km (0.3 mi.) E	Above Ground Documentation. NRHP Recommendation Form Completed	1981	NRHP Recommendation Form Completed	Collins 1981
45PI659	Bridge	Fairfax Bridge (Carbon River Bridge)	3.4 km (2.1 mi.) NW	HAER Inventory	1979		Soderberg 1979
45PI801	Barn	John Zavitski Barn	3 km (1.9 mi.) SE	Heritage Barn Inventory	ND		Houser n.d.
27-999	Sawmill	Town of Olympic, Sawmill	1.8 km (1.1 mi.) SW	Pierce County Cultural Resources Survey	1982		Gallaci 1982a
27-1000	Hotel	Town of Olympic, Hotel	1.5 km (0.9 mi.) S	Pierce County Cultural Resources Survey	1982		Gallaci 1982b
20-1001	School/House	Manley-Moore School House (Stull Residence)	0.5 km (0.3 mi.) SE	Pierce County Cultural Resources Survey	1982		Gallaci 1982c
27-1002	Corral	Corral	Within	Pierce County Cultural Resources Survey	1982		Gallaci 1982d
20-1003	House	Collins House	0.5 km (0.3 mi.) SE	Pierce County Cultural Resources Survey	1982		Gallaci 1982e

Table 1 cont. Previously Recorded Archaeological Sites and Above-ground Resources within a 5 Kilometer (3.1 Mile) Radius of the Fairfax Townsite (45PI918)

Site/Resource Number	Type	Name	Proximity to Fairfax	Work Conducted	Date	Eligibility	Reference
27-1007	School	Montezuma School House	0.5 km (0.3 mi.) SE	Pierce County Cultural Resources Survey	1982		Gallaci 1982f
27-1008	House	Montezuma Company House	148 m (485 ft.) SE	Pierce County Cultural Resources Survey	1982		Gallaci 1982g
27-1009	Shack	Shack	Within	Pierce County Cultural Resources Survey	1982		Gallaci 1982h
27-1012	House	Manley-Moore House	1 km (0.6 mi.) SW	Pierce County Cultural Resources Survey	1982		Gallaci 1982i
N/A	Masonry Walls	Stone Masonry Walls	3.6 km (2.2 mi.)NW	National Register Evaluation	2007	Recommended Eligible	Lutrell 2007
27-2963	Rangers Quarters	Seasonal Rangers Quarters	3.1 km (1.9 mi.) SE	National Park Service Inventory	1982		Harvey 1982
713017	Bunkhouse	Thompson Bunkhouse	4 km (2.5 mi.) SE	Historic Property Report	2017		Guettinger 2017a
712866	House	Scaler's Residence	4.2 km (2.6 mi.) SE	Historic Property Report	2017		Guettinger 2017b
668770	House	Zavitski Homestead Residence	3 km (1.8 mi.) SE	Historic Property Report	2012		Berenschot and Brown 2012
112362	House	Poch House	4.3 km (2.7 mi.) SE	Historic Property Report	2010	Not Eligible	Brown et al. 2010

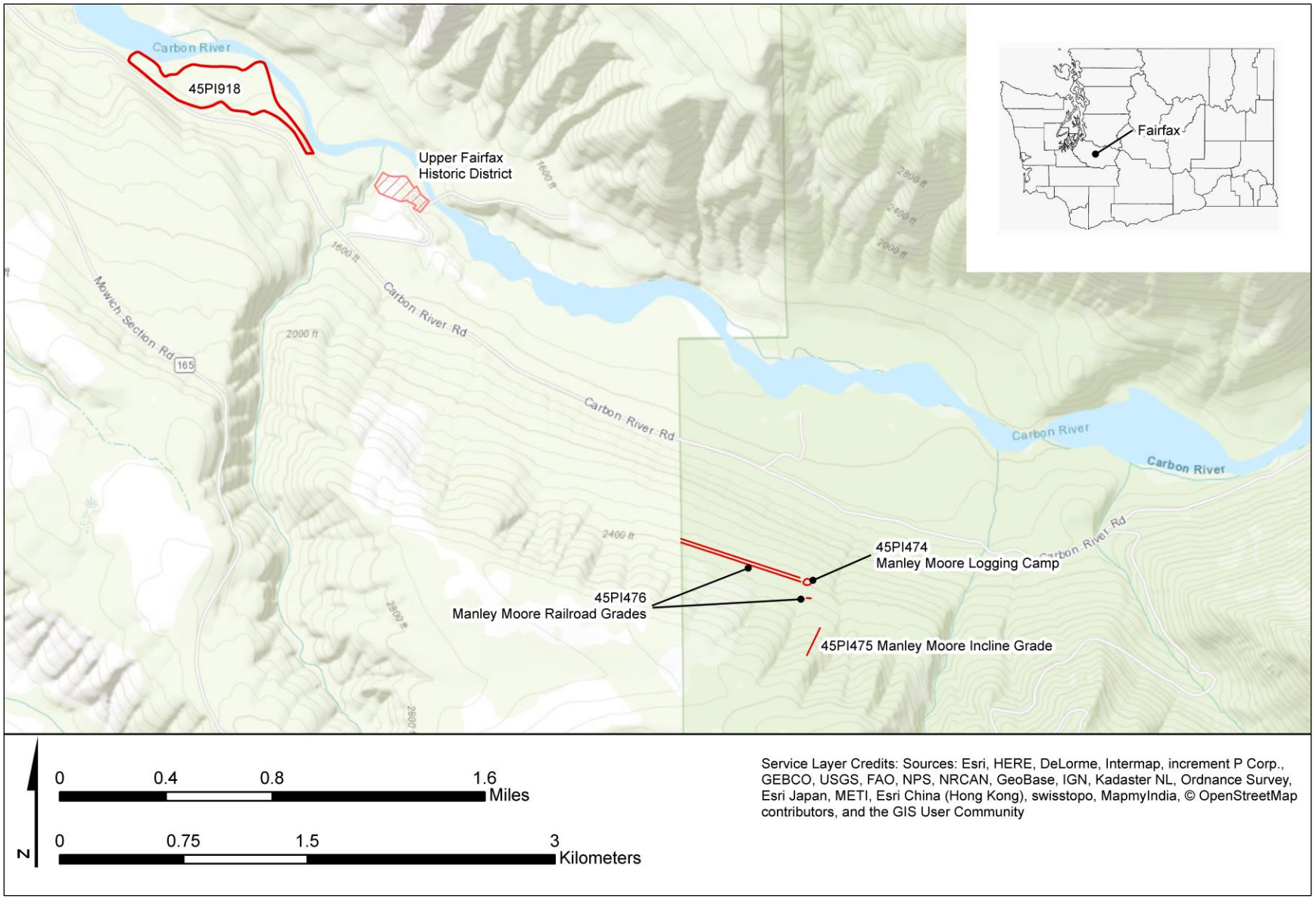


Figure 8. Location map depicting archaeological sites proximal to 45PI918.

3.5.1. Manley-Moore Logging Camp Data Recovery

In 1998, Burtchard and Miss developed the research questions and methodology for excavations at the Manley-Moore Logging Campsite (45PI474). These were defined as part of the broad identification and NRHP recommendations of resources on 16,500 acres (6,677 hectares) of National Forest Service lands within the I-90 Land Exchange Project. The research questions developed were related to site use, ethnic occupations, and the potential association with other camps. A total of seven research questions were established:

- Were structures present?
- If remains of structures are present, are they permanent or temporary as in buildings brought in by donkey sled or rail?
- What was the purpose of the camp? Possibilities include engine tenders' camp, cookhouse, supervisor's facility, or crew camp.
- Is there evidence of non-Euroamerican occupation? Japanese workers were employed by the Manley-Moore mill during this period.
- Are the camp and grade contemporaneous?
- How is the camp associated with the logging camp and operations by St. Paul & Tacoma logging Company to the south on Evans Creek?
- How do the remains compare to those left by loggers in other areas, and to remains of other work camps for mining and railroad construction? There is a growing body of literature for comparison of these types of sites (Burtchard and Miss 1998:171).

Archaeologists conducted the work at the Manley-Moore logging camp, which included the subsurface investigation of the camp and the documentation of associated railroad grades in 1999 (Miss et al. 2000:31). The data recovery at the camp included the excavation of 85 1x1 m units. Material recovered suggested a small occupation window of 1912-1914 and the presence of one or more women and at least one child in addition to male logging crews. Excavations exposed the remains of two structures. No archaeological materials were recovered that could be explicitly tied to occupation by Japanese workers and research interviews failed to provide any additional information on the camp (Miss et al. 2000:i, 37).

3.5.2. Site 45PI918

Fairfax Townsite Pedestrian Survey

Site 45PI918 was originally recorded in 2008 during a pedestrian survey conducted by Northwest Archaeological Associates, Inc. (NWAA). In collaboration with the Cascade Land Conservancy, NWAA developed the land classification component of a broad stewardship program for Pierce County Parks and Recreation. Although no development was planned for the Fairfax property at this time, the NWAA crew documented 199 archaeological features; including, but not limited to a battery of coke ovens, concrete pilings, railroad grade segments, roadbeds, and the railroad depot. They noted surface debris scatters of historic period artifacts, but no artifacts were collected. Archaeological features were classified into five broad categories: Transportation/Infrastructure, Industrial, Municipal, Residential/Commercial/General, and Post-Fairfax.

Following this work, the site was recommended as eligible for listing on the NRHP under Criterion A for its association with regionally important historic events and Criterion D, for its archaeological data potential (Kopperl and Smith 2009). Substantial looting was documented at the site during this phase of work. Planning recommendations included subsurface investigation prior to development by the county and on-going periodic monitoring of the site (Kopperl and Smith 2009:42-43).

Above-ground Inventory

In 1981, the Upper Fairfax District (45PI573) was nominated for listing on the NRHP (Collins 1981). The district is located approximately 0.5 km (0.3 mi) east of the Fairfax Townsite, on the east side of Evans Creek (see Figure 1). The district nomination form recorded nine standing structures at the time, including Manley-Moore Superintendent, Robert D. Moore's family residence. In 1982, two structures at Fairfax were documented as part of a county-wide historic building inventory prior to their demolition in the 1990s, including a corral and house within the southern extent of the Townsite (Gallaci 1982d, 1982h) (see Table 1). Remains of this corral were identified by Kopperl and Smith in 2008 and during fieldwork for this thesis, Historic Scatter 1 (HS-1), a secondary refuse scatter, was recorded in the vicinity.

3.5.3. Archaeological Work at Western Washington Company Towns

It is important to interpret here how Fairfax fits into the archaeological framework of Western Washington's extractive company towns, not just those formally recorded in the immediate vicinity. Archaeological projects, primarily the product of cultural resource compliance in the state, have shed light on the social and material components of company towns, not unlike Fairfax, that sprung from the endeavors of industrialists. Archaeological work has been primarily focused on camps and towns associated with historic logging and lumbering activities. Work at sites like the Port Blakely Mill on Bainbridge Island (Welch and Daugherty 1993), the King County mill towns of Barneston (Carlson 2016), Selleck (Bowden and Larson 1997), and Garibaldi (Lewarch et al. 1996), Mukilteo in Snohomish County (Campbell 2017; Valentino 2010), and Port Gamble in Kitsap County (Rinck et al. 2014) have contributed to a growing body of work centered on the material culture of company workers, with an emergent attention on *Issei* communities.

Less research has been devoted to the multi-ethnic communities of historic coal-producing towns, and even less has centered on the abandoned towns and camps of the Carbon River Canyon. Cultural resource investigations at the Lawson Mining Sites in Black Diamond, King County, suggest that the historic mining town there shared similarities with Fairfax in terms of architecture, businesses and services, and the identified material assemblage. A primarily Finnish enclave, the Lawson Mining Community has been recommended eligible under Criterion D of the NRHP for its future research potential (Kaehler et al. 2008). The work at Lawson; however, was an isolated project for cultural compliance, which defined the extent of its research design. An alternative, academic project in the Green River Corridor, and possibly the most extensive body of archaeological work related to a company coal town in Western Washington has come from the Franklin site (45KI401), roughly 25 mi. north of Fairfax (Hedlund and Vernon 1994).

Franklin (Archaeological Site 45KI401)

The town of Franklin, located in King County was a company owned coal town that operated from 1885 to 1919. An intensive historical and archaeological project was conducted at the site between 1985 and 1991 (Hedlund and Vernon 1994). Themes

expressed at the town, including boom and bust industrialism, corporate paternalism and control, immigration, racialization, and labor struggle are consistent with the coal company towns of Pierce and King Counties during this period. These themes combined with the wide-scale archaeological investigations at the site make Franklin worthy of discussion in the context of current work at Fairfax. Although very different towns in terms of scale (Franklin was home to approximately 1,100 residents), corporate control, and the documented degree of union agitation, the towns share a common historical evolution inherently linked to rail transportation, industrial growth, and community building. Additionally, the two sites possess very similar material assemblages, in few instances down to the brand of specific consumer goods, such as Kestner dolls and McDougall tobacco pipes (Hedlund and Vernon 1994).

Bituminous coal seams were identified along the Green River during a railroad survey conducted by the Northern Pacific in the late nineteenth century. Shortly thereafter, the Oregon Improvement Company (OIC) opened the Franklin Mine at the McKay Seam. The OIC rail line connecting Franklin to Seattle was completed in 1884 and the first shipment of coal left the Franklin Mine in 1885. The railroad out of Franklin was built primarily by Chinese laborers who were paid 80 cents a day. Following the completion of the rail and settlement of Franklin, many of these men continued to live in the town, supporting themselves in other sectors (Hedlund and Vernon 1994:7-9).

During this period, the Knights of Labor, prominent union agitators in the American west, were making their presence known in the industrial towns of Western Washington (Hedlund and Vernon 1994:9; Schwantes 1997). The Chinese presence at Franklin became a major impetus for the Knights of Labor organizing in the town. The Knights reportedly threatened Chinese workers at Franklin with death, forcing the few that remained on-site to flee (Hedlund and Vernon 1994:9). In 1891, the Knights of Labor were battling the OIC in a series of labor disputes, fighting for increased wages and better working conditions for the white miners at Franklin. The mines of Pierce and King Counties, including Franklin and Fairfax, were notoriously dangerous due to the steep pitches of their deposits and cave-ins, fires, and explosions related to inadequate ventilation were common events that almost always resulted in lives lost (Daniels 1914:41; Hedlund and Vernon 1994:11).

These conditions resulted in in a worker strike wherein the white workforce left the mines. In turn, the superintendent of the Franklin Mine traveled to the Midwest to recruit a group of experienced black coal miners and professional strike-breakers who had been hired as such by the OIC during past periods of labor strife at other mining operations (Hedlund and Vernon:12-13). The addition of these black miners and their families instantly made Franklin the second largest black community in Washington State (second to Roslyn) (Hedlund and Vernon:13; Shideler 1986:52-55).

White miners purportedly opened fire when the train of black strike breakers arrived in Franklin. Two striking miners were shot and killed by a mine boss who caught them in a “dead zone” area established by the company (Hedlund and Vernon:13-15). This encouraged the Governor of Washington to send the state militia to the site, where they confiscated weapons from both sides of the feud and forcibly removed the militia privately employed by the OIC. Although these events were specific to Franklin, they did not occur in a bubble. The union agitation, racially fueled disputes, and death that happened at Franklin were common across the country during the period of rapid industrialization and resource extraction.

The mines at Franklin closed in 1913 due to a drop in prices but reopened during the war effort in 1914. This period saw a surge in coal production across the west to support WWI (Allen 1966; Carlson 2003; Shifflett 1991). Substantial production at Franklin ended in 1919. Like many company towns, the shrinking demand for the resource and the increased mobility afforded by automobile transportation were primary factors in the shuttering of Franklin. In contrast, mining activities continued for an additional decade at Fairfax, due to the niche of coking coal production and a brief period of charcoal briquette manufacture (Hedlund and Vernon:18).

3.6. Chapter Summary

The previous chapter outlines a general timeline of land formation processes, the present environmental setting, an overview of the pre-contact human habitation of the area, and an ethnographic background detailing the use of the region by Indigenous populations. A historic context for the Fairfax Townsite, including land ownership, peopling, and the decline and depopulation of the site is also provided.

Previous archaeological investigations both in the geophysical vicinity and conducted at site 45PI918 are presented to establish the archaeological framework. A discussion of work conducted at the ghost town of Franklin, a prominent coal town in King County with an assemblage comparable to Fairfax, situates the current project within the regional archaeological research. Brief sketches of the network of extractive towns in the Carbon River Valley illuminate the interconnectedness between the Fairfax Townsite, other peripheral producing towns in the region, and the greater industrial cores of Seattle and Tacoma. This context chapter provides base information on the development and decline of Fairfax, the archaeological potential of the region, and the catalysts for the research design.

Chapter 4.

Methodology

4.1. Introduction

This chapter details the methods employed for the background research and archaeological undertakings at the Fairfax Townsite. Primary documents assessed include historic period maps, the DNR mine map collection, photographs, newspaper articles, datebooks, and census records. The second part of the chapter consists of a detailed description of the methods used for shovel probe survey, test unit excavation, field documentation, and artifact analysis. The combination of documentary research and subsurface investigation in three residential spheres of the site resulted in a comprehensive picture of the material culture and symbology of residential life at Fairfax, adding to our understanding of class, race, ethnicity, gender, and the intersections thereof at the town.

4.1.1. Archival Research

In posing research questions at Fairfax related to class, gender, race, and ethnicity, as well as spatial and material inequity, archival research serves as a stimulus for greater understanding (Little 1994; DAHP 1989). It was crucial to the success of any fieldwork at Fairfax that archival research was conducted before, during, and after excavation. Prior to fieldwork, census records, historic period maps, and birds-eye photographs were consulted to determine the general layout of the town and structural development over time. This research guided the layout of shovel probes and test excavation units and delineated the spheres of interest that inform the research design. Archival research was conducted both online and in-person at the following repositories:

- The Foothills Historical Museum – Buckley, Washington
- The Washington State Historical Society – Tacoma, Washington
- The Tacoma Public Library Northwest Room – Tacoma, Washington

- Washington Department of Natural Resources - Coal Mine Map Collection
- University of Washington – Special Collections – Seattle, Washington
- Secretary of State Digital Libraries - Washington State Library Historic Newspapers
- Washington Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation's WISAARD (digital database of archaeological resources and reports)

Census Records

A database was compiled from demographic data recorded in 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940 on United States Censuses for the Fairfax District/Precinct. These records were accessed online and information including, but not limited to gender, race, age, literacy, occupation, industry, and household numbers were entered into a master spreadsheet in Excel. This dataset allowed for the analysis of town demographics, spatial patterns, and shifts in population over time. The interpretation of census records can greatly enhance an archaeological investigation, and for the purposes of this work, they provide a necessary component to satisfy the research design.

Demographic information can conflict with or support the findings of an archaeological excavation. Census records may be used to make important generalizations about peopling and the usage of space, including patterns of gender, ethnicity, and age both internally (within a town) or externally (in comparison to other towns) that aid the interpretation of the archaeological record (Blackburn and Ricards 1993:19; Fleiss 2000:65). Blackburn and Ricards used census records to interpret how place of birth influenced social opportunities afforded to residents of Silver City, a historic mining town in Idaho. They discovered that employment opportunities and property ownership were directly linked to where a worker was born (1993:21-35). Fleiss' work used demographic information on Nevada's Comstock Mining District to identify social trends in a mining community, including differences between household economies (Fleiss 2000).

In some instances, a census enumerator's route can be identified; however, this was not the case with the Fairfax District, and unfortunately it was difficult to link house numbers to mapped structures. Census enumerators were often local and Fleiss argues

that this may contribute to errors including misspellings or even left out data (Fleiss 2000:65). Census “districts” do not always represent the historic boundaries of a town or site (Fleiss 2000:69). This is the case with the Fairfax District, which includes not only the population Fairfax Townsite, but the Manley-Moore community at Upper Fairfax and their logging camp, 2 mi. to the south, as well as anyone who lived along the Carbon Glacier Road (present-day Carbon River Road) between the two.

4.1.2. Primary Documents

Photographs and Maps

Several collections of maps and historic photographs were assessed to determine the spatial layout of the Fairfax Townsite and immediate communities. The locations of various buildings and features related to the residential spheres of interest were identified. The most useful maps were a collection accessed directly from the Washington DNR Geologic Information Portal, an online GIS interface that allows a researcher to download various environmental and mineral resource maps, including a specific collection of coal mine maps. These mine maps show both the intricate workings of mine shafts and the layout of industrial and residential buildings at Fairfax in 1913, 1917, and 1920. DNR maps were georeferenced to the site landform using ArcMap software prior to fieldwork. They were assessed to determine the location of residential buildings on either side of the main railroad grade and the Fairfax Hotel. These maps also depict numerous privies and outbuildings associated with residential properties (DNR 1913, 1917).

Newspaper Articles, Mining Records, and Datebooks

Historic Washington newspapers were accessed through the Washington Secretary of State Digital Libraries (Secretary of State 2018) and at the Foothills Historical Museum in Buckley, Washington. Brief stories, particularly regarding road building and various accidents were reported in the *Evening Statesman* (Walla Walla), the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, the *Seattle Star*, and the *Tacoma Times* from 1898 to 1921. Identified newspaper entries also included coal production records and help wanted advertisements for work at Fairfax.

Few mentions of Fairfax in newspapers are directly correlated to the topics of race, racialization, and class at the site in a way that was particularly useful for identifying the recruitment of Japanese labor in the region. Official mining reports were accessed during background research for this project. The most important of these proved to be Joseph Daniels' 1914 report on Pierce County coal mines and George Watkin Evans' report, *Coal Mining Problems in the State of Washington* from 1924. Both reports discuss the formation, prominence, and production of coal deposits in Pierce County, as well as working conditions and accidents in the mines. Part 25 of the *Reports of the Immigration Commission* presents the study of Japanese and other immigrant populations who worked in west coast industries. The report provides information about trends in immigration, the working conditions Asian immigrants faced, wages, and prominent divisions of labor by 1910 (Dillingham 1910).

The 1926-1928 datebooks of Manley-Moore Mill Superintendent, Robert R. Roberts were reviewed at the Washington State Historical Society. These books present a daily work ledger as opposed to a personal account. Roberts noted the day-to-day conditions, production, and output of the sawmill and logging operations at Manley-Moore.

4.2. Archaeology

4.2.1. Culling Strategy

A culling strategy was developed prior to fieldwork as part of the proposed research design. Defining a culling strategy on the front-end of archaeological work can result in the collection of useful data, without the physical overabundance of repetitive, fragmentary, and non-diagnostic items. Noting and reburying items that are unlikely to yield significant data and which are found in inordinate numbers at densely residential historic period sites is a conservative management strategy that saves time, resources, and curatorial space. In the context of this work, these artifacts are still present in the master analysis catalog and therefore contribute to the overall picture of the site. They are part of total counts and when possible were identified to functional group and type. Common artifacts that were not collected in the field include wire nails, window glass, unmarked or unidentified colorless vessel glass (i.e., a shard of colorless glass from the

body of an unknown vessel), bricks and brick fragments, milled lumber, bulky hardware or industrial items, slag, coke, clinker, and unprocessed coal fragments.

All reburied (culled) artifacts were first counted, documented on the excavation form, and photographed by 10-cm level. As with any field strategy, there are limits to its success. The field crew was briefed on the types of artifacts reasonable for culling and the types of artifacts diagnostic to age, type, or function that were likely to be encountered at Fairfax. However, in practice few diagnostic items were culled and reburied. These include metal objects diagnostic for type, sun-colored amethyst vessel fragments, aqua vessel fragments, copper wire, and colorless Mason jar rims. Ultimately the very few inconsistencies with collection practices do not discount the conclusions drawn from the assemblage and the culling strategy proved incredibly important to the completion of this work.

4.2.2. Field Session 1: Shovel Probe Survey

Between August 16th and 19th of 2018, shovel probe survey was conducted at the Fairfax Townsite across the residential areas of interest. On Thursday, August 16th, 2018, Robert Kopperl, Joshua Moss, and I laid out 32 probes, 16 west of the main railroad grade and 16 east of the grade. Shovel probes were laid out in a grid along diagonal lines parallel to the grade, running northeast-southwest. At this time, shovel probes were flagged and labeled. Shovel probe locations were determined by preliminary site mapping but were adjusted on the ground to accommodate the present landform. Generally, shovel probes were spaced between 20 and 30 m apart. Areas of very uneven ground and dense vegetation were avoided (Figure 9).

