

University of Montana

## ScholarWorks at University of Montana

---

Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, &  
Professional Papers

Graduate School

---

2023

### Re-Curation and Recognition: Addressing The Curation Crisis Through the Garnet Ghost Town

Jocelyn A. Palombo

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd>



Part of the American Material Culture Commons, Cultural History Commons, History of Gender Commons, Labor History Commons, Museum Studies Commons, Other History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons, Public History Commons, and the United States History Commons

**Let us know how access to this document benefits you.**

---

#### Recommended Citation

Palombo, Jocelyn A., "Re-Curation and Recognition: Addressing The Curation Crisis Through the Garnet Ghost Town" (2023). *Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers*. 12101.  
<https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/12101>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact [scholarworks@mso.umt.edu](mailto:scholarworks@mso.umt.edu).

RE-CURATION AND RECOGNITION: ADDRESSING THE CURATION CRISIS  
THROUGH THE GARNET GHOST TOWN

Jocelyn Palombo

Bachelors in Archaeology, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati Ohio, 2021

Bachelors in Anthropology, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati Ohio, 2021

Thesis

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the Degree of

Master's Degree Anthropology – Cultural Heritage

The University of Montana

Missoula, MT

Official Graduation Date May 2023

Approved by:

Ashby Kinch, Dean of The Graduate School

Graduate School

Committee Member Gregory Campbell, Chair

Anthropology

Committee Member Kelly Dixon, Member

Anthropology

Committee Member Eric Zimmer, Member

History

**Palombo, Jocelyn, M.A., Spring 2023**

*Anthropology*

**Title:** Re-Curation and Recognition: Addressing the Curation Crisis Through the Garnet Ghost Town

**Chairperson:** Gregory Campbell

**Abstract:**

As universities, federal curation facilities, public museums, and private collections struggle to create space on their shelves curators and archaeologists continuously evaluate what must continue to be stored and what needs to be deaccessioned. Utilizing a collection housed at the University of Montana I explore strategies for combating this issue. The collection originates from the Garnet Ghost Town and has been in the university's care since its excavation. The objectives of this project are to obtain new information and incorporate innovative techniques to learn more about the collection itself and provide an updated analysis to one of Montana's most complete Ghost Towns. This is achieved through the process of re-curation. The goals of re-curating are to create a digital spreadsheet, identify objects of interest for testing or museum exhibition, extensive photography, and identify portions of the collection to be returned to the Ghost Town for interment. Additionally, re-curating the artifacts with newer theoretical frameworks and a better understanding of the hidden heritages within this industrial heritage landscape. The final objective is to prepare the information compiled so it can be made accessible in an effort to create equality in historic interpretation while creating a process that works in junction with the Bureau of Land Management, The University of Montana, and the public to conserve and preserve as much as possible while making room for the continuation of archaeological research.

## Table of Contents

Figures	iv
Tables	iv
Acknowledgments	v
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Chapter 2 Curation	4
2.1 Defining Curation	4
2.2 The Curation Crisis	6
2.3 Strategies to Combat the Curation Crisis	7
Chapter 3 Garnet	12
3.1 Garnet Mining Town	12
3.2 National Register Nomination	14
3.4 Archaeological History	15
Chapter 4 Heritage	18
4.1 Industrial Heritage	18
4.2 Heritage in American Mining Towns	20
4.3 Hidden Heritages	23
Chapter 5 The Re-Curation Process	32
5.1 Re-Curation	32
5.2 Accessing Storage	34
5.3 Extensive Background Research	34
5.4 Digitizing Documents Related to the Collection	35
5.5 Conducting Additional Analysis	36
5.6 Creating a Catalog of the Collection	44
5.7 Making Professional Suggestions	46
5.8 Repackaging and Replacing	49
5.9 Repeating the Process Periodically	50
Chapter 6 The Ledger	52
6.1 Davey's Store	52
6.2 The Transcription Process	55
6.3 Connecting the Written Record to the Collection	60
Chapter 7 Summary and Conclusion	63
References Cited	65
Appendix	71

**Figures**

Figure 3.1 Garnet	12
Figure 5.1 Prince Albert Tobacco Can	39
Figure 5.2 Dr. Price Extract Bottle	40
Figure 5.3 Mellor-Taylor Plate	41
Figure 5.4 Buttons	43
Figure 5.5 Screen Shot of Catalog	45
Figure 5.6 Artifacts Laid Out	49
Figure 6.1 Inside Davey's Store	53
Figure 6.2 Front Cover of Ledger	55
Figure 6.3 Page 103 of Ledger	56
Figure 6.4 Screen shot of transcription	57
Figure 6.5 File from Box 4	61
Figure 6.6 Page 197 from Ledger	60
Figure 6.7 Spoon	60

**Tables**

Table 5.1 Re-Curation Steps	33
-----------------------------	----

## Acknowledgments

This thesis would not have been possible if it were not for the contributions of many individuals and groups. Firstly, I would like to thank my committee chair and advisor, Greg Campbell, for his advice and critique throughout the process. I would also like to thank my other two committee members Kelly Dixon, and Eric Zimmer for their patience and expertise. Next, the principal investigator, doctoral candidate Andrea Shiverdecker, for whom I am extremely grateful because, without her guidance and work ethic, this project would not have been possible. A special thanks to the other faculty and graduate students in the University of Montana's Anthropology Department for educating and inspiring me.

I would also like to thank the many organizations that have supported this research. The University of Montana Archaeological Curation Facility for housing the collection and allowing us to conduct our research. This endeavor would not have been possible without contributions from the Bureau of Land Management in Missoula. Also of note, is David Wade at the Billings Curation Center who provided advice and insight on collections management and the state of federal collections. I am grateful for the contributions of the Garnet Preservation Association who provided invaluable resources for this research including the physical ledger. Gratitude is owed to the State Historic Preservation Office which funded the principal investigator, doctoral candidate Andrea Shiverdecker, with their Fall 2022 Archaeology State Fellowship.

I would be remiss to not thank my support system. My parents, siblings, and friends have encouraged me throughout the entire research process and deserve multiple thanks. An honorable mention to my dog, Biscuit, who provided support and open ears during the research and writing processes.

## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

The Garnet Ghost Town, an abandoned gold mining town nestled in the Garnet mountain range of Western Montana, is a historical district that has caught the attention of academic professionals, federal agencies, and members of the public since it was deemed abandoned. The University of Montana's Archaeological Curation Facility houses a large archaeological collection from this gold mining town. The collection has been extremely under-documented and subsequently under-utilized. This project re-curated the collection to address two goals. The first was applying updated curatorial practices and procedures to the previously processed collection, and the second was improving access to the data in the collection.

As archaeologists excavate and create more data sets that need to be curated previously processed collections already sitting in curation facilities can become ignored or forgotten. This process leads to the loss of data and often the integrity of those longer stored collections as they deteriorate. This loss of data and the need for space for more recently excavated collections is often attributed to a phenomenon called the curation crisis. The Garnet collection, housed in the University of Montana's Archaeological Curation Facility, provided the perfect opportunity to implement re-curation strategies. The federal collection has been taking up substantial room in the University of Montana Archaeological Curation Facility for several years following its initial excavation. Between 2009 and 2011 graduate students groomed and gardened the entire curation facility. During that time graduate student Marta Timmons, who was working on a project at The Coloma mining town took some time to reorganize the Garnet collection using a mother bag system (Campbell 2011: 51,76). In the years since, the collection has been sitting, patiently, in boxes waiting to be dissected further.

In 2021 doctoral candidate Andrea Shiverdecker, having been a ranger and archaeological technician for the Bureau of Land Management at Garnet, decided to use the ghost town as the focal point of her research. Upon learning about the housed collection Shiverdecker decided to utilize her previous knowledge of curation and photography to update the collection and add to the information about the Garnet mining town. She had an additional goal of creating more space in the curation facility for incoming collections. Having had education and hands-on experience with historical and prehistorical collections I approached her and asked if I could aid her and join the research effort.

In an attempt to combat the lack of documentation and accessibility of the Garnet collection, it was decided to re-curate the collection. Re-curation is the act of applying improved curatorial procedures to a previously processed collection. The re-curation process created a comprehensive and sharable catalog and additional documentation about the collection that made it more accessible for research, education, or display purposes. It also provided a secondary analysis of the collection that built on the previous work done. The collection was processed simultaneously with the transcription of a ledger from the town's general store demonstrating the importance of utilizing historical documentation while conducting archaeological work. Connecting the physical collection to historical documents from the town offers further context. These efforts showcase the data potential that lies within the historical collection while executing much needed-maintenance.

This case study will be complete when the collection has been fully re-curated, the sharable documentation is made available to all interested parties, a formal recommendation about the continued storage of the collection is made, and plans for future maintenance have been communicated. The continued curation of this collection requires collaboration, efficiency,



communication, and consistency. By combating curatorial issues on an individual collection strategies for combating curation issues on a broader scale can be suggested.

## Chapter 2 Curation

### 2.1 Defining Curation

Before discussing the issues faced by contemporary curation efforts curation must be defined. Regarding archaeological collections the stipulations and meaning of curation are widely varied and often contradictory. For this case study curation is used in reference to the curatorial practices that take place after archaeological collections are removed from their archaeological provenience. The definition of curation demands a level of universality that can be manipulated to fit the needs of multiple different scenarios. The definition, for this study, is that curation is the act of taking archeological data that has been chosen to keep, and therefore must be thoughtfully organized for storage, presentation, or other purposes. Using the word “chosen” to acknowledge the process by which heritage and archaeological collections are created. Artifacts do not just appear in collections they are systematically chosen and placed there by individuals who decide, using their level of expertise, that those objects need to be preserved. This is similar to the process by which heritage is created where contemporary people find value in a product of the past and choose to include it in the discourse occurring currently. “Thoughtfully organized” acknowledges the level of care and expertise curation requires. There is theory and practicality to curatorial processes. While there is no universal way to curate a collection there is always thought about the organization of the data set. Collections are created and stored in museums, repositories, universities, and private collections. The premise is that artifacts and ecofacts are curated as they hold educational, research, diagnostic, or atheistic value. These individual pieces or artifacts are either presented to the public, other researchers, or for other educational purposes.

A concept reiterated by Sullivan and Childs in their multiple publications is that “Archaeological curation is the process of managing and interpreting archaeological collections over the long term” (2003:3-4). The curation process does not end when the archaeologists deposit the collection into a repository. The curatorial process must continue, neither the collections nor the researchers benefit from curatorial stasis. Updating the procedures and reassessing older collections is vital to their survival.

Curation is an essential byproduct of archaeology. Successful archaeological projects are not complete until the results of the investigation, whether they be documents, test results, data, artifacts, or ecofacts are properly cataloged, stored, and maintained. Archaeologists are continually creating and then adding to archives and collections (Bauer-Clapp and Kirakosian 2017; Childs and Benden 2017; Christenson 1979; Lipe 1977; Luby, Lightfoot, and Bradshaw 2013; Marquardt 1977; Marquardt et al.1982; Thompson 1974; Voss 2012; Flexner 2016). Thus, as Childs and Sullivan (2003) assert this is not the end of the curatorial process because the curatorial process involves interpretation over the long term. The archaeological material can only be completely and successfully curated if it is reevaluated and cared for continuously over time.

The idea that archaeologists need to take responsibility for the long-term care of the collections they create is not new. In 1979 Andrew Christenson (1979:161) argued that archaeologists needed to acknowledge that they have a duty to manage the cultural resources they excavate and study. Stating that “Modern archaeologists need to accept the fact that they must serve as both scientists and cultural resource managers” (Christenson 1979:161). Archaeology, while built on the principles of preservation, is in direct conflict with the conservation of cultural resources due to its destructive nature (Lipe 1974; Marquardt 1977;

Thompson 1974). A historic lack of funding and responsibility has caused archaeologists to separate themselves from the long-term care and storage of the artifacts they place in repositories, museums, and universities (Friberg and Huvila 2019). This is one of the many reasons the phrase “curation crisis” has been coined to describe the state of collections since the late-1970s (Bauer-Clapp and Kirakosian 2017; Childs and Benden 2017; Christenson 1979; Friberg and Huvila 2019; Lipe 1977; Luby, Lightfoot, and Bradshaw 2013; Marquardt 1977; Marquardt, Montet-White, and Scholtz 1982; Thompson 1974; Voss 2012; Flexner 2016).

## **2.2 The Curation Crisis**

The curation crisis was originally acknowledged and addressed in the late-1970s as a struggle to secure funding to upkeep and provided proper storage of archaeological collections (Marquardt, Montet-White, and Scholtz 1982). The collections were spurred on by the increased funding for archaeology and the innovation of new scientific techniques, but curation was an afterthought (Marquardt et al.1982). In 1982 Marquardt, Montet-White, and Scholtz. (1982:409) came together to acknowledge the crisis and addressed archaeologists claiming that “Ample evidence suggests that a crisis in curation exists and that the situation grows worse with the completion of each archaeological field project.” This effort was followed up with numerous other professionals from the field periodically calling out the need to prioritize collections and collections management.

The issue being faced presently is that a lack of attention and resources allocated to curation has accumulated over time and is reaching a critical point. Space for new collections is running out and the collections that have been previously stored need to be updated, or re-curated. The United States Department of the Interior alone is responsible for 90 million artifacts (Bawaya 2007). Archaeologists have in the past, and currently, view the collections as safe,

needing no further curatorial work, once they are stored somewhere. This process has led to the neglect of accumulated data as excavations continue creating more archaeological collections that need to be cataloged and housed (Luby, Lightfoot, and Bradshaw 2013:259-261). As the crisis evolves experts from the fields of museums, heritage management, archaeology, and anthropology have begun presenting solutions.

### **2.3 Strategies to Combat the Curation Crisis**

Collections are extremely varied in composition. Every archaeological excavation and survey conducted has produced data. The state of the repositories in which they are held is also extremely varied. Due to this, numerous strategies could be implemented to combat the negative effects of the curation crisis. Curators, archaeologists, anthropologists, and others involved in the continued curation process must decide what strategies will work best on a collection or storage facility level. For this collection strategies that will be used are going to combat the lack of documentation, object analysis, and storage space.

