(Un)Equal in Death:

Historical-Archaeological Analysis of Inequality in a Nederland, Colorado Cemetery

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"Death comes equally to us all, and makes us all equal when it comes."

-John Donne

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Humans have practiced culturally meaningful acts related to the disposal of the dead for more than 100,000 years (Schwarcz et al. 1988). The specific details dictating which kinds of funerary practices are appropriate for which kinds of people in a society have varied significantly throughout time and culture. Funerary and mortuary archaeologists study the mortuary practices that the living carry out for the dead and attempt to discern the cultural meanings associated with them. Examining the treatment of the dead is a valuable resource in the archaeological study of a particular culture.

Seeing that the creation of memorials for the dead is an undertaking performed by the living, understanding which members of a society get memorialized and in what ways can provide insight into the social relationships and status differences between members of that past society. Scholars have long debated the extent to which cemeteries can be viewed as reflecting the social inequalities of archaeological cultures (Brown 1995; Chapman 2003) and it has become clear that this is a complex social process requiring deep contextualization.

While the study of ancient cemeteries often involves the osteological analysis of buried skeletons, more recent cemeteries provide an abundance of information without requiring excavation through the form of inscribed grave markers. Studying cemeteries from the historic period additionally enables researchers to compare grave marker data to primary written sources and records including wills, censuses, and death records. This added context allows for more informed interpretations of the ways in which historic cemeteries do or do not reflect the social inequalities that are known to have been present in that society. This thesis examines the historic Nederland Cemetery in Nederland, Colorado, investigating how social inequalities were or were not expressed in death among early Nederland residents.

The movement of European-American settlers into the West created an environment of social inequality which differed in character from those seen in earlier Eastern settlements. The pull of the mining industry meant that many early Frontier towns had overwhelmingly male populations, with 1 woman to every 31 men in 1860 (Jensen and Miller 1980:189). However, the West also offered attractive opportunities for women, with the Homestead Act of 1862 allowing women to own property in their own name. In Colorado, women gained the right to vote in 1893. According to Harris (1984:45), domestic labor was more equally shared among Western settlers due to the isolating conditions of life on the Frontier. Settlers from various religious, ethnic, class, and social backgrounds migrated to the West in search of prosperity (Jensen and Miller 1980), but it is contested whether or not the new opportunities afforded by migration to the West actually enabled social mobility (Glover and King 2011).

The burials at the Nederland Cemetery vary widely in terms of lifespan, association with other burials, and headstone size, shape, and material. This thesis will be focused on the following questions: Are there patterns to any observed differences in the lifespans and burial treatments of those buried at the historic Nederland Cemetery? How do the deaths and burials of people of different social groups (such as class, race, gender, age, etc.) compare to people of other social groups within the same small town? Are the ways people are treated in death reflective of their sociocultural roles in life?

In the next chapter, the theoretical perspectives relevant to this study are presented. The approaches of Saxe and Binford were foundational in the study of mortuary archaeology. These first laid out the notion that cemeteries could be indicative of social structure, with preferred burial treatments being associated with higher status in life (Hodder 1982a, 1982b; Brown 1995; Chapman 2013). Later archaeologists argued that memorials could instead be used to obscure

social inequalities as part of a larger political strategy (Hodder 1982a, 1982b; Brown 1995; Mytum 2004; Chapman 2013). Brown (1995) combines these two perspectives, viewing symbolic representations in death as a resource which can be allocated differently in adaptation to the social and political needs of the time. The study of historic cemeteries in comparison to known inequalities allows for the investigation and application of these theoretical perspectives.

From there, a more thorough description of the historical context of the Nederland Cemetery is provided. This paints a more complete picture of the sociocultural variables at play. Nederland and its relationships to nearby Boulder and Caribou were significant in the establishment and development of the mining and milling industries in Colorado. Through understanding the dynamics of social inequalities in the region at the time, a more accurate interpretation of how these inequalities manifested in a cemetery setting can be formed.

Using the theoretical perspectives and historical context discussed, my hypotheses are then detailed. Generally, it was expected that some social differences would be reflected in the data from the Nederland Cemetery.

Chapter five addresses the methods used to conduct this study. A team of volunteers helped to record data currently observable about the grave markers at the Nederland Cemetery. In addition to this, old photos of headstones that have since worn down were used to fill in missing information, and data on unmarked burials collected by Glenna Carline and attested to by the descendant community of Nederland was incorporated into the research. Statistical tests were conducted to analyze the relationships between different variables in the data. Data from historic records was collected and considered against the cemetery data.

The results of these tests are discussed in the following chapter. Figures illustrate any important findings of the statistical analyses. A map showing the locations of historic burials in the Nederland Cemetery is presented.

Next, chapter six interprets the results of the study in relation to the inequalities known to have been present in the historical context of Nederland and considers the relevance of these results and interpretations to the wider studies of both the American West and mortuary archaeology. The ways in which social inequalities are or are not reflected in the Nederland Cemetery may supply additional insight into theoretical perspectives on the archaeological study of cemeteries. Knowledge of the expression of social inequalities in Nederland will contribute to scholarly understandings of inequality in the American West more broadly.

This research shines a light on the different social groups interred in the Nederland Cemetery and how they were treated in death by their community. In doing so, it provides a wealth of genealogical and historical information to the descendant community of Nederland as well as further cemetery data for consideration in the development of theoretical perspectives.

CHAPTER 2: MORTUARY ARCHAEOLOGY AND INEQUALITY

2.1 THEORIES ON MORTUARY INEQUALITY

Burial grounds in the colonial and early United States are unique compared to burial grounds overseas. While in some parts of Europe, cemetery plots are commonly owned only for some specified period of time, American cemetery plots are traditionally owned permanently (Baugher and Veit 2014:12), resulting in historic cemeteries which are able to provide information from multiple generations, a resource which is less available to mortuary archaeologists working in places like Germany and the Netherlands. Before cemeteries became commonplace in the United States, burials were often located outside of churches or on family-owned property (Baugher and Veit 2014). Later, urban cemeteries became popular, before being largely replaced by rural, or garden, cemeteries located outside of city centers. The first of these was Mt. Auburn in Massachusetts. These garden cemeteries were in many ways the predecessors of public parks, providing a dedicated piece of green space for local residents to enjoy (Baugher and Veit 2014, Francis 2003:225).

The seeds of what would become American cemetery archaeology began with research done by genealogists and a wider social interest in the dead. In the 1800s, this took the form of published collections of grave marker inscriptions and illustrations of historic markers (Baugher and Veit 2014:79). Early historical cemetery studies analyzed grave markers through the perspective of art history, looking at styles and motifs and attempting to identify specific carvers. In 1927, Harriette Forbes published *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them: 1653-1800*, applying this art history perspective to the cemeteries of colonial and

early-American New England. At the time of Forbes' study, many believed that slate grave markers from this period had been imported from overseas, and her work was significant in proving that the markers had instead been produced locally (Forbes 1927, Baugher and Veit 2014:79).

A similar line of research was later taken in the discipline of historic archaeology. Deetz and Dethlefsen's work in the 1960s and 1970s introduced a structuralist approach to the study of grave markers in New England (Mytum 2004; Baugher and Veit 2014). Their research traced changes in grave marker imagery, noting three important types: death's heads, cherubs, and urn and willow symbols (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1966). They connected these changes to broader religious changes in Puritanism (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1966). Their conclusions have been disputed by scholars on the basis of an older link between the death's head image and the concept of memento mori, as well as the fact that this imagery also appears in non-Puritan cemeteries (Baugher and Veit 2014). Regardless of whether or not their claims were accurate, their work laid out methods for recording grave marker information that would go on to be used in many future cemetery studies (Mytum 2004, Baugher and Veit 2014).

While Deetz and Dethlefsen focused on how grave markers may reflect social change, Saxe and Binford examined how grave markers may reflect social status. Though Saxe and Binford never published a paper jointly, their approaches rested on similar fundamental ideas. Brown (1995:11) describes their common approach as taking a systems-based perspective that says cemeteries have a structure that can index underlying hierarchies in the community to which the cemetery belongs. Their approaches are often simplified to the idea that "cemetery organization equals social organization" (Brown 1995:12), but in fact their theoretical perspectives were more nuanced than this. Binford and Saxe were interested in how mortuary

practices were related to other aspects of sociocultural systems, and both suggested that

economic and environmental pressures can influence the mortuary practices of a society (Binford

1971, Saxe 1970, Brown 1995). Additionally, Saxe's work emphasized that an individual has

many different facets to their identity, which are weighed in importance when the living decide

the socially appropriate method of commemoration for that individual (Saxe 1970). In a similar

line of thought, Warner suggests that commemoration must find some middle-ground between

representing the "autonomy of the socially mobile individual" and reflecting the values of the

community (Warner 1959, Francis 2003:223). Warner views cemeteries as a cultural landscape,

described by Francis as a stage upon which communal values and social hierarchies may be

performed (Warner 1959, Francis 2003:223).

Hodder (1982b:150) uses the concepts of *social systems* and *social structures* to explain

why burial practices are not always directly reflective of a community's social hierarchies. He

categorizes the hierarchical relationships and power dynamics within a society as part of its

social system, whereas a society's *social structure* includes the ideologies and cultural

symbolisms which add layers of meaning to the social system. According to Hodder

(1982b:152), culture is "meaningfully constituted in the sense that each material trait is produced

in relation to a set of symbolic schemes" which may vary depending on context, meaning that the

same material object, such a grave marker or grave object, may have different meanings to

different groups within the same community. In support of this, Hodder references Pader's

(1980) work on an Anglo-Saxon cemetery which found that there were strict rules for artifact

placement in graves, but that these rules varied depending on which section of the cemetery the

burial was in, suggesting that the artifacts held different meanings to different subsects of society.

Using this contextual approach, Hodder argues that ideologies may be employed by those in

power as part of social strategies which emphasize or obscure power differences between social groups.Therefore, the lack of differentiation among burials does not necessarily entail a more egalitarian society (Hodder 1982b).

Referencing the work of scholars including Pearon, Aries, and Trinkhaus, Brown (1995) points out that many aspects of funerary rites may not be archaeologically visible. Inequalities which are marked distinctly by differences in funeral practices may be masked by similarities in grave markers. Brown emphasizes that Saxe and Binford's representationist perspective, which says that there is a correlation between social status and commemoration, and nonrepresentationist perspectives, which view commemoration as part of a larger political strategy, are able to coexist (Brown 1995). He suggests that the economy of symbols model, in which a society is seen to have a limited 'budget' of mortuary resources which are allocated differently depending on factors related to both the specific decedent and political strategization, can bridge these two perspectives.

While Brown and Hodder are in disagreement over the specific entailments of Saxe and Binford's hypotheses, they both agree that mortuary practices can be used as part of a political strategy. Brown takes an economic approach, arguing that the ways in which individuals may be commemorated in a particular society can be viewed as a set of available resources that can be allocated based on social, political, environmental, or economic factors (Brown 1995). He considers time, effort, and materials to be some of these resources. Hodder suggests that resources such as these are not necessarily allocated in ways that directly correlate with the decedent's social status (Hodder 1982b, Baugher and Veit 2014). Basing his approach on Giddens' (1979) ideas about the ways in which ideology can be used to manufacture acceptance for social domination, Hodder presents three different strategies that a society may take in

regards to the allocation of burial resources. First, the *naturalizing strategy* is one in which inequalities are expressed through commemoration in such a way that they are viewed as part of a natural hierarchy. Similar but slightly different is the *marking strategy*, in which inequalities are explicitly expressed as a means of reinforcing social hierarchy. Lastly, Hodder describes the *masking strategy*, in which inequalities are hidden by a relatively equal distribution of commemoration methods (Hodder 1982a, 1982b, Baugher and Veit 2014:5).

Recent research on cemeteries continues to rely on the foundations laid by Deetz, Dethlefsen, Saxe, and Binford, while incorporating other relevant theoretical frameworks when appropriate. This project uses both identity-based representative frameworks and political strategy-based nonrepresentative frameworks in combination with historical perspectives to examine the patterns of burial at the Nederland Cemetery.

2.2 HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND GENEALOGICAL APPROACHES

Archaeological studies of cemeteries have traditionally focused on prehistoric cemeteries or cemeteries in which decedents cannot be definitively identified (Anthony 2018). Historic cemeteries provide a unique opportunity to compare archaeological data with archivaland genealogical information. While traditional archaeological studies use osteological examinations of excavated remains to establish age at death, sex, and possible wealth disparities, as well as DNA evidence or burial proximity to hypothesize family relationships, historical archaeology can substantiate similar kinds of information through historical documents, cemetery markers, and burial registers. This is not to say that one method is superior to another (in fact, some studies, such as the research on World War I soldiers by Loe et al. in 2014, have benefitted from

combining excavation-based methods with historical methods), it is only to say that historic cemeteries allow investigation without necessitating excavation. Much of this kind of research falls into the realm of historical demography, which looks at population size and change as well as characteristics about a population, such as socioeconomic status.