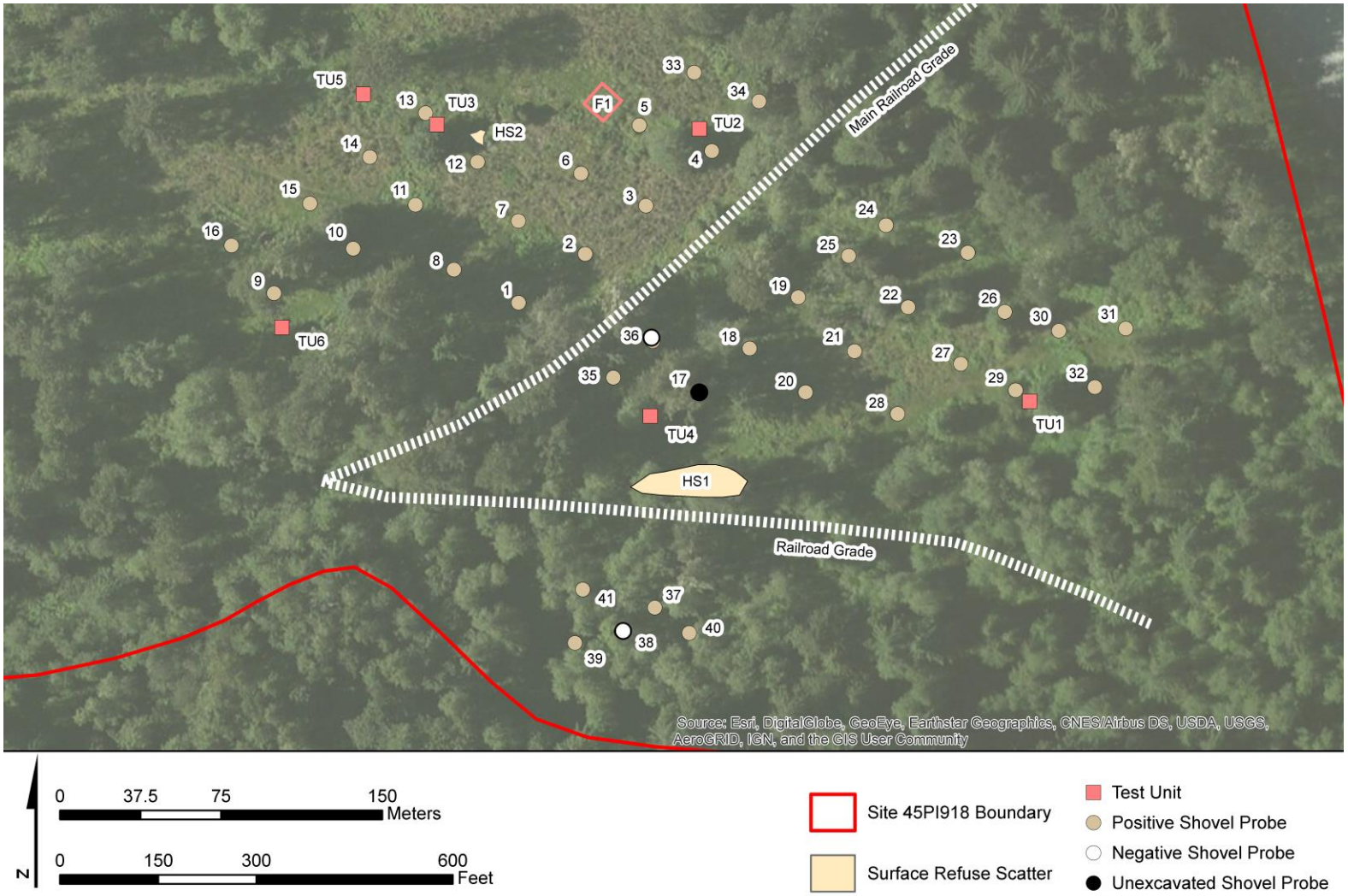


Figure 9. Overview of shovel probe and test unit placement.

Following the layout of shovel probe locations, we began documenting looter disturbances in the residential area of interest. Looter pits, scrapes, and discard locations were recorded with a handheld Trimble GPS unit and photographed with a meter scale. Notes were taken on looter disturbances that included width, length, and depth of disturbance. Additionally, any artifacts visible on the surface of these disturbances were noted. Diagnostic artifacts present at these locations were collected. Each looter disturbance was assigned a distinct number in the field consistent with the format (LP-00). Overview and plan view photographs were taken of each looter disturbance. Access points or trails in the vicinity were noted in connection to looted areas and were mapped where appropriate.

On August 17th, 2018, work began on the excavation of shovel probes at the site. Dana Holschuh, Glynis Irwin, Josh Moss, Anna Robison Mathes, and Nastya Smith assisted me for the following two days. Dig teams completed the excavation of all 16 probes west of the main grade on Friday, August 17th, 2018. Two additional shovel probes were placed in the Hotel Sphere at this time (SPs 33 and 34). On August 18th, 2018, these probes were excavated west of the main grade and the crew moved on to the probes east of the grade. On this day, all previously laid out probes east of the grade were excavated (n=15), aside from SP-17, which was written off due to beehives. Two additional probes (SPs 35 and 36) were placed on the east side of the grade, near a remnant road (see Figure 9).

On August 18th, 2018, I investigated an area in the southeast portion of the site, just south of the southern railroad grade, which appeared near a group of unidentified buildings on historic maps and in photographs. In 2008, Kopperl and Smith recorded an artifact scatter in the general location. This level terrace was chosen for additional exploratory shovel probing (see Figure 9). No artifacts were identified on the ground surface of this area as there was <10% visibility. It was initially presumed that this area might have been an access route to the manager's property (see Figure 3) (DNR 1913). I laid out five shovel probes in the area; SP-37, SP-38, SP-39, SP-40, and SP-41. These were excavated on August 19th, 2018.

Shovel probes were excavated in arbitrary 10-cm levels to control for the documentation of culled artifacts. At the terminus of every level, artifacts that were culled were counted and noted on shovel probe forms, photographed, and bagged for reburial.

All shovel probe sediment was screened through ¼-inch mesh. Profile photos were taken of shovel probes with unique stratigraphy upon completion. Shovel probes were excavated to reach 60 cm below surface (cmbs) or two sterile levels unless natural impediments like impassable rocks or roots were encountered. Data recorded on shovel probe forms included a brief sediment description of strata, gravel content percentage, and a tabulation of collected and culled artifacts by level. Upon completion, culled artifacts were reburied and shovel probes were backfilled. The locations of shovel probes were plotted as positive or negative, using a handheld Trimble GPS unit. Additionally, a pace and compass map was drawn of probe locations.

4.2.3. Field Session 2: Test Excavations

Between August 24th and 26th, a crew consisting of Dana Holschuh, Glynis Irwin, Josh Moss, Sean Stcherbinine, Nastya Smith, and I undertook the test unit excavation phase of archaeological fieldwork at the Fairfax Townsite. In total, 6 test units (TUs) were excavated over a three-day period, comprised of 1x1 meter units (n=4) and 1 m x 50 cm units (n=2) (see Figure 9). I selected Test Unit locations based upon the prevalence of diagnostic artifacts in shovel probes, surface depressions consistent with historic period map review and historic photographs as potential privy or outbuilding locations, and in areas of looting previously recorded as LPs. Prior to our arrival at Fairfax for the second phase of work, 4 TU locations were mapped, one within the Hotel Sphere, one within the Western Sphere, and two within the Eastern Sphere. During fieldwork, two additional 1 m x 50 cm units were placed within the Western Sphere.

On Friday, August 24th, 2018, excavation began on TU-1 and TU-4, within the Eastern Sphere. TU-1 was placed 15 m (49 ft.) southeast of SP-29, which was positive for diagnostic artifacts during session 1. Test Unit 1 was placed near the base of a terrace edge (see Figure 9). Test Unit 4 was placed directly in the previously recorded LP-4; the LP with the densest concentration of diagnostic artifacts visible on the surface.

On August 25th, 2018, work began on TU-2, in the Hotel Sphere and TU-3 in the Western Sphere. Test Unit 2 was placed approximately 4 m northwest of SP-4; a probe that yielded diagnostic artifacts during field session 1. Test Unit 2 was positioned on the lower terrace, behind the historic location of the Fairfax Hotel. Test Unit 3 was located adjacent to a ground depression in the Western Sphere, on the main terrace. This

potential privy was heavily vegetated and appeared to have been infilled with large cobbles and boulders. A metal rod was used to probe the area and it was clear that large impassable rocks capped the top of this possible privy, so TU-3 was laid out adjacent to the southern edge of the surface depression (see Figure 9).

On August 25th, I laid out two additional half units, or 1 m x 50 cm TUs within documented looter areas in the Western Sphere. TU-5 was placed in a looted depression (LP-15) near the edge of the main terrace. As this area was previously disturbed, the unit was initiated on the depression surface with a unit datum placed on the natural ground surface. The depression afforded only enough room for a 1 x 50 cm unit, which was eventually converted to a 50 x 50 cm unit for the sake of continued excavation. TU-6 was laid out within LP-6, which was recorded during the previous session. LP-6 was a large depression (6 x 3 m) disturbed to a maximum of 20 cmbs. The LP was located approximately 5 m northwest of the main trailhead accessing the site. On August 25th, work began on TU-5 while the excavation of TU-3 and TU-2 was completed. On Sunday, August 26th, TU-5 and TU-6 were completed and this phase of subsurface excavation was terminated.

Test Units were excavated in 10 cm arbitrary levels, using a ground surface datum established in the highest corner of each unit. The crew worked in pairs of two. I oversaw the work while continuing to document looted disturbances and features at the site. The culling strategy was the same for both TUs and SPs. At the terminus of every 10 cm level, artifacts determined by the crew to be non-diagnostic for type or temporal range were counted and noted on a unit level form, photographed, and bagged for reburial. All TU sediment was screened through ¼"-mesh. At the end of every 10-cm level, a plan view photograph and detailed notes were taken. Notes included a sediment description, gravel percentage, and tabulation of collected and culled artifacts. Photographs of all unit walls were taken upon completion of a unit. Geoarchaeologist Sean Stcherbinine, M.S., documented and drew the stratigraphic profiles of all TUs following excavation.

4.2.4. Field Documentation

Looter Pits, Scrapes, and Depressions (LPs)

Areas suspicious of looting across the area of interest included cylindrical holes, surface scrapes, and depressions. These areas were mapped using a Trimble GPS unit and photographed with a horizontal and vertical scale. Detailed notes were taken on their dimensions, including the depth of disturbance and associated (discarded) artifacts. All discarded diagnostic artifacts were collected and cataloged to their subsequent LP. Many of these locations correspond with what appear to be privy locations on historic maps and birds-eye photographs. Three looter depressions, LP-4, LP-6, and LP-15 were chosen as locations for test excavation (Figure 10).

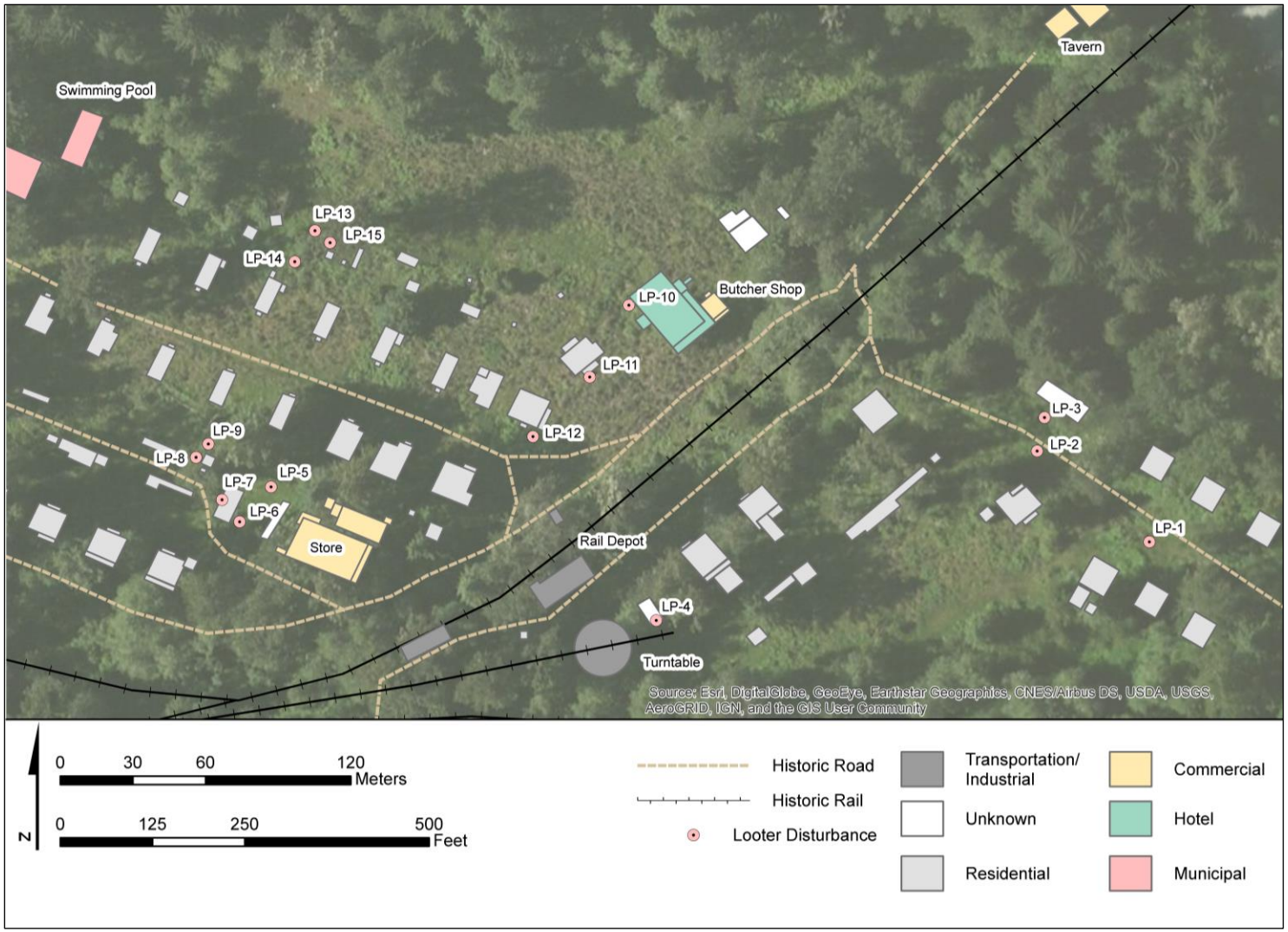


Figure 10. Map of documented looter pits (LPs).

Surficial Historic Refuse Scatters

Two historic refuse scatters identified on the ground surface were recorded, photographed, and mapped. Diagnostic artifacts were flagged and collected from HS-1 and HS-2. HS-1 is located just north of the remnant railroad grade spur in the Eastern Sphere, approximately 27 m (89 ft.) southeast of TU-4. Large and heavy artifacts such as bed frame fragments and portions of a stove were mapped, photographed, and left *in situ*. HS-2 consisted of a small, discrete can dump that was recorded approximately 14 m (46 ft.) east of TU-3 (see Figure 9). A sample of cans was collected that represent the manufacture technique and type present at HS-2.

Historic Period Features

One feature was documented in the area of interest. This feature was recorded with a GPS unit and photographed. Features that were previously recorded during survey work were not re-documented (Kopperl and Smith 2008). The new feature was recorded numerically with the designation “F1”.

4.2.5. Collection and Cataloging

Artifacts diagnostic for age, type or function were collected in the field, with exceptions noted above. Items were bagged by unit level with corresponding information recorded directly onto the bag including site trinomial, project name, unit number, level (cm), date, item type, count, and recorder initials. Common material types (e.g., glass, metal, ceramic) were bagged together by level. Fragile or otherwise sensitive materials like faunal remains were bagged separately as were marked or unique items. Artifact bags were assigned individual numbers and recorded on a hand-written bag catalog at the end of each day.

In the laboratory, artifacts were assigned lot and spec numbers. The lot number represents the provenience (e.g., Test Unit 1, Level 2, 10-20 centimeters below datum [cmbd]) and the spec number reflects the material type or object identifiable for diagnostic age or function. Separating items in a refined way for the Fairfax assemblage, which often resulted in one distinct item (or fragments thereof) per bag, assisted in the data entry of information for each item and the production of artifact tags consistent with curatorial standards.

On September 19th-20th, and September 24, 2018, artifacts were cleaned in the laboratory by volunteers Nastya Smith, Malika Hays, and Glynis Irwin. All artifacts were wet-washed save for a few fragile items that were gently dry-brushed including organic materials like leather, wood, faunal, and rubber artifacts, as well as delicate items like porcelain doll and clay pipe fragments.

4.3. Data Analysis

4.3.1. A Functional Classification for Historical Assemblages

Field and lab data were recorded to meet the standards set by the Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (DAHP) (DAHP 2018) and the Secretary of the Interior Standards for archaeology. Data was collected and organized with the intent of future research and potential comparative analyses. Artifacts were analyzed using a modified Sprague Functional Classification system, which is a standardized method of assessing not only artifact types and materials, but their functional uses (Table 2). It was used to draw conclusions about the lifeways of Fairfax residents and the dominance of certain functional groups on either side of the main grade (Sprague 1981). For example, were residents who lived west of the tracks using a greater percentage of domestic items than those who lived east of the tracks? Are personal items found in greater abundance at the hotel than elsewhere? What does the primacy of these groups suggest about the way people were living and the way they were discarding waste in the various sections of town?

Archaeologist Roderick Sprague argued for an artifact classification system that grouped items by function first and then expanded interpretations within that category, asserting that function was the “highest and most productive basis for site analysis” (1981:2). This type of analysis is most productive when the function of an object is considered also in relation to other artifacts, or its context. The system I use is a modification of Sprague’s, with the addition of an Activities Group for some items that Sprague would have deemed “Commerce and Industry”. It employs the word “Structural” for Sprague’s “Architectural” category, and the term “Indefinite” for items of potentially known type, but of unknown function.

Table 2. Descriptions of Functional Classifications and Material Examples.

Functional Group	Description	Artifact Examples
Activities	Items related to animal husbandry/stock raising, entertainment, firearms, tools, transportation, writing, and recreation.	Horseshoe, bullet casing, fishing lure, saw blade, pencil, railroad spike.
Domestic	Artifacts associated with household life, dwelling. These include items used for food preparation and consumption, food storage, household furnishings, and items used for cleaning and maintenance.	Plate, canning jar, bed spring, bleach bottle.
Faunal	Faunal remains.	Oyster shell, butchered beef bone.
Indefinite	Those items whose function cannot be determined. Artifacts that cannot be assigned to a functional group, but may be attributed to type or manufacture technique.	Unidentified bottle glass, metal fragments, small ceramic sherds. Miscellaneous containers, closures, and fasteners.
Personal	Clothing and footwear, adornments and accoutrements, health and grooming items, accessories, toys, tobacco items, drug paraphernalia, alcohol bottles, patent medicines.	Cold cream jar, whiskey bottle, shirt button, ring, comb, pipe stem, doll part.
Structural	Construction material items such as fasteners, siding materials, or glass. Items related to plumbing, fixed electrical, heating, cooling, or other utilities. Landscaping items.	Nails, bolts, window glass, water pipe, wood stove fragments, glass insulator.
Undefined Use	Industrial products and waste.	Raw coal, coke, slag, clinker.

An adapted version of the Sonoma Historic Artifact Research Database (SHARD) was used for the data entry of every artifact in the Fairfax assemblage which includes the modified functional divisions of the Sprague system and detailed information regarding type, decoration, manufacture, and mark when applicable (Anthropological Studies Center 2008).

4.3.2. SHARD Database

Researchers at Sonoma State University designed the SHARD database, which has become a heavily used program for data entry and analysis of historic artifact assemblages. The Anthropological Studies Center at Sonoma State designed the

database based in part on the category system of Stanley South (1977:95-96), which was adapted for use with historic period assemblages in the western United States (Anthropological Studies Center 2008). The SHARD Access database is organized to produce detailed artifact catalogs that are easily converted to Excel. The SHARD database I used for this work has been modified to include additional fields for a more precise analysis. These include, but are not limited to diagnostic attribute, pattern, stylistic element or motif, decorative technique, and decorative color.

Additionally, subfields were added to the database to meet the Burke Museum requirements for curation, including an artifact description consistent with the established Burke lexicon (personal communication: Burke Museum Staff, 2018).

4.3.3. Curation Standards and Documentation

All artifacts were prepared for curation to the Burke Museum standards set forth in their guidelines from 2015 which comply with federal standards in the National Park Service's 36 CFR Part 79 (Burke Museum 2015). Items were cleaned, processed, and bagged in 4 mil plastic bags with archival labels. Artifacts were packaged by material type. The assemblage is deeded to the Burke by Pierce County under the accession number CR-2018-12. A site update form was completed and submitted to the Washington DAHP following this project. The form is accessible to researchers and the archaeological community through DAHP's online database. Formal documentation of the subsurface investigations conducted for this project could assist in future research, land management, and planning at the Fairfax Townsite.

4.4. Chapter Summary

A detailed discussion of the methods employed for research, demographic study, archaeological fieldwork, lab work, artifact analysis, and curation is presented in the paragraphs above. Methods for this research were informed by common practices in historical archaeology and to meet the guidelines set forth by the State of Washington on conducting archaeology (DAHP 2018). Each section presented in this chapter informs on the practices and activities that have culminated in the archaeological analysis and results of this work which are presented in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5.

Results

5.1. Overview of Archaeological Results

Excavations were conducted across a 2.5 hectare (6.2 acre) portion of the Fairfax Townsite between two field sessions, shovel probe survey and test excavation. A total of 6.6 cubic meters were excavated at the site, from 40 shovel probes and 6 test units. A total of 4,678 artifacts were identified during the two phases of fieldwork for this project. Of these, 1,527 were collected and assigned catalog numbers. A total of 3,151 items were noted in the field, photographed in lots, and returned to their respective units as per the aforementioned culling strategy (see Section 4.2.1). For the purposes of this thesis, and to provide a complete characterization of the functional groups represented at Fairfax, culled and collected artifacts were combined in one analysis database and the information that follows is reflective of all material encountered at the site. Items too fragmentary to assign to a functional group were placed in the Indefinite category. Indefinite items are often found in abundance at historical sites and their prevalence at Fairfax was expected. The majority of Indefinite artifacts were culled on-site as they provided little in the way of refined analytical data for this project.

Households and their refuse are a valuable context for understanding a society's rules, shared behaviors, the hierarchy of decision-making, and differential access - forces that are manipulated by external and internal factors (Henry 1991:7-8). Although households are a common unit of study and data from household refuse can inform archaeologists about consumer behavior, status, ethnicity, and use, no house is "typical". Therefore, some researchers argue that a larger sample or studies of aggregate refuse may contribute greatly to interpreting broad social patterns (Deetz 1982; Henry 1991:11-12; Wilson 1994). These studies have the potential to provide information about the material use and refuse of a community, which is an apt focus at a site like Fairfax, particularly during initial investigations when we are assessing presence/absence and attempting to answer preliminary research questions through functional analysis.

The majority of the archaeological assemblage from Fairfax can be attributed to areas of secondary refuse. These aggregates are commonly identified at historic town sites. They differ from primary or *de facto* deposits because they are located away from the source of the activity in which they were originally used. Secondary refuse may be found in historic privies, outbuildings, wells, or middens. Cross-cultural discard and the variation within and between refuse aggregates can provide archaeological insights related to wealth, status, population density, and ethnicity (Wilson 1994:42-45). Often, it is not possible to separate archaeological deposits by household (Wurst 1999:15). This is largely true of the archaeological deposits at Fairfax, although the placement of TUs at the site attempted to identify the yard or privy refuse of three specific boarding houses west of the main grade and one single-family dwelling on the east side of town.

At Fairfax, differences in material frequency and type exist between refuse aggregates east and west of the main railroad grade. Cross-cultural deposition is likely on the east side of the grade, where items of Japanese origin and potential use were encountered. Discard areas are localized, which is consistent with the population density at the town and the apparent cleanliness of yards visible on historic photographs (Wilson 1994:57-58). One large refuse scatter, HS-1 contained items from several periods of occupation and is a clear example of repeated, localized sheet discard at the site. Although the link between the material at Fairfax to one particular construct (wealth, status, or race) is unfounded, the artifact assemblage provides a unique data set that does speak to material representations of ethnicity and class at the community level.

5.2. Pedestrian Survey and Shovel Probing of the Residential Sphere: Findings

5.2.1. Sphere 1: West of the Fairfax Railroad Grade

Sphere 1 was delineated as the portion of Fairfax west of the main railroad grade, which included the majority of households, as well as community and industrial structures; the schoolhouse, company store, and buildings related to mine operations (see Figure 3). Here, excavations bisected the yards and areas adjacent to presumed boarding houses and single-family residences on the west side of town. Eleven shovel probes were excavated within this sphere. A total of 293 artifacts were recovered, representing the Domestic, Structural, Personal, and Activities functional groups (Table

3). Aside from Structural items, Personal artifacts were the dominant identifiable type west of the grade. This differs from the shovel probe assemblage east of the grade, where Domestic items were more predominant.

Table 3. Artifact counts by Functional Group in Sphere 1.

Functional Group	SP1	SP2	SP6	SP7	SP8	SP9	SP10	SP11	SP12	SP13	SP14	SP15	SP16	Total
Activities								1					1	2
Domestic						3			1		2		8	14
Faunal				2		1								3
Indefinite	1	18	1	54	2	12	3		9	14		4	31	149
Personal			1	11				1			1		14	28
Structural	6	1	1	15		1	11	2	36	2	11		9	95
Undefined Use													2	2
Grand Total	7	19	3	82	2	17	14	4	46	16	14	4	65	293

5.2.2. Sphere 2: East of the Fairfax Railroad Grade

Sphere 2 consists of the portion of Fairfax east of the main grade. The east side of town included the rail depot and turntable, section hand bunkhouse, assorted industrial buildings, scattered single-family dwellings, associated outbuildings, and barns. Seventeen shovel probes were excavated within Sphere 2, of which 14 were positive for cultural material. A total of 611 artifacts were recovered, representing the Domestic, Structural, Personal, and Activities functional groups (Table 4). The archaeological deposits encountered east of the grade were denser than those to the west. Shovel probes 27 and 29 produced more than 100 artifacts each, largely Indefinite and Domestic items.

5.2.3. Sphere 3: The Hotel

Sphere 3 consists of the area surrounding the Fairfax Hotel, which included the hotel, butcher shop, and the space in between (behind) the hotel and unknown structures on the lower terrace (see Figure 3). Five SPs were excavated within the Hotel Sphere. A total of 158 artifacts were recovered, representing the Domestic, Structural

and Personal groups (Table 5). The largest identifiable category was Personal. Artifacts included, but were not limited to; undecorated, white ironstone (hotelwares), decalcomania ceramics, liquor bottle fragments, wine bottle fragments, shoe grommets, butchered bone, can fragments, a bone toothbrush head, bullet cartridge casings, and a glass insulator.

Table 4. Artifact Counts by Functional Group in Sphere 2.