An essential strategy for better organization, the longevity of collections, and the dispersal of information is creating current and accessible documentation on collections. Documentation on collections needs to be consistent, concise, accurate, holistic, and accessible. Museums, repositories, and universities need to document their collections better because valuable information is being lost or underutilized. Once a curator has left a facility if there is no comprehensive documentation on all of the collections they handled future curators or researchers will not be able to utilize the potentially lost information (Mulkerin 2013). For example, the high turnover rates experienced in an academic setting where graduate students are often hired to assist with collections it is unlikely the original curator will not be easily accessible

8 if there is a question about a collection's documentation. Poorly documented artifacts and collections are abundant and sitting in curation facilities.

One procedure to combat this lack of documentation is the creation of new objects or collection biographies. Stopping the loss of information by documenting everything that is currently known before more provenience and context are lost. According to Friberg and Huvila (2019:376), "The proposed use of object biographies to trace the life history of collections can simultaneously help to parry problems caused by a curation crisis and to contribute to our knowledge of how these issues emerge and function. The use of object biographies as a tool for collection management can help to re-contextualize individual orphaned collections, thus enabling new collections-based research and improvement of management practices in the future." Additionally, documentation requires a level of consistency especially within individual repositories. It would be almost impossible to create universal standards and practices for the entire field, but the more similar procedures are the easier it will be to share, utilize, and preserve information (Mulkerin 2013).

Archaeologists are constantly creating these archives but rarely know how to manage them (Bauer-Clapp and Kirakosian 2017:220). Digital collections provide searchable databases that are shareable across the globe allowing for the information to be used more widely (Wermer-Colan and Kopaczewski 2022; Rhodes 2021). The Metadata created from these efforts also needs to be maintained long-term (Rhodes 2021). In cases where time and money are available 3D scanning software can be utilized to aid in research, exhibition, and collections management as well (Childs and Benden 2017:19). Appropriate documentation is the crucial first step for updating and preserving these previously processed collections and should be a standard requirement for accessioned collections.

Second, archaeologists need to be encouraged and encourage others to utilize excavated collections. The research value of previously processed collections has begun to be recognized as more studies utilize existing collections and legacy data (King 2016; Luby, Lightfoot, and Bradshaw 2013; McManamon et al. 2017; Childs and Benden 2017). Legacy data used to be considered obsolete data, however, it is now considered to be data that has not been digitized or geo-referenced. Legacy data must be prepared or manipulated before it is utilized in a digital environment (Allison 2008:1). Legacy data is a valuable and underutilized resource (Luby, Lightfoot, and Bradshaw 2013; King 2016; Allison 2008). Projects can be conducted exclusively in collections and produce viable research (King 2016:4; Luby, Lightfoot, and Bradshaw 2013; McManamon et al. 2017; Childs and Benden 2017; Schiappacasse 2019). Field excavations are not vanishing there is simply additional research to be done in the stratigraphic layers of the archives and repositories in conjunction with fieldwork. In other words, as Marquardt, MontetWhite, and Scholtz (1982:409) stated “The handling of archaeological collections should provide for potential future research as well as serve immediate research goals. To maintain their research value, both collections and their associated documentation must be accessible, and they must be protected from deterioration.”

The curation process is never complete. To curate collections sustainably it is required that a cycle of established practices be followed. Childs and Benden (2017) put forth a nine-step cycle for the sustainability of collections that could be universally implemented in all repositories. The steps are as follows: Project Scope, Fieldwork, Processing Analysis/Reports, Curation and Preparation, Curation Acceptance, Access and Use, Maintenance, Enhancements, Deaccessioning, and then beginning again. Essentially, archaeologists need to prepare for the scope of work they plan to do, then conduct their fieldwork. The collected data must then be 10

processed which will include cleaning, cataloging, and analyzing the objects procured in the field. Once properly curated and processed the collection will be prepared to enter a repository. Arrangements must be made to store the collection in perpetuity. This is where many archaeologists believe their obligation to their data has been fulfilled. Following these sustainability procedures archaeologists and repositories must facilitate the use and access of the collections beyond the initial curation. To maintain the accessibility to the data in housed collections the collections must be maintained and enhanced periodically. There could be reasons a collection is not made accessible for example human remains, collections contaminated with hazardous material, or sacred objects that are repatriated will have varied accessibility standards. Collections that were procured from public lands and do not contain materials with controlled access should be available for other researchers to utilize. However, utilization is difficult if the collections are not updated and re-curated.

Childs and Benden (2017:13) refer to this process as the maintenance and enhancement of the collection. Maintenance, meaning to conduct physical inventories and inspections of the collections, this is most effective when done at regular intervals. Enhancement, meaning to implement procedures to help extend the life of the collection. Processes like re-curation have begun being employed across disciplines to combat not only the curation crisis but also to extract more information from previously analyzed collections, individual artifacts, and documents. This could include steps towards rehousing objects in better curation conditions or transferring handwritten cards or catalogs into digital and searchable databases (Childs and Benden 2017:19). The re-curation process seeks to accomplish both maintenance and enhancement in a series of steps that allow for the curators to complete this process efficiently and effectively.



Lastly, there will come a time when due to numerous variables artifacts may leave the 11 storage facility and be deaccessioned. This could mean they are discarded, repatriated, used for display, re-buried, or many other possible outcomes (Childs and Benden 2017:20). Once previously processed collections have been brought up to current standards, they, along with newer collections, should be entered into a sustainable cycle like the one Childs and Benden suggest.

Drawing on the sustainable curation process set forth by Childs and Benden (2017) this case study will implement the re-curation process as a form of maintenance and enhancement on the previously processed collection from Garnet Ghost Town in Montana. Using a single collection from a large historical site to demonstrate the effectiveness of updating and standardizing curation procedures to combat both accessibilities to data and space in curation facilities. Even taking one collection, from one site, that's in one repository can make a huge difference in knowledge and practice. Using re-curation as a starting point for engaging in more sustainable curatorial practices. This historical archaeological collection is ideal to test strategies of sustainable curation. The town of Garnet has produced a rich history; a history supported by historical documents, oral accounts, and archaeological collections.

## Chapter 3 Garnet

### 3.1 The Garnet Mining Town

Garnet is one of many mining settlements that emerged along the Garnet range during the Gold Rush era of the Western United States. The town sits on the north tip of present-day Garnet County, about 40 miles southeast of Missoula Montana (Clark and Wolfgram 1994:3). The present day town is shown in Figure 3.1. The town, and mountain range, were named after the semi-precious ruby-colored stone found in the area. The mountains were abundant with gold-bearing quartz and once discovered, miners began arriving with hopes of making a living. The miners arriving in Montana in the mid-1800s were migrating from California and Colorado.



*Figure 3.1: Image of the Garnet Ghost Town, taken by Jocelyn Palombo September 2021*

These initial miners were placer mining. Which means they were searching for gold or other minerals by washing the sand or gravel with running water. This normally

entailed panning or utilizing rockers and sluice boxes to sift out the free-floating gold. By 1870 placer mining was no longer a profitable form of mining for gold in the area. Around this time miners had located the gold rich veins in the mountains but due to lack of accessibility and inability to institute the techniques necessary to extract the gold they had to move on (Adams 2021:13; Clark and Wolfgram 1994:3). At the same time silver mines took off and drew those miners out of the Garnet Mountains until 1893 (Adams 2021:83).

In 1893 the Sherman Silver Purchase Act caused Silver mines to close leaving thousands of unemployed miners in search of work. Two years later many headed to First Chance Gulch. Where, in 1895, Dr. Armistead Mitchell started a stamp mill that crush local ore. The opportunity for business and employment drew people in and a town grew around the mill. Eventually, the town was named Mitchell. Then two years later in 1897, Mitchell was renamed Garnet. Soon, following this boom, Sam Ritchey discovered a vein of ore just west of the town in his Nancy Hanks mine. Thus, the Garnet gold saga began (Adams 2021:83-87).

By January of 1898, almost 1,000 people lived and worked in Garnet. At its height, there were four stores, four hotels, three livery stables, two barber shops, a union hall, a school with over 40 students, a butcher shop, a candy shop, a doctor's office, and thirteen saloons. The town would have been bustling with the sounds of everyday life, children running to school, laundry being done, saloons full with patrons, livestock, and the echoing of dynamite in the background. Miners, and ambitious entrepreneurs, threw together the town and their businesses as swiftly as possible resulting in a haphazardly built community. Built quickly and with functionality rather than longevity in mind (Adams 2021:75-90). There was not even official street or block names in the town. Based on photos taken between 1898 and 1910 it can be seen that the main street, where the majority of businesses were located, was lined with a busy boardwalk. Unlike many other mining towns that were owned and run by a singular company, rather than the numerous privately owned mines, Garnet offered an urban-like environment (Clark and Wolfgram 1994:2).

After 1900 gold became scarce and significantly more difficult to mine. By 1905 many of the mines had been abandoned. In the time of its operations, the Nancy Hanks mine alone yielded about \$300,000 worth of gold. All the mines in Garnet combined extracted about \$950,000 worth of gold in total by 1917. The town's population had dwindled and around 150

residents remained after 1905. In 1912 a fire ravaged the downtown and destroyed many commercial buildings on the main street. Years later in 1934, President Roosevelt raised the price of gold from \$16 to \$32 an ounce. This led to a new wave of miners appearing on the mountain in search of more income. They moved into the abandoned cabins and started reworking the mines (Adams 2021:100-130).

By the 1940s Garnet population decreased again. The residential buildings had, for the most part, been abandoned with furniture and personal belongings still inside. Then, World War II began and drew what remained of the population away again because the use of dynamite for domestic purposes was restricted. This made mining difficult. Garnet was abandoned again leaving a few people, including the general store owner Frank Davey, up on the mountain. Following the end of World War II, several new cabins were built and a few people returned to the mining town for a few more years (Adams 2021:131-150).

Many of the remaining residents died or moved away and Garnet was abandoned for a final time. Despite this the town remained and due to the efforts of the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) and volunteers much of the town is still standing. The BLM installed a preservation program in 1972 that began stabilizing the still standing buildings (Clark and Wolfgram 1994:1). Numerous artifacts remained, and descent populations have since donated private collections. While the town was abandoned, looted, burnt, and eroded there are still stories left to be interrupted and told (Adams 2021:122).

### **3.2 National Register Nomination**

Garnet was nominated for listing on the National Register of Historic Places as a historic district on June 30, 2010. It was nominated with 82 contributing buildings, 54 contributing sites, 47 contributing structures, and no objects which added up to 183 contributing resources on the

property. The site was considered eligible under criteria A, C, and D. It was eligible for A because of its inherent association with the Gold Rush and the boom and bust of mining culture in the American West. It was eligible under C because of the number of buildings still intact and the architectural value they hold. Lastly, eligible under criterion D because of the numerous archaeological sites already discovered and documented throughout the district and the potential for more archaeological data to be collected. The nomination stressed that the integrity, as well as, the physicality of the town was still extremely intact. The town's historical significance was noted to have started in 1895 when the stamp mill was constructed and ended when Frank Davey, the general store owner, died in 1948 (Clark and Wolfgram 1994:10). The Ghost town may have been abandoned but it lives on through the heritage that it inspires.

### **3.3 Archaeological History**

Archaeological surveys and inventory started taking place in Garnet in 1981 with a project run by John Taylor of the Bureau of Land Management. The project was focused on the Elk Creek Compartment. The report listed 37 historic and prehistoric sites that were recorded during inventory. The historic sites include Garnet as a mining camp site amongst other historical locations in the area. This chronicled the first and second waves of occupation. Site 24GN377 is associated with Garnet and was listed as a multi-component site. Said to contain elements that dated from the 1870s or 1880s to the 1930s. It was also reported that there were lithics found in the Garnet Townsite. These lithics were likely not collected per Bureau of Land Management policy. They were likely left in the field to be preserved in place. If those lithics were collected they would be at the Curation Center in Billings, Montana. The entire Elk Creek Compartment concluded that a broad spectrum of human use existed in the area from at least 4,000 ago and that usage from about 10,000 years prior is probable (Taylor 1987).

One of the first academic reports was completed in 1994 by Jennifer Kathleen Spencer to fulfill her master's in Anthropology. In her work, *Site Abandonment Behavior for the Mining Town of Garnet, Montana* she looked at the material culture present at the site. Striving to understand behaviors attributed to abandonment. She explored hypotheses on abandonment through the Garnet ghost town. At the time of her research, there were still living members of the community and she was able to collect oral histories about the town of Garnet (Spencer 1994).

In 1996 The Bureau of Land Management's archaeologist, Darrell Sanders, performed archaeological data retrieval in response to a stabilization project for Cabin 16B. The 1995 excavation of the cabin's collapsed root cellar and its associated household dump produced 2,194 artifacts. These artifacts were associated with the Great Depression era of occupation and earlier (Sanders 1996).

The following year, 1997, the University of Montana's Anthropology Department published a series called, *Contributions to Anthropology*. This compiled work included literature on the Town of Garnet. The first work was *Historical Archaeology and the Garnet Mining Camp: 1865-1912* was written by Daniel S. Hall. Hall's research explored the presence of Victorian society in the culture at Garnet. He studied the deposits produced by the town hoping they would reveal patterned behavior. He, along with students from the University of Montana, concluded after twenty-two excavation units from seven different sites in and around Garnet that the town was heavily influenced by the Victorian Era (Hall 1997). Then came Garren J. Meyer's (1997) work *A Culture History of the Garnet Mining District and Analysis of the Mountain View Mill Site*, which sought to identify the large and varied immigrant population that likely resided in Garnet. Additionally, how that fueled the capitalist economic reasons for its inception and thus the decline of the town. Tammy Howser developed *An Assessment of the Subsistence Patterns of*

*the Garnet People*. Studying the subsistence patterns of Garnet's people from 1896 until 1912. She analyzed faunal resources and artifacts from the Mountain View Mill and Sierra dump sites attempting to discern patterns of use and consumption of food. Her data set was derived from several Archaeological Survey Classes that were taught by Dr. Thomas Foor in 1987, 1988, and 1989. Where they excavated artifacts and faunal material from the Mountain View Mill and Sierra dumps (Howser 1997). These are likely the excavations that produced the majority of the collection being utilized for this case study. Due to a lack of documentation, this is not certain. There are also varied collection dates that span from 1986 to 2009 recorded on the accession cards in the collection.