Studies which are able to identify specific individuals also encourage community engagement, as descendants of the dead are often interested in providing or uncovering additional information about their ancestors (Anthony 2018:2). Connecting archaeological research with the identities of specific individuals allows for the data to be humanized, reminding readers and researchers alike that the graves being studied belong to real people who had families, occupations, interests, and life stories. However, there are also ethical concerns that come with naming those whose sensitive personal information is being studied. Anthony (2018:3) points out that while naming specific individuals can be viewed as intrusive, not naming specific individuals allows their life stories to be "subsumed into general history," and notes that there seems to be less hesitation with naming famous individuals whose graves or remains are studied. Anthony (2018:15) reports that while conducting historical-archaeological research on a Copenhagen cemetery, descendant responses were largely positive, but she cautions that the quality of reactions may be biased due to many of the descendants who engaged with the project already being interested in genealogy. She also notes that some descendants expressed concern over the discovery or dissemination of information considered to be taboo, including that related to "murder, suicide, or diseases associated with perceived moral failings such as syphilis or alcholism" (Anthony 2018:15). Despite these ethical concerns, Anthony remarks that "to ignore stories or evidence in individual histories because they are considered difficult is to be dishonest about the past" (as cited in Anthony 2018:15). This was a pertinent

topic to consider while researching those buried in the Nederland Cemetery, especially since one

of the decedents buried there was a victim of murder, whose murderer still has descendants alive

today. Following Anthony's (2018) logic, this thesis includes the details of personal life stories

here, even if they may contain sensitive or taboo information, in an attempt to most accurately

reflect the reality of the lived experiences of those buried in the Nederland Cemetery.

2.3 INTERSECTIONS OF INEQUALITY

2.2.1 Racial and Ethnic Inequalities

Research on inequalities in the United States must address the issue of racial

discrimination. In mortuary archaeology, it is important to note differences in burial treatments

between members of different racial and ethnic groups. Segregation was enforced in cemeteries

in many parts of the country for much of American history. Plantations often included a section

designated specifically for the burials of Black people (Baugher and Veit 2014), but this

segregation was not limited to the South. The African Burial Ground National Monument in

New York marks what was once a segregated burial location for free and enslaved people of

African descent, the result of a law preventing Black people from being buried in New York's

primary burial ground (National Park Service 2017). People of Chinese descent were also often

restricted from burial in the primary cemeteries of the American West (Baugher and Veit 2014).

Additionally, archaeological research has revealed European-American cemeteries located

directly on top of Indigenous burial grounds (Brown 2007, cited in Baugher and Veit 2014). The

act of European Americans burying their dead on top of Indigenous burial grounds can be

compared to Crawford's concept of reinscription and replacement, deliberately altering the physical space to reflect and uphold a political ideology (Crawford 2007).

Studies have been conducted analyzing differences in mortuary practices in American burial grounds of different racial and ethnic groups and evaluating the extent to which different groups maintained cultural separateness or were pressured to assimilate (Baugher and Veit 2014:11). In the study of nonsegregated American burial grounds or burial grounds in which it is unknown if segregation was enforced, it may not be possible to know the race of any particular decedent. However, when possible, it is of great importance to consider the ways in which American notions of race and discriminatory burial laws may have impacted the burial ground in question.

2.2.2 Gender Inequality

Differences have been noted in the burials of men and women across many cultures and time periods. In her Master's thesis research, Crowell (1986) found that women in colonial Virginia were regularly described in relation to the status of their husband or father, whereas men were described according to their own status. Studying five cemeteries of three different Christian denominations, Veit found differences in the imagery used between men and women who died between 1680-1800: men often received a sword or Masonic symbol while tulip imagery was allocated to unmarried women and girls (Veit, Baugher, and Scharfenberger 2009). Stone's research found that while Dutch women in 1680-1800 New York were buried with their natal name, the markers of English women tended to only use their husband's name unless the woman came from a very prominent family, in which case both her husband and father would be listed (Stone 2009: 153).

The comparison of men and women's grave markers has the potential to reflect the gender ideologies of the cemetery community. As described by Brown (1995), the allocation of burial resources is dependent on a variety of sociocultural factors, the exact nature of which would play a role in determining how a community chooses to allocate grave markers to men versus women. To better understand how these factors impact the distribution of grave marker resources at the Nederland Cemetery, the social positioning of women on the Western Frontier is discussed in further detail in the following chapter.

2.2.3 Class and Economic Inequalities

Economic inequality and class distinction is arguably the most discussed aspect of inequality in regards to mortuary studies. Early American burial grounds were often effectively separated by class. The wealthy sometimes distinguished themselves by burying their dead in family-owned burial grounds (Fithian 1990, cited in Baugher and Veit 2014). On the opposite end of the economic spectrum, potter's fields were designated for those whose families could not afford burial in a primary cemetery, those whose bodies were not able to be identified and claimed by their families, and sometimes those who were considered social pariahs, including criminals, people experiencing homelessness, people with mental illnesses, and those who committed suicide (Baugher and Veit 2014). In between these two extremes exist public and private cemeteries, within which much variation can be seen in burial practices. Some cemeteries carry more local prestige than other cemeteries, often resulting in higher costs for burial plots and thus a restriction on the economic status of those interred. The size and quality of gravemarker may also be influenced by the economic status of the decedent and their family,

ranging from unmarked graves, wooden markers, and fieldstones carved by amateur carvers, to large, expensive granite or marble monuments (Baugher and Veit 2014).

2.2.4 Contextualizing Cemeteries

To understand the mortuary practices and patterns of any cemetery, additional cultural knowledge about the community which created it is incredibly important. As described above, a variety of factors related to identity can play a role in the ways specific individuals are memorialized. Any individual can in one instance represent a variety of different identity roles; gender, race, and economic status are just three factors that may combine to construct a unique social identity in a given community. Outside of individual identity, as pointed out by Hodder (1982a, 1982b) and Brown (1995), ideology and political strategization also contribute to the ways in which decedents are commemorated. For these reasons, careful contextualization is required when attempting to use mortuary practices as a proxy for social status in life.

CHAPTER 3: SITE BACKGROUND

3.1 Mining Towns and the Colorado Silver Boom

3.1.1 Who Migrated and Why?

Glover and Towner (2009:678) define the term Frontier as being the "edges of an expanding cultural group" and list "low population densities, social flexibility, and relatively unexploited resources" as key features of a Frontier. Although rumors of untapped ores in the Rocky Mountains had already been circulating for some time, waves of miners migrating to the Rocky Mountain region did not begin until the late 1850s (Smith 1967:13). Life on the Western Frontier was viewed as attractive by people of many different backgrounds. As the Eastern United States became increasingly industrialized and social roles increasingly cemented, the West gained a reputation in popular culture as being a place of new opportunities. Glover and Tonwe (2009:697) write that participating in the idea of Manifest Destiny and the taming of the so-called Wild West was attractive to Americans of various economic statuses. Young adults made up a substantial portion of the migrants, in search of new beginnings deemed too risky by many older adults juggling the responsibilities of providing for a family (Smith 1967:27, Glover and Towner 2009:686). A large majority of these young adults were single men, although due to the Homesteading Act, single women were able to migrate as well (Smith 1967:22, Jensen and Miller 1980:183, Glover and Towner 2009:682).

Although migration to the western Frontier was often inspired by the search for new economic opportunities, Glover and Towner's (2009:691) study of a mining community in Gothic, Colorado found that migrants were not disproportionately coming from families of origin with low-status occupations. However, those whose families of origin were farmers did tend to

come from families whose farms were valued lower than the average farm value in their home county. As Glover and Towner (2009) point out, this demonstrates that those who migrated to the West were often neither extremely wealthy or extremely impoverished; Western settlers were those who were in search of new socioeconomic opportunities, but they were also those who could afford to pick up and move across the country.

In the first two decades after the beginning of mining-motivated migration to the Rocky Mountains, the largest number of migrants had been born in the Midwest, followed by migrants who had been born in the Northeast (Smith 1967:24-25). While the majority of migrants to mining communities were born in the United States, relatively large portions of the population had migrated from foreign countries as well. Early on, the highest percentage of foreign-born migrants to mining camps were from the British Isles, particularly Ireland (Smith 1967:25, Glover and Towner 2009:682). However, the 1870s saw a significant increase in migrants who had been born in China (Smith 1967:26). Census records indicate that it was not until 1880 that children born in the West began to constitute a significant portion of the overall population of these mining towns (Smith 1967:25).

With such a diverse array of people coming to settle in the West, many of them young and/or single people, it makes sense that life and culture there may have looked very different than it had in more homogenous areas in other parts of the country. Not only were different groups of people being brought together for the first time, many of them were in very unfamiliar territory. It is this combination of factors that created the West, both its reality and the mythology surrounding it.

3.1.2 Life in the Mountains

Early mining camps provided a less comfortable living environment than migrants would likely have been accustomed to prior to their arrival. Horace Greeley, describing a camp that would later become Central City, Colorado, wrote that residents either slept in tents or under arrangements of tree branches and did not possess tables or chairs (as cited in Smith 1967:14). Based on their research on Gothic, Colorado, Glover and Towner (2009:696) argue that immigrants likely experienced "high levels of interpersonal violence and physical dangers." Being relatively isolated from other communities, significant efforts had to be made to acquire food and other materials that were not locally available (Smith 1967). Despite this, development took place rapidly. Mining towns became the sites of theaters, dance halls, saloons, churches, and schools. Some visitors from the Eastern United States regarded Western miners as having a higher quality of life than Eastern laborers (Smith 1967:21). Contributing to the West's reputation as a freer, wilder society, the use of profanity and gambling and drinking habits of Rocky Mountain residents, including children, were the subject of remarks by newspapers and visitors alike (Smith 1967:22-23).

3.1.3 Identity and Inequality in Mining Settlements

Originated in large part by Turner's 1893 Frontier Thesis (Glover and King 2011:316), there exists a commonly held belief that the Western Frontier was a place with unique opportunities for social mobility. The term *Frontier* often conjures up images of freedom and egalitarian ideals thought to have not existed in prior U.S. settlements, helping the Frontier earn its reputation as the 'Wild West.' Visitors to mining communities in the Rocky Mountains observed a lack of visual distinction between the wealthy and the poor, noting that people of all

classes dressed in similar fashions (Smith 1967:20). Smith (1967:24) describes the people of mining camps as having had a "cooperative spirit", noting that residents would donate their money and labor for community projects including constructing roads and canals and restoring neighboring communities that had been damaged by fires or other natural disasters.

Early mining settlements were populated predominantly by men. While women were often fewer in number in these settlements, their presence was far from inconsequential. Western women frequently made trips into town and formed social organizations, including the Merrie Minglers Sewing Club and the Sunshine Club (Harris 1984:45-47). In Colorado, women's organizations devoted to the cause of suffrage were able to attain voting rights for women over two and a half decades before the same right was attained at the federal level (Jensen and Miller 1980:204, Harris 1984:45). Additionally, the work of women's groups contributed significantly to the establishment of schools, theaters, libraries, and public parks (Noel 2010:42). According to Smith (1967:22), women were able to find higher-paying jobs and had a greater ability to divorce and remarry in the West.

Existing alongside these new opportunities were the imposed gender roles of women at the time. The "cult of true womanhood," also known as the "cult of domesticity," was a popular ideology which prescribed that a woman's most important role was helping her husband (Brackett 2012; Jensen and Miller 1980; Harris 1984). Marriage was socially expected of women (Herr 1995) and husbands were considered to be the heads of their households (Brackett 2012). These factors combined to form the persistent idea that women who migrated to these settlements were "gentle tamers" whose presence civilized the otherwise 'wild' West (Herr 1995:339, Smith 1967).

Although those who lived in mining settlements came from a diverse array of backgrounds, these settlements did not progress quicker than the rest of the United States in regards to the treatment of racial minority groups. Towns and neighborhoods were largely racially segregated (Armitage, Banfield, and Jacobus 1977). Although Black and white migration to Colorado occurred at similar rates from 1880 onward, the image that is often presented of Black people in the American West is that of a lone "trapper, cowboy, or… army cook" rather than of a community of people (Armitage, Banfield, and Jacobus 1977:45). This perception of Black people in the West is inaccurate; Black residents of Colorado formed their own communities in and around the white settlements that excluded them (Armitage, Banfield, and Jacobus 1977).

Moore (1993) suggests that Asian and Indigenous people bore the brunt of white racism in early Colorado. Between 1850-1882, approximately 110,000 Chinese people migrated to the United States, most of whom worked in mining, agriculture, or railroad construction (Calavita 2006:254). Many white property owners refused to sell property to Chinese people (Smith 1967:32) and the mines in Leadville, Aspen, and Creede posted announcements that read "no Chinese need apply" (Moore 1993:169). Figure 1 shows a newspaper article from 1893 describing the horrific treatment of a single Chinese miner who arrived in Lafayette, just 28 miles east of Nederland. In 1882, Congress passed the Chinese

CHINESE MUST GO.

This Was the Mandate of the Lafayette Coal Miners.

The advent of a Chinaman at the big coal mining camp of this county was enough to arouse the ire of every miner in the place. He arrived, accompanied by his pig tail. Monday night and his departure was neither long postponed nor dignified. It was thought that he came there for the purpose of looking over the field for others that might follow and the men proceeded to make speedy disposition of his case. A delegation waited upon the Chinese emigrant, smashed him with rocks, knocked him down, filled his almond shaped eyes with tobacco juice and wads from their mouths and notified him to go. He got. He flew. He is not now in this propinquity. He is elsewhere and it is thought that his treatment at the hands of the miners of Lafayette will lead him to submit an unfavorable report as to the desirability of the place for a residence of any considerable number of them.