Functional Group	SP18	SP19	SP20	SP23	SP24	SP25	SP26	SP27	SP28	SP29	SP30	SP31	SP32	SP35	Total
Activities			1					1							2
Domestic			17		7			13		53					90
Faunal										11		1			12
Indefinite	5	7	63	1	23	9	1	69	4	150	1	34	6	6	379
Personal			5			1		17		17			4		44
Structural	5	1	7	5		9	2	17		1		37			84
Grand Total	10	8	93	6	30	19	3	117	4	232	1	72	10	6	611

Table 5. Artifact Counts by Functional Group in Sphere 3.

Functional Group	SP3	SP4	SP5	SP33	SP34	Total
Domestic			3		2	5
Faunal			9			9
Indefinite	1	27	42	21	3	94
Personal		18			7	25
Structural		5	6	11	2	24
Undefined Use			1			1
Grand Total	1	50	61	32	14	158

5.3. Test Excavation: Findings

5.3.1. Overall Site Stratigraphy

The stratigraphic profiles of TUs varied widely across the site and were largely dependent on their associated terrace landform. Shovel probes and TUs were placed on three terraces, with the majority on what I refer to as the “main terrace,” the broad alluvial flat on which the center of Fairfax sat, including all worker housing (see Figure 3). The main terrace was formed by the Carbon River redepositing glacial drift in a braided channel and floodplain setting. The active channel would have deposited coarse sand and gravels, while overbank flooding deposited sands and silt-sized sediments. Down-cutting, likely due to drained Pleistocene lakes, eroded the floodplain, creating an elevated terrace and the lower terrace. Throughout this sequence, creeks flowing into the Carbon River would have periodically reworked the terrace and deposited finer-grained sediments.

Once landforms stabilized, organic dark-colored A horizons formed. No B horizons were observed during excavations. Udiflivents and Pilchuck soils mapped near the Fairfax Townsite are entisols, which are young soils lacking developed B horizons. The Fairfax Townsite is mapped entirely as Udiflivents, which form on stream terraces and drainages and are generally comprised of 0-6 inches of gravelly sandy loam, overlying 6-21 inches of very gravelly loamy sand, over 21-60 inches of stratified extremely gravelly sandy loam to very gravelly sandy clay loam. They are well-drained soils formed in alluvium (NRCS 2019).

During the occupation of the Fairfax Townsite, alluvial terraces were used as surfaces for daily activities, construction, and discard. Normal occupation and associated discard of cultural materials resulted in disturbed A horizons overlying Carbon River alluvium, which was best observed in TUs 3, 4, and 6. TUs 3 and 4 contained basal channel deposits, while TU-6 contained basal overbank flooding deposits. The discrete dumping of industrial waste, both unprocessed coal and slag, resulted in superimposed profiles of dumping events overlying terrace deposits, which are best observed in TU-1 and TU-2. TU-1 contained stratified slag overlying a typical terrace profile containing an organic-rich A horizon (Stratum III), overlying a sandy and gravely channel deposit (Strata IV and V). TU-2 contained a similar stratified layer of unprocessed coal and slag

but lacked the buried A horizon. TU-5 consisted almost entirely of heavily disturbed, A horizon-like native sediments overlying coarse channel deposits.

After the abandonment of the Fairfax Townsite, natural processes modified the cultural and organic deposits. A new weakly developed A horizon formed from nearly a century of organic inputs, on top of the previous surface. Bioturbation from root growth, burrowing animals and active looting has resulted in soil disturbances and artifact displacement from a primary to secondary depositional context across much of the site. Continued flooding events and channelization of the Carbon River have modified the site landform substantially, especially along the northern boundaries. Aerial imagery from the 1940s shows the impact that channelization on this stretch of the Carbon River has had on the local landform (USGS 1941). During the previous archaeological work at the Fairfax Townsite in 2008, Kopperl and Smith documented areas of erosion, particularly where the north edge of the main railroad grade meets the Carbon Riverbank (2008:40).

On-site Vegetation

The current vegetation at Fairfax consists of mature and old growth western hemlock and western red cedar, Douglas fir, alder, and cottonwood. Invasive species cover much of the main terrace and include tansy, scotch broom, and Himalayan blackberry. Ornamental vegetation was noted at the site, including English ivy, daffodils, hyacinth, cherry and crab apple trees that were planted by town residents, indicating a level of landscape beautification.

5.3.2. Sphere 1: West of the Fairfax Railroad Grade

A total of three TUs were excavated within Sphere 1 (Figures 11 and 12). They were placed in areas adjacent to mapped privies, outbuildings, in unnatural depressions, and areas of known looter disturbance. A total of 1,909 artifacts were recovered from TUs on the west side of the main grade. Detailed analysis of every item is present in the historic artifact catalog (Appendix B).

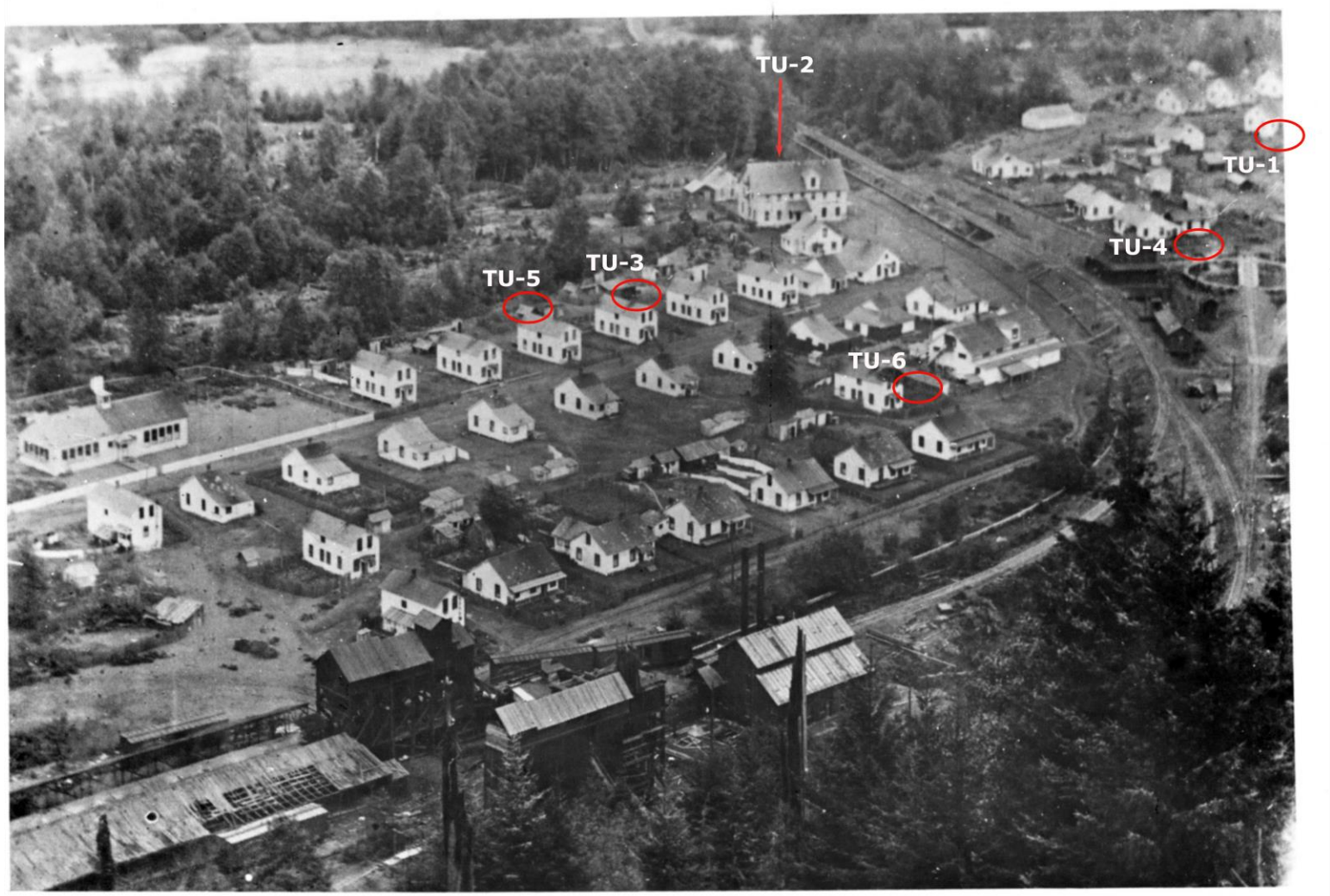
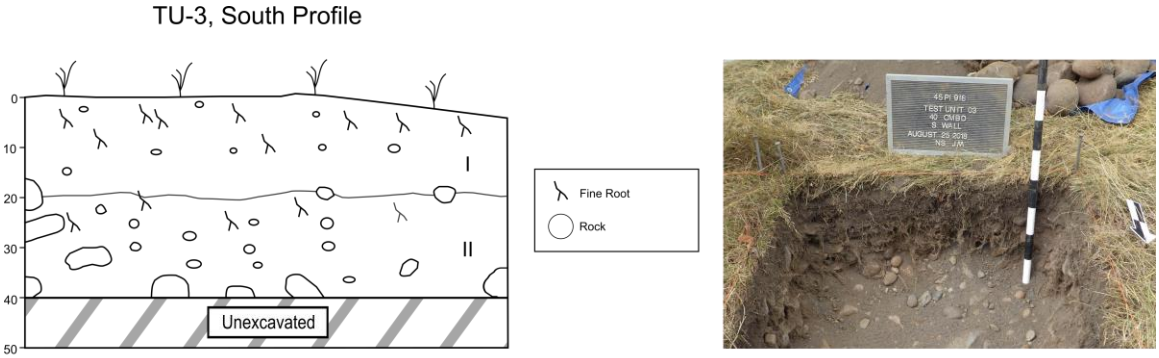


Figure 11. Birds-eye photograph of Fairfax Townsite, with Test Unit excavation locations, circled in red. Circa 1920s. Catalog No. 2014.45.1.17., Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma (Wash.)

Figure 12. Test Unit locations relative to historically mapped buildings in Sphere 1, west of the grade.

Test Unit 3

Test Unit 3 (1 m x 1 m) was placed adjacent to a presumed residential privy, near the main terrace edge (see Figures 11 and 12). A large privy or outbuilding appears on DNR maps in this general location and in historic birds-eye photographs. It would have been located behind a two-story boarding house (see Figure 12). Initial identification of the area and assessment with a handheld metal probing rod indicated that this was likely a privy that had been infilled with large cobbles and boulders and would not be manageable to excavate during this phase of work. Therefore, TU-3 was placed directly to the south in the hope that it might catch a wall of said privy or associated refuse. Soils in TU-3 were extremely cobbly and the unit was terminated due to a large rock impasse at 30 cmbd (Figure 13). Artifacts from TU-3 (n=238 [0.4m^3]) represented the Domestic, Structural, and Personal functional groups and were encountered from 0 to 20 cmbd. These items included; fragments of beer or ale bottles, canning jars, medicinal bottles, unknown glass vessels, window glass, and miscellaneous hardware.



Stratum I: Dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) (dry) sandy loam; moderate, medium granular structure; slightly hard (dry), friable (moist), nonsticky, slightly plastic (wet); common very fine roots; noneffervescent; clear, smooth boundary. Rock fragment content 10 to 70 percent moderately sorted, subangular to rounded pebbles and cobbles. Weakly developed A horizon overlain by grassy forest duff. Historic cultural materials recovered.

Statum II: Brown (10YR5/3) (dry) sand; structureless, single grain; loose (dry), loose (moist), nonsticky, nonplastic (wet); common very fine roots; noneffervescent. Rock fragment content 80 percent poorly sorted, subrounded to well-rounded cobbles and boulders. Intact C horizon - gravelly terrace core. No cultural materials present.

Figure 13. Stratigraphic profile of TU-3.

Test Unit 5

Test Unit 5 (1 m x 0.5 m) was placed within a depression that appeared to have been caused by looting activities near the edge of the main terrace (LP-15) (see Figure 10). The depression was overgrown by blackberries and invasive shrubs, suggesting that any looting disturbance occurred some time ago. A post-mold aqua glass bottle base was set on the side of the depression and noted as looter discard and collected. Another post-bottom mold bottle was recovered from 90-100 cmbd. These items have a *terminus ante quem* of the early 1900s (Lindsey 2019a).

The depression was consistent with the location of a mapped residential privy that would have been behind two presumed boarding houses (DNR 1913) (see Figures 11 and 12). Due to the physical constraints of the depression, a 1 m x 50 cm unit was placed at the disturbed surface, and the unit datum was established on the natural ground surface. At 130 cmbd, physical constraints required that the unit be continued at a quarter-test scale (50 cm x 50 cm). Ultimately, TU-5 was terminated at 150 cmbd (Figure 14). Sediments were very loose up to 140 cmbd.

A total of 358 artifacts were identified in TU-5 (0-140 cmbd [0.7m^3]), representing Domestic, Structural, and Personal functional groups. Artifacts identified in this unit as well as the historic map data and the nature of sediments suggest that TU-5 was located in a disturbed privy. The temporal range of artifacts in TU-5 indicates that the depression was used for discard as early as the townsite was occupied, by the late 1890s. Due to the impact of looting, archaeological deposits were intermixed throughout the unit and stratigraphic boundaries were generally unclear, although sediments up to 140 cmbs appeared to be very loose privy matrix. Items recovered from the unit included, but were not limited to whiteware tableware and teaware fragments, prosser buttons, wine and liquor bottle fragments, glass cups, mason jars and lid liners, light bulb and lantern glass, miscellaneous hardware, a jean button, .22 cartridge casing, and a heeled mule shoe.

Stratum I: Dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) (dry) loamy sand; moderate, medium granular structure; slightly hard (dry), friable (moist), nonsticky, slightly plastic (wet); many very fine to coarse roots; noneffervescent; clear, smooth boundary. Rock fragment content <5 to 30 percent well sorted, subangular to subrounded pebbles and cobbles. Weakly developed A horizon overlain by leafy duff. Very loose matrix, structure is carryover prior to disturbance. Historic cultural materials recovered.

Statum II: Grayish brown (10YR5/3) (dry) sand; structureless, single grain; loose (dry), loose (moist), nonsticky, nonplastic (wet); few very fine roots; noneffervescent. Rock fragment content 35 to 60 percent poorly sorted, subrounded to well-rounded pebbles, cobbles, and boulders. Intact C horizon - gravelly terrace core. No cultural materials present.

Figure 14. Stratigraphic Profile of TU-5.

Test Unit 6

Test Unit 6 (1 m x 50 cm) was placed within a recent looter-disturbed area located at the base of the main access trail into the townsite. This area was monitored on three separate field visits and recorded as LP-6 (see Figure 10). Based on previous field reconnaissance, the area appeared to have been disturbed within the previous year by shallow shovel scraping (20 cmbs depth). No temporally diagnostic artifacts were encountered on the surface of LP-6. TU-6 was placed in the center of the disturbance in order to determine the vertical extent of looting and collect any diagnostic artifacts. TU-6 was the densest unit, in terms of artifact recovery, yielding 1,176 in 0.35m^3. Artifacts represented the Domestic, Structural, and Personal functional groups. Artifacts from TU-6 had a broad temporal range from the 1870s to 1960s; however, the majority of items (1,009) were not assignable to definitive date ranges. Artifacts were recovered from 0 to 60 cmbd.

The location of TU-6 corresponds to the east side-yard of a two-story presumed boarding house and likely reflects communal residential discard (see Figures 11 and 12).

Items recovered from the unit included but were not limited to whiteware tableware fragments, a soap dish, a brass button cover, oyster shells, fragments of beer and liquor bottles, bleach bottles, pharmaceutical bottles, condiment bottles, canning jars and lid liners, light bulbs, a milk bottle, .22 and .32 cartridge casings, shoe eyelets, a safety pin, a cold cream jar, a porcelain doll fragment, miscellaneous hardware, and a pencil fragment. Modern debris including Styrofoam fragments was encountered from 0 to 30 cmbd, indicating post-Fairfax recreational discard. It is possible that the original Fairfax refuse is intermixed with the garbage of looters in this stratum (Figure 15).

5.3.3. Sphere 2: East of the Fairfax Railroad Grade

Two Test Units were excavated in Sphere 2, east of the main grade. Test Unit 1 was placed in an area near positive SP-29, consistent with a residential outbuilding on the DNR map from 1913 (DNR 1913, 1917). Test Unit 4 was excavated within a previously recorded looter disturbance (LP-4) that corresponds with an unknown outbuilding near the terminus of the turntable railroad spur (Figure 16). The outbuilding is visible on overview photographs of the rail depot by 1927.

Stratum I: Very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) (dry) sandy loam; structureless, massive; loose (dry), loose (moist), slightly sticky, slightly plastic (wet); common very fine to medium roots; noneffervescent; abrupt, smooth boundary. Rock fragment content <5 to 10 percent poorly sorted, subangular to subrounded pebbles and cobbles. Weakly developed Ap horizon overlain by leafy forest duff. Historic cultural materials recovered.

Stratum II: Dark grey (10YR4/3) (dry) sand; structureless, single grain; loose (dry), loose (moist), nonsticky, nonplastic (wet); few very fine roots; noneffervescent. Intact C horizon of bedded sandy alluvium with silt laminae. Sands are slightly oxidized. Rock fragment content <5 percent well sorted, subangular to rounded pebbles. Historic cultural materials recovered.

Figure 15. Stratigraphic Profile of TU-6.

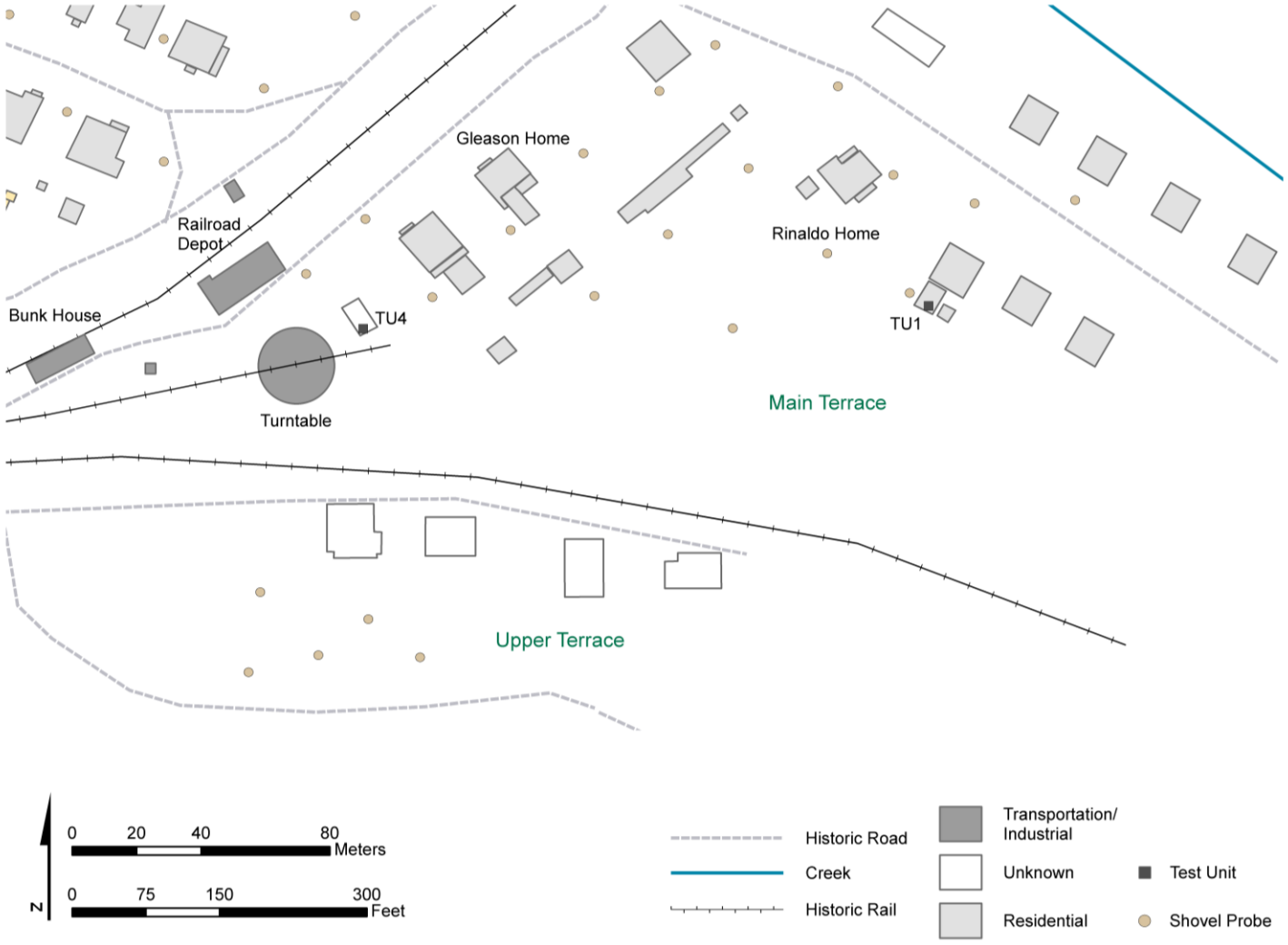
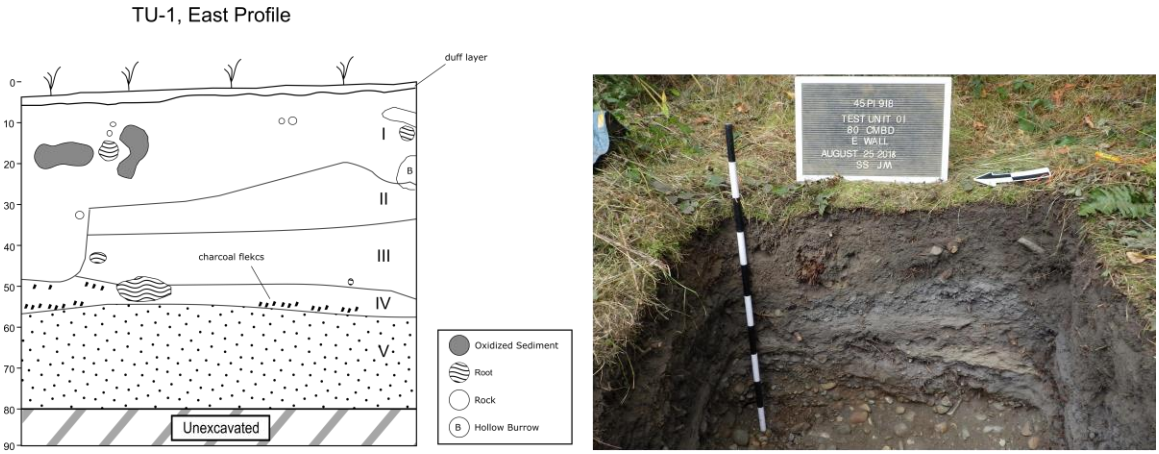


Figure 16. Test Unit locations relative to historically mapped buildings in Sphere 2, east of the grade.

Test Unit 1

Test Unit 1 (1 m x 1 m) was placed on the main terrace and was the easternmost test excavation at the site, approximately 167 m (551 ft.) east of the main grade. The unit was located within what appears to be a residential-adjacent building extension or outbuilding on historic DNR maps (DNR 1913, 1917) (see Figure 16). The family or families who occupied this house are as of yet unidentified; however, the Rinaldo (Italian American) and Gleason (Irish American) family homes have been identified on this side of the main grade (see Figure 16). A total of 294 artifacts were identified in TU-1 (0.8m^3), representing all functional groups present in the assemblage. Cultural material was recovered from 0 to 60 cmbd (Figure 17).



Stratum I: Dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) (dry) loamy sand; moderate, medium granular structure; slightly hard (dry), friable (moist), sticky, slightly plastic (wet); common very fine to coarse roots; noneffervescent; abrupt, smooth boundary. Rock fragment content 15 to 20 percent moderately sorted, angular and subangular pebbles. Common fragments of charcoal and slag. Weakly developed A horizon overlain by mossy forest duff. Historic cultural materials recovered.

Statum II: Gray (10YR5/1) (dry) sand; structureless, single grain; loose (dry), loose (moist), nonsticky, nonplastic (wet); common fine to coarse roots; noneffervescent; abrupt, broken boundary. Rock fragment content 20 percent moderately sorted, subangular pebbles. Fill deposit composed largely of industrial slag. Historic cultural materials recovered.

Stratum III: Dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) (dry) loamy sand; structureless, massive; loose (dry), loose (moist), nonsticky, nonplastic (wet); common fine to coarse roots; noneffervescent; abrupt, broken boundary. Rock fragment content 10 percent moderately sorted, rounded pebbles. Ab horizon (buried and disturbed A horizon - the old surface). Historic cultural materials recovered.

Stratum IV: Pale brown (10YR6/3) (dry) sand; structureless; massive; loose (dry), loose (moist), nonsticky, nonplastic (wet); common fine to medium roots; noneffervescent. Rock fragment content 60 percent well sorted, rounded pebbles and cobbles. Partially intact C horizon of sandy alluvium - sandy surface of old gravel bar. Historic cultural materials recovered.

Stratum V: Dark gray (10YR4/1) (dry) sand; structureless, single grain; loose (dry), loose (moist), nonsticky, nonplastic (wet); few fine to medium roots; noneffervescent. Rock fragment content 75 percent poorly sorted, subrounded and rounded pebbles, cobbles, and boulders. Intact 2C horizon - gravelly terrace core. No cultural materials present.