Finally, in 2003 the town underwent the Garnet Fuel Reduction Project. This updated the survey information on features and was better documented. Specifically more accurate measurements and maps were made of the Historic District (Wolfgram and Bowen 2003). More surveys and excavations could take place within the Garnet District that could explore several hypotheses.

## **Chapter 4 Heritage**

This historical location is not just the sum of its recorded history. It is a dynamic heritage landscape that should be acknowledged and explored further through archaeological and anthropological research. Before addressing curation, conservation, field survey, excavation, or any other archaeological or museum-based activity at any given site the professionals need to be informed on not only the history of the location but also the heritage(s) that is ascribed to it. Archaeologists and curation experts are appointed as heritage managers, and managers need to be well-versed in what they are and could potentially manage. The Garnet Ghost Town is an Industrial Heritage landscape. It was also a town that housed many different people during a very distinct period in American and world history. Heritage is contingent on people finding value in culture and deciding to preserve the essence of that value through tangible or intangible means in the present. Heritage managers must be proficient not only in the archaeological and historical records but also in the current discourse of the location and its importance as a heritage site. Because it is a mining town it falls under a subset of heritage known as industrial heritage.

### **4.1 Industrial Heritage**

Industrial heritage is a subset of heritage that more recently has gained attention in heritage literature. Industrial heritage is the product of societies that appeared as a consequence of industrialization and are tied to man-made sites often including buildings that have experienced an abandonment in portion or whole (Ćopić et al. 2014; Edwards and Llurdes, 1996; 342). Industrial heritage locations that are more suitable for tourism tend to be places like mines, quarries, mills, distilleries, and breweries (Ćopić et al. 2014; Xie 2006). Because of the relationship between industrial locations, like mines, and their reliance on the environment, they are also referred to as industrial landscapes. They are intrinsically tied to the landscape they



inhabited whether it be urban or rural. In addition, industrial locations that were tied to mining or quarrying had significant impacts on the landscape physically as well as the environment.

Impacts that can still be seen presently geographically and environmentally.

Historic Industrial sites, or landscapes, are developed into heritage locations for a few different reasons. The first is to bring attention to historic events or processes (Trettin et al. 2011; Pashkevich 2017). They can be used as a tool to strengthen local identity. It can be a promotional tool to develop a better image of the region (Trettin et al. 2011). Finally, to evolve the buildings or landscape for contemporary purposes often tied to economic gain (Trettin et al. 2011; Pashkevich 2017).

Sites can be labeled as heritage destinations for any number of these reasons and they are not mutually exclusive. These drivers can also have underlying motives like monetary gain or the attaining of some sort of power that managing or creating heritage can bring. These four motivations can very easily be reapplied as the inspirations behind the commodification of heritages all over the world (Gonzalez 2018). The Garnet Town is a heritage landscape perfect for promotion because of its completeness over 100 years after the fall of the Gold Rush. It also serves as a symbol of human and environmental resilience. Making them promotable and at times profitable.

To promote any heritage site, but especially these industrial heritage locations, there is a level of marketing. The intensification of the marketing may be closely tied to the monetary gain of tourist attraction to a location (Funk 2008). There could be other motives such as awareness as well. These marketing materials or advertisements are geared toward promoting the touristic value of the historical site(s) through selective images and wordings (Funk 2008). This can lead to the simplification of meaning and place. While watering down the description of a heritage

location may make it more understandable to the public simplification can lead to stereotypical representations or even misinterpretations (Funk 2008:2). In Funk's article (2008:2) *Representing Bergslagen for Tourism: a Post-Feminist Approach* she clearly states that "When trying to simplify something as complex as a heritage, meaning can become lost in translation." Archaeologists, curators, anthropologists, and other heritage managers can help combat this by evolving their practices and updating or installing new procedures.

#### **4.2 Heritage in American Mining Towns**

Mining towns, especially gold mining towns, are very promotable industrial heritage sites within the United States. They are temporary communities that emerge and then subsequently "disappear" at the end of the relevance of the industry that drove the initial development (Knapp and Pigott 1997; Rose 2013). As seen in the waves of settlement in the town of Garnet leading to the eventual abandonment. When looking specifically at ghost towns the concept of abandonment is crucial due to the terminal life span of the mining town in the American West. With the added value of a completely abandoned industrial mining town taking it from town to ghost town in colloquial terms. Archaeologically, mining towns stand alone in the fact that they hold data relevant to the phenomenon of industrialism, but they are also mosaics of microenvironments (Hardesty 2010:296). In the American West mining towns are small often isolated communities with structures and economics that are unique. They may not always fully reflect the characteristics of the mainstream culture they belong to.

They are often glorified for their other characteristics, and this glorification is often used to entice the public. Embellishing the historical narrative to make it more intriguing. Notably so in Gold Rush landscapes that appear in North America and similarly in Australia (Knapp and Piggott 1997; Rose 2013). Both have mining landscapes that are historical locations that "flared

and faded” (Knapp and Pigott 1997) or “boom and bust” as individuals, groups, industry, or prestige left those locations that originally held value.

Mining camps have become a symbol of the iconic frontier narrative (Rose 2013:23). These Victorian-era Gold Rushes reshaped the landscape with increasing populations of settlers running west and bringing innovation and industrialism with them (Timmons and Dixon 2011). It has been explained that “In Western American history, heroism and villainy, virtue and vice, and nobility and shoddiness appear in roughly the same proportions as they appear in any other subject of human history (and with the same relativity of definition and judgment). This is only disillusioning to those who have come to depend on illusions” (Limerick 1991:86). These are very intricate and delicate systems operating under social and ecological constraints (Hardesty 2010). When steps are taken to shorten these intricate systems there needs to be an acknowledgement of the loss of important context. While conducting research on a mining town it was noted by Chelsea Rose (2013:23) “This fascinating discrepancy between the memory, history, and archaeology...has highlighted how easily historical contexts can be hijacked by frontier rhetoric”. History becomes fragmented, and portions of the heritage are lost when the entirety of the human interactions in a landscape has been cut down for easy consumption. The narrative around the Gold Rush phenomenon can be oversimplified and end up focusing on what has become the idea of an American mining camp as a bachelor society full of temptation and violence rather than the more accurate history (Rose 2013:23). Furthering the need for more holistic research on places like Garnet. With more objective researched information available hopefully, it will be less likely for the narrative to be skewed.

Romanticizing the past to create a rich and full heritage is not in itself bad or malicious. It could be argued that this manipulation is a natural process that occurs when heritage is applied

and interpreted at historical sites. The discourse that revolves around Western mining towns is therefore not, at its core, problematic. Caution should be taken when allowing incorrect or incomplete narratives to be the only narrative being represented when there is clear evidence of other heritages existing in the landscape (Rose 2013:23). As Smith (1967:47) observes, “Behind this false front there was the real mining camp, less glamorous but more significant in American history”.

Often comparative analysis of the archaeological record coupled with firsthand accounts from the location can produce data that more accurately portrays the everyday life of the entire community. Conducting comprehensive background research using both primary and secondary sources to better understand a heritage location is essential for heritage managers. Proper management cannot be implemented sufficiently without constant reevaluations of material to further understand the history of landscape, community, and culture. Academic or professional intervention in terms of management, interpretation, and presentation can help mediate the risk of insufficient heritage supervision.

Mining landscapes across North America, like Garnet, tend to be very pliable heritage locations in that there are multiple groups invested in their preservation for multiple reasons that are not necessarily competing. Mining landscapes often have recreational value, environmental value, and contemporary cultural value in addition to historical value (Hardesty 2010). Many mining locations are on federally controlled land as well adding a layer of protection but also complication. Finding a fair and just way of accurately presenting and preserving the historical integrity of the landscape while also juggling the other demands of the location may be less difficult if there is more holistic research on the past readily available to managers.

Understanding the many overlapping and simultaneously separate heritages within a landscape is imperative to instituting better management processes.

### **4.3 Hidden Heritages**

Historical archaeology, at least within North America, is built on power structures that create inequality (Orser 2010). Gender, race, ethnicity, and social or economic status like heritage, are products of culture (Joyce 2008; Levy 2013). Cultural structures within a given community will facilitate the performance or creation of gender, race, ethnicity, social or economic status, heritage, and many other cultural processes (Joyce 2008; Levy 2013; Smith 2011). Concern for minority communities and their absence from museums, site tours, and interpretative signage have made their way to the forefront of the literature on historical archaeology (Levy 2013:87). These minority groups are becoming increasingly more important to the public and therefore heritage. Heritage is for the people, especially heritage locations on public property, the public has a right to access the heritage they choose to extract from the location. Therefore, heritage managers well versed in theory and knowledge about these hidden heritages will aid in their unveiling.

Orser (2010) presented “Historical archaeologists generally have accepted that giving voice to the voiceless is one of their field's major strengths”. Addressing hidden heritage archaeologically should not be limited to just historical archaeology but rather all fields of archaeological research where a minority diaspora may have been suppressed. There are multiple reasons that specific heritage narratives have been more widely represented than others. The process of disappearing, or the consistent misrepresentation caused by stereotypical depictions could be the culprit (Gifford-Gonzalez 1993). Another could be that there simply has not been enough time or resources in many locations to dig deeper and discover a more complete analysis

of mining towns to better understand the entirety of the populations that lived there. Both of these are natural processes that can occur during the evolution of a culture. As heritage is created and destroyed certain narratives within the past will rise and others will fall due to a myriad of reasoning. With the abundance of social justice movements in archaeology, museology, and heritage management issues like hidden heritage experience need to be addressed. Because of this many archaeologists, anthropologists, and members of associated fields have adhered to these recent trends and refocused their work to meet the demands of these current ideals. With an abundance of feminist theory and decolonization ideals being applied in management practices and a push from the public to learn more about underrepresented groups in heritage media steps are being taken to address hidden heritage. Industrial mining towns housed uniquely diverse populations and experiences and in turn facilitated the potential of heritage creation.

The dominant gender in historical industrial landscapes across North America tends to be male. Whittington (2022:9) concluded that when the female heritage is ignored “Women’s human rights are thus compromised not just by exclusion from heritage recognition at the international level, but by the inclusion of cultural practices that disregard self-defined changing concepts of identity and rights”. The post-feminist theory has had a substantial impact on anthropological theory and practice. Incorporating feminist approaches that can be extremely effective in gaining more context and understanding especially on historical sites. A well-executed feminist perspective would include an interpretation of all gender roles. On occasion pushing the public to step beyond their cultural assumptions about gender roles. Allowing them the opportunity to make the connection that gender as a construct is changing and differing in historic and even prehistoric communities. The goal is not to just avoid blatant sexism but to make sure all genders and experiences are represented equally (Levy 2013).

American historical sites, as mentioned previously, are often generalized with certain aspects being romanticized. Globally there have historically, in museums, been patterns of portraying women as intrinsically connected to the home and domestic processes (Funk 2018). These “landscapes that have been cut out, created, shaped, operated, altered, and often abandoned through the actions of men” (Metheny 2010:313) are not completely male but rather presented as male-dominated. Some have pointed out that in some instances the term “woman” has been put in opposition to the term “man”. Rather than representing both narratives the female one is tethered to stereotypes and placed in opposition to the male experience within the same community. This can be even further exaggerated when the narrative is tied to objects that appear in museums where the main source of experience is material culture. Gendered association with objects, while beneficial, can be a slippery slope and accidentally lead to ignoring non-stereotypical associations (Funk 2018). In the ledger that was transcribed some women are mentioned as purchasers separate from men under the same account there are also purchases of goods that might be interpreted as gendered like hair pins and hose. Exploring their purchases as individuals might reveal a more diverse interpretation. Gender is a good starting point for addressing hidden heritage, but there is more to learn beyond gender.

As previously mentioned the American West, the Gold Rush, in particular, has historically been romanticized, and often the more dominant white narrative is shared. There is ample evidence of more than one race or ethnicity of people residing in mining towns and camps. In more recent historical archaeological theory surrounding race, there has been a movement away from simply identifying races and ethnicities through racial or ethnic markers. The process of identifying ethnic markers or distinguishing between racial groups through a set list of archaeological attributes is a binary and inaccurate way of viewing any socially dynamic

site. There is more than enough evidence, both archaeologically and within the written record, to confirm that people of many different races and ethnicities resided in mining towns all over Montana and the American West. Race is not a flat attribute either it is heavily entwined, and therefore inseparable from the social and economic dynamics such as gender, class, and wealth. Studies that focus on this intersectionality have been referred to as diaspora studies (Kelly 2014). In her essay, *Race*, Anna S. Agbe-Davies (2022) argued that research should pursue racial differences rather than the pursuit of racially distinct patterns. Rather than using a group's attributes to identify them searching for the differences between groups to separate them from each other. She urged the field of archaeology to recognize that difference is a product of racism and racialization and not just patterns historical archaeologists observe (Agbe-Davies 2022). Once again simply being aware of the brief histories and the subsequent erasure of the non-dominant groups in this particular area and heritage site provides the ability to unveil more information on these groups of people.

A well-acknowledged, but until recently rarely studied or interrupted, group of people that worked and lived in the industrial West was the Chinese. Chinese immigrants and Chinese-American individuals that flocked to the American West composed the backbone of industrial locations from railroads to gold mines. Once gold was discovered in Bannack in 1862 Chinese immigrants appeared all over the state of Montana in large numbers. By 1870 it was estimated they made up 10% of the Montana Territory's population, but many local calculations estimated that they made up a much larger portion of the population. In the mid-1870s it was noted that in Yreka, another mining town in the Garnet Range, the area where the Chinese lived was much larger than the portion of the town that the whites lived in (Merritt 2017). There were also many laws and policies enacted in the Montana Territory created to hinder the Chinese immigrants and



their businesses. While the Chinese worker population is not always valued in historical and contemporary texts that refer to the Gold Rush they were invaluable assets as both labor and business owners in their own right. As Merritt (2017:167) stated in his 2017 book *The Coming Man From Canton: Chinese Experience in Montana 1862-1943* “The Chinese in Montana found a modicum of economic prosperity, community cohesion, and freedom... the Chinese succeeded in pulling millions of dollars’ worth of gold not only from the creeks and gulches of Montana but also from the pockets of European American miners and their families by providing needed goods and services.”. The Chinese population at Garnet is well documented but under-researched and is under-represented in the interpretive signage.