Figure 1: Boulder Daily Camera 1 February 1893

Exclusion Act, which disallowed Chinese laborers from entering the United States. Scholarly

debate persists over whether Chinese exclusion laws originated from a pre-existing anti-Chinese

racism among white American workers catching the attention of lawmakers, or if instead the

creation of these laws incited these sentiments (Calavita 2006:250). Regardless of its origins,

racism against Chinese people was prevalent in Western mining settlements. According to Endo

(1978:2), the continuous exclusion of Chinese people from Colorado communities played a role

in encouraging increased immigration of other foreign-born workers, including those from Japan,

to work in the mining, agriculture, and railroad industries. Although Roskelley (1944:260)

argues that the Japanese were "generally accepted" in Colorado, campaigns by the Western

Mining Federation, the Metal Miners Union, and the United Mine Workers to exclude Japanese

people from their industries (Miyagishima 2007:41; Endo 1978:6), and the fact that many

founding members of the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League were associated with the

Colorado State Federation of Labor (Endo 1978:8), provide significant evidence to the contrary.

Accompanying the insistence upon banning laborers of Asian descent was a demand by

white settlers for the 'removal' of the local Indigenous peoples. Proposals that the Indigenous people of Colorado be forcibly moved to a reservation were suggested as early as 1862 and reservation land for the Ute tribe was first negotiated in 1864 (Denison 2019:138-139). Later that same year, white Americans brutally killed over a

> Congressman Bell is working like a Trojan for the removal of the Utes to Utah. He has received the consent of the Indian commissioner for Ignacio to go to Washington at his own expense and urge the removal. Ignacio is a great Indian, a wise chief and a good man. He wants all the Utes gathered together in the better fishing and hunting grounds of Utah and citizens of Colorado are not loth to part with them.

Figure 2: Boulder Daily Camera 30 January 1894

hundred Indigenous people of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe tribes before publicly showcasing the victims' disfigured bodies in the streets, theaters, and saloons of Denver (Abbott, Leonard, and McComb 1982:75; Denison 2019:139). This brutal act, known as the Sand Creek Massacre, forever altered the relationship between white and Indigenous people in Colorado (Denison 2019:139-140).

Evaluating the degrees of inequality between different social groups in the American West presents a series of contradictions. While in some areas, the West seemed to provide new opportunities for social mobility, in other areas, the same restrictive social boundaries remained as they had been elsewhere. Although some scholars argue that the impacts of racism and sexism were less intense in the West than they had been in other parts of the country, the evidence presented above shows that these factors were still very much present. It is also difficult to generalize an area as broad as 'the West'; it is likely that each community handled identity and inequality in its own unique way. This paper analyzes how identity and inequality were expressed in one specific community: that of Nederland, Colorado, in its earliest days.

3.2 History of Nederland

3.2.1 Establishment of Nederland

The land that would become Nederland was originally home to the Ute and Arapaho tribes (Nederland Area Historical Society and Katrina Harms n.d.). Early interactions between indigenous groups and American settlers were centered around trapping and fur trading and were largely peaceful (Nederland Area Historical Society and Katrina Harms n.d.; Abbott, Leonard, and McComb 1982). White settlers became increasingly interested in the area as the mining

boom began to take off in the 1860s and 1870s. Although early white American settlements had mostly been situated on the outskirts of traditional Ute lands, white settlers continuously encroached further into

Figure 3: "Caribou Reduction Mill" 1880

Indigenous homelands as their populations rose (Abbot, Leonard, and McComb 1982:123). Numerous land negotiation treaties were signed by the American government officials and leaders of various Indigenous tribes. The betrayal and continuous forced renegotiations of these treaties by white Americans slowly pushed Indigenous groups out of the area. Congress's passing of the Ute Removal Act in 1880 resulted in the violent forced relocation of over 1,000 Ute people from their traditional homelands to a reservation outside of what is now Colorado.

The white American settlement area went through several name changes in its early years, starting as Dayton, becoming Brown's Crossing and Middle Boulder, before finally being incorporated as Nederland in 1874. Nederland's important relationship with Caribou and its mining industry was clear from the moment it was officially incorporated, as Nederland gets its name, a Dutch word meaning 'lowland', from a Dutch mining company which had purchased the Caribou mine, referencing that Nederland is lower than Caribou (Nederland Historic Society n.d.).
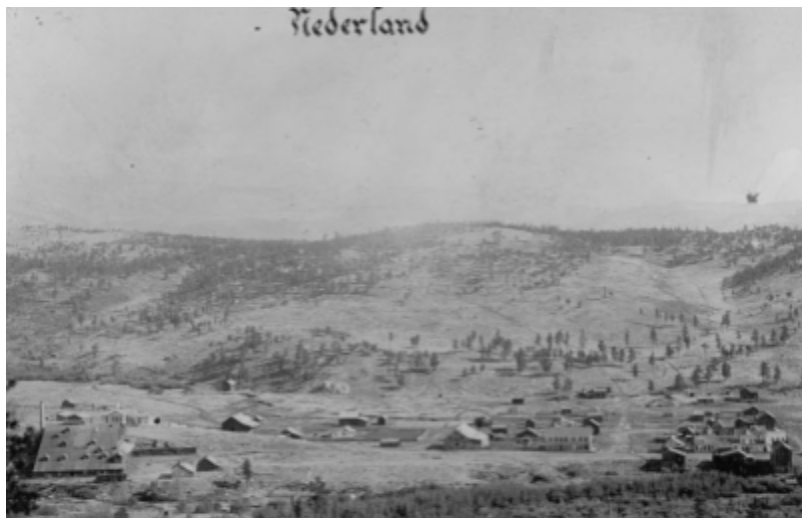
3.2.2 Development of Nederland

In its early period, Nederland primarily functioned as a milling outpost for the Caribou silver mine. Many Nederland residents relied on the Caribou mine for employment either as miners, teamsters, or millers. Being highly dependent on Caribou's mining industry, Nederland experienced a decline at the same time Caribou did, in the late 1870s (Nederland Area Historical Society and Katrina Harms n.d.). Nederland survived this first 'bust' by diverting milling operations to ore from other nearby mining towns, but by the 1890s, its population had diminished significantly. Nederland experienced a second wave of mining success when

Figure 4: "Nederland, Colorado circa 1880" 1880

tungsten was discovered in the early 1900s. This second boom swelled the town's population to around 3,000 people. However, within a span of only a few years, Nederland's mining industry crashed again. Only 200 residents remained in Nederland by 1920. The mining industry was then revived for a third time during World War II due to the increased need for tungsten to produce steel. Like the previous mining booms, this too was short-lived (Nederland Area Historical Society and Katrina Harms n.d.).

3.2.3 Contemporary Nederland

Beginning in the 1960s, Nederland began to be populated by creative young people who brought with them a "vibrant music scene" (Nederland Area Historic Society and Katrina Harms n.d.). The population continued to grow through the 1990s, with many new residents commuting outside of Nederland for work. Nederland is now a small, eclectic town considered a satellite 17 miles west of the larger city of Boulder. With a population of around 1,500 people, Nederland attracts tourists by hosting festivals and farmers markets, including NedFest. Nederland is perhaps best known for being the original home of Frozen Dead Guy Days, a festival memorializing a man who was kept cryogenically frozen in a shed in Nederland in the early 1990s. In recent years, the formerly annual NedFest was canceled, and Frozen Dead Guy Days has been relocated to Estes Park. Nederland continues to pay homage to its mining history via its Nederland Mining Museum, centrally located downtown. Due to the recurring booms and busts of the Nederland economy, the percentage of current residents who are direct descendants of early Nederland settlers is likely low. Despite this, the existence of the Nederland Area Historical Society and the Nederland Mining Museum show that members of the community are interested in establishing and maintaining records of Nederland's past.

3.3 The Nederland Cemetery

3.3.1 History of the Nederland Cemetery

The first recorded burial at the Nederland Cemetery was that of 9-year-old Elizabeth Iowa Hetzer in November 1873 (Figure 5). At this point in time, the cemetery was located in a central location in downtown Nederland, near the church. In 1895, the cemetery was relocated to

its current location in the mountains on the outskirts of town (Carline 2001). Several graves were moved during this process of relocation, becoming the earliest burials at the new site. The current cemetery site is located off of Forest Road and has an area of around two acres.

Figure 5: Footstone of Elizabeth Iowa Hetzer (S. 2012)

3.3.2 Previous Research

In 2000, local Nederland historian Glenna Carline began documenting and photographing the existing grave markers. In addition to this documentation, Carline consulted with community members and combed through death records to compile a list of individuals known or believed to have been buried at the Nederland Cemetery. By categorizing each decedent as having either a stone, wooden, or metal grave marker, or being unmarked, Carline's work has allowed for graves to be accounted for even if their marker is no longer visible two decades later.

3.3.3 Current Status

The Nederland Cemetery is still an active cemetery, although only a small handful of burials take place each year. All of the remaining empty plots are already owned by members of

Figure 6: Nederland Cemetery

the Nederland community. A map exists for the section of the cemetery containing more recent

burials, showing the plots that remain unused. However, considering the irregular distribution of

historic graves across the cemetery and the lack of any map of the historic burials, there is some

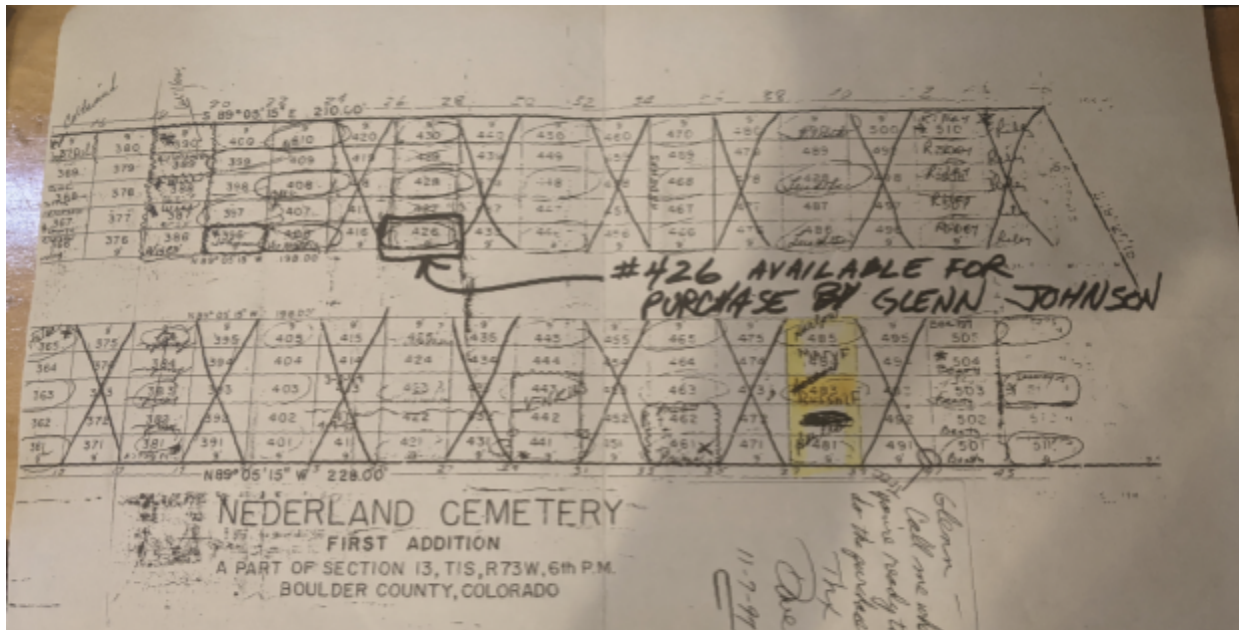concern that plots thought to be empty could be the locations of unmarked graves.

Figure 7: Map of the Modern Section of the Nederland Cemetery

CHAPTER 4: HYPOTHESES

Mining settlements faced a double-bind in which they had to continue to seem accessible by presenting themselves as freer, more egalitarian, and more opportunistic societies in order to attract new migrants, while also proving that individual success was possible. The early days of mining settlements may have allowed for higher degrees of social mobility and a more level playing field among otherwise distinct classes as the social rules of these new societies were just beginning to take shape, although whether this was true in reality or simply a part of the ideology of the West is still up for debate (Glover and Towner 2009:696, Glover and King 2011:317).

As these towns became more and more developed, their social hierarchies increasingly reflected those that had previously existed in the East. As described by Smith (1967:40), "no longer was the owner a worker in the mine, nor could the miner under normal circumstances hope to become an owner." Distinctions also emerged between those who migrated to the mining camps earlier or later in time. As these kinds of tensions became more prominent, those in power, whether consciously or unconsciously, would have needed to adopt a political strategy surrounding the expression of these class differences.

Competing hypotheses can be formed in regards to the political strategy that would have been taken by those in positions of power in Nederland. Since both naturalizing and masking strategies obscure social differences (Hodder 1982b), a low degree of differentiation among burials would be anticipated if either strategy was assumed. On the contrary, if a marking strategy was assumed, social disparities would be expected to be clearly visible among grave markers.