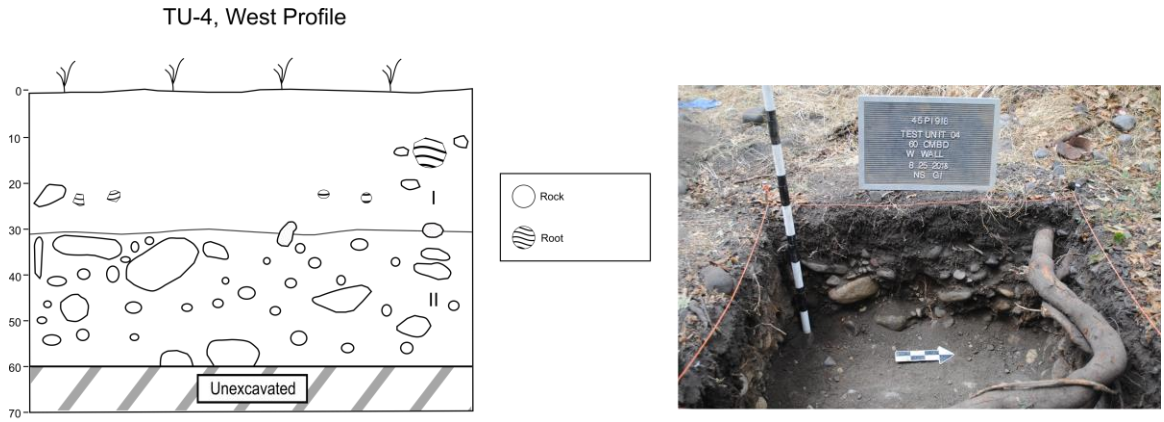
Figure 17. Stratigraphic Profile of TU-1.

Artifacts from TU-1 had a broad temporal range from the 1840s to the 1950s. Items recovered from the unit included but were not limited to fragments of porcelain teaware, butchered bone, harmonica reeds, food cans, whiteware tablewares, a stoneware teapot, canning jars, leather shoes, a mirror, cosmetic jars, medicinal bottles, wine bottles, a porcelain doll, a glass marble, a pencil, and miscellaneous hardware. This unit was undisturbed and offered a clear stratigraphic sequence. A total of two artifacts recovered from TU-1 were consistent with Japanese teaware; hand-painted porcelain teacup fragments with a branch motif.

Test Unit 4

Test Unit 4 (1 m x 1 m) was placed within a previously documented Looter Pit, LP-4. LP-4 was initially recorded during a Fairfax field reconnaissance in the Spring of 2017, at which time it was noted as a recent shovel scraping, post-dating 2008 (personal communication: Dr. Robert Kopperl, 2017) (see Figure 10). Artifacts associated with the surface of LP-4 were collected and included predominantly Domestic wares and Personal items. Thirteen artifacts from LP-4/TU-4 were analyzed as potentially Japanese in origin, type, or function. All of these items were identified between 0 and 30 cmbd (Figure 18).

TU-4 is located in an area that would have been at the terminus of the railroad turntable spur (see Figure 16). The unit aligns with an unidentified outbuilding that appears on a 1927 photograph of the rail depot and turntable area (Figure 19). Due to the intermixed nature of cultural deposits, it is possible that this spot was a convenient location for several periods of discard by the community. It is also possible that this deposit reflects discard activities during the abandonment of the site in 1941, as the rail spur would have provided a convenient way to transport and deposit trash. A higher than average amount of Japanese ceramic wares, as well as personal items including cold cream jars, toys, alcoholic beverage bottles, buttons, and McDougall clay pipe fragments were recovered from TU-4. Domestic items like tablewares and food and condiment bottle fragments were also recovered from the unit. Additionally, Mason jar fragments, stoneware demijohn fragments, and metal tubing suspicious of liquor still parts were identified in the LP-4/TU-4, possibly related to the manufacture of moonshine. TU-4 was excavated to 60 cmbd (0.6m^3) and 734 artifacts were recovered from 0-40 cmbd.



Stratum I: Dark grayish brown (10YR 3/2) (dry) sand; moderate, medium granular structure; slightly hard (dry), friable (moist), slightly sticky, nonplastic (wet); few fine to coarse roots; noneffervescent; clear, smooth boundary. Rock fragment content 30 to 60 percent well sorted, subrounded and rounded pebbles and cobbles. Weakly developed A horizon overlain by leafy forest duff. Historic cultural materials recovered.

Stratum II: Grayish brown (10YR 5/3) (dry) sand; structureless, single grain; loose (dry), loose (moist), nonsticky, nonplastic (wet); few very fine roots; noneffervescent. Rock fragment content 60 to 90 percent poorly sorted, subrounded to well-rounded pebbles, cobbles, and boulders. Intact C horizon - gravelly terrace core. Slight oxidation at upper boundary. Historic cultural materials recovered.

Figure 18. Stratigraphic Profile of TU-4.

Figure 19. Overview of main railroad grade, rail depot, and turntable area. Location of TU-4 at the end of the turntable spur. Facing northeast. Dated 1927. Courtesy of Foothills Historical Society.

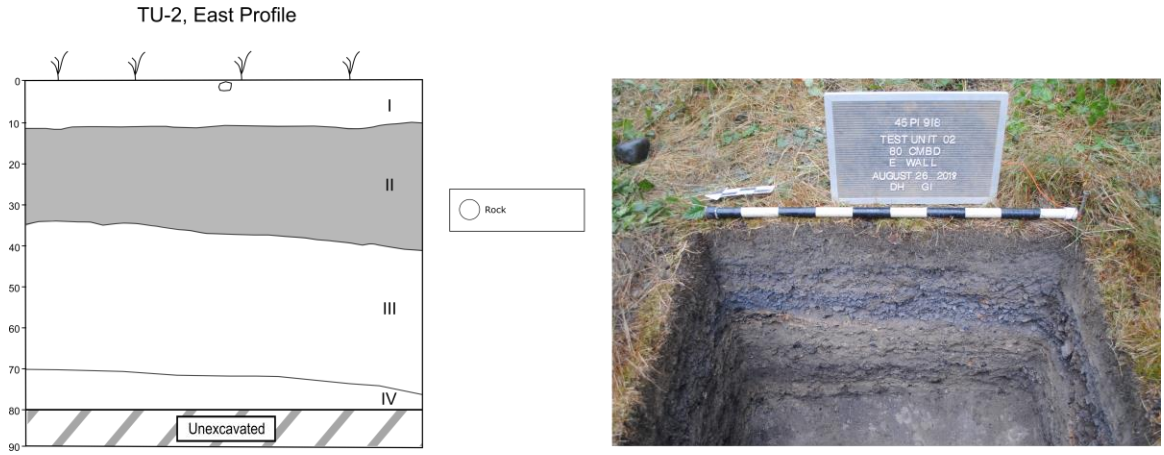
5.3.4. Sphere 3: The Hotel

One TU was excavated within Sphere 3, the area surrounding the historic location of the Fairfax Hotel. Test Unit 2 was placed in a location behind (north of) the Hotel, and behind (west of) an adjacent building that Hall refers to as the butcher shop (1980: 233). It was the only unit excavated on the lower terrace at the site, which is approximately 1.5 to 2 m below the main terrace (see Figures 11 and 12).

Test Unit 2

TU-2 was placed in an area 12 m (38 ft.) northwest of positive probe SP-4, on the lower terrace. TU-2 was the least productive unit in terms of artifact recovery (n=137 [0.8m^3]); however, it provided insight into the existence of raw coal and coal waste discarded at Fairfax. The stratigraphic profile of TU-2 included +/- 60% unprocessed coal and coal waste content; both raw coal fragments, coke, and slag. It is possible that this location reflects the use of coal for heat and energy at the hotel. Alternatively, this location on the lower terrace may have been ideal for dumping coal waste after the dissolution of the town in 1941.

The lack of a substantial archaeological deposit in TU-2 could also reflect the material transience of hotel life. Individuals who resided at the hotel generally would have had less in the way of material possessions and may have been more likely to take personal goods with them when they left town. Items recovered included but were not limited to .38 caliber cartridge casings, miscellaneous hardware, brick and concrete fragments, salt-glazed ceramic tablewares, unidentified glass bottle fragments, a crown cap, and a glass insulator. It is clear that TU-2 was foremost related to the discard of coal waste (Figure 20).



Stratum I: Dark grayish brown (10YR4/2 (dry) loamy sand; structureless, massive; loose (dry), loose (moist), nonsticky, nonplastic (wet); common very fine roots; noneffervescent; clear, smooth boundary. Rock fragment content 10 percent moderately sorted, angular to subrounded pebbles and cobbles. Weakly developed A horizon overlain by grassy forest duff. Common fragments of unprocessed coal. Historic cultural materials recovered.

Statum II: Very dark gray (10YR3/1) (dry) sand; structureless, single grain; loose (dry), loose (moist), nonsticky, nonplastic (wet); common fine to coarse roots; noneffervescent; abrupt, smooth boundary. Rock fragment content 60 to 80 percent moderately sorted, subangular and subrounded pebbles. Fill deposit composed largely of industrial slag, coke, and clinker matrix. Historic cultural materials recovered.

Stratum III: Light brownish yellow (10YR6/4) (dry) sand; structureless, single grain; loose (dry), loose (moist), nonsticky, nonplastic (wet); very few fine roots; noneffervescent; abrupt, smooth boundary. Rock fragment content 80 percent poorly sorted, subangular and angular pebbles and cobbles. Fill deposit composed largely of heavily oxidized slag and sand. Historic cultural materials recovered.

Stratum IV: Brown (10YR5/3) (dry) sand; structureless; massive; loose (dry), loose (moist), nonsticky, nonplastic (wet); few fine roots; noneffervescent. Rock fragment 50 percent poorly sorted, angular to subrounded pebbles and cobbles. Partially intact C horizon of sandy alluvium - transitioning from fill to intact sandy alluvium. No cultural materials recovered.

Figure 20. Stratigraphic profile of TU-2.

Culled Artifacts

Culled artifacts were not collected or assigned catalog numbers, but they were included in the analysis to provide an accurate view of the full material use at the site. Culled items were assigned to functional groups when possible, for example, a stoneware fragment from an unknown tableware piece would be assigned to the Domestic functional group, as a wire nail would be assigned to the Structural group.

A total of 3,151 artifacts were recovered, but culled from the assemblage at Fairfax. The dominant artifact types culled were unidentified or wire nails, miscellaneous metal hardware, unidentified vessel glass, window glass fragments, and unidentified tablewares; predominantly fragments of refined white earthenware (whiteware). Many culled artifacts were fragmentary, corroded, burned, or melted and thus provided little in the way of analytical potential for this phase of research.

Looter Pits

Fifteen looter pits and scrapes were documented over both field sessions (Table 6). The vertical and horizontal extent of disturbances were noted, as were any associated artifacts. Diagnostic items were collected from five areas of disturbance (n=438). Eleven of the recorded disturbances were located across the residential area west of the grade. Four were recorded east of the grade. Looting locations do not appear to be based solely on ease of access as they are found across the site. They appear in the yard areas of historic house footprints and in areas adjacent to and within privy deposits (see Figure 10). Looting disturbances at the site are either shallow surface scrapes (<20 cmbs) or cylindrical holes that resemble archaeological probes and are as deep as 50 cmbs.

By far the most extensive collection of artifacts was from the exposed surface of LP-4, which was later excavated as TU-4. Three hundred items were collected from this area, a 3 x 5 m surface scrape. LP-4 had been disturbed to a maximum depth of 20 cmbs (Figure 21). Artifacts were collected during the first field session in August of 2018 from two loci. Items recovered included Domestic refuse: ceramic tablewares, glass jars and food bottles, and Personal items including tobacco pipe fragments, and medicinal and cosmetic bottles.

Table 6. Details of Looter Disturbances by Residential Sphere.

Sphere	LP No.	Type	Diameter/ Dimension	Max Depth of Disturbance (cmbs)	Total Artifact Count	Comment
East	1	Three scrapes in 5m area	30x40 cm	15	7	
East	2	Single shovel pit	45 cm	35	0	-
East	3	Single pit	50 cm	35	0	-
East	4	Large scrape	3x5 m	20	300	Excavated as TU-4
West	5	Single pit	60x80 cm	15	2	-
West	6	Large scrape	3x6 m	20	0	Excavated as TU-6
West	7	Single Pit	60 cm	50	0	Non-diagnostic metal, whiteware, small bone fragments
West	8	Single Pit	70x40 cm	30	0	-
West	9	Adjacent Pits	40 cm	40	0	Non-diagnostic metal utility pipe, plastic, milled lumber
			80x30 cm	20	0	Metal barrel visible in pit.
Hotel	10	Single Pit	30 cm	5	79	Near hotel location, looter pit, and discard pile. Artifacts collected from discard pile.
West	11	Single pit	40 cm	50	0	Non-diagnostic whiteware sherds.
West	12	Single Pit	30 cm	40	0	-
West	13	Single Pit		15	0	-
West	14	Discard Pile	-	-	46	-
West	15	Single Pit	100x30 cm	15	4	-
				Grand Total	**438**	

Figure 21. Overview of Looter Pit 4. Diagnostic items in Loci 1 and 2 flagged. View facing north. Formally excavated as TU-4.

Historic Refuse Scatters

Two surface refuse scatters were recorded during this project (see Figure 9). HS-1 is located on the east side of the main grade, on the main terrace, just below the southern railroad grade. In 2009, Kopperl and Smith recorded the westernmost portion of this scatter as part of what they called a “Post-Fairfax” corral feature. Diagnostic artifacts were collected from the ground surface of HS-1, and represent secondary sheet refuse of predominantly Domestic and Personal items. Although the temporal range of artifacts in this area spans more than one hundred years, the assemblage is largely from the first half of the twentieth century and at least one artifact, a Kestner doll head fragment, likely dates to the late 1890s or early 1900s. HS-1 appears to represent several periods of communal discard in a natural gully, which would have been a convenient trash dump for residents on the east side of town (Figure 22).

Figure 22. Overview of Historic Scatter 1, facing east. Pin flags at diagnostic artifact locations.

HS-2 is a can dump located on the west side of the main grade, approximately 14 m east of TU-3 (see Figure 9). The scatter consisted of 2 sanitary cans, 13 hole-in-top cans, 1 rectangular friction lid can, and 12 unidentified crushed cans. The scatter measured 5 x 1.5 m and was located in an area that corresponds to a presumed boarding house privy identified on historic period maps (DNR 1913, 1917). It is possible that following use, this privy was infilled and the cans represent the most recent refuse infill. When the area was probed with a metal rod, a dense cobble impasse was encountered.

Cans in HS-2 included sanitary and hole-in-top types, with “PUNCH HERE” embossed, and one rectangular external friction can lid, likely from a meat or fish tin. Hole-in-top cans were used from 1823 to WWII (IMACS 1992:471.6). Sanitary cans came to use in 1904 and are still manufactured (Rock 1989).

Historic Features

Features previously recorded during archaeological investigations at the site in 2008 were not documented during this project; however, one new feature was identified and recorded in the Hotel Sphere.

Feature 1

In the Hotel Sphere, 52 m (171 ft.) southwest of TU-2 there is a large, square concrete pad (14x12 m) with one center hole (see Figure 9). It is clear that recreationists and hunters have been discarding trash in this hole for some time during the modern period, but it is possible that this concrete slab covers the original Fairfax Hotel privy due to its size and nature. Looking downward, refuse is visible approximately 3 m below the ground surface. If this is where the major discard of hotel refuse occurred, it is understandable that areas closer to the structure itself, including the location of TU-2, are devoid of substantial cultural deposits. Feature 1 falls into the Residential/Commercial/General category, as defined by Kopperl and Smith (2008:19).

5.4. Artifacts by Function

The functional groups represented in the assemblage include Activities, Domestic, Faunal, Industrial, Personal, Structural, Indefinite, and Undefined (Table 7; see Table 2). Artifacts that could not be definitively assigned to one functional group were classified as Indefinite. Items of waste at Fairfax like the remains of charcoal briquette manufacture were analyzed as Undefined. The majority of the artifacts assigned to function (other than Indefinite) are Structural; however, most of these items were culled in the field. Structural items reflect design and technology in a townsite context, but tell us little about social behaviors or activities, which drive the research for this work. Domestic items made up just over 17% of the assemblage, largely related to Food Preparation and Consumption as well as Food Storage. A narrative of the dominant functional groups represented at Fairfax is presented below.

Table 7. Artifact Counts by Functional Group.

Functional Group Artifact Category	Count of Culled	Count of Collected	Total	Percent of Total Assemblage
Activities	**1**	**22**	**23**	**0.49%**
Animal Husbandry		1	1	
Entertainment		3	3	
Firearms		9	9	
Tools		1	1	
Transportation	1	1	2	
Writing		7	7	
Domestic	**232**	**585**	**817**	**17.46%**
Cleaning		21	21	
Clothing Maintenance		1	1	
Electric		1	1	
Food	55	55	110	
Food Prep/Consumption	109	330	439	
Food Storage	63	147	210	
Furnishings		8	8	
Heating/Lighting		5	5	
Indefinite		10	10	
Misc. Containers	5	7	12	
Faunal	**21**	**46**	**67**	**1.43%**
Bone	8	33	41	
Shell	13	13	26	
Indefinite	**1968**	**604**	**2572**	**54.98%**
Indefinite	459	161	620	
Misc. Closures	2	7	9	
Misc. Containers	1501	435	1936	
Misc. Fasteners	6	1	7	
Personal	**37**	**252**	**289**	**6.18%**
Clothing	2	12	14	
Footwear	14	39	53	
Grooming/Health		28	28	
Health		4	4	
Indefinite		12	12	
Social Drugs - Alcohol	21	140	161	
Social Drugs - Tobacco		5	5	
Toys		12	12	
Structural	**888**	**14**	**902**	**19.28%**
Electrical		2	2	
Hardware	634	8	642	
Heating/Lighting		1	1	
Materials	254	3	257	
Undefined Use	**4**	**4**	**8**	**0.17%**
Industrial Waste	3		3	
Undefined	1	4	5	
Grand Total	**3151**	**1527**	**4678**	**100%**

5.4.1. The Table: Domestic Artifacts at Fairfax

Food Preparation, Consumption, Serving, and Storage

Aside from Indefinite and Structural artifacts, the majority of which were culled, Domestic artifacts make up the dominant functional group across the assemblage. A total of 817 (17.4%) Domestic artifacts were identified, of which 585 were collected. Domestic items are predominantly fragments of ceramic tablewares (n=384). These artifacts represent a minimum number of items (MNI) of 192. A total of 78 fragments (20.3%) of ceramic tablewares were decorated, while 79.6% were undecorated earthenwares and porcelain. Decorated wares include transfer printed, gilded, molded-edge, and decalcomania fragments.

The majority of ceramic tableware fragments were identified in TU-4 (LP-4) (n=169) (see Figure 9). Few of these fragments were marked, including one Alfred Meakin ironstone fragment (1907-1976) (The Potteries 2019) and Homer Laughlin decalcomania bowl and dish fragments in the “Wells Tudor Rose” pattern (c. 1930s) (n=14, MNI 6). Pieces of the Wells Tudor Rose set by Homer Laughlin were included in promotional packaging for Mother’s Oats during the 1930s (Figure 23). These pieces were the closest to a “set” of Domestic tablewares encountered during subsurface investigation.

Utilitarian Wares and the Hotel

Another “set” assemblage was encountered at LP-10, where 75 fragments of “hotelware,” or, thick ironstone wares were collected from the ground surface of a looter discard near the Fairfax Hotel (MNI=48) (see Figure 10). All items at LP-10 were identified near an expedient looter shovel scrape. Items included fragments of coffee mugs, bowls, plates, saucers, and a serving pitcher. One fragment included a visible J and G Meakin mark, which provides a *terminus ante quem* of 1912 (Godden 1964:427). A bread knife and fragments from a stoneware flowerpot were also identified with the hotelwares at LP-10.

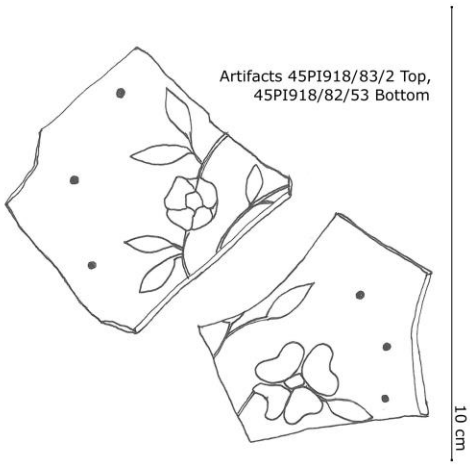


Figure 23. Left: Advertisement for Homer Laughlin "Mother's Oats" promotion. Date unknown. Right: Illustration of Homer Laughlin's "Tudor Rose" China.

Food and Food Storage: Frugality and Domestic Responsibility

One of the dominant artifact types in the Domestic group were glass-canning jars. A total of 148 canning jar and jar lid fragments were identified (MNI=98). Jar fragments were colorless, "Ball Blue", or sun-colored amethyst and lid parts included milk glass lid liners and zinc cap fragments. Thirty-one fragments were identified as Ball Mason jars and seven were identified as Kerr. These jars largely date between the 1880s and 1940s, although the most discrete temporal period is represented by a specific Ball maker's mark that dates to 1895-1910 (Toulouse 1969:31-32). These particular fragments (n=10) were identified on the ground surface in HS-1. The majority (n=46) of canning jar fragments were identified in TU-6, a refuse dumping area located in the side yard of a boarding house near the company store (see Figure 9).

Glass jars can be associated with the domestic behavior of food preservation and storage, which is commonly seen in towns where the company would actually promote home canning as a means of frugality, some going so far as to provide classes in food

preservation (Chicone 2011:130-131; Mullins 2012:101). They were also used for storing homemade liquor or “moonshine”. For the sake of this work, they are categorized as Domestic items, but there is a possibility that they were Personal items, used for the covert storage and consumption of alcohol at the site.

Food Brands

Four fragments of infant food bottles were recovered from the surface of LP-4. The aqua glass fragments (MNI=2) are identifiable by manufacture technique and a partially visible brand name: Mellin’s Infant Food, a product made by the Doliber Goodale Company of Boston. The type of Mellin’s bottles collected from LP-4 possess tooled finishes and an internal cap or ledge, which would have had a cork and glass stopper. They would have been the “large” size of Mellin’s bottle, and the fact that they are cup-mold blown with tooled finishes indicates that they were likely produced between the 1890s and early 1900s (Lindsey 2019b). The Mellin’s brand was marketed for infant use as a breast milk substitute, but also as a nutritional aid for mothers themselves and “invalids” who struggled with solid food consumption (Figure 24).

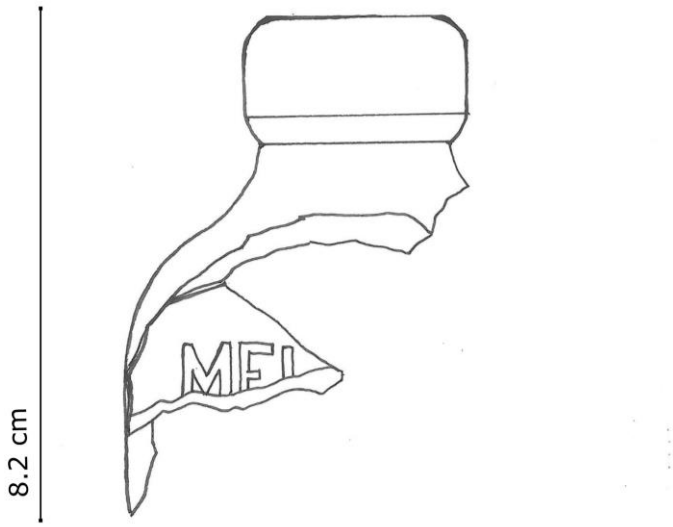


Figure 24. Illustration of Mellins food bottle from LP-4.

Other branded Domestic items identified during excavations include glass Purex bleach bottles, Coca Cola bottles, Durkee and Company salad dressing bottles, Kerr and Ball mason jars, Heinz ketchup bottles, a Woodbury Soap Company cold cream jar, and Anchor Hocking “Fire King” brand dishware. The aforementioned items have a broad combined temporal range from the beginning to the middle of the 20th century. Branded goods in the Fairfax assemblage are presented in Table 8.

Japanese Food Preparation and Consumption Items

The largest assortment of potential Japanese items is attributed to LP-4/TU-4, which would have been in the location of a shed or outbuilding that is visible on photographs from the 1920s. The use of this structure is unknown; however, it was proximal to the rail depot and turntable, and a stone’s throw from a single-family dwelling east of the grade

Table 8. Branded Items from the Fairfax Assemblage

Unit	Artifact Type	Manufacturer	Count
HS-1	Baking Dish	Anchor Hocking	1
	Plate	Anchor Hocking	1
	Jar	Ball	11
	Lid Liner	Boyd's/Ball	7
	Bowl	Carr China Company	1
	Soda-pop Bottle	Coca-Cola Company	5
	Tableware	Johnson Brothers	1
	Jar	Kerr	4
	Bleach Bottle	Purex	2
LP-12	Plate	J & G Meakin	1
LP-14	Jar	Ball	10
	Jar	Kerr	3
	Bleach Bottle	Purex	3
LP-4	Tableware	Alfred Meakin	1
	Bowl	Homer Laughlin	9
	Tableware	Homer Laughlin	9
	Bottle	Doliber-Goodale Co. (Mellin's Food)	2
SP-16	Jar	Ball	3
SP-20	Condiment Bottle	E.R. Durkee and Company	3
SP-29	Condiment Bottle	Heinz	1
	Tableware	Homer Laughlin	6
TU-6	Cold Cream Jar	Woodbury Soap Company	1
	Jar	Kerr	1
		Total	86

(see Figure 9). It would be misguided to state that these items were explicitly used by *Issei* residents or workers, even though most are attributable to Japanese manufacture or type (Ross 2009). These artifacts were intermixed with various Domestic tablewares of European and American origin, clay pipe fragments, medicinal bottle fragments, glass jars, etc. They do not appear to represent a unified discard event but are consistent with a secondary refuse aggregate that may correspond to workers of the rail depot, or multiple households.