There was a Black population that lived throughout Victorian Montana and the surrounding West. The presence of people with African ancestry is noted in the West since the beginning stages of colonization in the Americas (Kelly 2014). As with many of these hidden heritages, or minority groups, it is known and acknowledged that African American populations were present, but with little academic research and even less interpretation in heritage locations to inform the public. The Black heritage in the American West is therefore hidden from those members of the public who would engage with that heritage had it been presented. There are mentions of individuals who were identified as Black, or African American both in literature and even on Sanborn maps (Wood 2019). Just 40 miles away from the town of the Garnet at Fort Missoula, the 25th Infantry Regiment, also known as the Buffalo Soldiers, was stationed (Kelly 2014). The African American narrative is often absent from the history of the West for two reasons; they were not white and Black history is synonymous with urban history and the West is not seen as an urban frontier due to misunderstandings (Wood 2019:409).

As Euro-Americans moved west they brought with them the structures that upheld racist ideals. Especially for populations comprised of people of color who experienced slavery in many forms throughout the country. The racism in the American West while built on the ideals of the older parts of the country did institute its own brand of discrimination (Wood 2019). While it is interpreted that these populations experienced more privileges in the West than in other parts of the country they were not free from prejudice in the West (Kelly 2014). At Garnet, there is confirmation of at least one individual referred to as “Blackie” or “D. Blackie”. This individual is mentioned in multiple documents including a ledger from the Davey’s Grocery store and in oral histories (Ole Day Oral History 2009). This unacknowledged individual(s) can be identified and researched further. The narrative of the American West that excludes individuals who were of African descent is inadequate and insufficient. The worst case is that it promotes racist narratives subsequently prompting “‘white’ narratives” (Linn-Tynen 2020:260).

Knowing this, there were racially white groups that were not treated as equal to the dominant white population. Notably Irish American populations, which were comprised primarily of immigrants, were present throughout the industrial landscapes of historic America. Seeking refuge from the potato famine in Ireland many Irish immigrants moved to the United States. While some populations settled on the Eastern side of the country many continued to head west. Even though their labor was essential for many mining and railroad projects the Irish experienced persecution. They could not easily move between social and economic classes, often remaining stationary and labeled as unskilled or semi-skilled workers. While they were treated as lesser by the prominent white communities their discrimination was separate and distinct from the discrimination experienced by people of color in those same communities (Brighton 2011). This persecution continued into the mid-1900s (Brighton 2011; Emmons 1989). There is

extensive research on this population in Australia and other locations within the United States but other than mentions as a secondary narrative there is little literature on the Irish specifically in mining towns in Montana. David M. Emmons (1989) successfully addressed the Irish population in Butte in his book *The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town*. This analysis of the Irish placed them into the historical narrative of the town by examining their situation through the ethnicity and class structures that delimited them in that time period (Emmons 1989). It has been almost 30 years since that book was published and there has not been much attention on this group in terms of mining in Montana since.

. Another group that fails to be mentioned, or even acknowledged, in many American mining town narratives, is Indigenous populations. Indigenous groups that could have utilized the landscapes before, possibly during, and even after the boom and bust of the mining camps are often not seen in the analysis or interpretation of industrial landscapes in the American West. It is very naïve to believe that when the miners showed up the ground had been previously untouched and unclaimed. There might be claims made about historic sites being focused on history and not prehistory or that the multiple occupations destroyed the little evidence that did exist, but these claims should be challenged. Archaeologists, heritage managers, and others involved in the conservation, curation, and research of a location, such as the town of Garnet, have a responsibility both to the public and the landscape to not pigeon-hole the heritage of the location but rather foster a drive to learn more. While large-scale excavation in search of prehistoric activity is not recommended it is recommended that there is an acknowledgment of the possibility of prehistoric activity.

Social and economic class are intrinsically tied to constructs like race, ethnicity, and gender. Social and economic status is simply another way in which people were separated in the

past and continue to be differentiated in the archaeological analysis process. Historical archaeologists tend to focus on socio-economic status because it is less difficult to ascertain from the excavated material (Wurst and Fitts 1999). This is typically done through the accumulation of prestige goods or through “models of consumer choice” which are calculated using cost estimations compared to the material(s) purchased (Spencer-Wood 1987, Wurst and Fitts 1999). These assumptions rely on equating wealth with social class usually done by assessing the economic value of the good associated with specific groups within a population. This approach can be very effective but also places status in stationery sets of categorization (Wurst and Fitts 1999). This could be detrimental in a situation where the research is focused on large changes over time or on the intricacies of sub-groups operating within a large society. However, due to the terminal nature of mining towns and settlements of smaller size like Garnet using wealth indicators such as prestige goods and “models of consumer choice” would work well.

The mining town of Garnet while much smaller than growing cities like Missoula still had developed social structures and classes. While mining towns in general differ in make-up and social infrastructure, as opposed to nonindustrial cities and towns, they still exhibit main themes set forth by the societal standards. There were working-class individuals in mines, doing laundry, cooking meals, and holding many other occupations. Skilled workers were blacksmiths, school teachers, post-masters/mistresses, and many more. There were also successful business owners who owned hotels, saloons, and stores (Adams 2021:118, 128, 154). Occupation then is coupled with gender, race, ethnicity, and other socially constructed labels that separated a population into classes. These classes are not objective categories that progress in a linear motion. They are the lens or lenses through which the society surrounding those individuals

viewed them and themselves. These are then interpreted by those in the present who perceive them through an accumulation of information.

Other theoretical frameworks can be utilized when analyzing hidden heritages in industrial landscapes that have not been mentioned. To conduct work on the products of these industrial heritage sites a researcher does not need to apply all of these theoretical frameworks. They should however strive to be informed about all of these existing frameworks. There were people of varied genders, races, ethnic backgrounds, nationalities, social status, and economic status present in mining towns. Many have not received the academic attention, heritage interpretation, and subsequently the recognition that they deserve. Not including these hidden or suppressed heritages continues a cycle of suppression. Sharing the information about these groups in the interpretation at the site and in academic research is essential to the future of heritage management and more strategies for uncovering them and then presenting them must be created and tested.

At Garnet, there have been more efforts recently to better portray a more diverse heritage landscape by incorporating the female experience in signage and interpretation. As more information is compiled on other minority groups or experiences the opportunities to successfully apply and implement these other interpretations increase. The more data there is to study the easier it will be to unveil the multitude of hidden heritages that may exist in a landscape. Making the reassessment of older collections even more pertinent. The collections hold the key to better understanding the people who once utilized the landscape and created the archaeological resources now stored in repositories.

## Chapter 5

### The Re-Curation Process

#### 5.1 Re-curation

Re-curation is the process of applying updated curation methods and procedures to a previously processed collection. It is simply maintenance and enhancement conducted to ensure collection longevity and the ability to share the information that the collection contains. This is executed with an 8-step process, as shown in Table 5.1. The purpose of re-curation is not to correct nor to negate previous interpretations but rather to build upon them. While there may be errors in the preceding data collection efforts this process will locate those mistakes, acknowledge them, and then provide updated documentation. Re-analyzing is not meant to disprove these initial efforts but to acknowledge that archaeological theories and techniques have evolved and applying new lenses and frameworks of thinking, and procedures to previously processed collections will provide additional insights.

The re-curation process also entails updating documentation on the collection. Museums and curation facilities struggle to create cataloging systems that remain consistent over long periods (Luby et al. 2013). Making digital databases that have consistent labeling and language so that later viewers can more easily access and understand the collection as a whole, as well as the individual pieces, is imperative if collections are to survive longer. In this case, we chose to include the original interpretation as well as any additional interpretations. Doing this can help because it will acknowledge the past interpretation, but also share the new insights for future reviewers. Pairing this with high-quality photography allows future researchers to access as that much information as they can.

While handwritten labels can be effective in the field and an individual lab setting they begin to lose their ability to communicate information as they move farther from the initial scribe. In actuality, many of these handwritten labels and catalogs are beginning to enter the archaeological record themselves as they push closer to the 50-year mark. They are still important and should be kept with the collection and treated with as much care as the artifacts themselves. An artifact or ecofact's life once it enters into the storage stage of its journey is equally as diagnostic as its lived life and archaeological life.

#### **Re-Curation Steps**

1. Assessing storage and updating when necessary.
2. Extensive background research on the collection and its associated cultural groups, sites, history, and other related material.
3. Digitizing historical, archaeological and curatorial documentation related to the collection.
4. Conducting additional analysis of individual objects and the collection as a whole.
5. Creating a comprehensive, searchable, and sharable catalog of the collection.
6. Making suggestions and facilitating conversations about the future storage of the collection.
7. Re-packaging and replacing the collection in a curatorial facility
8. Repeating this process periodically and implementing new, more effective, procedures as needed

*Table 5.1: The eight step re-curation process created for and implemented on the Garnet collection housed at the University of Montana Archaeological Curation Facility*

Because Garnet falls under federal jurisdiction following federal curation standards is required. Utilizing guidelines set forth by the Billings Curation Facility in Montana a system was implemented to allow for re-curation that was conducted both correctly and efficiently. The keys

to successfully executing the re-curation process were communication and consistency. With only two people working on a single collection this was easily feasible but in a larger facility with numerous collections being processed implementing procedures and following through on them is imperative to the function of the facility and the quality of the curation. Successful curation means the integrity of the object is being preserved to the best of the facility's capabilities in addition to others being able to access and understand the collection easily.

### **5.2 Assessing Storage and Updating When Necessary**

The first step when accessing collections that have been previously processed is to evaluate the conditions of the storage facility. Collections that have been stored for periods of time can suffer from water damage, rodent infestation, lack of ventilation, storage boxes or bags that are no longer suitable for artifacts, and many other damaging storage conditions. This collection is stored in plastic curation bags that were then placed in curation boxes. The curation facility is sufficient as well and is closely monitored to maintain the integrity of multiple collections. There was a box that once opened revealed that previously someone had sprinkled rat poison on the artifact bags. That particular box was cleaned and handled so that future researchers or curators would not fear contamination. Once storage was deemed satisfactory the process of re-curation continued.

### **5.3 Extensive Background Research**

Before handling a collection conducting extensive background research on the cultural group(s), sites, history, and other related material to the collection must be compiled and analyzed. For this project this included but was not limited to, visiting the physical location, reading archaeology reports, reading previous theses and dissertations that mentioned the collection or Garnet, reaching out to federal, state, and local curation and archival repositories,



reading books and reports about the town, reading academic literature on various topics related to heritage in industrial landscapes, reading works on the Western Montanan region, and more. While working as a ranger at the Garnet Ghost Town principal investigator, Andrea Shiverdecker, was able to build relationships with the Garnet Preservation Society, descendant communities, and the public that yielded valuable information about the history of the town. These relationships produced a genealogy project that listed multiple family names and people who lived at Garnet, oral histories that had been recorded, and more. Pulling information and resources from multiple locations and agencies allowed for the compilation of information on the subject matter to inform us as curators.

This was imperative for the success of the re-curation. As professional's curators, archaeologists, museum staff, and others cannot conduct additional analysis on collections and artifacts without first reading and understanding previously conducted work. Making sure to read current literature published on the site or related areas to better inform the work. This was extremely beneficial when an object required further investigation we could reference the accumulated literature that had been assembled.

#### **5.4 Digitizing Documentation Related to the Collection**

While the background research was conducted many historical documents from multiple locations were reviewed. To foster the accessibility of data and historical resources when given consent to do so we digitized the historical, archaeological and curatorial documentation related to the collection. This was where we discovered the numerous ledgers that existed from Davey's store. The physical copies that were shared with us were photographed page by page. The one from 1905 was then transcribed into an excel spread sheet for further analysis. While these individual documents were not part of the collection they are related to the history of the town

and therefore relevant to research conducted on topics relating the town of Garnet. In the future, when others conduct research on the collection or the town there will be digital copies of these documents in multiple locations making them more accessible.

### **5.5 Conducting Additional Analysis**

Once background research was compiled and reviewed we began the process of going through the physical collection and applying updated curation methods. The planned procedure was to work one box at a time to avoid mistakes and confusion. A box would be opened, laid out, and then systematically photographed and entered into the database. Each bag had its own Billings Federal Curation or University of Montana Artifact card. Each card listed an artifact number, accession number, sometimes an old artifact number, material type, Object description, site number (24GN540), most of the time provenience, project name (Garnet Ghost Town), and curation facility (UM). Smaller bags of similar material types were often placed in their individual bags and then all grouped in a larger bag, the mother bag, which had a mother bag accession card. The artifacts were variable over many time periods, but most were historic dating before the 1950s. The individual artifacts varied from tobacco cans to Heinz bottles, to large faunal bones, to pieces from leather shoes. Addressing such a diverse collection that was procured from such a dynamic urban landscape allowed for compelling insights and conclusions to be drawn while re-analyzing the individual artifacts.

There were cloth and leather items that were relocated to a freezer within another curation lab run by the Anthropology Department at the University of Montana. Upon opening those artifact bags to photograph it was observed that they were a health hazard and proper personal protective equipment was used by the curators to handle them. They were relocated to the freezer to reduce the negative effects on the curators. A card was placed in their box of origin

with their accession numbers, new storage location, and multiple contacts if retrieval was needed. This is a good reminder that curation can be dangerous on some level. Especially when dealing with historical artifacts that may contain lead, Uranium, mold, or other hazardous materials.

The photography took place in a small collapsible photo booth in the corner of the lab. Initially, all photography was conducted by Shiverdecker, but after instruction and supervision, I was also trained on how to do the photography. Once the photos were taken they were uploaded to an editing software where they were edited to allow for maximum visibility of each object. Each box's photos were then renamed individually with the accession numbers associated with each artifact as well as the site number and box number. There were occasionally artifacts in the same box that had the same accession number which meant duplicates were marked with "(2)" after the accession number to distinguish the two photos. When multiple photos of the same object were taken the original was entered and then any additional photo file names were followed by a dash and the sequential number photo it was of that object. These photos were then uploaded into the database as the individual items were entered.