Based on the body of theoretical work surrounding the archaeological study of cemeteries and the history of the region and site, I expected to find marked differences in grave markers

related to social identity factors such as age, sex, and class. I hypothesized that the more prominent community members of Nederland would have wanted to mark the status of their deceased family members in order to provide evidence of their success in a difficult new environment. I also predicted that there would be more male burials than female burials, reflecting the typical gender breakdown of mining towns. I expected that larger markers would be associated with men and older people, while women and younger people would be provided with smaller markers, reflecting their relative status positions.

CHAPTER 5: METHODS

5.1 Cemetery Data Collection

The first step in data collection was to assess the cemetery grounds through visual survey. As the cemetery is positioned on hilly terrain and the graves are not organized in clear rows, it was important to establish that all remaining headstones had been identified. Some sections of soil in the cemetery seem to indicate the possibility of unmarked graves, but definitively identifying the existence and location of these graves is outside of the scope of this project.

As mentioned in the site background chapter, the cemetery lacked a map showing the historic sections. Several volunteers helped to create a map of the cemetery by drawing out the headstones in relation to one another on sheets of graph paper. This was followed by marking the location of each stone using a handheld GPS device (Figure 8). These data sets were then combined using ArchGIS to construct a pinpoint map of each headstone.

Figure 8: Volunteer data collection at the Nederland Cemetery

Standard procedures on historic cemetery research, originally laid out in large part by Deetz and Dethlefsen (year), were followed to collect gravestone data. The data collection was limited to those buried in the cemetery who

died up to the year 1920, in order to keep the data collection manageable and focused on the earliest periods of Nederland's history. Each marker was photographed individually, as well as with related nearby markers if applicable. The names and date(s) of death and/or birth of each listed decedent were recorded. Many markers in the cemetery have faded or deteriorated, making it difficult or impossible to be completely sure of what was written, and thus these names and dates could be recorded only to the best of the data collectors' ability to read them. Epitaphs, decorative elements including symbols related to military service or fraternal orders, and descriptions of family relationships were also recorded. The height, width, and depth of each marker was measured and recorded. These data were used to calculate volumes in order to assess the overall size of each marker. For some analyses, marker volumes were separated into quartile-based size categories.

When applicable, additional data has been included from previous research on the site. In 2000, Glenna Carline, a local Nederland historian, compiled a list of people buried in the cemetery. Carline's research included recording markers in existence at the cemetery at the time, finding death records indicating people had been buried in the cemetery, and listening to testimonies from local residents who asserted their loved ones had been buried there. These additional data are included in analyses looking at age and year of death, but are not included in analyses involving marker size.

5.2 Analyses of Cemetery Data

Life tables were created using all data where age at death was known. The life tables were calculated in 5-year intervals up to age 80. Additionally, separate life tables were created for men and women.

Age at death, year of death, gender, marker type, and marker size were selected as variables for analysis. Grave markers were classified as belonging to either men or women when clear based on the decedent's name or titles such as "Mr." or "Mrs." Headstones that could not be definitively classified by gender were described as 'unknown'. The 'marker type' variable distinguishes between 'temporary' metal plaque markers provided by the funeral home and permanent markers. Marker size was calculated by finding the volume of the permanent markers. Chi-squared tests of significance were conducted to examine whether or not significant relationships existed between the size of headstones and gender of the decedent, age at death, or year of death.

5.3 Historical Records Research

A review of available historic records was conducted to find further information on those buried in the cemetery. Census records, death records, and newspaper articles were examined with a specific focus being placed on information regarding years of birth and death, familial relationships, and details that may index socioeconomic status, such as employment and homeownership status. The websites ancestry.com, familysearch.org, and coloradohistoricnewspapers.org were the primary databases used to obtain these records. Names, birth and death years, the location of death, and names of family members were entered into search boxes, depending on what information was available for each decedent. There were not strict rules set about what information was required for records to be considered a match, but records were more likely to be classed as a match when more of these categories aligned with cemetery data. Data was included from records that did not originate in Nederland (such as census records from other nearby Colorado towns) if there was a high degree of confidence that

the record could be matched to someone buried in the Nederland Cemetery based on the other information provided. Census information was found for 35 individuals in the cemetery. The greatest numbers of individuals from the dataset were found in the 1880 and 1910 censuses, so these censuses were more closely examined.

5.4 Analyses of Historic Records Data

Information gathered from historic records was matched up to individuals buried in the cemetery. It should be noted that data from historic records did not always precisely align with cemetery data, nor did it always precisely align with other historical records. Many discrepancies were observed between different sources of information. The spellings of names and nicknames were less standardized during much of the examined time period. In cases where birth or death years were reported differently in the historical records than they had been recorded on the individual's grave marker, the information on the grave marker was prioritized. This decision was made to maintain consistency between the source of data for each individual, as not all individuals were able to be matched with historic records.

CHAPTER 6: RESULTS

6.1 The Cemetery Data

The cemetery data collection resulted in records of 84 individuals who died before or during 1920. An additional 44 individuals were included from the data collected by Glenna Carline, resulting in a total combined data set of 128 individuals. The use of the word 'combined' in the tables below indicates that both original cemetery data and data collected by Carline were included in the analysis. The data included 46 women, 64 men, and 18 individuals whose gender could not be determined. Using the binomial equation and assuming a typical 50:50 sex ratio, it was found that the probability of the actual sex distribution occurring was just 1.75%. Even if those in the unknown gender category are assumed to have been 50% male and 50% female, this only raises the likelihood of this sample occurring to 2%. The life tables for the cemetery population are shown below:

x	Dx	dx	lx	Qx
0 - 4	43	0.3771929825	1	0.3771929825
5 - 9	6	0.05263157895	0.9473684211	0.05555555556
10 - 14	5	0.04385964912	0.9035087719	0.04854368932
15 - 19	5	0.04385964912	0.8596491228	0.05102040816
20 - 24	4	0.0350877193	0.8245614035	0.04255319149
25 - 29	9	0.07894736842	0.7456140351	0.1058823529
30 - 34	5	0.04385964912	0.701754386	0.0625
35 - 39	5	0.04385964912	0.6578947368	0.06666666667
40 - 44	7	0.06140350877	0.5964912281	0.1029411765
45 - 49	1	0.008771929825	0.5877192982	0.01492537313
50 - 54	5	0.04385964912	0.5438596491	0.08064516129
55 - 59	3	0.02631578947	0.5175438596	0.05084745763
60 - 64	4	0.0350877193	0.4824561404	0.07272727273
65 - 69	3	0.02631578947	0.4561403509	0.05769230769
70 - 74	4	0.0350877193	0.4210526316	0.08333333333
75 - 79	2	0.01754385965	0.4035087719	0.04347826087
80 +	3	0.02631578947	0.3771929825	1
total	114			
		Combined Life Table		

Table 1: This life table includes both men and women. There were 114 individuals for whom age at death could be calculated.

x	Dx	dx	lx	Qx
0 - 4	16	0.380952381	1	0.380952381
5 - 9	4	0.09523809524	0.9047619048	0.1052631579
10 - 14	2	0.04761904762	0.8571428571	0.05555555556
15 - 19	2	0.04761904762	0.8095238095	0.05882352941
20 - 24	3	0.07142857143	0.7380952381	0.09677419355
25 - 29	3	0.07142857143	0.6666666667	0.1071428571
30 - 34	1	0.02380952381	0.6428571429	0.03703703704
35 - 39	1	0.02380952381	0.619047619	0.03846153846
40 - 44	3	0.07142857143	0.5476190476	0.1304347826
45 - 49	0	0	0.5476190476	0
50 - 54	2	0.04761904762	0.5	0.09523809524
55 - 59	3	0.07142857143	0.4285714286	0.1666666667
60 - 64	1	0.02380952381	0.4047619048	0.05882352941
65 - 69	0	0	0.4047619048	0
70 - 74	1	0.02380952381	0.380952381	0.0625
75 - 79	0	0	0.380952381	0
80 +	0	0	0.380952381	1
total	42			

Women's Life Table (Combined)

**Table 2:** This life table includes only women. There were 42 women for whom age at death could be calculated.

| x	Dx	dx	lx	Qx
0 - 4	13	0.2363636364	1	0.2363636364
5 - 9	2	0.03636363636	0.9636363636	0.03773584906
10 - 14	3	0.05454545455	0.9090909091	0.06
15 - 19	2	0.03636363636	0.8727272727	0.04166666667
20 - 24	1	0.01818181818	0.8545454545	0.02127659574
25 - 29	6	0.1090909091	0.7454545455	0.1463414634
30 - 34	3	0.05454545455	0.6909090909	0.07894736842
35 - 39	4	0.07272727273	0.6181818182	0.1176470588
40 - 44	4	0.07272727273	0.5454545455	0.1333333333
45 - 49	1	0.01818181818	0.5272727273	0.03448275862
50 - 54	2	0.03636363636	0.4909090909	0.07407407407
55 - 59	0	0	0.4909090909	0
60 - 64	3	0.05454545455	0.4363636364	0.125
65 - 69	3	0.05454545455	0.3818181818	0.1428571429
70 - 74	3	0.05454545455	0.3272727273	0.1666666667
75 - 79	2	0.03636363636	0.2909090909	0.125
80 +	3	0.05454545455	0.2363636364	1
total	55			

Men's Life Table (Combined)

**Table 3:** This life table includes only men. There were 55 men for whom age at death could be calculated.

The probability of death (Qx) demonstrated an unexpected pattern. Women did not have a large peak in probability of death during childbearing years, instead having a more distinctive peak in the mid-fifties. Men, however, peak in probability of death in their early young adult years. It is possible that this spike is due to occupational hazards related to mining. The overall, women's, and men's qx curves are shown in Figures 9, 10, and 11, respectively.
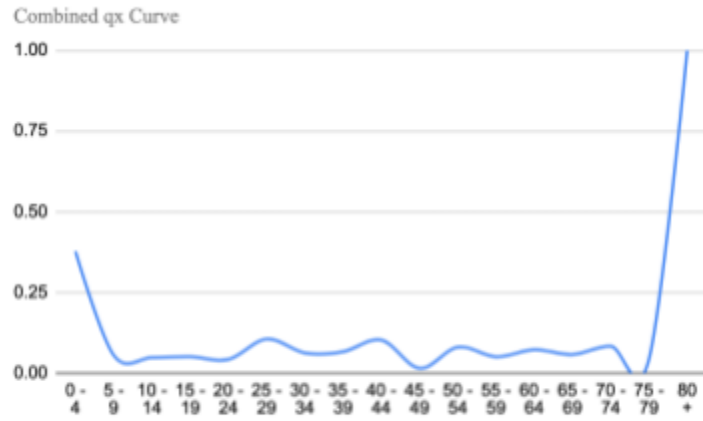
Combined qx Curve

Figure 9: Combined qx Curve
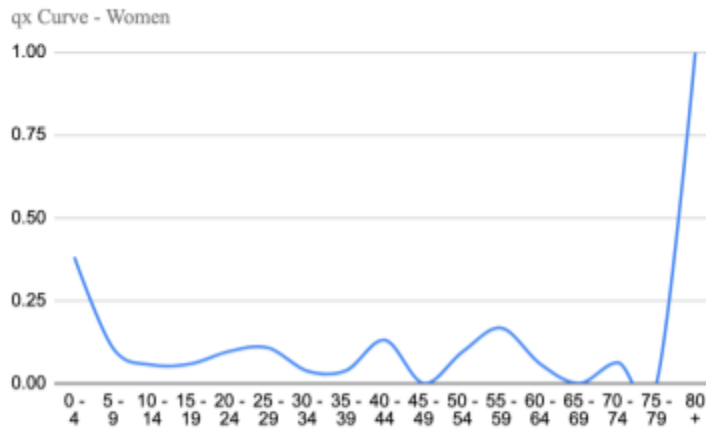
qx Curve - Women