Thirteen ceramic items consistent with traditional Japanese foodways were identified in LP-4/TU-4 (see Figure 9). Two items were identified in TU-1. All artifacts were recovered from 0 to 30 cmbd. These items represent six vessels and include pieces of small porcelain dishes (*kozara*), a possible rice bowl (*chawan*), a possible teacup (*yunomi*), and teapot (*dobin*) (Ross 2009:Table 3.3) (Table 9). This cursory analysis was based on identifications found in Bibb (2013), Campbell (2017), Costello and Maniery (1988), and Ross (2009; 2012). One fragment identified in LP-4/TU-4 was decorated. This item is a hand-painted, over-glazed dish fragment with a stenciled Japanese “pine” motif. Two small cup rim fragments were identified in TU-1, which were hand-painted with a red-on-white maple/branch motif (Figure 25). All other items were undecorated porcelain.

One porcelain bowl base fragment collected from LP-4 is stamped “JAPAN” – a mark with a *terminus post quem* of 1921, the year that U.S. Customs required items made in Japan to be marked in English as opposed to the formerly used “NIPPON” marks (Costello and Maniery 1988:27; Kovel et al. 2019).

Additional ceramic items that may be of Japanese origin or use, but were less definitive, are noted as such in the artifact catalog (Appendix B). All Japanese tableware fragments were concentrated east of the railroad grade. Artifacts of a similar type, decorative style, or manufacture were not identified in excavation units west of the main grade or in the Hotel Sphere.

Table 9. Descriptions of Japanese-produced Tablewares Identified at the Fairfax Townsite.

Artifact	Unit No.	Depth (cm)	Artifact Description	Material	Decorative Technique	Pattern	Decoration Color	Stylistic Element/Motif	Frag Ct.	MNI	Remarks
2/9	TU-1	10-20	Possible tea cup (*yunomi*)	Porcelain	Hand-painted	Branch	Red		1	1	Hand-painted porcelain fragment, red over white glaze. Unidentified cup rim. Red branches and band Refit to 45PI918/3/8.
3/8	TU-1	20-30	Possible tea cup (*yunomi*)	Porcelain	Hand-painted	Branch	Red		1	1	Hand-painted porcelain fragment, red over white glaze. Unidentified tableware or teaware, rim. Refit to 45PI918/2/9.
12/22	TU-4	20-30	Small dish (*kozara*)	Porcelain					1	1	Small, shallow porcelain dish fragment, possible sauce dish.
82/4	LP-4	0	Rice bowl (*gohan chawan*)	Porcelain					1	1	Undecorated porcelain bowl or dish fragment, base. JAPAN stamped on base.
82/42	LP-4	0	Possible teapot (*dobin, kyusu*)	Porcelain					3	1	Unknown porcelain vessel fragments. Possible teapot. Refit to 45PI918/83/12 spout?
82/43	LP-4	0	Small dish (*kozara*)	Porcelain					3	1	Small porcelain dish fragment, base and rim. Refit to 45PI918/83/19

Table 9 cont. Descriptions of Japanese-produced tablewares identified at the Fairfax Townsite.

Artifact	Unit No.	Depth (cm)	Artifact Description	Material	Decorative Technique	Pattern	Decoration Color	Stylistic Element/Motif	Frag Ct.	MNI	Remarks
82/52	LP-4	0	Small dish (*kozara*)	Porcelain	Stenciled		Dark blue	Pine	1	1	Porcelain dish fragment, base. Blue dashed line - Stencil. Japanese "pine" motif. Possible pickle dish.
82/12	LP-4	0	Possible teapot (*dobin, kyusu*)	Porcelain					1	1	Porcelain spout fragment, possibly from a small teapot. Refit to 45PI918/82/42
83/19	LP-4	0	Small dish (*kozara*)	Porcelain					1	1	Porcelain small dish fragment, undecorated. Refit to 82/43
								Totals	**13**	**9**	

Figure 25. Decorated and undecorated Japanese tableware fragments.

5.4.2. The Self: The Personal Artifacts at Fairfax

Just over 6% (n=289) of the entire assemblage at Fairfax was comprised of items that fall into the Personal functional group. The majority of these items fell within the Social Drugs – Alcohol artifact category, an assemblage of beer, wine, and liquor bottle fragments (n=161). Other Personal artifacts include items related to health and grooming activities as well as clothing and footwear.

Personal Style, Health, and Grooming

The majority of Personal items outside of the Alcohol category were related to footwear (n=53/MNI=19), including fragments of shoe and boot leather and rubber soles. Pieces of men's work boots were identified as well as a woman's tennis shoe, a girl or young woman's mary-jane or ballet type shoe (women's size 5) and an infant bootie (Figures 26 and 27). The majority of leather work boots had rubber heels and soles with machined seams and nails. Most shoe fragments were recovered from the ground surface of HS-1; however, shoe leather and metal grommets were uncovered as deep as 70 cmbs/d during excavation in units on both sides of the railroad grade.

The Clothing sub-category was primarily made up of fasteners, including various buttons, button covers, safety pins, and a suspender adjuster (n=14) (Figure 28). Buttons are made of Prosser ceramic, brass, copper, plastic, and wood. One cloth-covered wood button was recovered from TU-4. Cloth-covered wood buttons were especially popular from 1850 to 1920 (Pool 1991:10-11). One branded button was identified. A Hercules brand steel rivet denim jean or jacket button was recovered from TU-4. Hercules was a workwear brand sold through the Sears Roebuck catalog from 1908 to 1965 (Sears Brands, LLC 2019). Additionally, one leather bag or purse seam was identified in TU-4.

Figure 26. Women's shoe leather fragments from HS-1.

Figure 27. Infant's shoe leather fragment from HS-1.

Figure 28. Clothing fasteners from shovel probe and test unit excavation.

Grooming and Health

Thirty-two items related to Grooming and Health were identified at Fairfax (MNI=21). These items include fragments of glass medicinal and pharmaceutical bottles, cold cream jars, a ceramic soap dish, and bone toothbrush head. These items were recovered from the ground surface of LP-1, LP-4, LP-14, and HS-1 and below surface from SP-20, SP-29, and SP-34, TU-1, TU-4, and TU-6. Of particular note is a bone toothbrush head that was recovered from 30-40 cmbs in SP-34, a unit located near the edge of town, between the butcher shop and unknown buildings on the lower terrace (Figure 29). The oldest of the diagnostic grooming and health items is a sun-colored amethyst (solarized glass), tooled finish fragment from a pharmaceutical type bottle (1885-1920) which was identified on the ground surface of HS-1 (Lindsey 2019c). Between 1880 and 1920, manganese dioxide was commonly used as a decolorizing agent for glass. This glass turns various colors of purple when it encounters UV light (Lockhart 2006). Identifiable grooming and health brands include Phillips Milk of Magnesia and J.R. Watkins Company bottle fragments.

Almost half of the Grooming and Health artifacts were fragments of opaque milk glass cosmetic jars (n=10/MNI=6). One of these jars also had a lid fragment, and although partial marks were present on two of the items, their origin, makers, and product names are undecipherable. One had a Greek key motif embossed on the body, consistent with Woodbury Soap Company designs. The Woodbury Soap Company (precursor to Jergens) was a popular radio sponsor during the 1930s. Milk glass jars of this type commonly contained facial creams, salves, and hairdressings (Massey et al. 2013:58). These jar fragments were all identified on the east side of the main grade, in TUs 1 and 4, SP-20, and on the surface of HS-1 (Figure 30).

Items of grooming or health at Fairfax may reflect the means of what Leone calls “self-watching” technology, items of personal structure (1995:260). The Foucauldian idea that members of a society, particularly in a panoptic setting like a company town are required to both, “watch and be watched” is expressed in the cultural material of personal maintenance and hygiene (Shackel 2011:27-28). Items like a hairdressing bottle or toothbrush head are manifestations of the upkeep and order of a model, productive society.

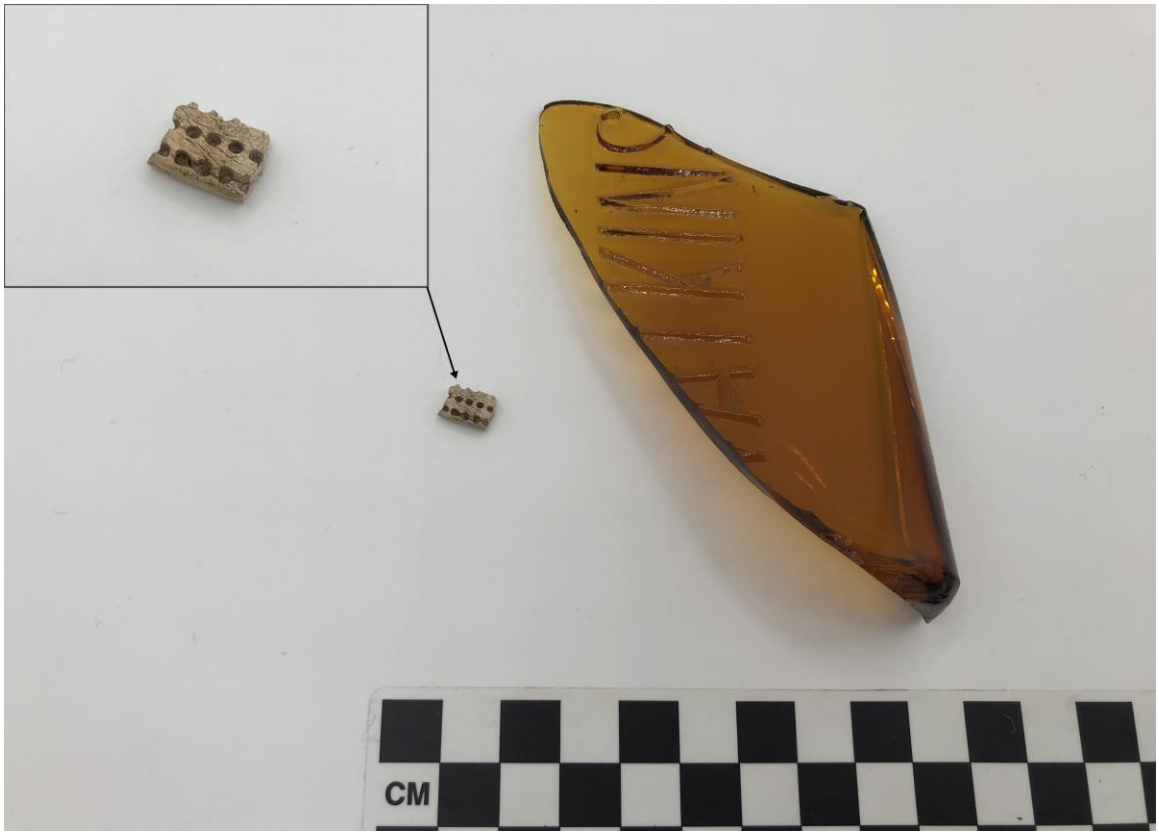


Figure 29. Watkins medicinal bottle fragment and bone toothbrush head fragment.

Figure 30. Milk glass cold cream or salve jars.

The Tavern, the Home, and the Spaces in between: Alcohol in a Company Town

The control of liquor acquisition and consumption was sometimes an incentive for a company to build its own town and drinking alcohol was commonly frowned upon by bosses and managers. The supervision of alcohol was one way in which the owners extended their reach into the home lives of the workers (Beaudry 1989:27-29; Mrozowski 1990). While some towns heavily dissuaded the consumption of alcohol entirely, many had their own taverns, relegated spaces for vice. Fairfax had one, which was located a stone's throw from the bank of the Carbon River, separated from the rest of the town by a dense stand of old-growth trees (see Figure 3) (DNR 1913, 1917).

The consumption of alcohol outside of the tavern walls is clear in both the documentary and archaeological record at Fairfax. A historic photograph from 1930 shows men including then mine boss Frank Angeline, drinking from a keg on the lower terrace and liquor bottle fragments were recovered from excavations across the site (n=161). This coincided with statewide prohibition (1916-1933) which began years before the federal Volstead Act was initiated in 1919.

The production of moonshine is regularly noted in regional literature and periodicals. Alcohol consumption and manufacture may be particularly linked to the area of LP-4/TU-4, east of the main grade. Here, 128 mason jar fragments (MNI=87), were recovered. These items were assigned to the Domestic functional group, but could also reflect the production and storage of alcohol. In LP-4/TU-4, copper coil fragments and pieces of a stoneware demijohn provide additional evidence for moonshining activities (Figure 31).

Duncan McDougall brand kaolin pipe fragments were identified at the site (n=2). Both fragments were recovered from LP-4/TU-4 between 0-30 cmbd. The Duncan McDougall Company was a popular manufacturer of short stem 'cutty' pipes near the turn of the twentieth century. The "TD" style pipe fragments identified in LP-4/TU-4 are consistent with those produced by the McDougall Company between 1847 and 1900 (Figure 32) (Sudbury 2006). This makes them some of the oldest diagnostic artifacts at the site, possibly connected to early-period coal miners or railroad construction workers.

Figure 31. Stoneware demijohn fragments from the surface of LP-4, possibly related to moonshining.

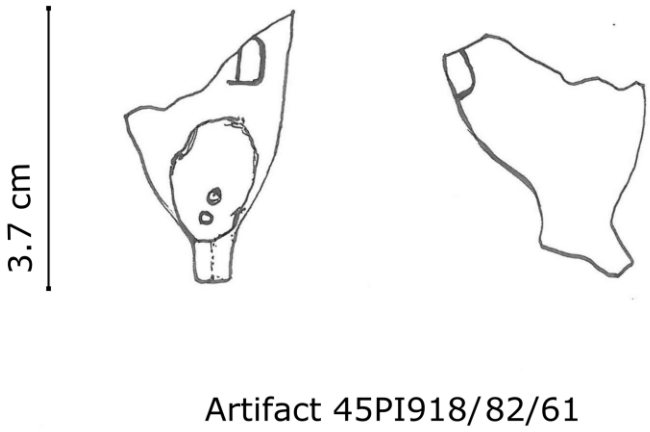


Figure 32. Illustration of Duncan McDougal pipe bowl fragment.

These pipes were cheaper than the cigars commonly smoked by the middle and upper classes. Unlike long-stemmed pipes that required a seated smoking position and were therefore largely used in the privacy of home, short stem clay pipes were smoked at work and in the public (Beaudry 1993:93).

Down by the Schoolyard: The Materiality of Children at Fairfax

Toys constitute less than 1% of the Personal assemblage but include highly distinctive items including doll parts, a child's porcelain dish, and a marble. Items related to writing that can be reasonably attributed to Fairfax's school population include a hand-held pencil sharpener and a pencil end with a faux-jewel cap. Diagnostically, toys reflect all periods of occupation at the site; however, one J.D. Kestner bisque doll fragment has a discrete product manufacture range (Figure 33).

The J.D. Kestner Company produced a variety of porcelain dolls at their factory in Thuringia, Germany. The Kestner doll head fragment recovered from the ground surface of HS-1 is marked "*Made in Germany*" on the back, consistent with "cabinet-sized" bisque doll styles that were made between the 1890s and early 1900s by Kestner (Hedlund and Vernon 1994; Van Patten 2018).

Kestner Bisque Doll Heads.

These are the highest grade bisque heads that are manufactured. The Kestner make of dolls is well known, being the best make of dolls in the world. All these heads are very life-like in appearance, having moving eyes and open mouth, showing teeth. The highest grade full sewed wig with long curls braided in center and tied on side with large silk ribbon bow. We furnish these doll heads in the following sizes:

No.	Height, inches	Inches Across Shoulders	Shipping Weight, oz.	Price
18K23482	4¼	3¼	16	$0.62
18K23484	5½	[illegible]	17	.89
18K23486	6½	4¼	22	1.19
18K23488	7½	4¾	32	1.43
18K23490	8¾	6¼	36	1.96

Artifact 45PI918/88/22

Figure 33. Left: Advertisement from the 1908 Sears Roebuck Catalog of Kestner bisque doll heads. Right: Illustration of Kestner doll head fragment recovered from HS-1.

Artifacts attributed to writing were assigned to the Activities functional group. The end cap embellishments of two pencil fragments are suggestive of use by school-aged children. One pencil fragment was identified with a red faux-jewel capper, and a second pencil fragment had a spent .22 cartridge casing, repurposed as an end cap. One slate stylus fragment and a hand-held pencil sharpener marked “Made in Japan” were also recovered. The toys and embellished pencils identified at Fairfax paint a picture of the lives of the children who at one point made up a quarter of the total population (Table 10). Identified on both sides of the main grade, these items reflect the autonomy of children and their potential for consumer decision making, or at the least, a consumer influence on their household buyers, i.e., their guardians (Figures 34 and 35).

Table 10. Fairfax Population under 12 Years of Age by Census Year.

Census Year	Count	Total Count	Percentage of Total Population
1900	34	164	21%
1910	63	254	25%
1920	147	574	26%
1930	99	519	19%
1940	17	106	16%

Figure 34. Toys and writing utensils from left to right: pencil sharpener, pencil, porcelain figurine head, glass marble, Kestner doll head, bisque doll fragment, plastic doll body.

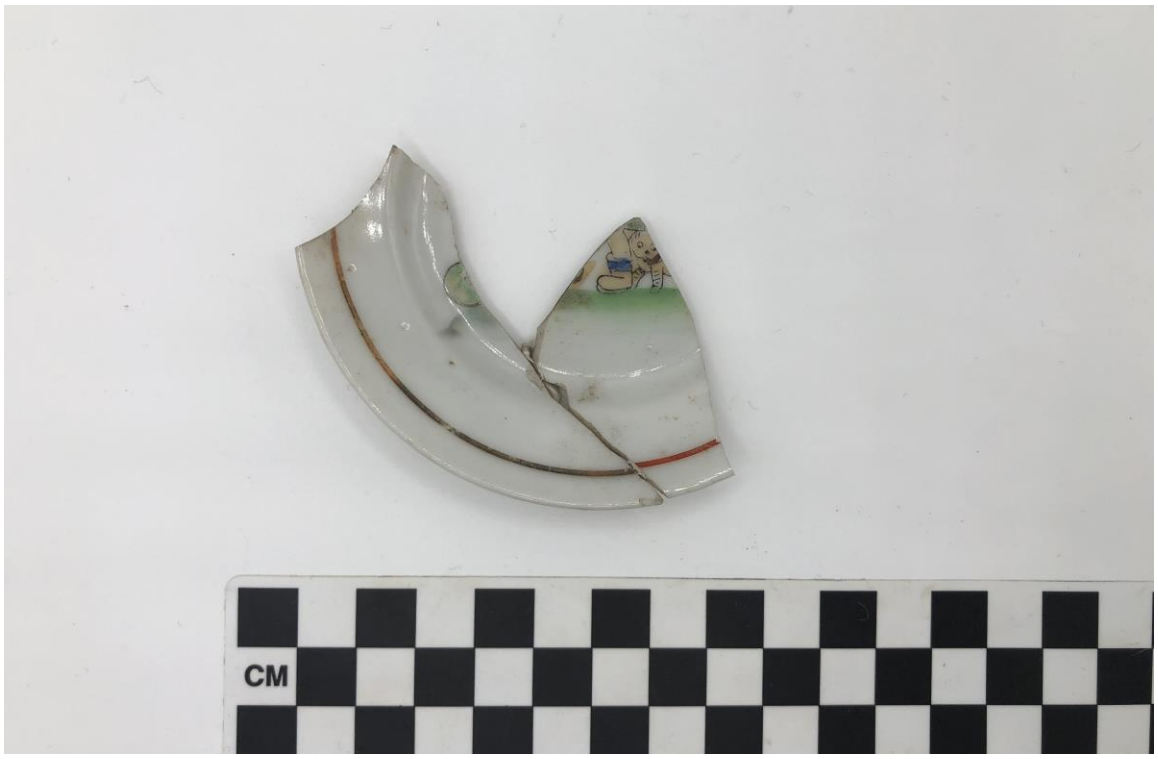


Figure 35. Porcelain toy plate recovered from TU-4.

5.4.3. The Hobbies: Activities Assemblage at Fairfax

The Activities assemblage at Fairfax is comprised of artifacts related to hunting, playing music, writing, and animal husbandry. Less than one percent of the assemblage consists of items related to the Activities group (n=22, 0.47%). Nine of the items are cartridges, including shotgun, rifle, and revolver casings produced by Winchester, Smith and Wesson, Union Metallic Cartridge Company, and Western Cartridge Company (Barnes 2014). The only cartridge with an identifiable temporal range is a Winchester .38 caliber rifle cartridge that dates between 1887 and the 1930s (Adkins 2011).

The second-largest category of artifacts within the Activities group is related to writing. These items were mentioned in the previous section on the materiality of children. Animal husbandry items include a pony shoe and a large, heeled mule shoe. Mules were used to haul goods, particularly to and from Brehm's General Store (Hall 1980:152). Mules were also used historically to haul coal out of the mines prior to the introduction of electric coal cars, which became commonly used during the 1910s. It is possible that the mule shoe was related to either activity (Black Diamond Now 2019; Shifflett 1991:110-111). The tools subcategory consists of one complete, hand-held metal file that was identified in SP-16, on the west side of the main grade. Three brass harmonica reed fragments were recovered from TU-1 (0-10 cmbd), east of the main grade. No other item in the Fairfax assemblage is as direct a testament to personal entertainment at the site (Figure 36).

5.4.4. The Bones: Faunal Artifacts

Faunal artifacts recovered at Fairfax were quantified to both Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) and Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI). Identified taxa included *Bos taurus* (domestic cow), MNI=6; *Cervidae* (deer or elk), MNI=1; and *Ostrea* (oyster). The faunal analysis was conducted by Daniel Gilmour, M.A., R.P.A., who identified the taxonomical order and assigned material to retail cut when possible. Retail cuts of beef represented in the assemblage include round steak (n=2) and cross-cut steak (n=1).

Figure 36. Harmonica reed fragments recovered from TU-1.

Faunal remains (NISP=46) were recovered from 0-20 cmbs/d in LPs, SPs, and TUs. Cattle bones were identified on both sides of the railroad grade; however, all retail cuts of beef were recovered from east of the grade. One sawed deer bone was recovered from SP-5, west of the grade. All oyster shell fragments were isolated to 0-50 cmbd in TU-6, west of the grade. Although the faunal sample at Fairfax is minuscule, patterns emerge nonetheless.

Referencing the rank of nineteenth-century retail beef cuts used by Schulz and Gust for their zooarchaeological research in Sacramento, the round steak cuts would have been the most prestigious in the Fairfax assemblage with a ranking of 3/9. The cross-cut steak (foreshank) ranked 9/9 and would have been one of the least desirable cuts possible (Schulz and Gust 1983: 48). The foreshank fragment was identified on the ground surface of LP-4, which would have been associated with an undetermined shed or outbuilding near the railroad turntable. The more expensive round cuts were recovered from TU-1 and SP-31, which would have been proximal to residences east of the grade (see Figures 3 and 9).

Although the cut faunal sample is small, the association of lower grade cuts with the railroad turntable area may reflect worker consumption, while the more expensive cut proximal to a single-family dwelling suggests that finer cuts of meat were potentially reserved for the home.

5.5. Chapter Summary

4,678 artifacts were identified at the Fairfax Townsite during archaeological investigations for this work. A total of 1,527 were collected for curation in perpetuity. Items represent all functional groups (see Table 2). The diagnostic range of the material assemblage spans from the 1830s to the 1970s; however, the majority of dated items are clearly tied to the town's occupation and the median range of all dated artifacts is 1870-1930. Late twentieth century items identified at the site reflect continued discard at Fairfax, potentially by area residents, recreationists, and/or looters.

The material culture of Fairfax represents the functional facets of everyday residential and working life – realms inextricably linked together at industrial towns in the west. Artifact analysis illuminated themes that correlate to the original research questions posed. These include the spatial distinction of Japanese manufactured items east of the main grade, the presence of alcohol bottles in all three residential spheres, the presence of toys in all spheres, and the predominance of leisure items including artifacts possibly related to moonshining activities east of the main grade. Relatively dense and intact archaeological deposits were encountered east of the grade, while the presence of intermixed modern refuse was more common on the west side, proximal to present-day pedestrian access points. All archaeological deposits are consistent with secondary refuse aggregates and periods of repeated discard.

Chapter 6.

Discussion: Demography and Material Expression

This chapter includes a synthesis of the demographic study conducted at Fairfax and a discussion on how the analysis of U.S. Census records sheds light on gender relations, racial divisions, and social positioning at the site. At Fairfax, living and working standards and demarcations are most visible in the census enumeration and archaeological imprint of *Issei* workers and their families as well as the participation of working women within and outside of the domestic sphere. The chapter concludes with findings from the current demographic and archaeological study as they relate to the original research design.

6.1. Demographic Study: The Fairfax Foreign-born

By 1900, half of the lumbering workforce in Washington State was foreign-born. These workers often dealt with exclusion and racism when seeking employment in industrial towns. Some were violently forced out of communities; others were killed in labor disputes (Ficken 1987:133-136; Schwantes 1997). In 1907, the Industrial Workers of the World appeared in the northwest with open membership to all nationalities. One response by Washington companies was to hire Japanese workers in order to drive down wages and divide the labor force (Ficken 1987: 134-135).

During the first three decades as a District, nearly half of the population at Fairfax was foreign-born (Table 11) (Figure 37). The immigrant population at Fairfax evolved over the years but was always dominated by Europeans. During the 1920s and 1930s, the Manley-Moore and Huling Mills employed large numbers of first-generation Japanese or *Issei* workers. Research suggests that families from most countries lived side by side in single-family dwellings, in boarding houses, and at the Fairfax Hotel. The only documented racialized group in the Fairfax District, the Japanese, lived miles from the resources and services of both the Fairfax Townsite and the center of Manley-Moore.