Multiple artifacts had been removed from the collection and were replaced with an artifact removal card or notes stating they were somewhere else. Many were still in the collection in the same box and it appeared the removal card had been left in there by accident. In Box 2 the object with accession #1995 was replaced with an artifact removal card and was loaned out on 4.4.18 for 404 which was a class taught by the head of collections at the time. In Box 3 object with accession # 5007 was supposedly a battery and had a note that it was housed somewhere else but did not mention where. In Box 31 object with accession #3078 were supposedly 11 pieces of a leather shoe that were borrowed by Tara for conservation and treatment by Tori. No

last names or dates were listed. Attempts were made to locate it in other curation labs within the department and it was still not located.

The collection was extremely diverse and included multiple material types. The most common artifacts were those made of metal. There were various metal artifacts labeled as iron, tin, alloy, brass, copper, steel, and more. These included but were not limited to nails, files, wire, razor blades, ammunition shells, suspender clasps, utensils, and more. The nails were often distinguished by size, marked with a “d” and an associated number that distinguished size, or by style. The styles of nails were noted if they were shoe nails, wire, square, or were not mentioned on the accession card. Files were one of many tool pieces found throughout the collection. The wire tended to be scrap pieces bundled together as if discarded. The Valet razor blades were a perplexing find at first. The first one was in a bag with miscellaneous metal pieces and was unidentified. Originally it was assumed to be a metal label, but another razor was in a subsequent box labeled as a “Valet” brand razor. The previous entry was then edited to reflect this correlation. Allowing the collection and previous curatorial efforts to inform the current analysis of the collection. The pieces of ammunition varied and often they were the pieces from the shell left after being fired. Finding that there were shell casings in a gold mining town in the Montana wilderness was not surprising. In the future, an archaeologist with more understanding of guns and ammunition might be able to look closer at these and identify the types of firearms that were being utilized. There were also metal forks, spoons, and knives found that while rusted and crumbling had once been held by a human while they ate a meal.

The boxes were filled with cans of many sizes and shapes. Can is used to refer to the steel or aluminum containers in which mostly food or drink is stored over long periods. Often there were small fragments of cans that included partial seams or rims in addition to complete or



creation of more consistent cataloguing. Another one of these house-shaped cans seemed to be cut to resemble a bird house or possibly a doll house. It unsure if the can was reused for these purposes, but the handle on top and house shape would make reuse easy.

Another material type that made up a significant portion of the collection was glass. For the most part, there were shards of glass and occasionally full or partial vessels. The glass came in multiple colors including amber, colorless or clear, aqua, amethyst, milk glass and varied



*Figure 5.2: Dr. Price flavor extract bottle from collection, Taken by Andrea Shiverdecker 2023*

shades of green. The original interpretation was able to label many of the shards as bottle, jar, window, bowl, lantern or undiagnostic shards. The bottles in particular were extremely varied. Some having threaded finishes and others still having metal caps on top. There are pieces embossed with partial or identifiable maker's marks or product names. The initial analyst were able to discern and label some as condiment, medicine, and other bottles. Figure 5.2 is an example of an intact flavor bottle that likely held vanilla. There were also jars that still have their metal lids on top. There are pieces of glass that have designing on them and appear to be part of serving vessels, possibly plates or bowls. The majority of the collection was shards of glass that could be roughly attributed to one of the previously mentioned categories.

There is ironstone, white wear, porcelain, crock, and other ceramics in the collection. The ceramics in general were almost all sherds with a few having been mended and partially reconstructed. The majority of these sherds likely came from food storage and food serving

vessels. The crock ware, white wear, and ironstone tended to be fairly plain with very few decorative elements other than the occasion makers mark. The porcelain pieces tended to be decorated and parts of tea cups, saucers, small bowls, and plates. There were green transfer designs and many floral elements in a variety of colors. The floral designs varied greatly in color, style, and size. Some of the pieces were labeled to be “Chinese’ or “Japanese” in nature. There was additionally a ceramic or possibly stone marbles and partial poker chip that featured a man riding a bicycle that was re-curved.

In one of the boxes there was a semi porcelain piece that had been mended by gluing the pieces of the plate, or serving dish back together, as shown in



*Figure 5.3: Mended Mellar-Taylor plate from collection, Taken by Andrea Shiverdecker 2023*

pieces did not fit together to recreate the entire original plater a significant enough portion was assembled. The plate has brown floral transfer designs along the rim. There was also an intact maker’s mark on the underside. The curation card noted that it was a Mellar-Taylor plate from England based on this maker’s mark. After conducting a quick search to see if more information could be compiled a brief biography about the plate was created. Mellar-Taylor was an earthenware manufacture that ran from 1880 to 1903 and specialized in making durable granite and ironstone china specifically for the American market. There were also examples of various vessels with very similar floral

designs in the same brown and in different colors (Birks 2023).

The collection contained a great deal of faunal remains. Most were from large mammals that had clear signs of butchery. These were most likely cattle, pigs, sheep, goats, deer, or other large livestock or game animals from the surrounding area. Very distinct cut marks, or saw marks were evident on the majority of these. There were also a few specimens from medium and small mammals, typically long bones and vertebrae from chickens. It was observed that almost none of these faunal remains had chewing or gnawing marks on them. It is unsure whether there was a dog or cat population in the town but it is noteworthy that these remains appeared to only have been processed by humans. The bones found in the collection could be looked at more closely by a zooarchaeologist and then correlated to specific cuts of meat. There were also a few deposits of eggshells in the collection that are presumed to be either chicken or duck eggshells.

The leather pieces found in the Garnet collection were more often than not from leather shoes. Some of the fragments were fairly large and intact while others were small often less than one square inch. Many still had eyelets intact for laces. The original curation cards do a good job of inferring the type of shoe based on the fragments. Some are labeled as women's or children's shoes and others are noted as men's work boots. There were also leather objects that might have been portions of horse halters or harnesses that had metal buckles still attached to the strip of leather.

In Box 57, a small bag was filled with mineral deposits and small stone pieces. The accession number was 3999 and the listed material type was "rock". The small mineral deposits included gold fragments and gold dust. The presence of the gold in the collection in retrospect is not surprising knowing that Garnet was a prolific gold mining town. An artifact that is a precious metal requires more care in terms of storage and security. A call was made to the Billings



Curation facility for advice on how to proceed due to the many intricacies of federal collections and natural resources found on federal property. For the time being the artifact bag is in a secure location within the curation facility so that it is not misplaced. Curation facilities must be up-to-date on the state and federal laws surrounding objects like this to make sure their procedures are in accordance with them. When the proper procedure is not known deferring to experts who are aware of the proper procedure is suggested. The Garnet range is home to many valuable resources in addition to gold such as garnet, copper, quartz, sapphires, and more. These are valuable resources due to their monetary or prestige value in contemporary and historical contexts and they require more attention in the curatorial process because of this.

There were various other material types in the collection. There were numerous pieces of linoleum. In Box 4 there was a smaller curation box that held more than 206 individual pieces of

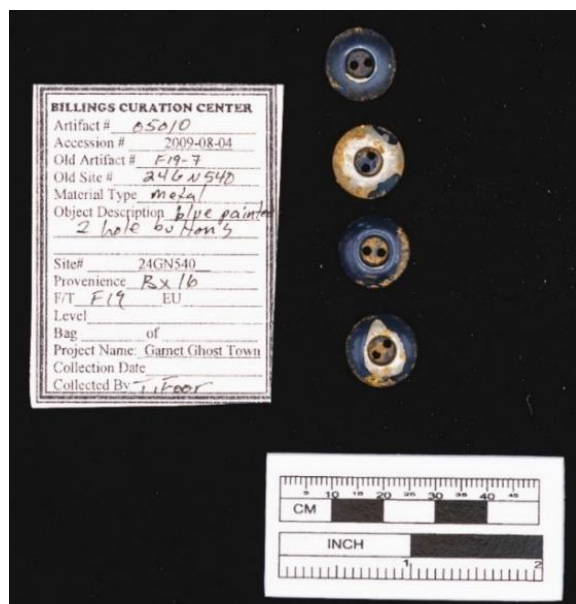


Figure 5.4: Buttons Box 4, Taken by Andrea Shiverdecker 2023

corroded linoleum. Small fragments of paper and wallpaper were included and fairly well preserved in their bags. Organic materials such as peach and apricot pits, pieces from a woven basket, cork, shell fossil, wood and others were also cataloged. Tarpaper was also present. There was both plastic and metal buttons, like the ones shown in Figure 5.5, which were likely from clothing. In addition to these, there were a few pieces of cloth or fabric in the collection one even appeared to have a semi

checked pattern sewn into it. There were a few other objects that were made of rubber. Items labeled as “composite” either were comprised of two or more distinct materials such as a glass

bottle neck with metal cap or a battery cell. The least common material type was a small obsidian flake. The flake lacked provenience and was not associated with any other prehistoric material.

Additional information was compiled in a document titled Extended Research on Individual Items. This was for notes that exceeded the space available in the catalog spreadsheet. When there were objects that required further research they were added to this document. On this sheet links to additional or supplemental information and any notes taken from outside sources were compiled. Examples of the artifacts listed were a nickel from Box 5, and accession #1890 that read 1895 on it. A quick search yielded fruitful information. The coin is a liberty head nickel that was in circulation between 1883 and 1912. The face on the head's side of the coin is actually the goddess of liberty (Bowers 2006). Other objects that were researched further were the previously mentioned Mellor-Taylor porcelain plate with the brown floral patterning and the Log Cabin Syrup cans. Often these artifacts with additional research could also be tied into the ledger which provided further insights into the material culture of the residents of Garnet.

## **5.6 Creating a Catalog of the Collection**

While the re-analysis process was conducted the collection was entered into a digital catalog. Due to the size of the file and for accessibility reasons that the database for the collection was compiled into a Google Sheets spreadsheet. This could then be converted into an Excel spreadsheet to be shared with multiple parties, as pictured in Figure 5.5 below. The spreadsheet was compiled with column titles that mirrored the accession cards that were already assigned to the artifacts with the addition of a few categories. The column titles that were added

25	580	2009-08-04	2	Metal Alloy	Rotary cut can ends	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	584	2009-08-04	3	Metal Alloy	Sanitary Can Rims	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	548	2009-08-04	4	Glass	Aqua nondiagnostic	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	558	2009-08-04	1	Glass	Aqua embossed angled	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	548	2009-08-04	1	Glass	Aqua very thin with striations	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	547	2009-08-04	4	Glass	Aqua nondiagnostic	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	542	2009-08-04	1	Glass	Colorless tin angled	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	543	2009-08-04	1	Glass	Ball Blue lip and collar	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	524	2009-08-04	3	Ceramic	nondiagnostic porcelain sherds	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	515	2009-08-04	1	Ceramic	tea cup side	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	518	2009-08-04	1	Ceramic	fragment	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	519-520	2009-08-04	2	Glass	fragment	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	535	2009-08-04	1	Ceramic	Ironstone brown transfer paint	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	522	2009-08-04	1	Ceramic	Ironstone sherd crazed glaze	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	523	2009-08-04	1	Ceramic	Earthenware broken handle nub possibly tea	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	539	2009-08-04	1	Glass	Colorless ribbed shard	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	533	2009-08-04	1	Ceramic	Ironstone fire affected	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	569	2009-08-04	2	Organic	Peach pits	24GN540		40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	507-514	2009-08-04	8	Glass	fragments	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	No Number	2009-08-04	1	Ceramic	fragment	24GN540						Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	576	2009-08-04	1	Leather	Shoe sole	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	571	2009-08-04	3	Leather	Shoe part with stitching holes	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	585	2009-08-04	9	Metal alloy	Binding straps with punched holes	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	555	2009-08-04	4	Glass	Colorless nondiagnostic	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	563	2009-08-04	56	Glass	Aqua Flat window	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	564	2009-08-04	28	Glass	light green flat window	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	521	2009-08-04	1	Ceramic	2 mended sherd refined earthenware ironstor	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	569	2009-08-04	1	Glass	Amber with striations	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes
25	551	2009-08-04	1	Ceramic	Ironstone handpainted green + pink with gold	24GN540	Box 30	40				Gamet Ghost To UM		Yes

Figure 5.5 Screen shot of the catalog. Entries from Box 25

were Quantity, Re-Interpretation, Photographs, and Selected for Reburial. Some of the accession cards listed a quantity but not all so a section was added to input that data. This was then used to track the amount of individual artifacts and eco-facts that were processed. Re-Interpretation was where we could include additional analysis that was noted during the re-curation. In the preceding category, object description, the notes taken by the original curators were copied as exactly as possible. Some artifacts did not have an accession card or one card stood for a specific lot of multiple artifacts so having that additional space to apply further interpretation was imperative. There were also instances where additional notes were added to build upon what was written on the accession card. The Photograph section was where high-quality photographs of the objects were uploaded. The reburial column was where it was identified whether the object had been recommended for deaccession or was to remain at the University of Montana Archaeological Curation Facility. This was marked as a simple yes for reburial or a no for keeping in the curation facility. Once the collection is completely re-curated and double-checked for human remains the results and products will be submitted to the University of Montana, The BLM field office in Missoula, The Montana Federal Curation Facility in Billings, and any other interested parties.

## 5.7 Making a Suggestion

Once the entire collection has been completely re-curated and the digital files have been shared with all interested parties the collection's future will be determined. While processing the collection specific items were marked if they held value for either museum display, further testing, educational purposes, or other diagnostic utilization. All the other objects were deemed to not currently be of value in any of those categories. This assessment is a recommendation created by the curatorial team that worked with these artifacts to the BLM and the University of Montana. Whether they decide to reduce the collection is up to them. The majority of this collection was marked to not be considered diagnostic and that continued storage in the University of Montana Archaeological Curation Facility was not ideal.