Figure 10: Women - qx Curve

qx Curve - Men
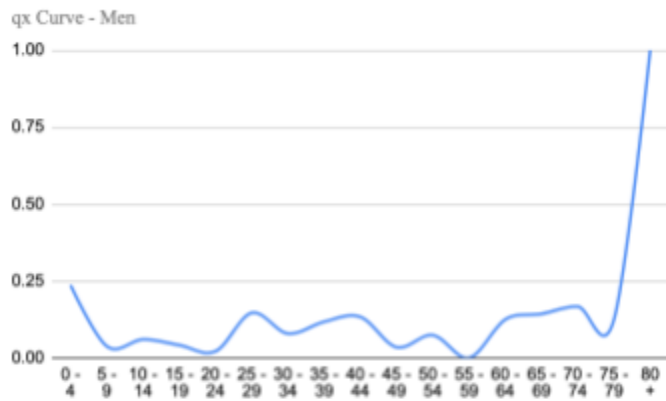

Figure 11: Men - qx Curve

The average age at death was 25 and the median age at death was 19. However, the most common age range among decedents was between 0 and 4 years. This can be seen on the age at death distribution curve below (Figure 12). High numbers of deaths in children is not surprising for the time period; according to Field and Behrman (2003), in 1900, children 5 years old and younger represented 30% of all deaths in the United States.
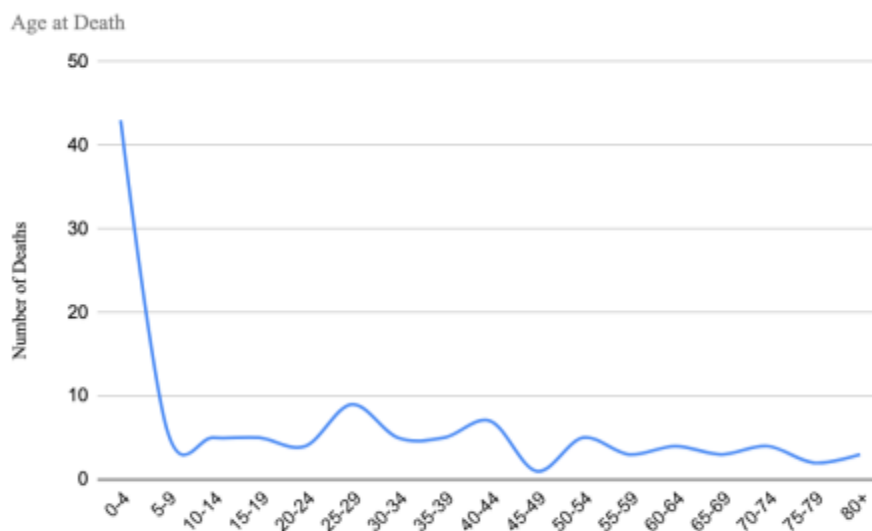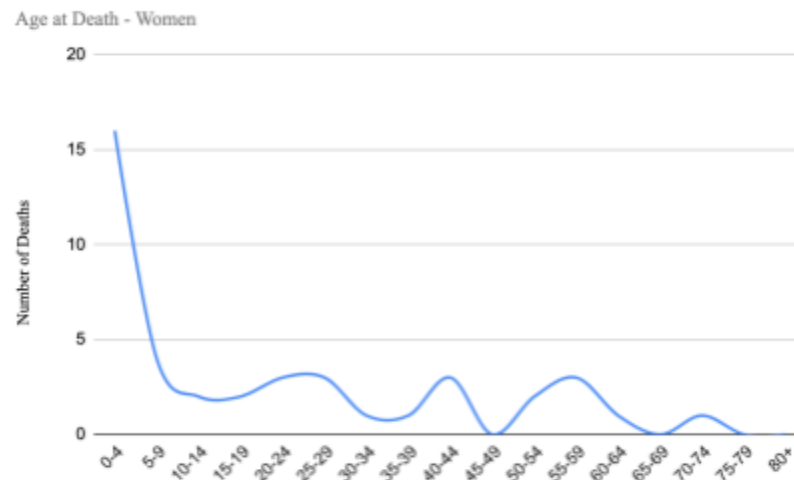

Figure 12: Age at Death Distribution Curve

For women, the average age at death was 20.8 years and the median age at death was 13. For men, the average at death was 27.9 and the median age at death was 24. These evaluations suggest men having a relatively longer lifespan than women. Women had a higher proportion of deaths during the ages of 0-1 than did men, with 12 female babies and 9 male babies falling into this age category. This may be partially responsible for the differences in the median and average ages at death between men and women. The age at death distribution curves for men and women are shown below (Figures 13 and 14).
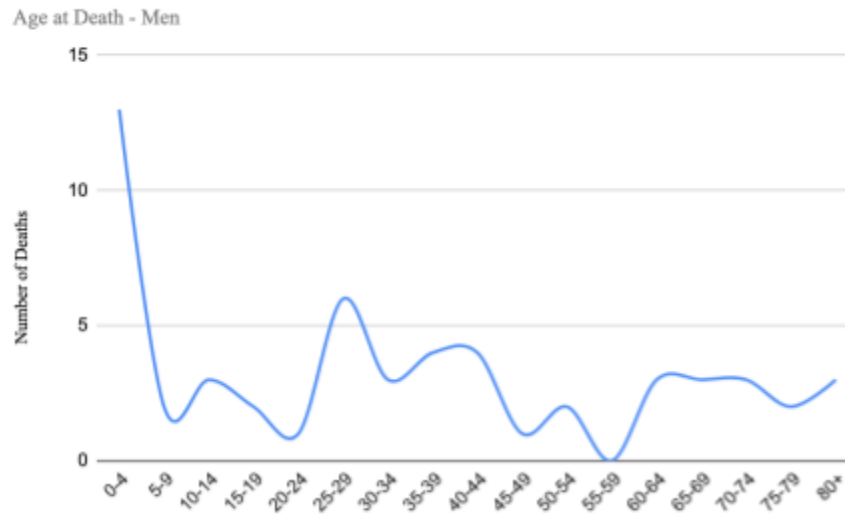
Age at Death - Men

Figure 13: Age at Death Distribution - Men

Age at Death - Women

Figure 14: Age at Death Distribution - Women

Age at death was not found to be a significant factor in the size of grave marker individuals were provided. The Chi-squared test resulted in an x^2 value of 31.038 with a critical value of 40.113, suggesting that these variables are unrelated. A bar chart relating the number of markers of each quartile size category to the age of buried individuals is shown below (Figure 15).
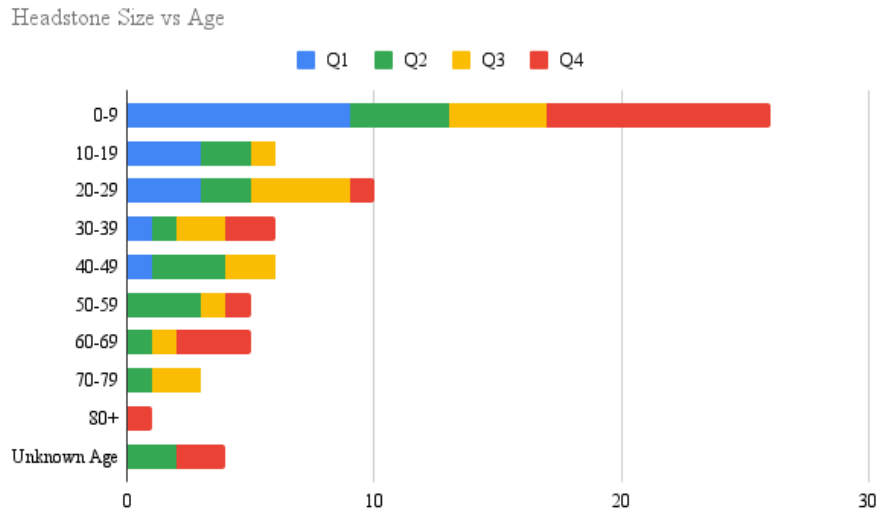
Figure 15: Age at Death vs Headstone Size

The relationship between headstone size and gender was also found to be not statistically significant. The Chi-squared test resulted in an x^2 value of 3.022 with a critical value of 12.592, suggesting that these variables are unrelated. A bar chart representing the number of markers of each quartile size category to the gender of buried individuals is shown below (Figure 16).
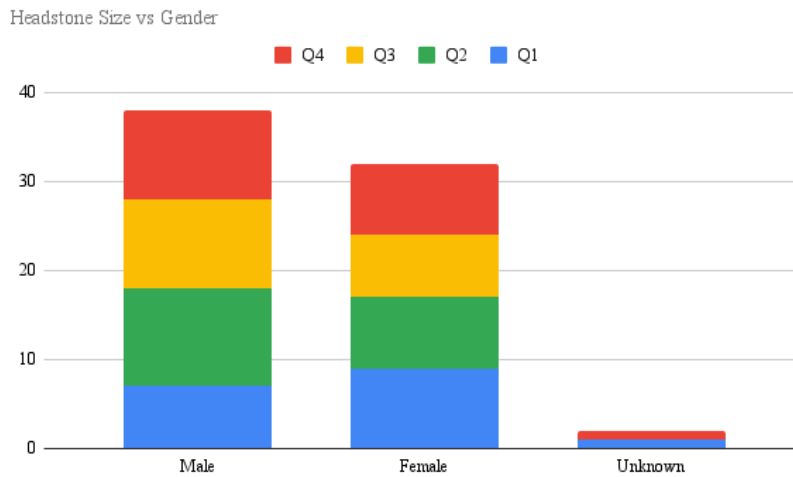
Figure 16: Gender vs Headstone Size

Year of death was not found to be correlated with age at death or gender. Abnormally high numbers of deaths were observed in 1904 and 1918, with 12 and 18 deaths respectively. The bar charts below show the gender and age breakdowns of deaths in each year included in the scope of the study (Figures 17 and 18).
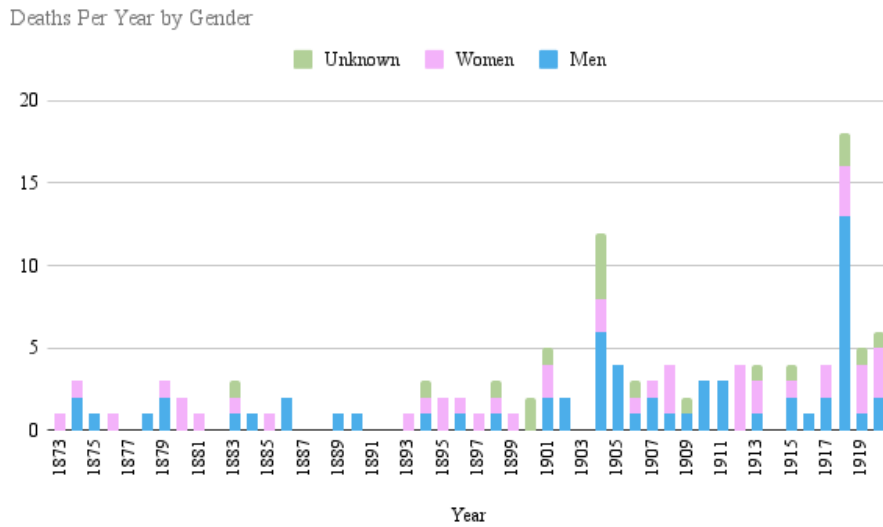
Figure 17: Deaths Per Year by Gender

Figure 18: Deaths Per Year by Age

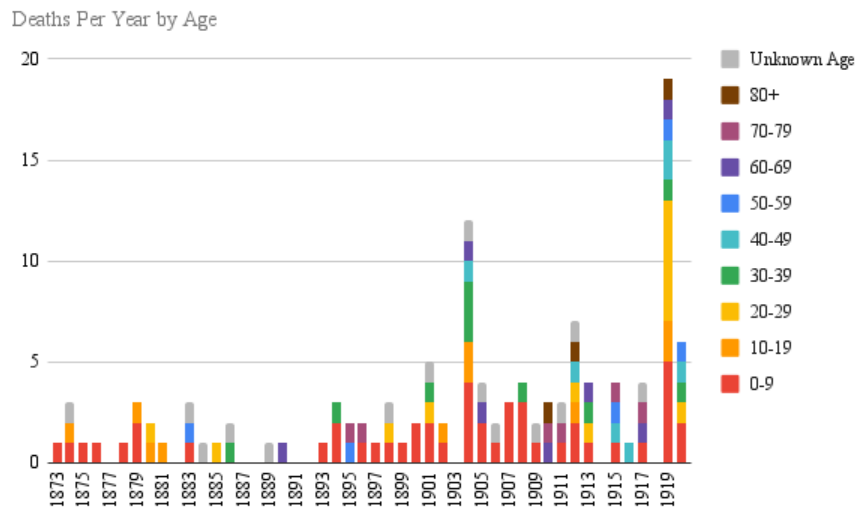Chi-squared tests were also conducted to examine if marker form (unmarked, temporary metal markers provided by the funeral home, or headstone/formal marker) was statistically related to gender or age at death. With the Chi-squared test returning an x^2 value of 22.916 and a critical value of 28.869, age at death was not found to be significantly related to marker form. On the other hand, the Chi-squared test for gender and marker form revealed a significant relationship, returning an x^2 value of 23.978 and a critical value of 9.488, meaning that the null hypothesis could be rejected. The number of people of unknown gender identity with unmarked graves (according to Carline 2001) or temporary markers can be explained by less information being available about these burials compared to individuals with headstones. A bar chart representing the distribution of marker form vs. age at death is shown in Figure 19 and a bar chart representing the distribution of marker form vs. gender is shown in Figure 20.
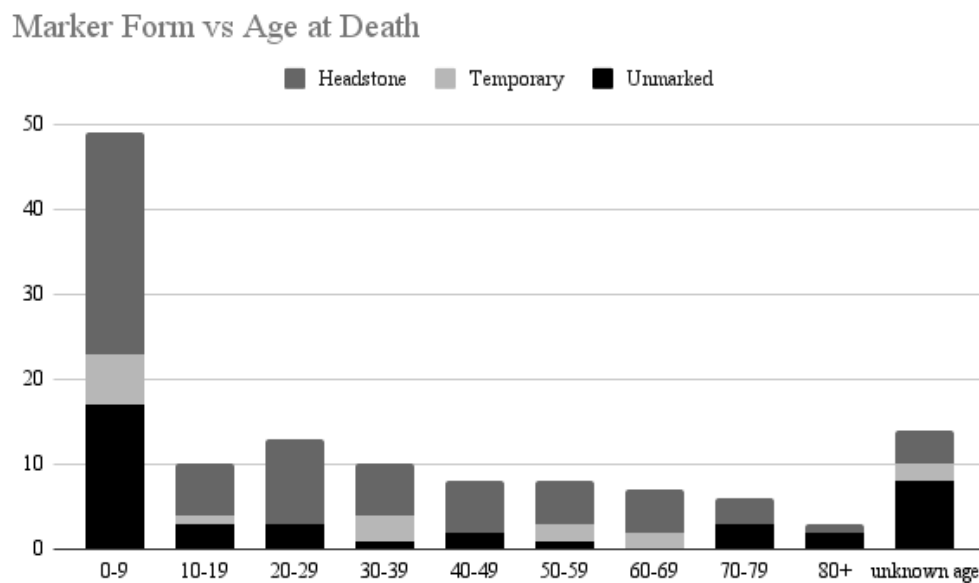
Figure 19: Marker Form vs. Age at Death
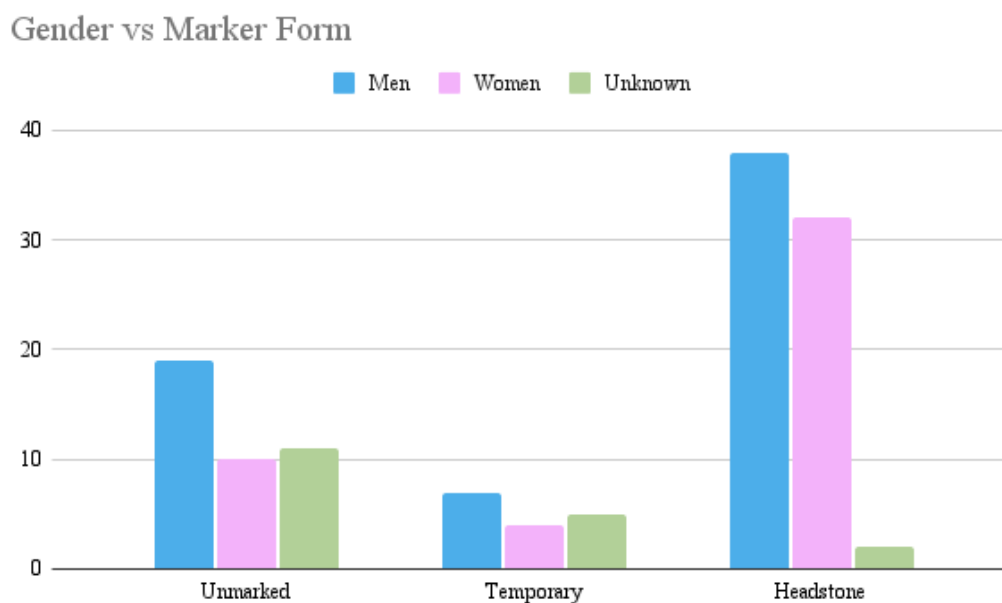
Figure 20: Marker Form vs. Gender