Table 11. Foreign-born Population over Time at Fairfax

Year	Total Population	Foreign-born	Percentage of Total Residents
1900	164	82	50%
1910	254	145	57%
1920	574	265	46%
1930	519	185	36%
1940	106	32	30%

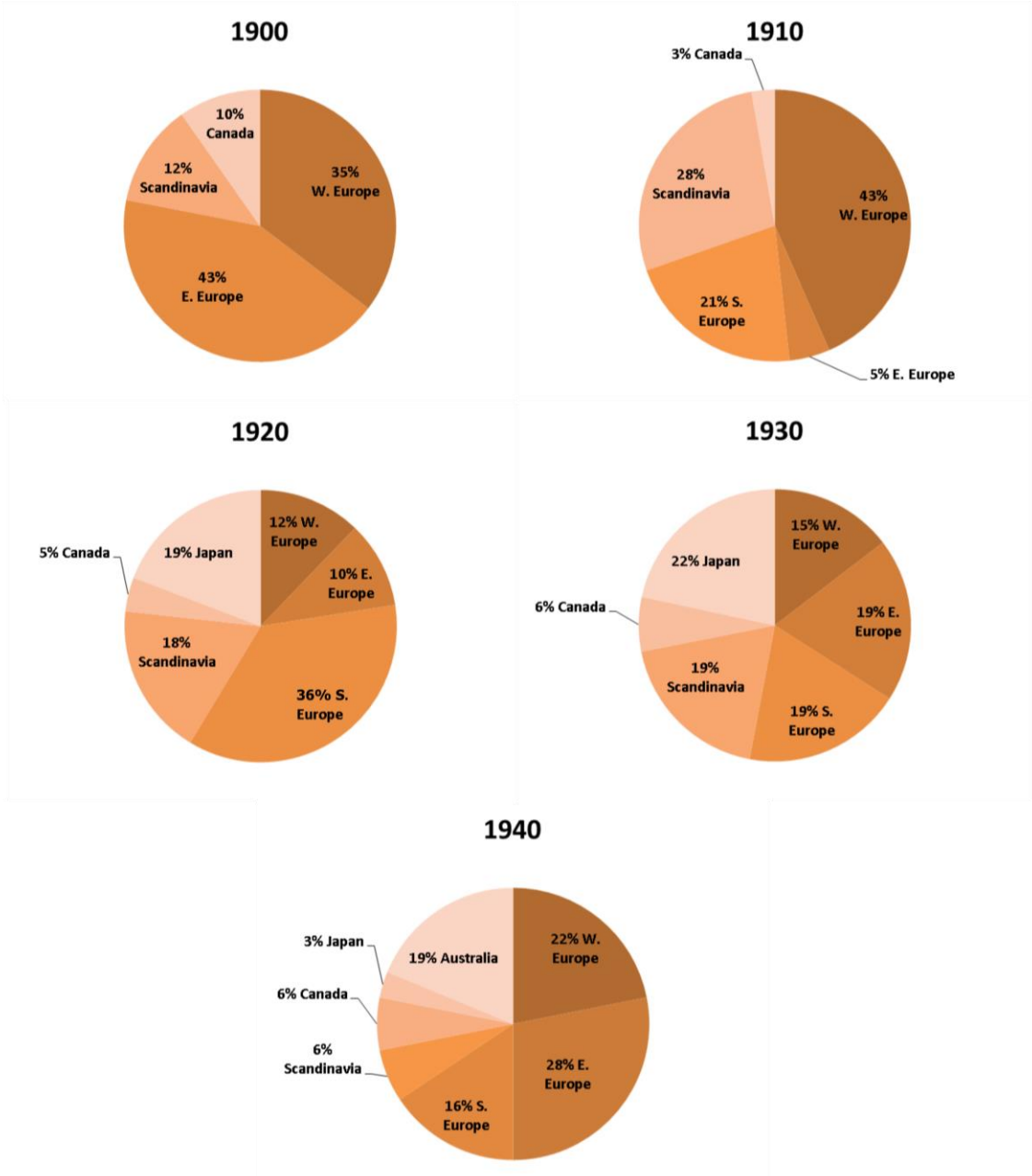


Figure 37. Foreign-born population in the Fairfax District by census year.

6.1.1. U.S. Census Analysis

Census records from 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940 were entered into a master database for this project (Appendix C). Census records illuminated several broad patterns of life at the Fairfax District, a geographical area including the Fairfax Townsite, Upper Fairfax, and the Manley-Moore logging camp. These include the presence of a youthful population, a majority male population, the transition to a family-based population, a large foreign-born workforce, and the delineation of occupations based on ethnicity and racialization. Variations of these patterns are common in company town contexts. However, interesting outliers to these patterns were identified at Fairfax.

Occupational Divisions: The Intersection of Ethnicity, Race, and Class

In 1900, at the time of the earliest census, the predominant occupations at the Fairfax District were general laborer (40.9%), coal miner (21.6%), and carpenter (6.82%). The majority of general laborers were Hungarian. More than half of coal miners at the time were born in the U.S. By 1910, coal continued to be the dominant industry at Fairfax, with 66% of the working population employed in the mines. Austrians, Italians, and Fins worked disproportionately underground and as 'unskilled' laborers at the coke ovens during this period (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900, 1910). Work at the coke ovens would have been some of the most physically demanding and monotonous labor at the site. Across industrial America, coke oven operators were disproportionately foreign-born and or people of color (Shifflett 1991:73).

Although an American served as the Mine Superintendent in 1910, Italian men were employed as Assistant Superintendent and Fire Boss at the Fairfax Mine (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910). The logging industry employed 20 men, roughly 14% of the working population, in both the Manley-Moore logging camp and sawmill. By 1910, the majority of these employees were American and Scandinavian. The railroad employed 8 men or 5% of the working population and the remainder of employed residents worked under the broad umbrella of service, including a town physician, teacher, assorted hotel staff, and private household servants (15%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910).

In 1910, 57% of the population had emigrated from 13 European countries and Canada. They had emigrated to the U.S. between 1880 and 1909. In 1910, the Manley-Moore Lumber Company put a help-wanted advertisement in the *Tacoma Times*,

offering $3.50-$4.00 a day for millwrights and $2.25 to $2.50 for general laborers (1910 May: 7). This was less than the average wage for white men reported by the U.S. Immigration Commission in 1910. A white lumber mill laborer on the Pacific coast made $2.75-$3.50 per day on average. Japanese workers earned an average of $1.65-$2.00 (Dillingham 1910: 47).

By 1920, 334 formally employed individuals lived in the Fairfax District, 56% of the total population. The majority of their occupations were related to the lumber industry (n=203). They were employed at the Manley-Moore Logging Camp, Saw Mill, and Huling Shingle Mill. The transition from a coal dominant community to a lumbering one was well underway. The 1920 census lists 24 nationalities and although 46% of the entire population in 1920 was foreign-born, a dip from 57% in 1910, the nations they emigrated from were more diverse.

The 1920 Census was a point of focus as it represents the Fairfax District at peak population. Occupational opportunity and the division of labor were assessed on a broad scale by place of birth for this year (Table 12) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920). This census was the first to include a race designation for the Fairfax District other than white. In 1920, 53 members of the total district population (n=574) were enumerated as Japanese under the race category. All wage-working Japanese residents save for one (n=44) were employed at the Manley-Moore Saw Mill at Upper Fairfax (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920). One Japanese man is listed as a porter for the hotel. Japanese sawmill workers occupied various positions from laborer to foreman, suggesting some degree of mobility in the field. The U.S. census from 1920 lists two *Issei* women employed by the mill, one as a tallyman and one as a general laborer (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920). These women were also listed as wives and the degree of their formal employment is unknown, but they are clear outliers in the male-dominated workforce at Fairfax, with historically androcentric jobs.

The majority of skilled labor, or jobs defined in the census as other than general labor, were assigned to U.S. born workers. Those at the superintendent or owner level were Canadian and U.S. born. The unskilled category or “general labor” positions were largely occupied by Southern European and *Issei* workers. Southern Europeans, primarily Italians, worked predominantly in underground mining (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920).

Table 12. Occupational Field by Place of Birth in 1920.

	Eastern Europe	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Scandinavia	Japan	Canada	U.S.
Superintendent						1	5
Managerial		2	5	1	1		5
Engineering		3		2	1		8
Unskilled Labor	6	5	36	5	32	2	13
Skilled Labor	8	5	19	24	9	2	39
Miner	3	4	12	1			4
Administrative		1				1	4
Specialty				2		2	4
Safety			3		2		2
Service (Hotel Staff, Cooks, Housekeepers)	2	1	3		1		11
Business (Owning own business)	2		2				1
Civil (Surveyors, Doctors,Teachers)							6
None	7	11	15	6	5	3	187
Other	1		2				28
Total	**29**	**32**	**97**	**41**	**51**	**11**	**317**

A closer look was taken at the Manley-Moore Saw Mill in 1920 and an analysis of the division of labor in that particular industry shows that half of its workers were racially designated Japanese while half were enumerated as white (Table 13). It is clear; however, that unskilled laborers at the sawmill were twice as likely to be Japanese and skilled laborers were twice as likely to be listed as white. The presence of one Japanese man in a managerial position at the Saw Mill may indicate that the hierarchical division of labor was not solely race-based and it does provide some evidence that what local researchers like Hall suggest, of a 'worker equality' at Fairfax is perhaps not entirely unwarranted (Hall 1980). More likely, it reflects that white men had a white boss and Japanese workers, a Japanese boss.

The *Immigrants in Industries* report from 1910 states that although Japanese men were likely to be paid equal wages in the railroad sector, by 1910 the 2,000 plus

Table 13. Division of Labor Based on Race at the Manley-Moore Saw Mill, 1920.

	Japanese	White	Occupation Types
Superintendent		1	
Managerial	1	4	Foremen, Managers
Engineering		2	Engineers
Unskilled Labor	32	16	General Laborers
Skilled Labor	9	16	Tally Men, Loaders, Scalers, Edgermen, Sawyers
Administrative		2	Bookkeepers, Stenographers
Specialty		3	Blacksmiths, Carpenters
Safety	2		Firemen
Total	**44**	**44**	

Japanese workers in the Pacific Northwest lumber industry had, "without exception, been paid lower wages than men of other races engaged in the same occupations." (Dillingham 1910: 47). This was partly the result of great opposition by white workers to allow Japanese men in the Shingle Weavers Union. Additionally, Japanese men frequently faced race-based exclusion from mill apprenticeships, which were required for advancement in milling fields (Dillingham 1910:47).

It is clear that Japanese workers were racialized and "classed" by company owners, which often resulted in their relegation to living spaces outside of town centers and the general inopportunity for occupational advancement. Greater opportunity was sometimes afforded in cities, where there was some freedom to develop businesses and social partnerships with larger community networks of *Issei*. In isolated settings like Fairfax, these options were limited and the barriers of race and language could outcaste minorities (Dillingham 1910; Geiger 2011).

6.2. *Issei* Workers and Their Families

> When I think
> It is from Japan
> Even wrapping paper
> Seems so close to me
> It's hard to throw it away - traditional *Tanka* poem by Teiko Tomita (Nomura 2001:287)

During the early years that followed the opening of the Fairfax Mine, Nancy Irene Hall notes, "Miners were unhappy over wage and labor issues. When the owners could

not get white miners to work the mine, they brought in Negro workers. The troubles continued and they tried Japenese (*sic*) workers in an effort to keep the mine open and on its feet" (Hall 1980:147). *The Industrial Number – Wilkeson Record* from 1917, also states, "The property was first operated with white, then colored, and finally Japanese labor, and it seemed to experience considerable difficulty in getting started." (Jacobin 1917:8). Regional newspaper articles echoed the need for labor and the hiring of Japanese men at the turn of the century for railroad construction into Fairfax (*Seattle Post Intelligencer* 1898). According to Hall, white workers returned to the mines in 1900, during a time when Fairfax became a prominent producer of coking coal, supported by the initial construction of 25 beehive coke ovens (Hall 1980:147).

There is some indication that *Issei* workers were hired to build roads and rail in this stretch of the Carbon River Canyon. The *Seattle Post Intelligencer* ran an article in August of 1898 discussing the employment of Japanese workers as a solution to the scarcity of labor needed for coal road construction between Carbonado and Fairfax. Employers cited great embarrassment at the prospect and publicly classed the Japanese against Chinese immigrants. The contractor for the project remarked,

> It seems too bad that we are unable to secure a sufficient number of white laborers to perform the work. We have exhausted every possible means to secure white men, and today a Japanese labor contractor called upon me. He said that he could furnish at least 100 Japs to go to work on the contract in about three weeks. I was forced to accept his proposition, as we are now in the midst of the time of year which is most adapted for this character of work. As matters now stand the work has been greatly delayed owing to the scarcity of laborers and on account of the present condition of affairs, we are more or less embarrassed. No we will not employ any Chinese laborers, as it has been found that they are either lazy or entirely unfit for this class of work. (*Seattle Post Intelligencer* 1898:12)

Additional information on the degree of potential labor strife at the town's inception, the infusion of a black workforce in the Fairfax Mine, and the involvement of *Issei* workers in the mine or adjacent industries is elusive, and the true degree to which strike and strike break occurred at the site remains unknown. That said, a labor strike at Fairfax could only have occurred during a brief window between 1896, when the first mine opened, and 1900, when white workers reportedly returned to the mines.

Issei men were a substantial component of the workforce at northwest mills. Sawmills routinely offered higher wages than other industries, especially in the Pacific Northwest (Dillingham 1910). It is improbable that the *Issei* worked in coal mining at Fairfax as traditional biases in Japanese culture linked underground mining to an outcaste status (Geiger 2011:66). Underground mining may have been considered unclean or low class in the cultural context of *Mibun,* a system of social hierarchy (Carlson 2017:37; Geiger 2011). No one from Japan is listed on the census of the Fairfax District from the early decades, when coal was the preeminent industry. The population only appears in association with the lumber milling industries on census records from 1920 and 1930.

In many Western Washington company towns, the *Issei* population made up a significant part of the workforce. Towns like Selleck, Kerriston, Mulkilteo, Port Blakely, and Barneston all employed large numbers of *Issei* men in the railroad and milling industries as laborers, foremen, bookmen, and cooks (Carlson 2003:46; Nomura 1989). In 1883, the Northern Pacific Railroad recruited just over one hundred *Issei* men along with 17,000 Chinese to build rail over the Cascade Mountains (Nomura 1989:122). Immigration from Japan increased in the 1890s and early 1900s, prior to a Gentlemen's Agreement between the U.S. and *Meiji* governments in 1907. The agreement prohibited the immigration of *Issei* laborers, allowing only wives, children, and parents of the previously settled to emigrate. Men who could afford to bring their families to the United States did so and a spike in the immigration of women occurred (Dillingham 1910:16, 21; Dubrow 1993:17; Nomura 1989:127).

The immigration of families was promoted by the *Meiji* government and seen as a tool for inclusion into American society; However, by 1924, the United States passed legislation preventing the immigration of Asians, as "aliens ineligible to citizenship." The only exception were those who emigrated from the Philippines, a territory of the United States at the time. Certain southern Asians considered "Aryan" through caste distinction were also admitted (Nomura 1989:128-131). This legislation and a series of state alien land laws beginning in 1889 based on racial discrimination impacted the arc of Japanese diaspora and transnationalism and resulted in political powerlessness for the *Issei* already on American soil, who had no opportunity to purchase or lease land due to their ineligible status (Grant 2008; Ichioka 1988).

The *Issei* in the northwest faced the unfettered racism and anti-Asian sentiment that was supported by immigration and naturalization legislation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Anti-Asian legislation during this period resulted in the immigration of approximately 270,000 Japanese, dwarfed by European immigration, which numbered 23 million in the same span (Geiger 2011:3). The construct of race was certainly a part of daily life in a multi-ethnic town such as Fairfax and was commonly used by industrialists to separate working groups, support hierarchies, and prevent a common working class consciousness. Over forty years, the only race designation on U.S. census rolls of the Fairfax District aside from “white” was “Japanese” (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920, 1930).

As Geiger notes, the *Meiji* government of Japan at the turn of the century was heavily involved in the moral reformation of the immigrant population, undoubtedly impacted by the cultural system of *Mibun*, or the Japanese caste system. The goal of the Japanese government to be seen globally, particularly by the United States, as a modern, forward-thinking player was evidenced in the promotion of assimilation, acculturation, and the support of an idealized transnational nuclear family and the avoidance of drinking, gambling, and prostitution (Geiger 2011, Ichioka 1988; Ross 2017).

Attempts by the *Meiji* government to disarm white racism were focused on education, assimilation, and the promotion of distinctions between Japanese and Chinese immigrants, by suggesting the latter were too traditional and “backwards” (Geiger 2011:61-63). Within the cultural context of *Mibun*, racism perpetrated by whites was especially offensive because it placed the Japanese at the bottom of a labor hierarchy and within an outcaste status (Geiger 2011:4).

6.2.1. *Issei* Housing and the Archaeological Imprint

It was common for *Issei* families to live separately from other ethnic groups in company towns. They often established clustered communities where they constructed their own homes, bathhouses, and recreational buildings (Carlson 2003:46). This was especially prevalent in the isolated lumber towns of the west, where amenities were not always a given (Carlson 2017:38). At the Port Blakely mill town on Bainbridge Island,

where the Japanese population numbered roughly 300, a bathhouse, tea garden, and Buddhist Temple were built (Welch and Daugherty 2004:35).

It is clear that *Issei* workers and their families lived separately from other ethnic groups in the Fairfax District. The documentary record suggests that various foreign-born Europeans and Scandinavians were neighbors, aside from a Polish community, that established an enclave on the north side of the Carbon River, opposite the Fairfax Townsite. The *Issei,* who lived in houses near the railroad track at Upper Fairfax resided some distance from the services of both Manley-Moore and the Fairfax Townsite, albeit near to work at the Huling Shingle Mill (Gatto 1965). *Issei* workers were employed in the mills at Upper Fairfax as early as 1920 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920). They worked for the Manley-Moore Saw Mill and the Carbon River Shingle Company, operated by Harry E. Huling and later to become the Huling Shingle Mill.

The Huling Shingle Mill opened in 1924 and processed logs retrieved by Manley-Moore logging operations (Bonney 1927:41). Harry E. Huling and his family are listed in the 1930 census as renting a house in Section 35, presumably near to the mill and the location of the Japanese enclave. The Huling residence was rented for eight dollars a month (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1930). A newspaper article documenting a reunion gathering of Fairfax residents in the 1960s, notes, “To the left of the shingle mill and across a road and railroad tracks was “Jap” town. These people were sawmill workers. Evenings would find them dressed in native dress heading for their bathhouse” (Gatto 1965). Another description of the location of Issei homes is found in *Carbon River Coal Country* (Hall 1980:184):

> Along the tracks right in back of the mill and on up past the mill-pond were the homes of the Japanese workers. The homes sat very close to the track. The Manley-Moore Lumber Company thought very highly of these industrious workers. The Company imported special foods for the Japanese workers and their families. One particular food was a fish preparation. It was shipped in by rail on the Northern Pacific Railroad ' and left off at the Fairfax depot. It came in huge tubs and had the consistency of cottage cheese. It was a main food item for the Japanese. Sometimes in the heat of the summer months, when the weather was good and hot the depot at Fairfax gave off a fishy aroma, from the tubs of fish sitting on the dock waiting for the crew from Manley-Moore to come down and retrieve the delicacy. It would intermingle with the aroma of the quarters of beef, which had been shipped in wrapped in burlap, which were also waiting to to (sic be) transported up to the cook-house, where they would be cut up by the cooks.

The possible remains of these structures are visible on an aerial photograph from 1941 (Figure 38). The special accommodations that Hall reports were made by Manley-Moore, if accurate, may attest to both the cultural continuity of the *Issei* at Upper Fairfax and potentially their observed separateness by the company. The foodstuff described by Hall is possibly *surimi*, a fish based paste. The import of this item suggests that *Issei* residents were not participating in a fully Americanized diet. It may speak to the level of pragmatic adaptation, wherein members of the community were assimilating in some areas while maintaining elements of traditional culture strategically.

All *Issei* workers in the Fairfax District were listed as employed at the Manley-Moore Saw Mill and Huling Shingle Mill, both located at Upper Fairfax (see Figure 38, Figure 39). The documented *Issei* at Fairfax emigrated to the United States between 1891 and 1924, during both the *Meiji* (1868-1912) and *Taisho* (1912-1926) political periods. On the 1920 census, the majority of *Issei* were men who came to the U.S. between 1906 and 1907, just before the introduction of a Gentlemen's Agreement barring the immigration of Japanese male laborers. The year 1916 marks a transition point when seven wives and one daughter were listed on the census as emigrating to the U.S. (Table 14) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920). No emigration is listed following the Asian Exclusion Act of 1924 (Table 15). On the 1930 census, eight *Nisei*, or Japanese children born in America, were enumerated in the Fairfax District, compared to two listed in 1920, indicating the transition to family settlement and growth.

Between 1920 and 1930, an entirely new *Issei* population came to work in the town. This finding is based on the comparison of individual names, wherein no two names are the same from 1920 to 1930. No person of "Japanese" race is listed on both the 1920 and 1930 census, and this does not appear to be a repeated mistake of the enumerator, but actually an illustration of turnover (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920, 1930). It may also be suggestive of the trend of *Issei* families moving to a series of "linked regions" as opposed to one. It was common for *Issei* communities in isolated areas to be socially linked to families and friends in the larger cities like Seattle and Tacoma and it may be the case that after working at the mills of Fairfax for a period of time, men and their families moved to areas with better services, access, and larger Japanese populations (Carlson 2017; Geiger 2011:12). Many also returned to Japan following their work at lumber and coal towns in the Pacific Northwest (Dillingham 1910: 11; Dubrow 1993:58-60).

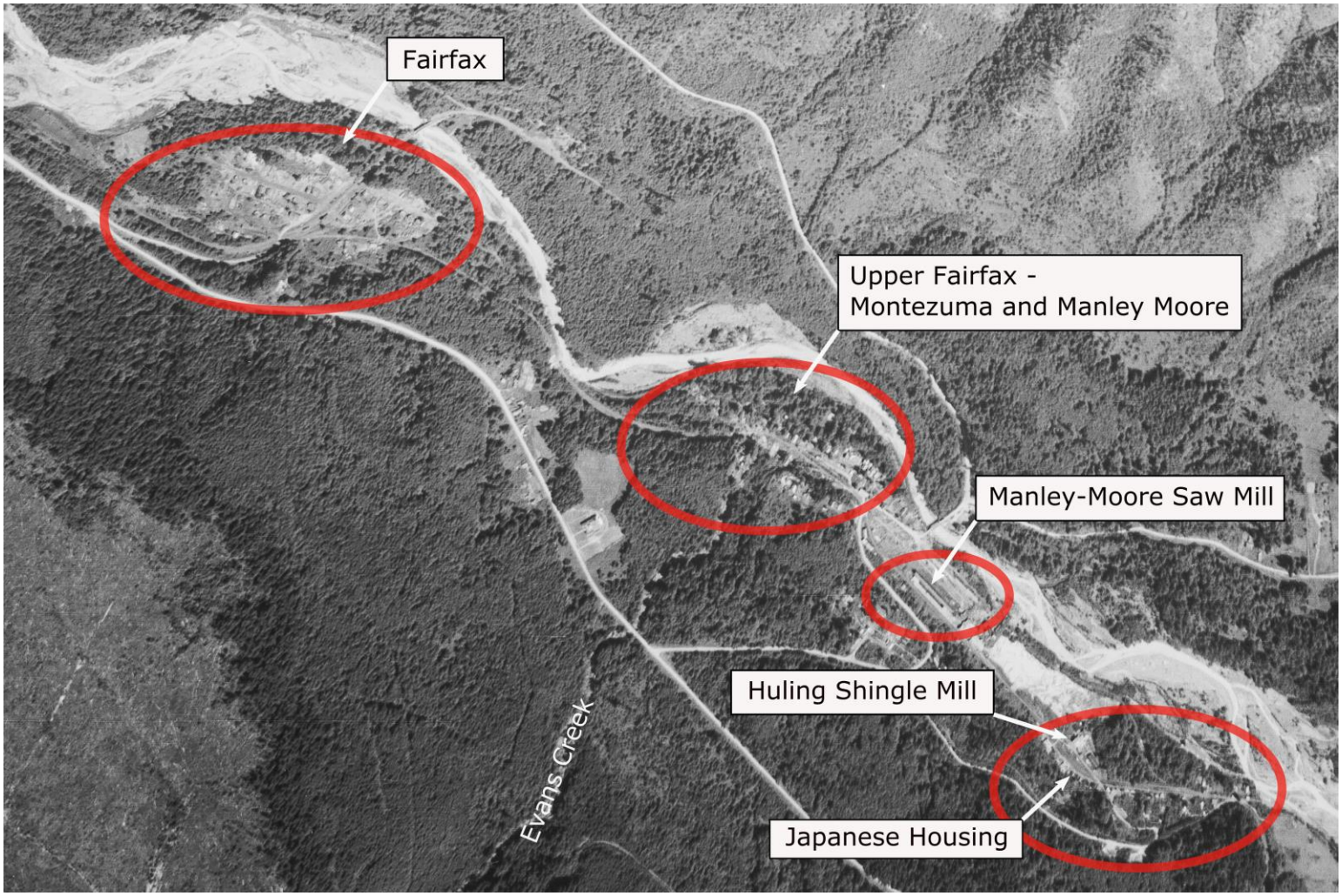


Figure 38. 1941 aerial overview of the Fairfax Townsite and Upper Fairfax, with Japanese housing near the Huling Shingle Mill (USGS 1941).

Figure 39. Japanese workers and their families at Manley-Moore, 1927. University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, CKK0353.

Table 14. *Issei* Immigration by Listed Gender and Year on the 1920 Census.