A recommended course of action for this particular collection is deaccessioning. Deaccessioning means removing pieces from museums or collections. The curation crisis and battle for space has pushed professionals to seek innovative solutions. Some are calling for a shift toward removing "redundant" material from collections (Kersel 2015a). Knowing this, many associate the deaccessioning process with the destruction of these repetitive collections (Sonderman 1996). This is a federal collection, therefore deaccessioning with intent to destroy the artifacts is prohibited due to federal policies like The Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (ARPA) and The National Environmental Policy Act (Public Law 91-190) (NEPA). While there are cases where the destruction of redundant artifacts is an advocated strategy (Kersel 2015a, Childs and Benden 2017) this case study has no intent of destroying artifacts. Other deaccessioning strategies could include transfer, repatriation, or donation (Childs and Benden 2017). It is hard to measure an object's scientific value because researchers and curators have no gauge of what will be able to be tested in the future. Constantly waiting for future

technologies to evolve so that further testing can be done does mean these items sit in storage facilities taking up valuable space (Kletter 2015). In reallocating these excess materials more storage is gained for newly excavated collections to be stored and more research to be conducted (Kersel 2015a).

Deaccessioning is a vast and growing strategy that employs many different avenues to create more space (Sonderman 1996; Ainslie 1999; Katzman and Lawson 2009; Danielson 2010: 87–119; Stephens 2011–2012). For this particular collection, the advised solution is to dig an underground repository for the recommended deaccessioned items to be stored. There would be a unit dug in a secure portion of the Garnet District that would be prepped and systematically filled with the bulk artifacts and then sealed and covered. The location would be properly documented by the BLM. This way the artifacts stay associated with their place of origin, while still being curated, and creating room for more pieces to be studied and stored.

Many ethical barriers have to be addressed while beginning the conversation about deaccessioning. It is argued that practices like deaccessioning are in direct opposition to the ethics of curation and supervision of collections and therefore directly hinder research in the future (Childs 1999; Kersel 2015a; Sonderman 1996). Kletter famously speaks on collections and their lives in terms of the financial burden they cause (Kletter 2015). Speaking of artifacts in terms of their financial value to an institution or organization feels like a step back toward antiquarianism. While it may seem like a realistic viewpoint it is heritage managers' job to find a solution somewhere between ideal and realistic. Archaeologists, and the entities they work for, cannot view their collections only in the light of their financial value. Kersel in response to Kletter argues that “Many archaeologists do not see the proper care, handling, and long-term curation of artifacts as ethical obligations” (Kersel 2015a:77). This argument is then paired with

a statement from Jamieson who stated that “archaeologists are ethically and professionally bound to make provisions for the preservation of their research” (Jamieson 2014:76). Artifacts deserve a level of respect and ethical pause. A pause and thought for the objects themselves, the people who used them, the archaeologists who excavated or collected them, the curators who have processed them, and in the case of federal collection the public who have a right to access the information the artifacts contain. Simply destroying or throwing away large redundant collections is not ethical nor does it provide the level of respect that is owed.

Interment with systematic and purposeful care can be ethical and is not the same as simply reducing a collection for convenience. If a collection, such as this historical collection, is full of artifacts that are large in volume, but at present have little intellectual, heritage, or aesthetic value interment should be considered. There should be communication between the various parties invested in the collection including the descendent communities and the public before a decision is made (Childs and Benden 2017).

If the objects are intentionally replaced in the ground from which they were excavated, there are steps taken to preserve them as well as document them thoroughly, all interested parties have had the chance to comment, and plans to re-access storage in the future the obligations of the professionals involved have been met. The purpose of heritage managers is to preserve the past for future generations. This means both future generations of the public and archaeologists. By successfully documenting the interned collections pre-burial and creating official documentation of the internment site this is fulfilled. The information is there and available. If the extensive database is lacking information that is needed by future researchers the objects can be re-excavated and evaluated. Excavating these interned artifacts would be almost the same

amount of labor that is required to dig them out of an overfilled and unorganized curation facility.

This however is just a recommendation to the BLM office in Missoula which oversees the Garnet Historic District. The federal agency in charge of the collection ultimately has the final say on how this, and other collections like it, are curated and stored for the future. The United States government is considering strategies continuously for evolving their curation tactics. There was an effort to institute deaccessioning regulations in 1991 by the federal government, but they ultimately reversed these propositions upon receiving severe backlash from archaeologists (Bawaya 2007). While there is controversy surrounding deaccessioning it is simply a suggestion. If it this suggestion is not implemented another strategy that produces similar results must be implemented. Simply discussing the curation crisis does not solve the crisis, it just increases the amount of academic literature written on the subject.

### **5.8 Repackaging and Replacing**

Once the secondary analysis was conducted and the catalog was created the artifacts were then repacked into the box and each bag was marked with a red sticker signifying that they had



*Figure 5.6: Artifacts from a single box laid out following the photography and cataloging phase of re-curation before they were repackaged and replaced. Photographed by Andrea Shiverdecker 2022*

been processed. The box was then also marked with a red sticker with its assigned box number on it. Items found to be notably diagnostic, possessing visual appeal, educational value, or other attributes deemed diagnostic were marked and put on top of the repacked boxes so they could be easily pulled out later. In Figure 5.6 artifacts from a box are laid out after being photographed and cataloged. Faunal remains were also separated and placed at the top of the re-packed box for further examination by a zooarchaeologist to double-check that no human remains were mixed in with the collection.

Once the formal suggestion was made about the future storage of the collection the entire collection was placed back into the University of Montana Archaeological Curation Facility. It will be housed there until the federal agencies decide to change the storage location. The facility, as previously mentioned in step 1, Accessing Storage, is an adequate repository and will maintain the integrity of the collection. In the future, the Bureau of Land Management may decide to implement more innovative techniques for storage.

### **5.9 Repeating This Process Periodically**

In the future, the collection will need to be enhanced or re-curated again. The best way to combat the loss of information from a collection is to systematically review it (Childs and Benden 2017). Scheduled and consistent procedures for maintaining and enhancing all collections need to be installed in curation institutes. Periodic review will decrease mistakes, keep organization systems updated, and ensure data is not lost.

As the ability to create and implement newer digital database technology develops previously created databases need to be updated before they are inaccessible as well (McManamon et al. 2017). Archaeology will reach a point when these digital databases that are being utilized currently will need to undergo re-curation and enhancement of their own. Curation



is not a one-and-done process. It is a cycle that constantly flows as new material comes into facilities and older material is found to be no longer useful and subsequently filtered out (Childs and Benden 2017). The handwritten records need to be digitized first but in the future, the digital cataloging systems used now will need to be updated too. Scanned images of hand-written documents are good but transcription is better. Knowing this, transcriptions of hand-written historical documents both from the archaeological data and those created by archaeologists are time-consuming to create. Whereas scanned copies are quick and still very accessible.

## **Chapter 6**

### **The Ledger**

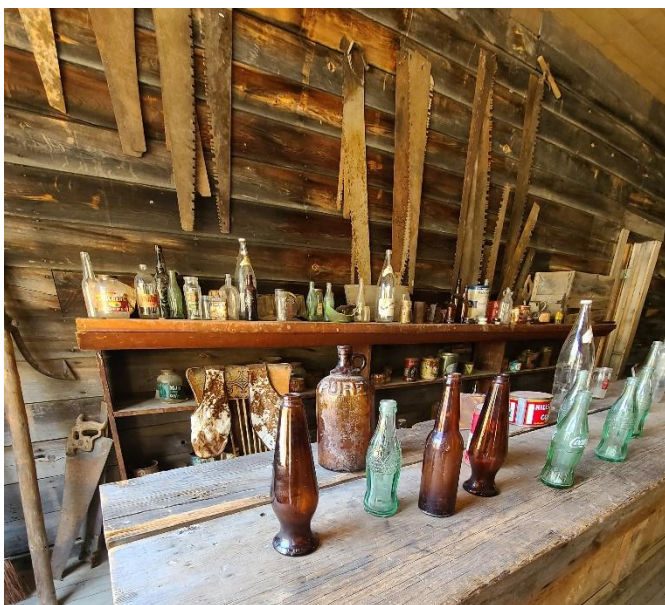
The previously mentioned ledgers that were digitized provided information that many future research projects could be built on. To capitalize on the information the ledgers could provide a single book, dating from September 14th to November 3rd of 1905, was transcribed. Transcription provided a deeper insight into not only the document itself but also provided much-needed context for the re-curation process. The Ledger from Davey's General Store in Garnet was a historical document that grounded the curation efforts and emphasized the need for further research to be conducted.

#### **6.1 Davey's Store**

Before reviewing the transcription process understanding the history of the store itself is necessary. At the heart of Garnet, many businesses were essential to the function of the town and mining companies. One of those businesses was Davey's General Store which was purchased by F.A. Davey in 1898 from Judson and Blaisdel. The one-story frame building is a testament to its time and stands today measuring 65 feet long by 40 feet wide with a false front, ice house, gabled roof, stone foundation, shiplap siding, and many other functional features that allowed it to serve the community. Davey resided in Garnet until he died in 1947. The following year his personal belongings and store items were auctioned off. The store is standing today having survived the boom and bust of the mine, a fire in 1912 that burned down most of Main Street, and many brutal Rocky Mountain snow storms and due to intervention from the BLM visitors can still walk inside the historic structure today (Adams 2021:115-120, 159).

F.A. Davey was one of Garnet's longest lasting business men. In his store Davey sold

dry goods, shoes, jewelry, groceries, canned goods, meat, hardware, and more. The store supplied the community with numerous commodities. Today artifacts that might have been



*Figure 6.1: Inside Frank Davey's Store at Garnet showing artifacts that are displayed to the public, taken by Jocelyn Palombo September 2021*

products sold in the store are displayed in the standing structure as shown in Figure 6.1.

Davey procured these goods from the Missoula Mercantile down the mountain in the much larger city. Due to his previous experience in business he was successful at running the store.

He began ordering fresh produce instead of just canned; stocking his shelves with figs, bananas, concord,

and muscat grapes, apples, gourds, navel oranges, tomatoes, peaches, cucumbers, and cantaloupes. For meat he kept a variety including hams, bacon, lobster, turkeys, ducks, geese, and oysters by the pound. Also, a seemingly endless supply of eggs was necessary to fulfill the town's needs. Many of these perishables were housed in the ice house located at the back of the store. There was also a wide selection of spices available including nutmeg, cinnamon, mace, cayenne, pepper, allspice, and cloves. He also kept the shelves full of liquor and tobacco to serve the taste of the towns people (Adams 2021:117).

Another necessity for the store to keep stocked was fabric and sewing supplies in addition to clothing and shoes. They stocked bolts of materials such as English flannel, American indigo, cambric, Pacific tubing, Louisville beach, Lockhart, LL Brown, lace, and

ribbons of all kinds. Supposedly, in the clothing portion of the store, there were three displayed life-size mannequins. An English family with the father in a proper suit, the mother wearing a Victorian dress of high fashion, and their child. Not the common depiction of a family surviving in a Western mining town. Davey sold quality German-made kangaroo blucher dress shoes, women's high-top button shoes, baby shoes, Lea Top rubber overshoes, Hanan brand shoes, and men's boots of all varieties. Davey also made sure there was clothing available for school plays (Adams 2021: 119)

There were other supplies found throughout the store providing an extremely diverse shopping selection. Davey had a variety of equine equipment from harnesses to even carriages at times. Domestic needs such as plates, cups, mattresses, sheets, and more could be bought in-store or ordered if necessary. The store also supplied the school with a variety of sizes of writing tablets, envelopes, pens, and ink (Adams 2021:120). For the children, there were also toys, candy, and the occasional cookie stocked and waiting

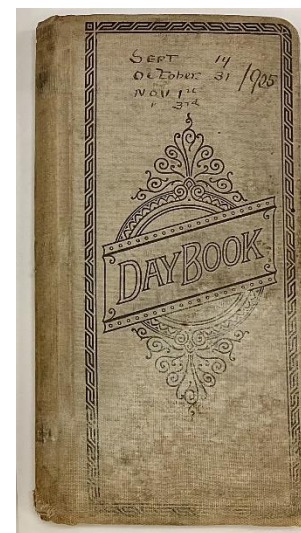
Like most businesses, Davey's store kept a very detailed ledger. In the late 1800s through the early 1900s, the best way to do this was in handwritten ledger books. While doing initial background data collection the principal investigator, Andrea Shiverdecker, found a ledger from 1905 that was for the Davey store. She photographed and digitized the ledger so that the info could be shared without putting the integrity of the artifact at risk. I was then tasked with transcribing the contents of the ledger with the hope of discovering more about the economic structures within the mining community. |

Later when Shiverdecker and I went to the Federal Collections Facility in Billings Montana we found more ledgers from the store from other years. There were also ledgers from a general store in the mining town of Coloma which is relatively close to Garnet. Around the

same time, we also found that there were two more ledgers housed in another state facility but they had been previously photographed. Due to the amount of time it took to transcribe the initial ledger it was decided to only transcribe the one ledger from 1905. In the future other researchers should take inspiration from the amount that was learned from just one ledger and seek to transcribe or, at the very least, study the other ledgers. Maybe even taking a leap and comparing the contents of the ledgers from separate mining towns in the same area.

## 6.2 The Transcription Process

The ledger itself has been well preserved, so the photographed pages are legible. The front cover of the ledger is pictured in Figure 6.2. Because of the structure of the ledger it was decided transcribing it into an excel spread sheet would be the best strategy. The spread sheet displays the page number, the date of the entry, the buyer (by name or business), the account number, the goods they bought, quantity, and goods typologies. Each individual good was given its own line with all items in the same purchase having the same buyer and account number in front of them. If a section was either not included in the ledger or illegible that category on the spread sheet was marked with a “\*”. If the Buyer or Good was illegible it was either marked with “??” or an attempt at transcription. These were written in either orange or red, orange meant that it was a guess and red meant no conclusive assumption, so that if a second person were to look at the transcription they would easily be able to find and review them.



*Figure 6.2: Front cover of ledger, Taken by Andrea Shiverdecker 2022*

There was often additional writing like math notes made in the margins of the page that were not included in the transcription. For example on page 103, as shown in Figure 6.3, there

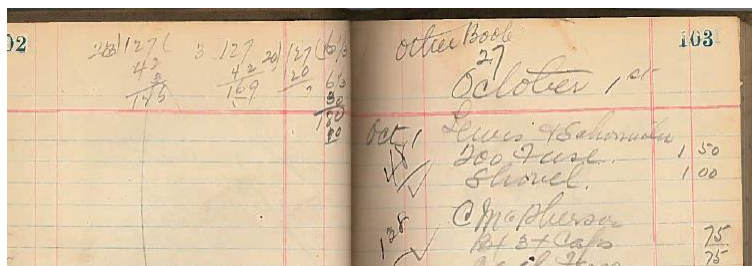


Figure 6.3: Image of the top of page 103 displaying the notes taken by the author. Taken By Andrea Shiverdecker 2022

is a note about math in other ledgers at the top of the page. Additionally, there was a separate document where notes on the transcription process were taken.