A lifespan chart was created to show the lifespans of those buried in the cemetery (Figure 21). It is important to note that many decedents were born before the establishment of the cemetery, as well as that people who lived in Nederland who died after 1920 were not included.

The thinnest vertical lines mark five year periods, the midweight lines mark twenty year periods, and the bold vertical lines mark important dates in the cemetery's history. The vertical gray bar shows when the original cemetery was in use (1874-1895), and to the right of this bar shows when the new cemetery location began being used. The years 1904 and 1918 are marked due to the high number of deaths that occurred in these years. The lived years of men are represented by blue horizontal lines, the lived years of women are represented by pink horizontal lines, and the lived years of those whose gender could not be determined by their grave marker information are represented by green horizontal lines.

The lifespan chart appears to show a larger proportion of men born in the earlier years of the restricted time period. The higher number of infants near the top of the graph may be

indicative of increasing birth rates as Nederland developed. At first glance, it may appear that

Nederland was experiencing high rates of infant mortality during this time, but it should be

reiterated that babies born in Nederland who survived past 1920 are not included in this chart.
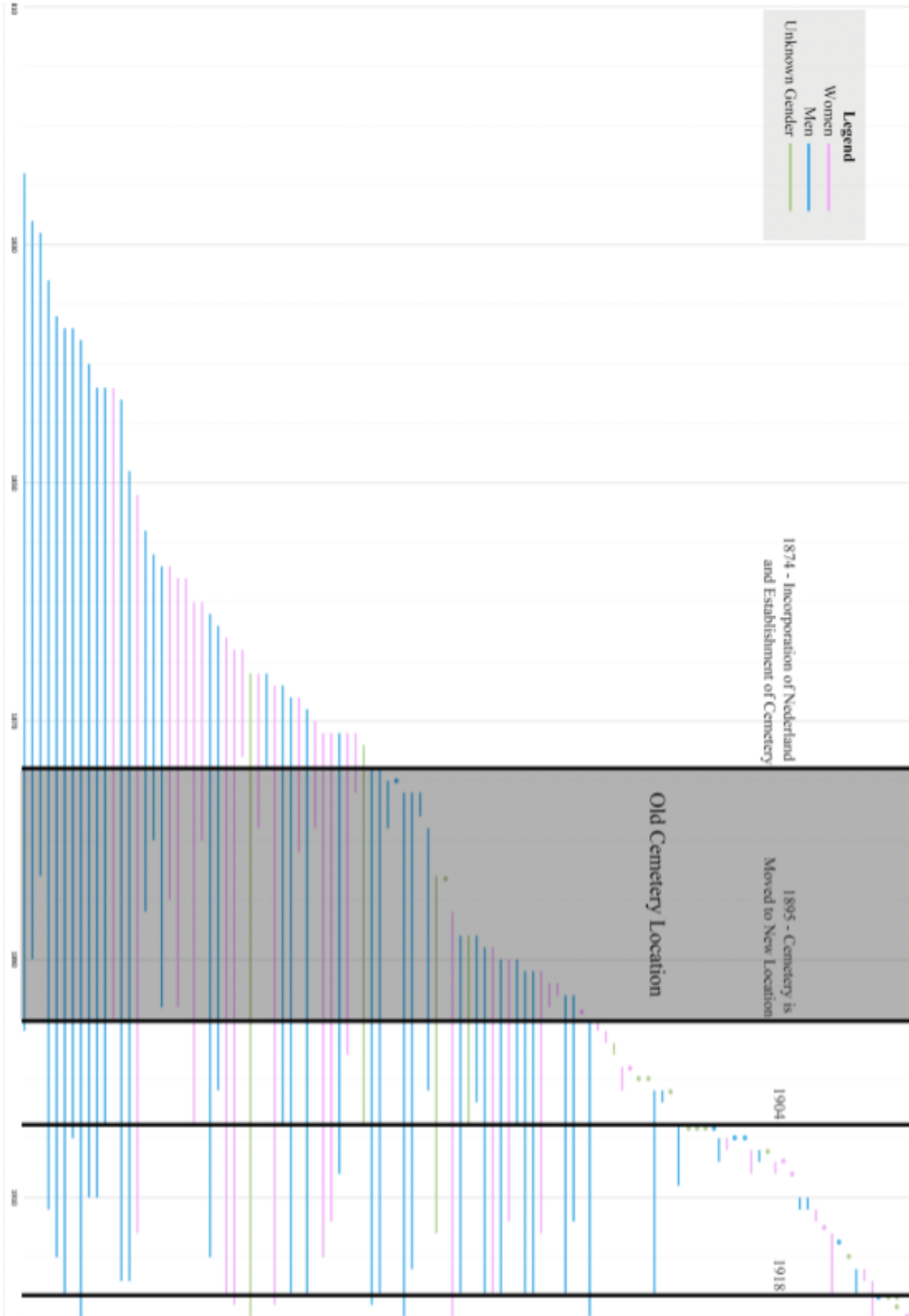
Figure 21: Lifespan Chart

Below are several maps created using ArchGIS and Find a Grave. The first of these maps (Figure 22) shows an overview of the layout of the cemetery. The second map (Figure 23) color codes each data point by gender, where red points represent women, blue points represent men, and purple points represent decedents whose gender could not be determined from their grave marker. The third map (Figure 24) shows the locations of infant burials, represented by yellow points while all other burials are represented by gray points. Lastly, the fourth map (Figure 25) shows the same graves as plotted by the findagrave.com mapping software rather than ArchGIS.

Figure 22: Nederland Cemetery Known Burial Locations

Figure 23: Nederland Known Burials by Gender

Figure 24: Nederland Known Infant Burials

Figure 25: Nederland Cemetery plotted by FindaGrave.com

6.2 The Historic Record

6.2.1 Census Information

Each available U.S. census that occurred within the time period of the study was searched for individuals matching Nederland Cemetery decedents. This excludes the 1890 census because the records were destroyed in a fire in 1921. The 1880 and 1910 censuses returned the greatest number of matches to Nederland Cemetery decedents. In total, 15 people buried in the Nederland Cemetery were found in the 1880 census, and 18 people were found in the 1910 census. None of the individuals buried in the Nederland Cemetery who were able to be located on the 1880 census had been born in Colorado, nor had either of their parents. Instead, there were two individuals from New York, two from Missouri, two from Ireland and two from England, with the rest having been born in Indiana, Kentucky, New Jersey, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Canada. Six of the individuals who were able to be found on the 1910 census had been born in Colorado, although still none of their parents had been born in the same state. The second most common place of birth was Ohio, with three individuals from the 1910 census, followed by Michigan with two individuals, the rest having been born in Illinois, Iowa, Montana, Nebraska, Wisconsin, England, and Ireland. Everyone buried in the Nederland Cemetery who could be located on either the 1880 or 1910 census was recorded as white. Looking at Nederland as a whole rather than just at those who were eventually buried in the Nederland Cemetery, in 1910, two people on the census were listed as a race other than white: a Japanese man, S. Evado, and a woman, Lillie B. Walbur, described as 'Mulatto' ("United States Census, 1910" 1910). These two individuals do not have markers in the Nederland Cemetery and no records could be found on where they went after 1910.

In 1880, four individuals were listed as being miners, one individual was listed as working in the quartz mill, and one individual was listed as a teamster, which may or may not have been related to operating the mine. There were two farmers, one laborer, and four whose occupation was described as 'keeping house.' In 1910, seven individuals were recorded as being miners, with three of these specifying what kind of mining was being done: two mined tungsten and one mined coal. Both tungsten miners and one unspecified miner were listed as working on their own accord, with the coal miner and the rest of the unspecified miners listed as working for someone else. Four of the miners had attended school between September 1, 1909 and the date of the census, April 15, 1910. Three miners, one worker and two working on their own accord, owned their homes outright. One miner, a worker, owned his home with a mortgage, and another miner rented his home. The other two miners did not have information recorded in this census column. Non-mining occupations among the cemetery group in 1910 included a laborer at a flour mill, a rancher, a restaurant proprietor, and two occupations that were less-than-legible but that appear to have included the words 'merchandise' and 'income' respectively. Keeping house was not listed as an occupation for any of the people buried in the Nederland Cemetery who could be located on the 1910 census. Glover and Towner (2009:687) categorize mining, farmwork, and day-laboring as unskilled occupations, while metalsmithing, carpentry, conducting railroads are classified as skilled occupations, and practicing law, banking, and trading are considered elite occupations. Glover and King (2011:321) adopt a similar system of classification, but place farmers in a category of their own, which signifies a distinction between being a laborer on a farm and owning farmland. Using these classifications, just one individual buried in the Nederland Cemetery can be definitively identified as 'elite,' that being the restaurant proprietor. If the interpretations of the less-than-legible occupations are assumed to be correct in containing

the words 'merchandise' and 'income,' this number could be increased to three individuals. The two farmers in 1880 and the rancher in 1910 would be classified separately, leaving the remainder of workers in the non-elite categories.

Ten men and five women from the cemetery group were able to be found on the 1880 census. All of the men and one of the women found were listed as the head of their household. Three of the women were listed as the wife of the head of household, and one was listed as the daughter of the head of household. All but one of the men were recorded as married, the other being single. Of the four women, two were married, one was single, and one was widowed. In 1910, thirteen men and five women were able to be found on the census. Of these, seven men and one woman were listed as the head of their household. Five men were listed as the son of the head of household, and one man was listed as the father of the head of household. The remainder of the women were listed as wives. There was more variety in marital status among those found on the 1910 census. Of the men, six were married, six were single, and one was widowed. Four of the five women were married, the other being widowed. While this census data is incomplete, it adds a better sense of occupation and social relationships in Nederland than can be gleaned from cemetery markers alone.

6.2.2 Other Historical Sources

Outside of census records, marriage, death, and property records were found for some individuals. Newspaper articles provided additional context about Nederland and about specific individuals through the form of obituaries. For example, as noted in the cemetery data results section, there was a higher-than-typical number of burials in the cemetery in 1918. Articles from 1918 describe the influenza epidemic in Nederland to be "almost beyond control," specifying

that the town only had six nurses and that twenty-five of the seventy-five men who worked at the

Marshall mine had been sent home sick ("Nederland at Mercy of 'Flu'" October 16 1918). While

it was expected that a high number of deaths may be found in 1918 due to the Spanish Flu

Pandemic, local newspaper articles provide additional context to how the pandemic affected

Nederland and the surrounding area specifically. Newspaper articles also allowed for additional

context to be acquired regarding the conceptualization of different social identities in the region

at the time. Chapter 3 shows multiple newspaper articles which describe the tumultuous

relationship between white settlers and non-white populations. Obituary and local gossip sections

also allowed for more complete life stories to be constructed for decedents buried in the

Nederland Cemetery.