Year of Immigration	Listed Gender		
	Female	*Male*	*Total*
1891		1	1
1900		2	2
1902		1	1
1903		1	1
1905		1	1
1906		8	8
1907		11	11
1908		3	3
1910		1	1
1911		1	1
1912		2	2
1914		3	3
1915		3	3
1916	1	1	2
1917	2	1	3
1918	5	1	6
1919		2	2
Born in Washington	1	1	2
	9	44	53

Table 15. *Issei* Immigration by Listed Gender and Year on the 1930 Census.

Year of Immigration	Listed Gender		
	Female	*Male*	*Total*
1898		1	1
1900		1	1
1902		2	2
1904		1	1
1905		1	1
1906		3	3
1907		8	8
1908		1	1
1910		1	1
1911		2	2
1913		1	1
1915	1	2	3
1916	1	1	2
1918	1		1
1919	1	3	4
1920		2	2
1921	2	2	4
1923		1	1
1924	1		1
	7	33	40

In the mills at Upper Fairfax, *Issei* workers were disproportionately hired as general laborers (U.S. Bureau of Census 1920, 1930). Due in part to the Japanese government's focus on education, particularly during the *Meiji* period, *Issei* laborers were largely literate and listed as such on census records for Fairfax (Geiger 2011:59; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920, 1930). Additionally, nearly all adult *Issei* at Fairfax reported that they spoke English. Although the degree of language fluency is unknown, the use of code-switching or self-reporting as bilingual may have been an act of assimilation or individual protection.

For this work, I avoid the use of "ethnic marker" terminology, understanding that it can paint a simplistic picture of consumption, especially at an industrial townsite in the west. The context of archaeological deposits discovered at Fairfax suggests broad, community-scale dumping and therefore directly assigning artifacts to use by specific ethnic groups would be presumptive (Camp 2009; Orser Jr. 1998; Ross 2009:89). That said, few items that are either of Japanese origin or consistent with Japanese food preparation or consumption were identified during excavations at Fairfax, east of the main railroad grade. Distinctive artifacts of Japanese origin and cultural foodways identified at historic-period sites across the northwest have been interpreted as a form of

material resistance to assimilation as well as a reflection of transnationalism and community (Carlson 2017; Ross 2009). These items are discussed in detail in the previous chapter.

The conclusion that the *Issei* lived near the Huling Shingle Mill in Section 35, makes the identification of items potentially related to the *Issei* at the Fairfax Townsite a point of interest. It may speak to the movement of *Issei* residents between Upper Fairfax and the townsite, trends in discard, and/or the presence of an early *Issei* workforce hired for road and rail construction, who were not enumerated in any available census records.

The majority of Japanese items were recovered from LP-4/TU-4, a unit proximal to the Fairfax railroad turntable. Additionally, the area housed a small outbuilding by the 1920s. The unit could be linked to rail workers or secondary discard at the closure of the town in the 1940s. According to Hall (1980:184), this area by the rail would have been used to temporarily store Japanese food products and other goods imported to the town.

6.3. Material Manifestations of Resistance, Identity, and Community

The written and documentary record suggests that, relative to the standard company town, a sense of benevolent paternalism was strong at the Fairfax Townsite. Areas of leisure and recreation were present at the site, some of which are identified in the archaeological record, including the remains of the community swimming pool. Historic period documents and news articles indicate that the sense of community was strong, with residents participating in planned events, dances, and parades. The degree to which ethnic and racial minorities were excluded from these activities is unclear. What is apparent is that these activities occurred in the center of the Fairfax Townsite, distanced from at least two reported ethnic enclaves, the Polish community north of the Carbon River and the *Issei* houses near the Huling Shingle Mill at Upper Fairfax (Hall 1980; Gatto 1965).

Spaces and goods manufactured for leisure and recreation in towns dominated by industry and commerce are the trademarks of individual resilience and are often interpreted as the material culture of resistance at company-owned sites (Shackel 2004).

Mining communities were remote and rugged, but fairs, baseball games, horse races, and picnics provided escapism from the daily grind of wage work (Ford 2011:727). When these activities were sponsored by the company, they reflected the establishment of corporate order through paternalism, at once providing for workers and shaping their free time. Material markers of potential resilience and resistance were identified in all geophysical spheres addressed at the site, on the east and west sides of the main grade, and around the Fairfax Hotel. They are predominantly visible in the extensive fragments of alcoholic beverage bottles and items potentially associated with moonshine manufacture, which were identified across the site. These items suggest that residents were drinking outside of the company tavern. The degree to which that was approved of by the company is unknown, but drinking freely was commonly shunned by management in towns like Fairfax.

6.4. "Relation to the Head of Household": Domesticity and the Role of Women at Fairfax

In extractive towns in the west, women's lives were shaped by gender relations, but also by social standing and class, ethnicity and race in both an everyday context and in broader systemic manifestations. Barbara Voss describes these influences as the micropowers, or daily interactions, and the macropowers, identities shaped by entities such as the state or private companies (Voss 2006:119). Women in mining communities were traditionally outnumbered, a fact that limited opportunities within the community and defined roles within the household (CADOT 2008:68). At Fairfax, women were directly involved in the local economy, both at the household level, "the sphere of domesticity" and in the town, the so-called "public sphere".

In the 19th century, the cult of domesticity or "true womanhood" was the dominant gender ideology. It anointed women as the "authority of the home" and inherently limited their access to social opportunities on the outside (Nickolai 2003:79). Due to this, popular archaeological research domains like industrialization can result in a "manning of the west" (Holder Spude 2005:104; Purser 1991). Archaeological research that is symptomatic of the "separate spheres" ideology tends to perpetuate the idea that women were passive and men were the active agents of culture (Rotman 2006). Economic opportunity, particularly the ability to make money outside of the company in towns like

Fairfax, led to the movement of women out of the construct of separate spheres (Rotman 2006:672).

Popular mores of domesticity did, however, mold the Fairfax workforce. The majority of women's labor was confined to the home; raising children, caring for families, and sometimes boarders. It is very likely that women were the dominant purchasers at Fairfax. This alone would have moved them out of the traditionally private sphere of home life into the public community through the general store. Purchasing is one way that women powered a household and dictated a family's consumer habits, ultimately shaping the lives of the people around them through "daily material consumption" (Cook et al. 1996; Mullins 2012:152).

6.4.1. Gender and Material in a Company Town

While researchers have commonly associated certain artifact types with gender, it becomes apparent that huge biases exist in classing any item outside of the Personal category (i.e. jewelry, clothing, footwear, accoutrements, and items of personal hygiene) to gender. In her research on the archaeology of brothels and saloons in the American west, Catherine Holder Spude used personal items to select for gender in the archaeological record. Items she assigned to the female gender included women's clothing, "fancy buttons," combs, hairpins, jewelry, makeup, cosmetics, purses, and sewing items, while men's goods included pocketknives, suspender buckles, watch chains, and cuff links (2005:91-94). Several of these examples would have been used historically across gender and the problems with associating a pocketknife with a male individual unnecessarily narrows the real image of working-class communities in the west. At Fairfax, few women were enumerated on the census as having traditionally male-assigned jobs such as miner, tallyman, and general laborer – these women may very well have used any of the commodities in their working lives that have been archaeologically assigned to men traditionally.

An intersectional engendered archaeology is an essential goal, so long as it is not confused with the engendered artifact, which can result in the narrative of "adding women" to a history that they created (Engelstad 2007:218-219; Larson 1994; Purser 1991). The result of simply connecting women to artifacts is that they then become passive characters in the historical narrative when they were actually an integral part of

various social processes that shaped the west including frontierism, industrialism, and capitalism (Dixon 2014; Rose 2008; Purser 1991). Guided by the notions of private and public spheres and the household as the datum of archaeological study, researchers end up "looking for women" instead of "through gender" (Purser 1991:13). Approaching gender at company towns more holistically results in more meaningful interpretations of how women and men were reflected in the spatial layout of a town and the community culture, including work, residential life, foodways, and consumption (Voss 2006:123).

Artifacts *produced* for women and *marketed* to women were identified during the subsurface investigations at Fairfax and they are discussed in that context, but no attempt was made to analyze the gender of items site-wide or to determine the frequency of "women's goods". The discussion of artifacts marketed to women and the commodification of wifehood and motherhood is an important reflection in archaeology because it speaks to social expectations, individual ideologies, and systemic structures of authority and control (Larson 1994:69-71).

Items collected from the Fairfax site that were clearly marketed to mothers include fragments of Tudor Rose china, tableware sets that were promotionally included in "Mother's Oats" oatmeal boxes and Mellin's Infant Food, a mass-produced substitute for breast milk. These artifacts were identified in subsurface excavations, east of the main railroad grade. They represent both the purchasing power of mothers and the increasing number of mothers working outside the home in industrialized America. Artificial feeding grew in popularity during the latter half of the 19th century, when scientific formulas predominantly comprised of cow's milk, wheat flour, malt flour, and potash were produced and marketed to middle and upper-class women (Roseburg 2007:123). In his work on medicinal bottles in the boarding houses of Harper's Ferry, Eric Larson suggests that artificial feeding may have been the pursuit or signaling of "middle-class ideals" (Larson 1994:74).

Personal items consistent with women's footwear, accoutrements, and health and grooming were also identified across the site. A girl or woman's mary jane style shoe and women's tennis shoe fragments were recovered from HS-1, east of the main railroad grade (see Figure 26). Additionally, one possible purse or handbag seam fragment was collected from TU-4. Fragments of milk glass cold cream jars were also

collected from across the site. Cosmetic solutions marketed to women were commonly packaged in these kinds of jars (see Figure 30).

Women in the Public Workforce

Divisions between the responsibilities and work of women and men are clear in the census records, but it would be a mistake to assume this is a division of the quantity of work. Women at Fairfax always worked, in the home and in the community. On the work of African American women in historic Washington State, Esther Hall Mumford states, “But even the woman who never left her home to work was still the first up and the last to go to bed.” (1989:90). Women in the Fairfax District were enumerated on census rolls predominantly as wives and homemakers (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930). Originally, those who worked in the home were listed as having no occupation. On the 1930 census, they were first identified as “homemakers”. Women in the Fairfax District were homemakers, but they were also waged cooks, clerks, housekeepers, nurses, stenographers, and teachers (Table 16). They owned and operated farms in the District and ran boarding houses. By 1920, they worked in the rail and milling industries at the town.

Table 16. The Occupations of Women who Worked outside of the Household by Census Year.

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Attendant					2
Clerk			1		
Cook			2	3	
Farmer			1		
Head Cook					
Housekeeper/Maid	1		1	2	
Laborer			1		
Landlady			1		
Miner					1
New Worker					1
Nurse			1		
Servant	1	2			
Stenographer			1		
Tallyman			1		
Teacher		1	2	4	1
Waitress		1		2	
Total	2	4	12	11	5
Percentage of Female Population (over 16)	9%	9%	13%	9%	14%

6.5. The Family

Fairfax transitioned from a community dominated by bachelorhood to a more family-oriented space by the 1910s. By 1920, more than half of the population was married and there were 147 children in the town accounting for more than a quarter of the population. The shift was likely consecutive with an increase in benevolent management that allowed families to settle down and grow. Figure 40 presents marital status by percentage for every census year.

It would be neglectful to consider the "family" at Fairfax without the boarder population, which accounted for upwards of 41% of the residents at Fairfax at the turn of the century (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900). The material of boarders is likely present in the assemblage at Fairfax; however, it is known that boarders generally kept fewer material possessions, due both to working transience and the confinement of their living situations. It was common for boarders to store all personal goods in a single trunk (Hoagland 2010: 48). Between 1910 and 1930 the boarder population hovered between 24% and 32% of the total population, dipping drastically to <1% in 1940 at the decline of the town (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940). Boarders listed on the census rolls appear to have been residing at boarding houses in Fairfax, at the

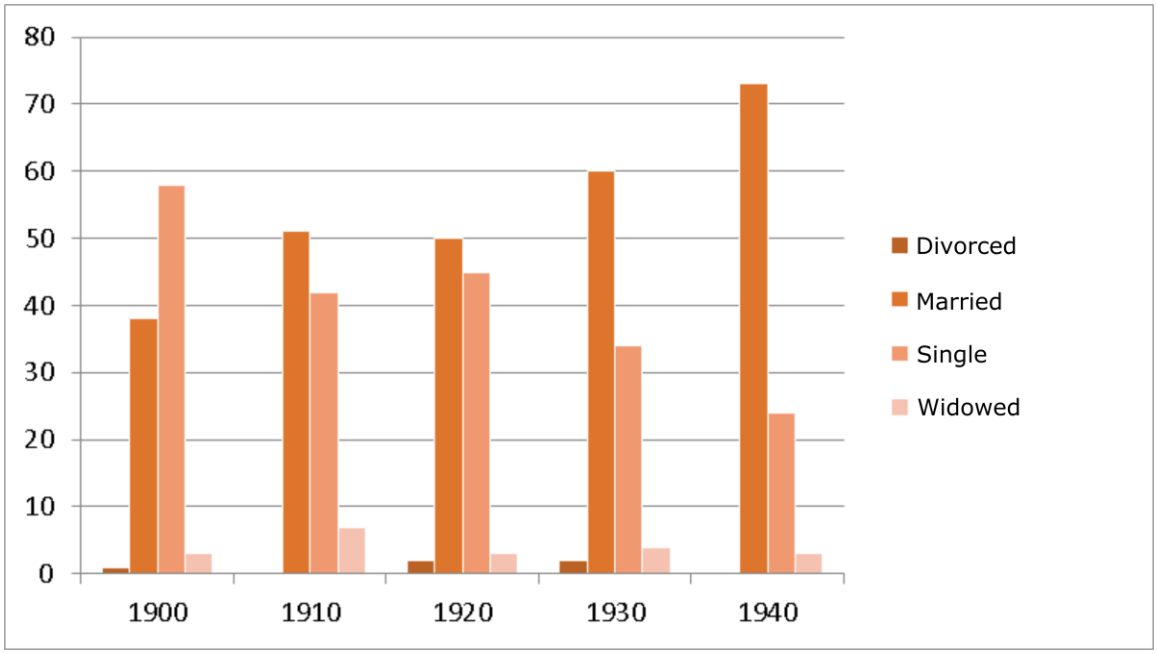


*Chart based on residents 18 years of age and older.

Figure 40. Marital Status of Fairfax Residents by Census Year.

Fairfax Hotel, the Manley-Moore Hotel, and in company bunkhouses.

Whole families lived at the Fairfax Hotel. This fact belies the common perception that the hotel in a company town was a space for bachelors. In 1930, the first enumeration of “addresses” was conducted at the Fairfax District, which included broad zones such as Section 35, Section 36, and the Fairfax Hotel. At this time residents listed at the hotel were predominantly members of families and *not* single male boarders (Table 17). The relationships to head of household at Fairfax included wives, children, other family members, and boarders. By 1940, only one man was listed as a “lodger” in the District, exemplifying the mass exodus of the wage workforce following the decline of the coal industry in Washington (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1940).

6.5.1. Home Values

On the 1930 census, additional information including the value of one’s home and the presence or absence of a radio set in the household was listed. By 1930, 18 people owned homes in the district and the most valuable properties were independent farms outside of the confines of Fairfax proper. Ten of these residents were foreign-born; from Greece, Germany, Yugoslavia, Italy, and Poland. An apparent outlier on this list is the one property-owning woman in the district, Juanita Lemarr. A divorcee head of household, Lemarr owned a farm worth 3,000 dollars when the average property was worth 833 dollars. Listed addresses for the owned property are all within Sections 35 and 36, but their precise locations beyond that scale are unknown (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1930). In 1930, all Japanese employees who were recorded as “renters,” paid four dollars a month to Manley-Moore for their housing in Section 35. Non-Japanese

Table 17. Residents of the Fairfax Hotel in 1930.

	Austria	United States	Canada	Italy	Poland	Sweden	Total
Boarder		1		1			2
Cook		1					1
Daughter		11					11
Head	2	8	2		1	1	14
Son		9					9
Wife		10	1		1	1	13
Grand Total	2	40	3	1	2	2	50

employees who worked in or for the coal mines paid up to twelve dollars a month for rent, including at the Fairfax Hotel where lodging rates varied wildly from five to twelve dollars. Skilled laborers paid upwards of fifteen dollars per month, while unskilled or general laborers paid as little as five dollars. What is clear is that by 1930, no one paid less for their accommodations than members of the Japanese community (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1930).

6.5.2. The Dependents at Fairfax

A dependency ratio was created for the Fairfax population by census year, which indicated that on average, across the years of its existence, 36.7 of every 100 members of the population would have been dependent on residents of working age. This number is substantially lower than both the overall U.S. dependency ratio now, which is 51.2 and what it was in 1950, 53.9 (Amadeo 2019) (Figure 41). For this calculation, members of society aged 15 and under and 65 and over were assumed dependent, although it is quite possible that members of the society under 15 worked and provided to their households and residents older than 65 may have worked and/or lived on their own. The numbers show the steady growth of dependents until a dip between 1920 and 1930, only to rise again in 1940 when the overall working population declined and few people of

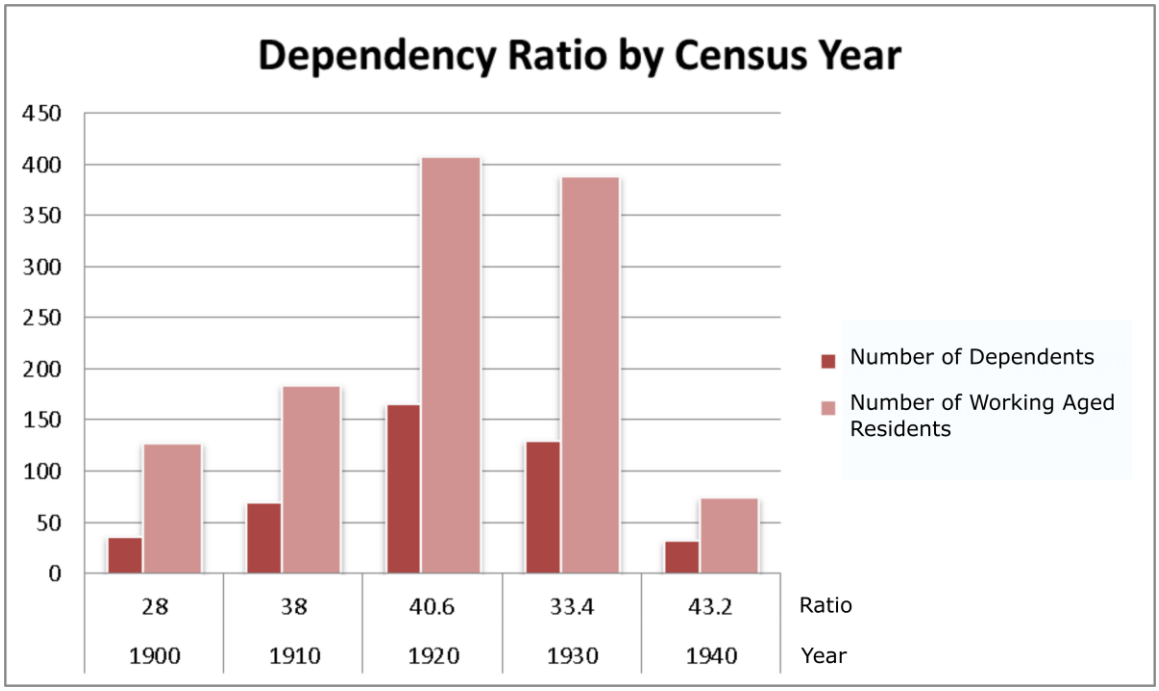


Figure 41. Dependency Ratios through the Decades at the Fairfax District.

advanced age remained in the district.

At its peak population, over a quarter of the population at Fairfax were children under the age of 12 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920). The clearest material markers of their lives and activities at the site are toys. Twelve artifacts were collected that reflect the 'Toys' category. Doll fragments were the most common, including fragments of expensive bisque porcelain types. Additionally, a marble, toy plate, and pencil toppers were collected. Children were active agents in historical contexts, a population segment that not only interacted with the material items designed for them, e.g., toys and dolls, but all aspects of the material world. Considering the impact of children on material assemblages has the potential to create a fuller image of the past (CADOT 2008; Derevenski 2000).

Items purchased for children were key to constructing and normalizing gendered behaviors. Dolls subconsciously and consciously influenced a continuum of the domestic sphere and learned "mothering" (Deverenski 2000:103). Dolls and toy plate fragments potentially represent the socializing of girls in this way at Fairfax. The material quality of dolls commonly perpetuated the signaling of class. Dolls and doll parts were advertised in catalogs like Sears and Roebuck and Montgomery Ward. Bisque dolls were relatively expensive in the early 20th century and intact dolls made by companies like Kestner likely would have been passed down, while broken head fragments could be replaced through mail order catalog (see Figure 33) (Derevenski 2000:102-103). Toys can be arguably linked to prestige and the social standing of a family, and they may be used by children to "negotiate status" in a community (Deverenski 2000:107-108).

Children are on the front line of socialized relationships and in a town like Fairfax their experience at school would have been less segregated than those of their parents in the mines, logging camps, or mills and as Carlson suggests, "The classroom was sometimes the most egalitarian place in a company town or camp" (2003:62).

6.6. Findings: Answers to Original Research Questions

Condensed answers to the original research questions posed for this project are provided below.

1.) Is site occupation by racial or ethnic minorities; Japanese or African American workers, represented in the material culture at Fairfax? To what extent? Hall 1980 notes that African American and Japanese workers were brought in during the 1890s when European Americans were on labor strike (p. 147)

Materials were identified in discard areas east of the railroad grade at the Fairfax Townsite that reflect Japanese manufacture or traditional foodways. Thirteen ceramic fragments were recovered, constituting 11 vessels which include small dishes, cups, and rice bowls (see Table 9).

All *Issei* listed on the census rolls were living in Section 35, potentially near the Manley-Moore and Huling Shingle Mills where they worked, as early as 1920. Historic documents indicate that the *Issei* community was clustered around the railroad at Upper Fairfax, approximately 2 miles southeast of the Fairfax Townsite, where they had small residences and a communal bathhouse (see Figure 38). It remains unknown whether any *Issei* lived in houses at the Fairfax Townsite, or if items of Japanese origin identified at the site represent the activities of *Issei* residents in this part of the District. However, the proximity of Japanese ceramics near to the railroad may reflect the early period of railroad construction at the site, a time when Japanese labor was reportedly used (*Seattle Post Intelligencer* 1898:12).

The involvement of an African American workforce at Fairfax could not be inferred from the data gathered here. If black colliers came to Fairfax to work in the mines it would likely have been prior to 1900, when labor disputes reportedly ended (Hall 1980:147). Although this community is not enumerated on the available census records, that does not mean they did not work and/or live at Fairfax. Future work at the site could include an attempt to locate additional archival sources that may speak to the presence of a black workforce.

2.) To what extent were peoples and activities spatially segregated at Fairfax; e.g., managers versus laborers?

Due to the nature of most archaeological deposits investigated at Fairfax, which were seemingly the result of repetitive communal discard and secondary deposition, it is difficult to determine how material reflects various socioeconomic classes at the Townsite. It is clear from the written record, historic period maps, and photographs that the Superintendent or "Mine Boss'" house was located above the town, off of Carbon River Road (see Figure 3) and that it was larger and of higher quality than worker housing below, reportedly with a private tennis court (Hall 1980:160). Residential life in this regard was segregated by class through a deliberate panoptic town design. Unfortunately, the manager's property was not relocated during fieldwork for this project, due to the lack of accessibility.

3.) Is long-term residence by minority groups evidenced in the material record at Fairfax? Collins (1981) suggested that Japanese workers for the Manley-Moore Lumber Company resided in Upper Fairfax well after WWI and that they enjoyed the same wages and privileges as white families.

Material that was manufactured in Japan or presumably used by Japanese residents at Fairfax is limited. This is probably due in part to the understanding that the *Issei* community did not live predominately at the Townsite. Research suggests that these families lived approximately 2 miles to the southeast, past the Manley-Moore lumber yard and proximal to the Huling Shingle Mill, where nearly all Japanese workers were employed. Japanese residents are enumerated on both the 1920 and 1930 censuses for the Fairfax District; however, based on full names, these lists appear to record entirely different populations. An entirely new Japanese workforce and their families moved into the district in 1930 and the previous group moved out – challenging the notion that these families "stayed put" long term.

Although we do not have solid evidence of what Japanese workers were paid relative to their white coworkers in the Fairfax District, it is clear that they were twice as likely to be hired as general laborers than whites were. They paid the lowest rent within the district and their homes were distanced from the town centers of Manley-Moore and Fairfax, which was likely company-envisioned and promoted segregation, as Manley-Moore reportedly built the houses of the *Issei*.

4.) How is the archaeological refuse associated with the hotel different from that of more permanent family residences?

Refuse identified near the hotel in looter-disturbed areas and on the ground surface consisted predominantly of undecorated ironstone or mass-produced “hotel wares”. Excavation efforts in the Hotel Sphere did not result in a substantial assemblage and very few non-utilitarian items were identified near the hotel. Of note is a bone toothbrush head that was recovered from SP-34, on the lower terrace behind the Fairfax Hotel (see Figure 9). The utilitarian and mass-produced nature of hotel artifacts differs from the more personalized items in other residential spheres, which included items of leisure like harmonica reeds, liquor bottles, tobacco pipes, and children’s toys as well as decorated ceramics: transfer printed, polychrome, and hand-painted wares which are consistent with individual consumer choice.

5.) What can be inferred about "the family" at Fairfax, i.e., gender roles and domesticity?

The Fairfax Townsite transitioned from a bachelor community at its inception to one characterized by the nuclear family. In 1900 the adult population was predominantly single. By 1910 demographics shifted and the majority of residents in the district were married. At its peak in 1920, one quarter of the population were children. Their toys were identified east and west of the main grade.

Women were working in the home and in the public sphere of various Fairfax industries. Most women were listed on census records as “homemakers”, but few worked as teachers, stenographers, nurses, cooks, waiters, clerks, etc. The occupations of women became more varied over time. Two Japanese women were listed in 1920 as working for the Manley-Moore Sawmill as a tallyman and general laborer, suggesting that traditionally male occupations were not entirely closed off to the female population at Fairfax.