Noting things like handwriting changes, changes in account numbers, interesting purchases, ripped pages and other developments I thought might need referenced later.

The good typologies included Food - Protein, Food -Vegetable, Food - Fruit, Food - Cooking Supplies, Food – Beverage, Food –Special, Clothing/Shoes, Tools/Supplies, Fabric/Sewing Supplies, and Specialty Supplies. These were categories that were created as the transcription process took place and evolved as new and more diverse goods were identified within the ledger. Food - Protein included goods like meat products, cheese, eggs, and beans. Food - Vegetable included produce like peas, spuds (potatoes), canned tomatoes, and more. Food - Fruit contains produce like apples, concord grapes, figs, and more. Food - Cooking Supplies include things like flour, milk, sugar, condiments, and spices but also many kitchen tools like pans and tea kettles. Food - Beverage is for items like coffee and tea. Food - Special is where goods such as candy, cake, and cookies are placed. Clothing/Shoes represents shirts, pants suits, overalls, rubbers, shoes, socks, hose, and more. Tools/Supplies are for goods such as axe handles, nails, mattresses, bed springs, pencils, Gas, slates, and more. Fabric/Sewing Supplies are for bolts of fabric, ribbon, pins, and other sewing tools or supplies. Specialty Supplies was created to identify goods like alcohol/liquor and tobacco but also includes

products like dolls and hairpins which do not show up enough to warrant their own category.

There were also purchases labeled as cash that were assumed to be cash loans. These were written in bright green and were not labeled as a good type. Examples of these in use can be seen below in Figure 6.4 the screen shot from the transcription.

105	10/1/1905	Ashmore	178	Ch Overalls	1 Pair	Clothing/Shoes	0.4
105	10/1/1905	Kelly	180	Tomatoes	Bash	Food - Vegetable	0.35
105	10/1/1905	Kelly	180	Apples	*	Food - Fruit	0.25
105	10/1/1905	Harrington	118	Candy	*	Food - Specail	0.15
105	10/1/1905	Harrington	118	Facinator	2	Clothing/Shoes	2
105	10/1/1905	H.P. Hanifen	206	Tomatoes	Bash	Food - Vegetable	0.35
106	10/1/1905	Fero	186	Bacon	7 1/4	Food - Protein	1.16
106	10/1/1905	Hanifen	206	Lemons	Dozen	Food - Fruit	0.4
106	10/1/1905	Hanifen	206	Eggs	2 Dozen	Food - Protein	0.6
106	10/1/1905	G. Dallery	150	Rubbers	1 Pair	Clothing/Shoes	0.75
106	10/1/1905	G. Dallery	150	Screws	*	Tools/Supplies	0.05
106	10/1/1905	Hoehne	188	Sweet Peas	*	Food - Vegetable	0.65
106	10/1/1905	Hoehne	188	Suspenders	1	Clothing/Shoes	0.15
106	10/1/1905	McKevitt	78	Cheese	4 1/2	Food - Protein	0.9
106	10/1/1905	McKevitt	78	Butter	2	Food - Cooking Supplies	0.6
106	10/1/1905	T. Hall	144	Hay	115	Tools/Supplies	1.15
106	10/1/1905	Divers	182	Apples	*	Food - Fruit	0.25
106	10/1/1905	Divers	182	Grapes	Bash	Food - Fruit	0.5
106	10/1/1905	R.L. Lewis	176	Cheese	*	Food - Protein	0.1
106	10/1/1905	R.L. Lewis	176	Butter	2	Food - Cooking Supplies	0.52
106	10/1/1905	Fero	186	Hay	115	Tools/Supplies	1.15
106	10/1/1905	Fero	186	Bran	*	Food - Cooking Supplies	1.5
107	10/1/1905	Myers	196	Butter	2	Food - Cooking Supplies	0.6
107	10/1/1905	Myers	196	Cheese	1 3/4	Food - Protein	0.35
107	10/1/1905	Myers	196	Milk	1 Can	Food - Cooking Supplies	0.1
107	10/1/1905	Ashmore	178	Apples	*	Food - Fruit	0.25
107	10/1/1905	Iverson	202	Tomatoes	Bash	Food - Vegetable	0.35
107	10/1/1905	Iverson	202	Grapes	Bash	Food - Fruit	0.5
107	10/1/1905	Iverson	202	Water Melon	15	Food - Fruit	0.6
107	10/1/1905	Hotel	8	Lc Maple Sap	*	Food - Cooking Supplies	2.75
107	10/1/1905	McMaster	128	Concord ( grapes)	Bash	Food - Fruit	0.5
107	10/1/1905	McMaster	128	R.L. Rubbers	*	Clothing/Shoes	0.75
107	10/1/1905	Habbolt	208	Suit U Weave	*	Clothing/Shoes	3
107	10/1/1905	McInlost	160	Sugar	*	Food - Cooking Supplies	0.25
107	10/1/1905	McInlost	160	Bananas	Dozen	Food - Fruit	0.3

*Figure 6.4 : Screen shot of the spread sheet where the transcription took place. Entries from pages 105 through 107*

Transcription, or simply even being able to read cursive, is an essential skill in historical archaeology. While I had a good grasp on reading and writing cursive there were many times I struggled to read and then transcribe the ledger. This was due to multiple factors. There were various handwritings throughout the ledger. The predominant handwriting is assumed to be Davey's. Other scribes are identified by drastic shifts in penmanship or the use

of terminology. For example, some entries look as if someone just learning to write, possibly a child, wrote them because of the unskilled shape and use of the letters and words. Different scribes would use different terminology and shorthand for items as well. For example, there is a secondary writer who wrote “potatoes”, but the predominant scribe had only referred to them as “spuds” before. Davey also developed a series of shorthand abbreviations for many of the goods. He adamantly logged “tob” as a good many customers bought and it took about 100 pages and a brief conversation with Andrea Shiverdecker for me to realize he meant tobacco. Another more complex example was “1 Bx 12g SS” which required time and critical thinking to discern as 1 box of 12 gauge shotgun shells, or ammunition. There are many entries or even pages where the handwriting was illegible. This could be due to many things including my inability to transcribe or Davey simply being in a hurry and rushing himself making the handwriting disheveled. Additionally, there were times when entries were crossed out, written over, or compressed in small gaps which made them hard to see and transcribe. Because of all these factors it took between 10 to 45 minutes to transcribe a single page.

While converting the written ledger there were a few names or accounts that stood out. Many of these were businesses within the town making purchases. For example almost every day of entry there is at least one purchase made by an account named “Hotel”. For the first 100 pages, the Hotel was under account #540 but then after that, it was account #8 until around page 250 when it again changes to #1. These could be an entirely different hotel account, there were many in town, or Davey just decided to change the account number because he wrote it so frequently. Nevertheless, the hotel account made a significant number of the purchases cataloged in the ledger. An interesting purchase, that for the most part only the hotel account made, was obtaining apricot preserves. Possibly those visiting the town requested it or it was



the establishment's preference to serve it. The School also made a purchase under account #74. The Comet Mine made frequent purchases under multiple accounts. Some simply say "Comet Mine" while other accounts say "Comet B. Hoe", or "Comet". There is also an account under "Mammoth B. Hoe" which may be linked to the "Comet B. Hoe" but is just an assumption. The "Miners Union" also appeared under account #84.

Some names show up frequently and with further research show connections to other businesses within Garnet. For example, R.L. Lewis makes purchases frequently and he was the town druggist. The name McDonald also occurs often and the McDonald Family owned one of the Hotels in town. Another hotel was run by the Woods family who shows up in the ledger too. These could have been their personal accounts or their business accounts. The last name Kelly also appears throughout the ledger and the Kelly family very famously ran the Kelly Saloon down the street from Davey's store (Adams 2021:95)

Last names or account names that consistently appeared throughout the ledger made transcription easier. At some point name and account numbers of frequent purchasers were unknowingly memorized. As stated previously, the ledgers were not always consistent. Continuously looking at familiar names made it easier to discern words when the writing was less than ideal. The repetition led to recognizing patterns in the handwriting. Some of the more abundant purchasers were McInlost, Iverson, P. Newman, Dallery, J. Fisher, Baldwin, Thomason, Erty, McMaster, and Hanifen. There are many more accounts and names that show up in the ledger these are just a sampling of the more common ones.

Two names, or accounts, that show up on occasion that provoked more thought were Doc Chamberlain and Blackie. Doc implies some level of expertise and knowing more might help understand this person. If he is a doctor locating other historical references to him or

archaeological material connected to him would provide invaluable insight into the social interactions and structures of the mining town. This could also be a nickname which is interesting because most accounts are just last names and occasionally a first initial. Davey adding a nickname or title of sorts might imply a level of familiarity.

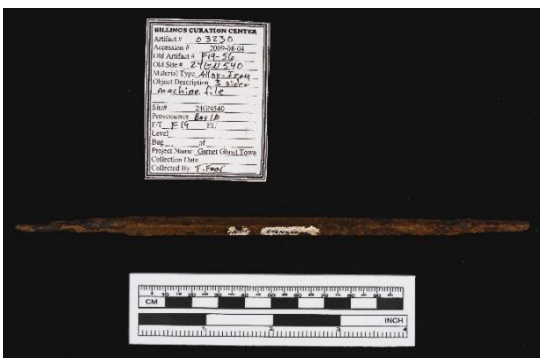
Blackie on the other hand could have a lot of implications. This could be contributing evidence to the presence of African American people in Garnet. It could also be argued that Blackie is a nickname for someone who was a blacksmith or had the last name, Black. Due to the wide diversity present in mining towns the identity of “Blackie” should be explored more. Supporting the notion that simply looking further into one account in a larger historical work can lead to many new insights and conclusions

### **6.3 Connecting the Written Record to the Collection**

Simultaneously transcribing the ledger and conducting the re-curation process allowed for parallels to be drawn between the two processes. Fliess (2000) argued that there is value in researching original manuscripts and they should be utilized in historical archaeology specifically in mining community settings. The correlations that could be concluded between the written record and the physical archaeological collection were numerous. It is one thing to record over and over again that many people within the town are purchasing cans of coffee, but to then be in a lab analyzing physical coffee cans that still have partial labels on them re-centers you as the researcher within the web of information and materials.

In November of 2022, while laying out a new box to be cataloged and photographed, I

observed multiple bags that held files, tools used for sharpening and leveling, in the collection. I had recently been transcribing portions of the ledger where several individuals had been purchasing files. In the ledger that were identified at 8", 5-6" and 12" files probably indicating



*Figure 6.5: Image of a file from Box 4, Taken by Andrea Shiverdecker 2022*

length. While the rusty pieces of metal that lay on the table before me, as seen in Figure 6.5, were a far cry from the brand new tools those individuals likely purchased it solidified again the importance of comparison between the ledger and the physical collection. Those files mentioned in the ledger are

likely not the same files found in the collection they still hold the same value historically.

A similar experience occurred when there were multiple peach pits found in the physical collection. There are over 50 mentions of purchases of peaches in the ledger. Some were indicated as canned and others are not indicated to be canned and were assumed to be fresh. A town person might have purchased a peach, which Davey recorded in his ledger with their other purchases. While on their way home they might have eaten said peach and tossed the pit on the ground somewhere or even in the trash, and roughly 100 years later that very same peach pit ended up in the collection housed at the University of Montana.

This process occurred multiple times while conducting the transcription and curation process. With everything including shoes, nails, tar paper, condensed milk cans, glass bottles, ceramic whiteware shards, eating utensils, tobacco cans, sardine cans, vanilla extract bottles, Log Cabin Syrup cans, and more. While creating false narratives or embellishing the truth can be extremely harmful tying the written record with the physical collection can be useful in educational or museum settings. If the integrity of both the object(s) and the history are

maintained this could be a successful strategy of interpreting the past and then presenting it to the public. A good example of this can be seen in Figure 6.6 where a customer purchased multiple items including table spoons that cost .15 cents and in the collection we re-curated a table spoon as shown in Figure 6.7. Side-by-side representation in a display or an educational program is recommended.

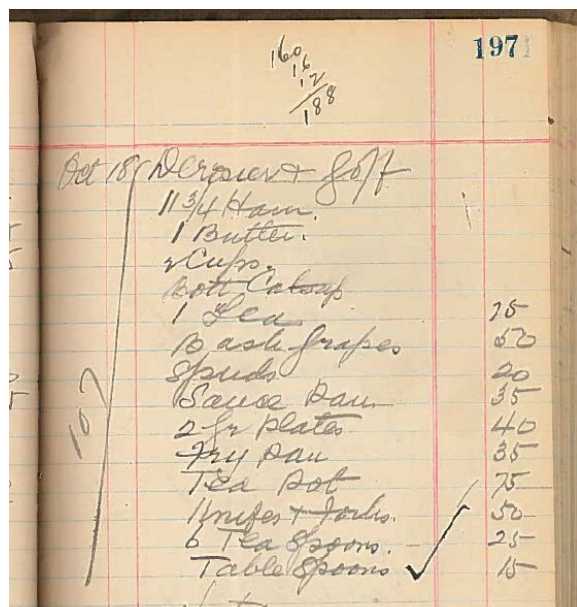


Figure 6.6: Page 197 from ledger that shows account #107 purchasing goods including table spoons, Taken by Andrea Shiverdecker 2022



Figure 6.7: Image of a table spoon, Taken by Andrea Shiverdecker 2022

This process brought narrative to the physical collection and provided tangibility to the written record. This when paired with intensive research and other strategies ensures that the research is being done in a very holistic, and inertly anthropologic manner. Ensuring the researchers are shifting their perspectives and looking at history as a whole rather than from just one point of intellect. The perspective gained from multiple sources of the historical record analyzed in tandem allows for a broader understanding but demands more multi-skilled heritage managers.