Some of the information found in newspaper articles conflicted with the cemetery data.

For example, Virginia J. Brown was recorded on her headstone as having died in 1917, but an

obituary for her was published in 1916 ("Auntie Virginia Brown Passes" February 5 1916). This

seems to suggest that the headstone was inscribed incorrectly, considering obituaries are not

published prior to an individual's death. Another example is that of Harold Bryant, whose birth

year was recorded in the cemetery data collection as being 1908, making him just nine years old

at the time of his death, but whose obituary described him as being sixteen years old ("Harold

Bryant is Dead" April 3 1919). His grave marker was a carved piece of wood that had been

broken into two pieces and the information inscribed has become quite difficult to read. Both

examples highlight human error, one error in the data collection of this project and one error in

the inscription of the grave marker.

The inclusion of historical records opens up the door for a variety of new questions to be

asked that may not have come up from studying the grave markers alone. How were specific

individuals viewed and remembered by their community? Why are some years of birth or death recorded differently on grave markers than in historical sources - could it be that the year was carved on the grave marker long after the person had died, and memory of their exact years of birth or death had faded? Where did the residents of Nederland come from? What did they do for work? Can any further connections be made between factors of identity and treatment in death? Not all of these questions are able to be answered definitively with the information available, but the inclusion of historical records allows them to at least be explored.

6.3 Connecting Data Sources

Although the number of decedents who were able to be located in historic records was not a large enough sample size to run statistical tests, interesting comparisons can still be made using the information available. Each person who could be found on census records had their occupation categorized according to the schema laid out by Glover and King (2011:321). Occupational categories were then compared with marker form and size. While many of the occupations fit neatly into Glover and King's (2011:321) categorization system, other instances were more difficult to classify. For example, John Coughlin was a miner ('unskilled') according to the 1880 census, but by 1910 he had acquired a ranch, placing him in the farmer category, and demonstrating at least one instance of upward social mobility. For this reason, separate graphs were created for the decedents found on the 1880 and 1910 censuses. Another dilemma was women and children who worked at home should be classified. If their occupations existed in a bubble, they would likely be classified on their own or as 'unskilled,' but in reality, their social position would have been determined largely by their husband or father's status (Brackett 2012; Harris 1984). Separate charts were also created to represent each of these ways of interpreting

their status. Figures 26 and 28 show those who were at home in a category of their own, and

Figures 27 and 29 show them according to their head of household's occupation. It must be noted

that the only instances of occupations that would fall into the 'skilled labor' category according

to Glover and King's (2009:321) schema were of heads of households found on census records

but who were not buried in the cemetery, explaining why this category only has members on

Figure 29, which represents familial occupational status.
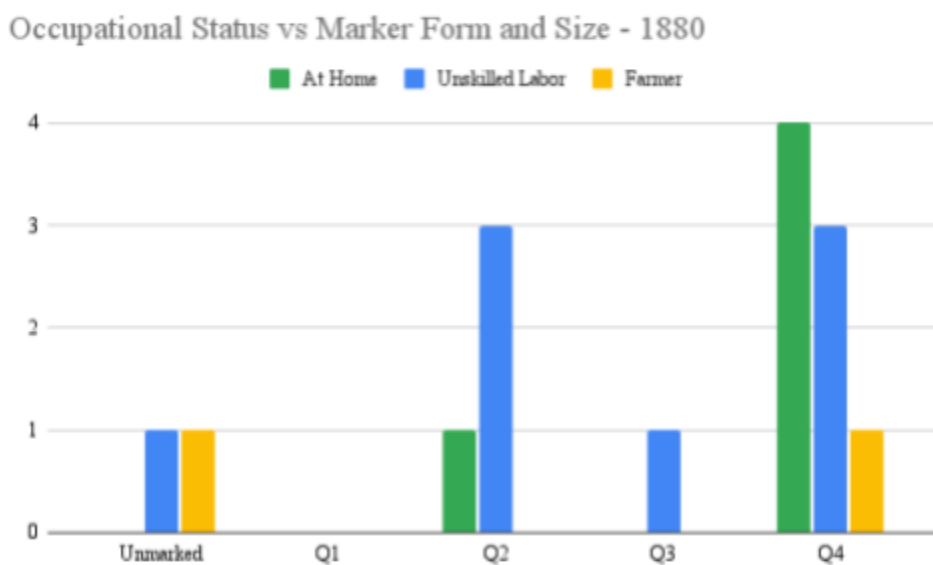
Figure 26: Occupational Status vs Marker Form and Size - 1880

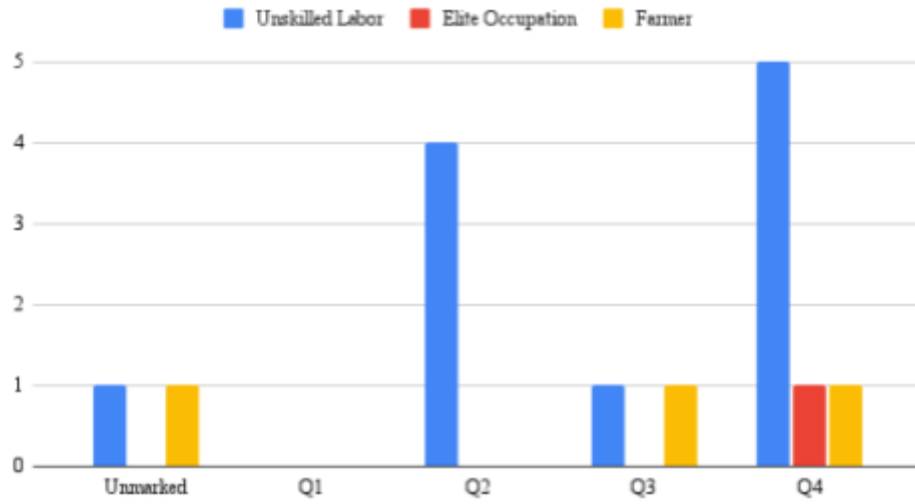Familial Occupational Status vs Marker Form and Size - 1880

Figure 27: Familial Occupational Status vs Marker Form and Size - 1880

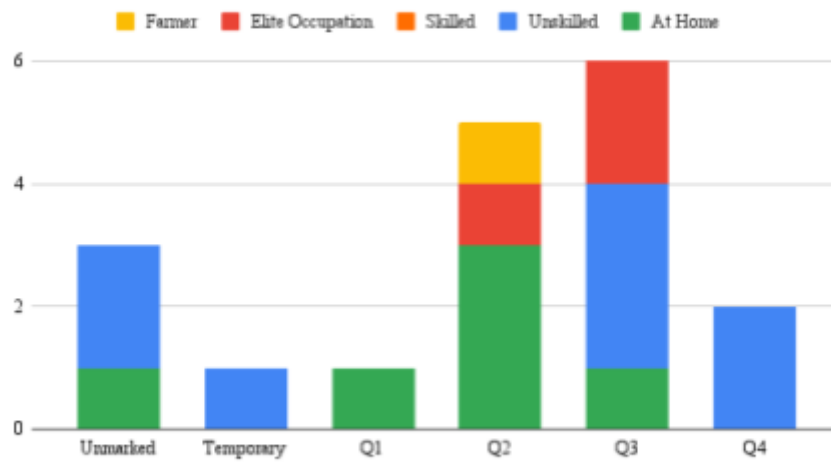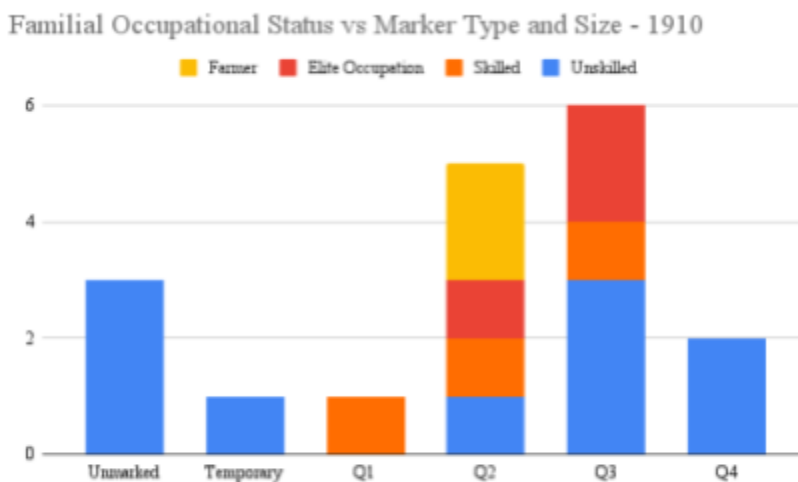Occupational Status vs Marker Type and Size - 1910

Figure 28: Occupational Status vs Marker Type and Size - 1910

Figure 29: Familial Occupation Status vs Marker Type and Size - 1910

Despite not providing concrete statistical relationships, these charts seem to show a lack of correlation between occupational status and marker type or size. For both census groups, people who worked or came from families in occupations classified as 'unskilled labor' made up most or all of the headstones in the largest size category. Only one individual, a woman married to a grocery store owner, both came from a family in an 'elite' occupation and received a grave marker in the largest size category. It is also interesting to note that a greater number of individuals who appeared on the 1880 census were afforded Q4 size category markers than individuals who appeared on the 1910 census. Considering that most of the people on the 1880 census died earlier than those who appeared on the 1910 census, this could suggest a shift in the desire to express wealth through grave markers over time.

The combination of grave marker evidence with historical sources allows for a more complete picture of the Nederland community to be constructed. It appears that no individuals in 'skilled' occupations and very few individuals in 'elite' occupations were buried in the Nederland Cemetery. Although there is not currently quantitative evidence to substantiate this, newspaper articles and obituaries uncovered during the research process reported a number of

Nederland residents being buried in cemeteries outside of the community, with the Columbia

Cemetery in Boulder being one of the most frequently mentioned. It is possible that burial in the

Nederland Cemetery was not considered as prestigious as burial in larger or wealthier

communities, which could explain the lack of Nederland Cemetery decedents reported to have

held prestigious occupations.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

7.1 Interpreting "Inequality"

The expression of inequality at the Nederland Cemetery is in conflict with the expectations outlined at the beginning of this project. While it was hypothesized that social inequalities would be visibly reflected in the types of grave markers afforded to people with various identities and backgrounds, the data showed a more egalitarian distribution of memorials. For example, age at death and gender were not found to be significantly correlated to observable socioeconomic factors. These results do not necessarily entail that social hierarchies did not exist within the Nederland community. As Brown (1995) emphasizes, many aspects of commemoration are not archaeologically visible. Even if all aspects of commemoration could be definitively shown to have lacked differentiation by social status, it still would not entail that these differences were not expressed in other ways (Hodder 1982a:152).

It is possible that the egalitarian distribution of grave markers is connected to a particular political strategy being enacted by those in more powerful social roles. As discussed in Section 3.1.3, outside visitors found little distinction between the dress styles of the rich and poor in Rocky Mountain mining camps (Smith 1967:20). The lack of easily identifiable aesthetic distinctions between social classes would suggest that the political strategy of the Nederland upper class most closely aligned with Hodder's 'masking strategy.' The masking of differences between social classes may have contributed to the popular mythology of the West as being a place for opportunity and self-actualization.

The years 1904 and 1918 both had higher than normal numbers of deaths. The high number of deaths in 1904 deaths is not easily explainable. While the year prior, 1903, had zero

deaths, the deaths in 1904 were not predominantly elderly people, which would have suggested that they had held on to life just into the next calendar year. The largest proportion of deaths in 1904 were those 0-9 and 30-39 years old. On the other hand, the high number of deaths in 1918 finds an obvious explanation in the 1918 Spanish Flu Pandemic. A large portion of the deaths that occurred in 1918 were of young people, with the largest age group dying in 1918 being 20-29 year olds, coinciding with what is known about the Spanish Flu Pandemic. Although it is not fully understood why young and otherwise healthy people were so affected by the 1918 Spanish Flu, a remarkable number of deaths occurred in those between 20-40 years of age (Morens et al. 2010). In Nederland, men made up a substantial proportion of the 1918 deaths. Although only two of the decedents included in the study were provided with military veteran markers, and neither died in 1918, it is possible that World War I may have also played a role in these deaths in a way that is not currently visible.

According to the information currently available, gender and age at death did not seem to play a large role in grave marker selection for individuals buried at the Nederland Cemetery. While it cannot be said definitively that occupational status did not play a role in grave marker selection due to the sample size being too small to run accurate statistical tests, all of the headstones which fell into the Q4 size category were for people with 'unskilled' occupations, and none in the Q4 size category were for people with 'elite' occupations. Using Brown's (1995) terminology, these findings seem to point to a more egalitarian distribution of grave marker resources in Nederland. However, one factor of identity that cannot be said to have been expressed in a more egalitarian way in the Nederland Cemetery is race. As mentioned in the Historical Records Results subsection of chapter 6, only two non-white individuals could be found in Nederland on either the 1880 or 1910 census, and neither was buried in the cemetery.