Boarding houses at the town were likely operated by women. They were located west of the grade in Sphere 1. Lodgers were enumerated on census records in relation to the head of household and in this way constituted alternative family structures. Deposits associated with boarding refuse in TU-5 and TU-6 produced assemblages of predominantly Domestic items.

6.) Are women represented in the material culture of the hotel (an area commonly known to be bachelor's quarters)?

Material identified in the Hotel Sphere was not directly representative of female residents; however, very little archaeological refuse was encountered in the area. Artifacts that clearly reflect single-family occupation and domestic life were identified across the site, but dominated Sphere 2, east of the main grade, where deposits included tableware sets, medicinal bottles, cold cream jars, and toys.

Census records clearly challenge the idea that the hotel was "for bachelors," as women and children were also enumerated as residing at the Fairfax Hotel. However, Personal artifacts tied to women and children were not encountered in the Hotel Sphere.

7.) To what extent have looters impacted site integrity?

Looting is severe and ongoing at Fairfax. Fifteen LPs were formally recorded and mapped. These disturbances are exploratory, but also align with the historic locations of privies and outbuildings. Disturbances range from surficial scrapes to probes up to 50 cmbs in depth (see Table 6). The geospatial layout of LPs indicates that looters are actively privy hunting and the nature of what is left behind indicates they are collecting complete bottles.

The appearance of overgrown vegetation in some LPs suggests that these activities have gone on at the site for some time, potentially dating back to the mid-twentieth century. The impacts of looting were first documented by archaeologists during the pedestrian survey at the site in 2008 (Kopperl 2008; Kopperl and Smith 2009). At the time, identified pits were concentrated in the residential areas of town, along terrace edges that corresponded to privy locations. Kopperl noted that fragments of early 20th-century glass, ceramic, and metal artifacts were left behind and that looters were continuing to impact previously undisturbed archaeological deposits, seemingly removing complete artifacts and discarding fragmented objects (2008). This is consistent with the findings of this project.

A *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* article from 1979 and personal communication with the staff at the Foothills Historical Museum give the impression that the area was occupied by few full-time residents during the second half of the twentieth century,

including 10 families who lived in Upper Fairfax during late 1970s. These “post-Fairfax” families lived in company built structures like the Manley-Moore manager’s house and mill worker housing, as well as the schoolhouse on Carbon River Road (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer* 1979:10). It is unclear whether anyone lived at the Fairfax Townsite during this time, but it is possible that some of the older looted areas at the site are the product of this occupation.

Looting has impacted the Fairfax Townsite, but I argue that the site retains integrity and intact archaeological deposits due to its expansiveness and the lack of access to some parts of the site. Areas that have been repeatedly looted are easy to get to. Much of the townsite is densely vegetated and does not appear to have been disturbed. There remains immense data potential at site 45PI918 and research domains could be explored that have not been addressed in this work. This project focused on the excavation of both intact and disturbed deposits. Had research been driven to identify intact deposits only, a clearer picture of the site's integrity may have been formed. As it stands, we now know there are intact subsurface deposits across the site and additional archaeological investigations would undoubtedly add to the quantity and diversity of the artifact assemblage generated here.

6.7. Chapter Summary

This chapter addressed the social dynamism of a fully-fledged, multi-ethnic company town, showing the demographic breakdown of residents by nationality, race, age, gender, and marital status as well as how those very classes resulted in occupational and spatial divisions. In its prime, Fairfax was a town characterized by the family - both the nuclear ideal and the alternative structure of boarding houses and hotel lodgers. Women, children, and the *Issei* community were of particular focus due to the original research design, but also because these muted groups constitute archaeological minorities – both underrepresented in the archaeological record and the literature, even though their material imprint is evident in all industrial towns of the west (Larson 1994:109). Using U.S. census records as an analytical tool, we have a greater understanding of community, place, and the material manifestations of the aforementioned groups at the site. This information, interwoven with the archaeological provides answers to the research questions posed.

Chapter 7.

Conclusions

7.1. Project Overview

This project has illuminated the quantity and substance of subsurface archaeological deposits across the residential core of the Fairfax Townsite. Demographic research has further enhanced our understanding of the manifestations of social constructs and spatial patterning based on race, ethnicity, and gender. Similarities exist between the historic settlement and material consumption at the site and other company towns in the Pacific Northwest, most notably the Franklin Townsite in King County (45KI401). Fairfax fits into the broader movement of labor archaeology at extractive company towns. The site has the potential for future research rooted in landscape archaeology, corporate power and industrialization, gender relations, racialization, immigration, status, individual negotiation and memory in a company town context.

The company town itself was a foreshadowing of fast capitalism. It is a space for reckoning with current issues surrounding pollution, labor strife, immigration legislation, and racial violence. The current project contributes to the archaeological record of the Fairfax Townsite and results in both an artifact assemblage for future analyses, comparative or otherwise, and recommendations to prevent continued looting and vandalism at the site. We now have an initial material data set that speaks to the everyday lives of working families at the site and a demographic database that provides information about every person that made Fairfax a home and an industrial success.

7.2. Recommendations

7.2.1. Recommendations for Site Protection

Current and Future Use of the Site Location

The Fairfax Townsite today is an open, grassy, river terrace bisected by a remnant earthen railroad grade. Numerous features are still standing which connect the

area to its past industrial and municipal uses, including the remains of a swimming pool, a concrete turntable pin, and a battery of coke ovens. Due to their size and durability, coke oven features commonly remain at shuttered coal towns (Keane 2000:78). The primary rail grade, which once crossed the Carbon River to the original Fairfax Mine in Section 26, is a dominant, albeit overgrown feature on the landscape. Pierce County currently owns the land and manages the property – making it a publically accessible space. The area has remained undeveloped following the razing of buildings associated with the Townsite in 1991 and has visibly 'returned to nature,' although the imprint of historical activities is apparent. Many of the days I have personally spent at Fairfax, I was not alone. Small groups of visitors continue to take the half-mile hike down the old roadbed off Carbon River Road into the site to explore. The concrete remains of the swimming pool, in particular, are visited with some frequency.

Pierce County Parks and Recreation has expressed an interest in the development of this property as a gateway park to Mount Rainier for over a decade (Kopperl 2008; Kopperl and Smith 2009). They have also considered interpretive signage at the site and the potential for an extension of the Rails to Trails program through the area, which would bring pedestrians and cyclists to the site. The Foothills Trail currently runs from Puyallup to Buckley with a segment built in Wilkeson. Ultimately, it could be built through Fairfax, en-route to the Mt. Rainier National Park boundary (personal communication: Jessica Stone, Pierce County Parks and Recreation 2018). Land-use planning must include the protection of the archaeological site, which will need to be addressed prior to the establishment of a pedestrian trail through the area and is beyond the scope of the current work. However, this project provides an initial assessment of the presence and location of archaeological deposits as well as a contextual background on the peopling of Fairfax and its residential evolution.

Feeling and Association

The current landscape at the site offers both visibility through the physical remains of the town and focus – the "readability" – of said features (Deetz 1977:94). For example, the remains of the swimming pool are easily associated with recreation, and the coke ovens, with work. Both evoke the feelings of community, boom, bust, and decay. These are all important facets of a working history and with the appropriate interpretation the public will better imagine these linkages. The visible feature system

(Hardesty and Little 1994:25) at Fairfax includes both dominant markers, like the aforementioned features, trails, road and rail grades and the less tangible; privy depressions, ornamental trees, and plants.

Site Impacts: Looting

The Fairfax Townsite has experienced significant looting for some time. It has been evident from every archaeological site visit since 2008 and was clear during current excavation efforts (Kopperl 2008). Fifteen Looter Pits (LPs) were formally recorded at the site (see Figure 10). The vertical extent of looting is varied across the site, but it is clear that people are targeting the places at Fairfax where privies stood and where residential dumping events occurred. Some looter disturbances are the result of shallow and expedient shovel scrapes while others are consistent with targeted probing of up to 50 cmbs. Common artifact types discarded by looters are presented in Table 6. The abandonment of fragmentary items is extremely common during looting; however, this work attempts to show their archaeological data value.

It is possible that ongoing looting at Fairfax is done by both local residents and visitors from outside of the greater Carbon River Canyon. It is important to remember that looting can be generational and people who engage in these activities may see themselves as stakeholders or stewards. They may care deeply about this place without understanding the legal and ethical ramifications of their impacts. They may believe that their own collecting activities are “saving” the history of this place and therefore it is imperative that Pierce County signage addresses the loss of non-renewable cultural resources, scientific context, and shared knowledge when items are removed from an archaeological site.

The collection of surface artifacts in LPs was completed to prevent future impacts and gather remnant information. Communication with the few visitors encountered during excavations and the landowner has resulted in the recommendation of locations for signage. It is evident from amateur websites and social media that the main attraction for visitors to the Fairfax Townsite is the standing concrete pool (Figure 42), of which access requires a short hike through the center of the former townsite. This and four other locations were identified as the most useful for signage: 1. The main trailhead, 2. The pool, 3. The turntable pin, 4. The east trailhead, and 5. The coke ovens (Figure 43). As of now, access is severely limited to the coke oven battery at the site, but if

interpretive trails are proposed for the site, signage should also be placed in this area. The coke ovens are the most spatially and materially dominant feature on the landscape and provide a clear, visual connection to the site's industrial past and the labor associated with coal processing (Figures 44 and 45). The maintenance and interpretation of easily accessible coke ovens in the nearby town of Wilkeson provide a useful example of how these resources can be managed.

Signage should indicate to visitors the importance of Fairfax to the greater coal and lumber industries of Washington and the legacy of the workers and families from around the globe who at one time called it home. It is imperative that this signage state in explicit terms that the altering or removing of archaeological remains is punishable by law and that Pierce County actively monitors the site. Without adequate signage at this property, it is unfair to expect visitors and locals alike, who may have no previous understanding of Washington State laws regarding cultural resources, to refrain from removing archaeological resources. These warnings could prevent future amateur excavation at the site, which not only damages the archaeological record but also affects the landscape in general. Open pits and holes across this regularly accessed property are public hazards.

Figure 42. Overview of concrete pool remains. Photo facing northwest.

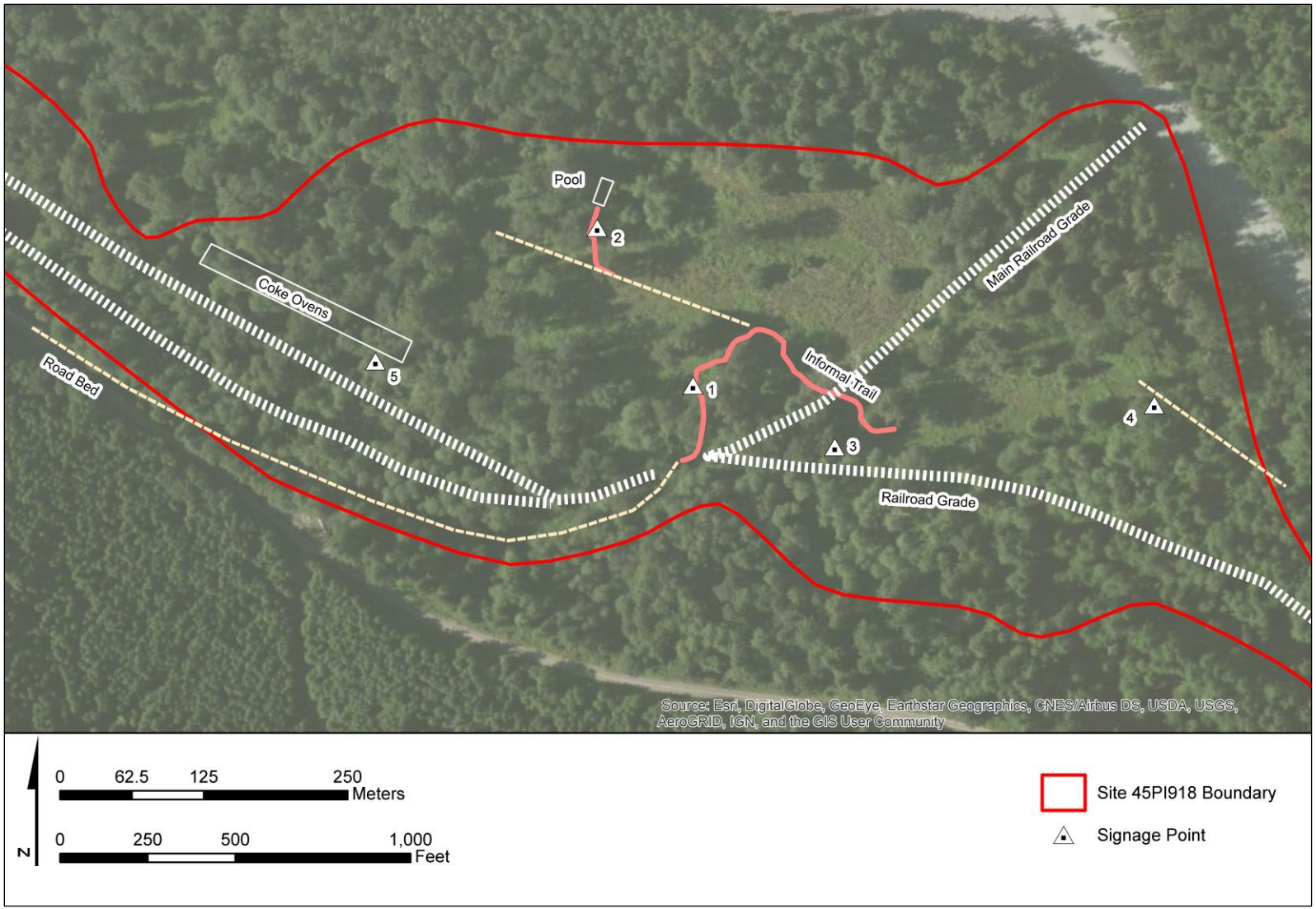


Figure 43. Suggested locations for interpretive signage at the Fairfax Townsite.

Figure 44. Overview of coke ovens in 2018. View facing northeast.

Figure 45. Overview of the coke ovens in 1910. View facing northeast. Courtesy of Foothills Historical Society.

7.2.2. National Register of Historic Places Eligibility

Previous archaeological reporting at site 45PI918 (Kopperl and Smith 2009) recommended the Fairfax Townsite eligible for listing on the NRHP under Criteria A and D, citing the potential for various research domains including site formation processes, the development of company towns in the state, ethnicity in mining communities, foodways, and the use of material culture. Using the archaeological data, coupled with primary and secondary documents, this work was able to address all of the aforementioned themes, with particular focus on the development of Fairfax in the context of other Carbon River company towns and ethnicity in the Fairfax District. The current investigations include a small fraction of the site and were limited by time, scale, and budget. It is clear that the Fairfax Townsite has substantial future archaeological potential.

Under the NRHP evaluation criteria (36 CFR 60.4; National Park Service 1990), Criterion D represents the possession of or potential for information important in prehistory or history. Following investigations at the Fairfax Townsite, which directly addressed archaeological research questions about peopling, labor, ethnicity and segregation, I second the recommendation that the Fairfax Townsite is eligible under Criterion D, as the site contains archaeological information that was applicable to the current research questions. Additional hypotheses could be tested at the site in the future.

I agree that the Fairfax Townsite is potentially eligible under Criterion A, for its association with, “A pattern of events or a historic trend that made a significant contribution to the development of a community, a state, or the nation” (36 CFR 60.4; National Park Service 1990). This work presents contextual information about the development of the Townsite and its place within a network of historic-period company towns in Pierce County. The association of Fairfax to other peripheral towns and the shipping ports of Seattle and Tacoma through coal and lumber industries at the turn of the century and beyond clearly place the site within the broad patterns of Washington industry and resource extraction. Additionally, the site exemplifies the multi-ethnic peopling of the state, cultural continuity, and trends in historic period labor and management. These themes are evidenced in the material record and primary and

secondary documents. An attempt to weave these sources together has been made here.

Although the site was impacted by razing in the 1990s and looting that appears to have taken place over decades, it is clear that there are intact archaeological deposits across the landform, some of which were encountered during this work. The sheer extent of the site and the high potential of existing intact deposits that are inaccessible or "uninteresting" to the looting community make Fairfax a site that retains a level of integrity. A very small fraction of the site was excavated for this work (6.59m^3), but the quantity and diversity of material identified suggests that it retains important archaeological data. Even though the site lacks standing structures, above-ground industrial, municipal, and transportation features reflect the historical themes of the town. The presence of these features combined with the visual landscape, visceral feel, and undisturbed archaeological deposits contribute greatly to site integrity through the following aspects at the very least:

- Location: The place where the historic property was constructed
- Setting: Physical environment of a historical property
- Association: The direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property (National Park Service 1990:44-49)

7.2.3. Recommendations for Continued Work

Archaeology

Excavations at Fairfax were focused in an area surrounding the main railroad grade. There are several historically residential areas that were not assessed during this work. These locations could be tested for their archaeological data potential, and to attain a greater understanding of the research questions posed here, including the spatial segregation or clustering of ethnic populations. Company housing identified on DNR maps, distanced from the center of town may represent ethnic residential clusters. Census records indicate that all *Issei* workers lived in Section 35, which regional literature identifies as an area at Upper Fairfax; however, it is possible that *Issei* families also lived in the part of Section 35 that encompassed the eastern part of the Fairfax

Townsite, an area that was not investigated during this project. Additional archaeological work in this area may provide additional information about the residential lives of this community.

The manager's house is depicted in historic period photographs on the hill above town. The property would have been at a much higher elevation than worker housing at the Fairfax Townsite. It was once accessed by a set of wooden stairs, but today it seems that the only safe access may be from Carbon River Road above. It is recommended that additional work attempt to identify any features or cultural deposits related to the manager's residence to glean a more complete picture of class relationships and socioeconomic negotiation at the site.

Oral History

The study of material is just one facet of the study of people and archaeological research can be impeded by efforts concentrated on the tangible "thing" (Wurst 1999). Ethnography and demographic studies are increasingly important to a well-rounded study. Unfortunately, the archaeological and demographic records for a place like Fairfax must carry the bulk of the burden, because ghost towns do not readily lend themselves to a wealth of ethnographic possibility. This is not to say it is impossible. Ethnographic and oral history should be a focus of future research at Fairfax.

Although it was not in the scope of this thesis, which was completed in a confined period of time, through volunteer effort, and at the personal financing of the author, it is imperative that future research at the Fairfax Townsite attempt to identify people who lived at the town or their relatives. The documentation of personal testimonies and oral histories of any surviving residents could strengthen the archaeological investigations conducted at the site and contribute to a bottom-up approach to data gathering that enhances the discipline as a whole. Collaboration with stakeholders could promote stewardship and assist with the protection of the site.

The District

The Upper Fairfax NRHP District was established in the 1980s when a survey of standing structures was completed in the area. Upper Fairfax, an area east of Evans Creek was connected to the Fairfax Townsite geographically by an informal road, but also through commerce, the transportation of goods, and the movement of residents.

People living at the Fairfax Townsite undoubtedly went to Upper Fairfax for work and vice versa. Because Fairfax was the largest town in the immediate vicinity, it is clear that people living at Upper Fairfax visited the townsite to access the train and shop at the general store.

No archaeological work has occurred at Upper Fairfax, which is currently a rural residential area, but it would enrich the regional record and provide additional insight to the interchange of peoples separated only by the small, perennial Evans Creek. The Data Recovery at the Manley-Moore Logging Camp, 2 mi. (3.2 km) southeast of 45PI918 offers important data about the people who worked in the remote company camp (Miss et al. 2000). Future work at the Manley-Moore townsite at Upper Fairfax would only strengthen the archaeological context of the Carbon River towns. The census study component of the current project illuminated the fact that Fairfax residents belonged to a broad district, which included site 45PI918, the Manley-Moore community at Upper Fairfax, the remote Manley-Moore logging camp, and residential outliers along Carbon River Road. Archaeological work at Upper Fairfax could potentially link the demographic record more discretely to the material culture associated with the Manley-Moore properties.

Public Interpretation

The background, methods, and results of the archaeological work at Fairfax have been presented to public audiences at both the Northwest Anthropological Conference in Kennewick, Washington and the Archaeology Roadshow, an interpretive fair geared toward K-12 learning in Portland, Oregon. An update of the site form for 45PI918 on file with Washington DAHP contributes to the working knowledge of archaeological professionals in the region. Additional efforts will be made to continue site interpretation, including future collaboration with Pierce County.

7.3. Outcomes and Conclusions

The primary goals of this project were to gain an initial understanding of the subsurface archaeological deposits at the Fairfax Townsite (45PI918) and to record the impact that looting has had on the site both historically and to this day. As no subsurface excavation had occurred at the site before, the size of the assemblage and types of

materials to be encountered were largely unknown. Looting disturbances provided some insight as to where the densest deposits might be located as well as areas that faced the highest damage risk.

Regional literature about the Fairfax Townsite has focused on ethnographic accounts and oral histories, the largest compilation of which were recorded by Nancy Irene Hall in her 1980 book, *Carbon River Coal Country*. This work along with the previous archaeological survey conducted at the site in 2008 helped to form the original research questions for this endeavor (Hall 1980; Kopperl and Smith 2009). As a ghost town, the Fairfax Townsite continues to be visited regularly by those who are curious about its past. Like other extractive company towns in the west, the site was a multi-ethnic, male-dominated community under paternalistic management, which was remembered as relatively benevolent (Hall 1980).

Historic research, demographic studies, and the archaeological assemblage indicate that life at Fairfax was more complex than is presented in the prevailing regional history and this work has attempted to shed light on the peoples left out of the written record. While Fairfax transitioned from a single man's working town to one dominated by traditional families during its producing years, it is clear that class divisions based on ethnicity and race limited the opportunities and access of certain families in the community. The segregation of housing is particularly clear along racialized lines. The only documented minority at Fairfax, the Japanese, lived in houses with cheaper than average rents, which were seemingly detached from the main centers of both Upper Fairfax and the Fairfax Townsite (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920, 1930). Secondary refuse aggregates at site 45PI918 reveal material that may represent a resistance to traditional company town "rules" and moral attitudes, indicating that Fairfax may have retained a frontier spirit even through its settled years.

Though Fairfax was its own community, in the course of this research it became exceedingly clear that the town was linked industrially and socially to Upper Fairfax, where the settlements of Montezuma and Manley-Moore were located. The transition from coal extraction and a dominant mining workforce to logging and lumber re-characterized Fairfax in the 1910s and 1920s. The lumber industry gave the town a second wind when other coal towns in the region were shuttered due to resource depletion and withering markets.

Archaeological deposits identified at Fairfax represent secondary refuse from multiple periods of discard and items recovered were diagnostic to the earliest phase of the town, predating 1900 to the 1960s when few families lived in the District and probably continued to discard trash at the site. They show functional patterns east and west of the main grade and in the Hotel Sphere. Artifacts were recovered from the site that represent domesticity and foodways. These include various tablewares, faunal remains, and branded food containers as well as porcelain wares of Japanese origin, comparable to items associated with traditional Japanese foodways identified at other industrial communities in the Pacific Northwest (Campbell 2017; Carlson 2017; Ross 2009).

Using a multidisciplinary approach and weaving historic literature, primary documentation, and the archaeological record, I was able to address research questions related to the material manifestations of the constructs of class, race, ethnicity, and gender at site 45PI918. Demographic patterning identified in the census records from 1900 to 1940 is consistent with the material assemblage, which reflects the community and household level discard of working-class families and single boarders who lived on either side of the main grade and at the Fairfax Hotel, physically and symbolically away from and below managerial housing at the site.

The on-going public interest in the Fairfax Townsite was witnessed during both field sessions. There are interpretive opportunities at the site, which should be taken advantage of. Interpretative efforts should include signage on the property that dissuades unregulated collection and promotes the historical legacy of the town.

The Fairfax Townsite is part of the working heritage of Washington State. It is important as both a public space for visitors in the Carbon River Corridor and for its future archaeological and historical data potential. The information herein contributes to a growing body of research at Washington's company towns, an incredibly important domain for connecting the working past to the working present through social history and archaeology. Glorifying the men, women, and children who made Fairfax what it was, who toiled in her mines, mills, and homes, is part of the movement away from a cultural over-emphasis on industry itself.

This work seeks to promote the value in working class history. Interpreting the archaeology of labor is part of democratizing the discipline (Little 1994; Leone 1995; Mayne 2008; McGuire 2008; Orser 2010; Mrozowski et al. 1996; Shackel 2011). It allows people to see themselves in the archaeological record, which in turn promotes site protection. It reminds the visitor that disenfranchised communities of the past deserve commemoration just as those of the present deserve a voice.

Families from all over the world carved a place for themselves in this isolated canyon, adapting to rural industrial America, while undoubtedly preserving their cultural identities. Every person at Fairfax left an imprint and their daily lives are memorialized in the small material fragments of dinner plates, cosmetic bottles, dolls, leather boots, and shirt buttons found across the Fairfax Townsite.

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Appendix A.

State of Washington Archaeological Permit

Description:

The accompanying PDF file is the official State of Washington Archaeological Permit (2018-34) assigned for excavation at site 45PI918.

Filename:

TaylorBreanne_Archaeological_Permit.pdf

Appendix B.

Historic Artifact Analysis Catalog

Description:

The accompanying PDF file includes the complete artifact catalog for archaeological investigations at the Fairfax Townsite (45PI918). It consists of collected and culled items and a breakdown of unit density.

Filename:

TaylorBreanne_Artifact_Catalog.pdf

Appendix C.

Historic Census Catalog

Description:

The accompanying PDF file includes the census database compiled for demographic research consisting of the Fairfax District U.S. Census years 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940.

Filename:

TaylorBreanne_Census_Catalog.pdf