## Chapter 7

### Summary and Conclusion

The re-curation of this collection leaves room for more research to be conducted. This secondary analysis, as well as, the cross-examination with the historical ledger has created a compilation of documentation and numerical data that could be used to test future hypotheses. With both the physical collection and the ledger from Davey's store studies on economics, social stratification, patterns of accumulated wealth, food trends and more could be analyzed. There could also be studies done on the reuse of cans and glass bottles. Research on the different types of ceramics and the floral designs that appear on some of them could be conducted. Work on the indigenous presence in the area based on the single obsidian flake could be pursued. Multiple theories or frameworks can now be tested on this vast collection. This has been made possible because it has been digitized and is more accessible for those who wish to conduct that research.

Now that the collection is thoroughly documented and reanalyzed it can be utilized for educational purposes. The identified artifacts are ideal examples from a historical archaeological site and would be great for educational programs. They could be used either in the park itself or in a classroom setting. Because Garnet is a tourist destination and educational park the artifacts found could be included in museum displays on-site or at another location. A display utilizing both the information from the ledger and the physical artifacts is recommended. The information from both the collection and the archives could also influence signage at the park. Making sure that some previously hidden heritages are given the recognition they deserve. The public should have access to the information from the collection as well. The site is on public lands and is therefore the intellectual property of the general

public as much as it is the intellectual property of the BLM, the University of Montana, and others who have pursued academic or individual research.

The goals of conducting this case study were to better document the collection with the hope of sharing the information. This would also help address curation concerns as they relate to this collection. By implementing the re-curation procedure created for this collection these goals were achieved. The collection has undergone necessary maintenance and has been enhanced. The collection has ample documentation that can now be shared with other researchers, federal agencies, and the public. A formal recommendation for deaccessioning has also been made. It falls upon the larger entities in charge of the collection to make a decision about deaccessioning and then continue the cycle of sustainability. If the cycle is followed and future collections are worked into the process while accessioned collections are maintained and enhanced the future of this collection and others looks promising.

The Garnet Ghost Town is a vast and diverse industrial heritage landscape. It is a historic district that is extremely dynamic and requires more research. This additional research cannot be conducted until the existing research and collections are maintained and enhanced. Re-curating existing collections and entering them into a sustainable curation cycle to ensure their integrity and longevity is imperative. With the information that the existing collections and archives provide new hypotheses can emerge and begin to be tested. There is abundant data already available, but if the existing collections are thoroughly researched and there are unanswered questions new data collection efforts can be planned and carried out. Collections and heritage management processes never end they simply adapt and evolve as heritage and collections adapt and evolve.

### References Cited

- Adams, Tammie  
2021 *The Road to Garnet's Gold: A Brief History of Montana's Gold Rush, Featuring one of the Last Ghost Towns*. Bureau of Land Management, National Operations Center
- Agbe-Davies, Anna S.  
2022 Race. Ch.5, *The Routledge Handbook of Global Historical Archaeology*. Edited by Charles E. Orser, Andrés Zarankin, Pedro Paulo A. Funari, Susan Lawrence, and James Q. Symonds. Abingdon, Oxon ; Routledge.
- Ainslie, Phil  
1999. *Deaccessioning as a Collections Management Tool*. In *Museums and the Future of Collecting*, ed. S. J. Knell, 173–93. Aldershot:Ashgate.
- Allison, Penelope  
2008 *Dealing with Legacy Data - an introduction*, Internet Archaeology 24.
- Bauer-Clapp, Heidi, and Katie Kirakosian  
2017 *Archaeologists and Archives*. *Advances in archaeological practice: a journal of the Society of American Archeology* 5(3):220-226.
- Bawaya, Michael  
2007. *Curation in crisis*. *Science* 317(5841): 1025–1026.
- Binford, Lewis  
2001 *Where Do Research Problems Come From?* *American Antiquity*, 66(4), 669-678.
- Birks, Steve  
2023 Mellor, Taylor and Co. *Mellor, Taylor and Co*, ThePotteries.org.
- Bowers, Q. David  
2006 *A Guide Book of Shield and Liberty Head Nickels*. Atlanta, Ga.: Whitman Publishing.
- Brighton, Stephen A.  
2011 *Middle-Class Ideologies and American Respectability: Archaeology and the Irish Immigrant Experience*. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 30–50.
- Campbell, Bethany Hauer  
2011 *Our Collective History: The Curation Crisis and the Excavation of an Archaeological Repository*. Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, and Professional Papers. 726.

- Clark, Jerry, and Terri Wolfgram  
1989 rep. Garnet Nomination and Garnet Fuel Hazard Reduction. Montana State Historic Preservation Office - Bureau of Land Management, Garnet, MT.
- Childs, S. Terry  
1999 *Contemplating the Future: Deaccessioning Federal Archaeological Collections*. *Museum Anthropology* 23(2):38–45
- Ćopić, S., Đorđević, J., Lukić, T., Stojanović, V., Đukićin, S., Besermenji, S., Stamenković, I. And Tumarić, A.  
2014 *Transformation of Industrial Heritage - an Example of Tourism Industry Development in the Ruhr Area (Germany)*. *Geographica Pannonica* (Vol. 18, issue 2), pp. 43-50.
- Danielson, Elena. S.  
2010. *The Ethical Archivist*. Chicago: Society of American Archivists
- Dixon, Kelly.J.  
2014 *Historical Archaeologies of the American West*. *J Archaeol Res* 22, 177–228.
- Edwards, J. Arwel, and Llurdes, Joan Carles  
1996 *Mines and quarries: Industrial heritage tourism*. *Annals of Tourism Research*, (Vol. 23), pp. 341–363.
- Emmons, David M.  
1989 *The Butte Irish : Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town, 1875-1925*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Flexner, James L.  
2016. *Dark and bright futures for museum archaeology*. *Museum Worlds* 4(1): 1–3.
- Fliess, Kenneth H.  
2000 *There's Gold in Them Thar—Documents? The Demographic Evolution of Nevada's Comstock, 1860 through 1910, and the Intersection of Census Demography and Historical Archaeology*. *Historical Archaeology* 34, no. 2.
- Friberg, Zanna, and Isto Huvila.  
2019 *Using object biographies to understand the curation crisis: Lessons learned from the museum life of an archaeological collection*. *Museum Management and Curatorship* 34(4): 362–382.
- Funk, Minea  
2018 *Representing Bergslagen for Tourism -a Post-Feminist Approach*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Thesis (Ph. D.)Dalarna University
- Gonzalez, Pablo Alonzo  
2018 *Heritage Machine: Fetishism and Domination in Maragateria, Spain*. Pluto,



- London Hall, Daniel S.  
1997 *The Historical Archaeology of Garnet Mining Town*. Dept. of Anthropology, University of Montana, Missoula, MT.
- Hardesty, Donald L  
2010 *Archaeology and Preservation of Gendered Landscapes* Ch. 13 *Gendering Mining Landscapes*. Sherene Baugher, and Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood Springer.
- Howser, Tammy  
1994 *Assessment of the subsistence patterns of the Garnet people* Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, and Professional Papers. 1620.
- Jamieson, A. Forthcoming.  
2014 *New Uses for Old Collections: Community and Curriculum Engagement Using Near Eastern Archaeological Collections*. In *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, 9–13 June, University of Basel. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz
- Joyce, R. A.  
2008, *Ancient bodies, ancient lives: sex, gender, and archaeology*. New York: Thames and Hudson.
- Katzman, L. R., and K. A. Lawson  
2009. *The (Im)permanent Collection: Lessons from a Deaccession*. *Museum* 88 (1):54–61.
- Kersel, Morag M.  
a 2015. *Storage wars*. *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies* 3(1): 42–54  
b 2015 *An Issue of Ethics? Curation and the Obligations of Archaeology*. *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies*, 3(1), 77–79.
- King, Julia A.  
2016 *Comparative Colonialism and Collections-Based Archaeological Research: Dig Less, Catalog More*. *Museum worlds* 4.1.
- Kletter, Raz.  
2015. *Storage wars 1, curation 0*. *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies* 3(1): 55–60.
- Knapp, A. B., and Pigott, Vincent  
1997 *The archaeology and anthropology of mining: Social approaches to an industrial past*. *Current anthropology* 38(2):300-304.
- Levy, Janet E.  
2013 *Gender, Feminism, and Heritage*, *Heritage in the Context of Globalization Europe and the Americas*, by Biehl and Prescott. Springer Ch. 11

Limerick, Patricia Nelson

1991 *What on Earth is New Western History*, In *Trails: Toward a New Western History*, Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II, and Charles E. Renkin, editors, pp. 81–88. University of Kansas Press, Lawrence.

Linn-Tynen, Erin

2020 *Reclaiming the past as a matter of social justice: African American heritage, representation and identity in the United States*. In V. Apaydin (Ed.), *Critical Perspectives on Cultural Memory and Heritage: Construction, Transformation and Destruction* (pp. 255–268). UCL Press.

Luby, Lightfoot, Bradshaw, Edward M., Lightfoot, Kent G., and Bradshaw, Victoria

2013 *Archaeological curation and the research value of archaeological collections: A case study from California*. *Collections*, 9(3), 255-282.

McManamon, Francis P., Keith W. Kintigh, Leigh Anne Ellison, and Adam Brin

2017 *TDAR: A Cultural Heritage Archive for Twenty-First-Century Public Outreach, Research, and Resource Management*. *Advances in Archaeological Practice* 5(3). Cambridge University Press: 238–249

Metheny, Karen

2010 *Archaeology and Preservation of Gendered Landscapes* Chapter 14 *Engendering the Corporate Landscape: A View from the Miners' Double house*. Sherene Baugher, and Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood Springer

Merritt, Christopher W.

2017 *The Coming Man from Canton: Chinese Experience in Montana, 1862–1943*. Lincoln: Nebraska.

Meyer, Garren J.

1992 *A culture history of the Garnet Mining District and analysis of the Mountain View Mill site (24 GN 355)*. Missoula, MT: G. Meyer.

Mulkerin, Meghan

2013 *Elephants Never Forget, but Museums Do: Investigating Under-Documented Objects in Museum Collections*. *Collections: A Journal for Museum and Archives Professionals*. 9. 149-166.

Orser, Charles E.

2010 *Twenty-First-Century Historical Archaeology*. *Journal of Archaeological Research*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 111–50.

Pashkevich, Albina

2017 *Processes of reinterpretation of mining heritage: the case of Bergslagen, Sweden*. *Almatourism* (Vol. 8, Issue 7), pp. 107-123.

- Rhodes, Marissa C.  
2021 *Our Metadata Problem and the Curation Crew Solution: Employing Non-Specialist Undergraduate Students in Data Remediation*. *Collections*, 17(3), 217–225
- Rose, Chelsea  
2013 *Lonely Men, Loose Women: Rethinking the Demographics of a Multiethnic Mining Camp, Kanaka Flat, Oregon*. *Hist Arch* 47, 23–35.
- Sanders, Darrell  
1996 rep. *Archaeological Data Retrieval in Connection with the Stabilization of Cabin 16B of Garnet Ghost Town (24GN540)* Granite County, Montana. Montana State Historic Preservation Office - Bureau of Land Management, Garnet, MT.
- Schiappacasse, Paola  
2019 *Excavating Repositories: Academic Research Projects Using Archaeological Collections*. *Advances in Archaeological Practice*, 7(3), 247-257.
- Sonderman, Robert C.  
1996. *Primal Fear: Deaccessioning Collections*. *Common Ground* 1(2).  
[http://www.nps.gov/archeology/cg/vol1\\_num2/fear.htm](http://www.nps.gov/archeology/cg/vol1_num2/fear.htm)
- Spencer, Jennifer Kathleen., and University of Montana--Missoula.  
1994. *Site Abandonment Behavior for the Mining Town of Garnet, Montana*. Department of Anthropology
- Spencer-Wood, Suzanne M.  
2010 *A Feminist Framework for Analyzing Powered Cultural Landscapes in Historical Archaeology*. *International journal of historical archaeology* 14(4):498-526.
- Stephens, H. H.  
2011–2012 *All in a Day's Work: How Museums May Approach Deaccessioning as a Necessary Collections Management Tool*. *DePaul Journal of Art, Technology and Intellectual Property Law* 22:119–81.
- Sullivan, Lynne P., and S. Terry. Childs.  
2003 *Curating Archaeological Collections : from the Field to the Repository*. Walnut Creek: Altamira Press,
- Timmons, Marta A., and Kelly J. Dixon  
2011 *Coloma Mining District: Gold Mining and Community in Western Montana's Garnet Range*. Vol. 37.
- Trettin, L., Neumann, U., Zakrzewski, G.  
2011 *Essen and the Ruhr Area - The European Capital of Cultural 2010: Development of tourism and the role of SMEs*. ERSA conference papers ersa10p357, European Regional Science Association.

Voss, Barbara L.

2012 *Curation as research. A case study in orphaned and underreported archaeological collections*. *Archaeological Dialogues* 19(2): 145–169.

Whittington, Vanessa

2022 *Gender and Human Rights Within UNESCO's International Heritage Discourse: An Analysis of the World Heritage and Intangible Heritage Conventions*. *Heritage and society* 1-25.

Wermer-Colan, A., and Kopaczewski, J.

2022 *The New Wave of Digital Collections: Speculating on the Future of Library Curation*. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 110(3), 211–241.

Wolfgram, Terri, and Kristen Bowen

2003 rep. *Garnet Fuel Hazard Reduction - Phase I*. Montana State Historic Preservation Office - Bureau of Land Management, Garnet, MT

Wood, Anthony W.

2019 *Colonial erosion: unearthing African American history in the settler colonial West*, *Settler Colonial Studies*, 9:3, 396-417

Wurst, Louann, and Robert K. Fitts.

1999 *Introduction: Why Confront Class?* *Historical Archaeology*, vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 1–6

## **Appendix**

If anyone would like to access the digitized or transcribed versions of the documents mentioned in this they can bworke accessed in multiple locations. The University of Montana's library will have copies as will the Missoula BLM field office and Billings Federal Curation Facility. The digital catalogue will be housed with the UMACF where the collection is stored. These documents will likely all be together along with the work produced by the principle investigator, Andrea Shiverdecker.