This could suggest that Nederland excluded non-white people from being allowed to be buried in the cemetery, that the community of Nederland was so hostile towards non-white people that none lived there long enough to die there, or possibly both. It must be reiterated here that the area now called Nederland was not originally a white settlement; the land that is now Nederland was originally home to the Ute and Arapaho tribes, who were forcibly and brutally removed from their homelands both in Nederland and in other parts of the state. The lack of presence of people from non-white racial backgrounds in Nederland during this time cannot be brushed to the side or labeled as a coincidence. Instead, it must be acknowledged that the only way this settlement could have constructed and maintained a nearly-exclusively white population was through discrimination and cruelty.

7.2 Humanizing Data Through Life Stories

The life stories of individual decedents buried in the cemetery demonstrate the reality of social hierarchies that existed in Nederland, as well as the ways in which those hierarchies were hidden under a guise of egalitarianism. What follows are four life histories that have been reconstructed through grave marker information, census data, and newspaper articles. Sharing specific life stories is a way of showing respect to the real people who lived and died in Nederland, even if those stories may be uncomfortable or upsetting. In one sense, they reinsert individuals into the history of the town, rather than smoothing everyone out into statistical generalizations.

Juliet A. Brown (1871-1912)

Juliet A. Brown was a landowner and business owner in her own right. On the 1910

census, her occupation was described as 'restaurant proprietor,' and in 1911, she was recorded to have purchased over 9 acres of land ("United States Bureau of Land Management Tract Books, 1800-c. 1955" 1911). Her ability to do this shows that women had a high degree of socioeconomic autonomy in Nederland, supporting the idea that women could attain higher-paying jobs in the West (Smith 1967:22). Her grave marker appears to have been high-quality as it is still in good condition to this day (Figure 30). Despite her many other accomplishments, her headstone features the word 'mother,' in a larger font than her name was written. This could be interpreted as demonstrating how the 'cult of domesticity' ideology (Brackett 2012) would have made Juliet Brown first and foremost viewed as a mother by her community before she would have been viewed as anything else.

Figure 30: Grave Marker of Juliet A. Brown 1871-1912. Photograph by author

Harold Eugene Bryant (1903-1919)

Harold Bryant was provided with one of only a few wooden grave markers found at the Nederland Cemetery. Only 16 years old at the time of his death, Harold had already been working outside the home at a ranch in Middle Park for at least several months ("Harold Bryant is Dead" April 3 1919). He spent his last eight weeks of life sick with pneumonia before

Figure 31: Grave Marker for Harold E. Bryant pre-accident (dsking 2009)

succumbing to pyemia, during which time he was permitted to return to his family ("Harold

Bryant is Dead" April 3 1919). His short life, the end of which was spent working, is reflective

of the harsh conditions of the time. Harold's wooden headstone was one of the least legible grave

markers in the cemetery, not only due to the

degradation of the wood over time, but also due to

having been broken into pieces by a car rolling into

the cemetery prior to the beginning of this study.

Figure 31 shows what his marker looked like before

the accident occurred, and Figure 32 shows what

remains. The almost-total destruction of Harold

Bryant's marker emphasizes the importance of

documenting cemeteries, as no grave marker is

guaranteed to last forever. A photo of Harold Bryant

with his family as a young boy is shown in Figure 33.

Figure 32: Grave Marker of Harold E. Bryant post-accident

Sylvia (Kerr), Earl (back), William C. and Harold Bryant (front), abt. 1903/1904.

Figure 33: Bryant Family (Bryant 2013)

Virginia J. Brown (1840-1916)

Virginia J. Brown lived through unimaginable tragedies during her lifetime. Her first husband, L.T. Nossaman, was killed by an explosion while working, leaving her to care for their two young daughters, Allie and Jennie, on her own ("Auntie Virginia Brown Passes" February 5 1916). She remarried to Nathaniel William "Baldy" Brown, and together they had a son, Roy. However, just three and a half years later, all three of her children died of diptheria within one week of each other ("Auntie Virginia Brown Passes" February 5 1916). Being a widow put Virginia in a unique social position; as she lost part of her social status as a wife and found herself at a greater risk of economic hardship, she also regained a degree of autonomy as a widowed woman. While in the East, there was a social stigma attached to being considered an "old maid," this stigma seemed to be less pervasive in the West (Hallgarth 1989), and thanks to laws such as the Homesteading Act which allowed women to own property (Hallgarth 1989),

Figure 34: Grave Marker of Virginia J. Brown

women who lost their husbands did not have to fear losing rights to any land they may have owned. After the passing of her husband, Virginia made "many trips East" ("Auntie Virginia Brown Passes" February 5 1916), presumably to visit her family of origin, as she was originally from Indiana ("Auntie Virginia Brown Passes" February 5 1916; "United States Census, 1880" 1880). Virginia is a representative example of the active involvement of women in their communities,

as her "something personality" and "something else" earned her the nickname "Auntie Virginia"

among those who knew her ("Auntie Virginia Brown Passes" February 5 1916). She shares a

grave marker with her husband (Figure 34), which sits beside the markers of her three children.

Alpharetta*[1] Ray (1867-1881)

Alpharetta is both well-known and also largely forgotten. Although a few sentences about

her murder are posted on the Nederland Historic Society website (Nederland Area Historical

Society. n.d.), she is buried in the Nederland Cemetery without any family accompanying her

and no record of her could be found on any census. Being a girl of just thirteen years old,

Alpharetta did not benefit from age or gender-based privilege in her society. A newspaper article

printed just over a week after her death reported that her short years had been riddled with

"poverty and misfortune" ("Jealousy's Victim" May 28 1881), and her father died when she was

a small child. Alpha (as she was known) fell in love with a young man named William "Billy"

Spencer, who by all accounts was a nefarious character who had run into trouble with the law

("Jealousy's Victim" May 28 1881; "The Deadly Passion" May 28 1881; "The Incarnate Fiend"

May 27 1881). It is because of her relationship with Spencer that she ended up moving out of the

care of her mother and stepfather and into the home of another local family, the Stills

("Jealousy's Victim" May 28 1881;"The Incarnate Fiend" May 27 1881) .

Alpharetta's murderer, Nettie Still, possessed a much greater degree of social power than

did Alpha. Besides simply being an adult while Alpharetta was just a child, Nettie was also the

wife of an important man in town. Her husband, Charles Still, was not only an engineer ("United

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[1] The newspaper spelling of Alpharetta Ray's name was given preference over the spelling on her headstone (Alvaretta). Although the spelling on her headstone was likely chosen by her family, the newspaper article was an account in her own words which ended with an official statement reading "Her Mark, X, Alpharetta Ray" ("The Deadly Passion" May 28 1881).

States Census, 1880" 1880), but also the town's constable (Nederland Area Historical Society

n.d.) and the former marshal of Black Hawk ("Our Suburbs." May 20 1881).

On the evening of May 16 1881, Charles took Alpha to the location of Billy Spencer to

pay him a visit. Believing that some sort of inappropriate relationship existed between Charles

and Alpharetta, Nettie followed them for a portion of their journey. She directed her anger and

jealousy toward Alpha, who returned home from the visit before Charles. Nettie openly declared

her intentions to kill Alpha both before and after shooting her twice in the abdomen, even adding that she planned to kill her husband "as soon as he enters the door" and bragging to her five-year-old daughter about what she had done ("The Deadly Passion" May 28 1881). Fortunately for Mr. Still, he was able to wrestle the weapon out of his wife's hands before she was able to shoot him. Much of what is known about the night of the murder comes from Alpharetta's own account (Figure 35). Surviving into the following day after being shot, she was able to provide testimony to two witnesses.

Mrs. Still awaited trial for one year. While waiting in jail, she gave birth to her second child. During the trial, Nettie held

Alpha! what is the matter?' I says, 'Net. shot me!' and he ran right out then. I didn't see any more of him till Net. came in. Net. came in and says to him: 'I'm going to kill you, I be d—d if I don't.' He went up to her and took the revolver out of her hand, and she commenced kicking him. So he ran down after the doctor. She thought I was dead all this time, cause she didn't come up and bother me any more. Doctor Marden came up in a great crowd, and she commenced on Charlie, and then a lot of men took her out in the back room and tied her hands. As she started out she ran up and gave me another kick, and they grabbed her and took her out of the door. I am nearly fourteen; will be fourteen the 26th of November next. First name in full is Alpharetta. She asked me, as I first went in, what I'd been doing. I told her that Mr. Still and I took a walk up to see Billy Spencer, and she says, 'Like h—l you did!' And I says, 'Do you suppose I'm a d—d fool?' She says, 'You didn't think I was watching you all the time,' and in reply I said, ' Watch or no watch; if you did watch, that's all you saw.'

Margie is Mr. Still's little child about five years old. Mrs. Still had not the least bit of reason in the world to suspect me. I never before had any trouble with her. Had only m.. Charley twice before. In the afternoon he said, ' Alpha, would you like to see Sally.' I says, ' You bet I would.' And he says, 'All right; keep it dark from every one.'

her
ALPHA (X) RAY.

Figure 35: Clip from "The Deadly Passion" May 28 1881

her 9-month-old son in her lap while her husband and young daughter sat directly behind them. Despite the account of the victim emphasizing how many times the murderer proclaimed her intention to kill, Nettie was not found guilty. Instead, she was found to be innocent by reason of temporary insanity ("What Shall Be Done" May 26 1882). Nettie and Charles stayed together, moved from Nederland to Denver, and lived to meet their grandchildren ("United States Census, 1930" 1930). Although considering the years she lived, Alpharetta should have appeared on both the 1870 and 1880 censuses, she was unable to be found in these records.

Alpharetta's story is an anecdotal account of the way inequalities directly influenced the life courses of the people of Nederland. Alpharetta's grave marker was small, fading, and broken, but evidence of embellishment could still be seen and the information provided about her exceeded that of some other markers by including her exact age at the time of her death and the

Figure 36: Grave Marker of Alpharetta Ray

initials of her parents (Figure 36). Charles and Nettie Still were not buried in the Nederland Cemetery, so their grave markers cannot be directly compared to Alpharetta's, but the way each person in this story reached the end of their lives demonstrates the different outcomes experienced by people of different socioeconomic backgrounds.

7.3 Wider Implications

The lack of status-based differentiation among graves lends support to the idea that mining communities had social structures which masked existing power dynamics. While not resolving the debate, this study contributes valuable information and context to the ongoing scholarly conversation over whether communities on the Western Frontier were more egalitarian than their Eastern counterparts. This study also adds to the body of literature that combines archaeological and historical research methods.

In addition to contributing to the research of American cemetery archaeology and life on the Western Frontier, aspects of this project were designed to offer benefits to the Nederland descendant community. Photographs of all historic grave markers have been uploaded to findagrave.com, allowing descendants to view the markers of their ancestors even if they are no longer living in the Nederland area. Each photo was also geographically tagged so that the markers are easy to find if someone chooses to visit the cemetery in person. This was completed in combination with the creation of a cemetery map, which previously did not exist for the historic sections of the cemetery. On familysearch.org, ancestor pages were created for the Nederland Cemetery decedents who could be matched with historic documents, making this information easily accessible to descendants.

There are many remaining avenues for both archaeological and historical-genealogical research. If future attempts to locate unmarked graves using ground-penetrating radar find more success, researchers will be able to ask more questions about why these specific graves are unmarked and create more accurate maps of the cemetery, and the Nederland community will be able to use the remaining land for burials without fear of stumbling across occupied grave plots. Future historical researchers may wish to analyze the entirety of the available census data

without being limited to only those buried in the cemetery, or to include the 1870, 1900, and/or

1920 census in their study. Both archaeological and historical investigations conducted on this

cemetery in the future would benefit from comparing data to other Colorado mining

communities or to non-Frontier communities back East.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

As this research focused solely on the history, genealogy, and burial practices of one specific mining community, it cannot be confidently argued that mining settlements on the Western Frontier were more or less egalitarian than settlements that existed concurrently in the Eastern United States. To do so, data from Nederland would need to be compared with other mining settlements and contrasted with Eastern U.S. communities to discover if a pattern emerged distinguishing them from one another. However, it has been shown that the burial practices of the Nederland community were not, as a rule, differentiated by aspects of identity. Men were not provided with significantly larger grave markers than women, and age at death did not affect the size of markers either. Neither men nor women lived significantly longer than each other.

Examination of historic documents has shown that despite the lack of differentiation between grave markers within the cemetery, Nederland was not a bastion of egalitarianism. Opportunities and outcomes varied by race, gender, and economic status. Nederland engaged in practices of racial exclusion and did not seem to be often chosen as the final resting place for those of high social status. The combination of these findings is suggestive of Hodder's (1982b) masking strategy being employed by the higher social classes of Nederland. As discussed in Chapter 3, Frontier settlements needed to present themselves as places of unique socioeconomic opportunity in order to attract migrants to come work there. In the Western United States, the use of masking strategies to obscure social hierarchies may have contributed to the popular mythology of the Frontier as a place of freedom, egalitarianism, and increased social mobility.

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