



# SCAN



THE SANTA CRUZ ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY NEWSLETTER SUMMER 2018



## ALCOHOL AND POWER AT THE KILNS: CLASS, ETHNICITY AND LABOR IN THE SANTA CRUZ LIME INDUSTRY BY BENJAMIN AKEY



Despite the prominence of the Santa Cruz lime industry in local historical narratives, few works directly address the lives and daily experiences of laborers who lived and worked at these complexes. As my senior thesis at UCSC, I addressed topics of identity and labor through the lens of alcohol consumption at local lime kiln complexes by conducting a detailed container glass analysis of existing collections from two major lime producing facilities: the Cowell Lime Works (presently located at the entrance to the UCSC campus) and the Samuel Adams Lime Kilns (currently located in Wilder Ranch State Park). These kilns operated between 1853-1920 and 1858-1906, respectively. My analysis centered around two framing questions: How was the consumption of alcohol involved in the performance of identity among lime kiln workers? What role did alcohol consumption practices play in the organization of consent to the capitalist labor process in these small-scale company towns?

Alcohol consumption, while seemingly a narrow window into these topics, is often entwined within the complex relationships of power and identity of multiethnic industrial communities. Rather than casting alcohol consumption practices as mundane and inconsequential habits of workers, I attempted to ‘take alcohol seriously’, considering the multiple roles of drinking in the power relationships that structured life within these communities. This is, after all, a fundamental strength of archaeology: revealing the meaningful content of everyday experiences otherwise dismissed as insignificant.

Alcohol consumption in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century held a strong association with one’s social position. The emergence and popularity of the Temperance movement, which aimed at the widespread abstinence from alcohol consumption, made drinking the site of ideological contention tied to class identity, in the sense that alcohol consumption practices became a marker of one’s belonging to a specific social class. Respectability became

firmly linked with the Victorian moral value of sobriety, and the working class became largely portrayed as lazy drunks. In this context, the drinking patterns of laborers can effectively tell us about the performance of specific class ideologies. Beyond class identity, alcohol consumption practices may have played a significant role in the performance of ethnic identities. For the largely Azorean-Portuguese and Swiss-Italian immigrant workforce in Santa Cruz lime complexes, consumption of specific beverages may have held a meaningful connection to distant homelands. Drinking may have been a powerful way in which workers negotiated their identity and place within new, unstable settings by rooting themselves in identities linked to diasporic origins.



*Overview of the Samuel Adams Lime Kilns circa 1900 (Santa Cruz Museum of Art and History).*

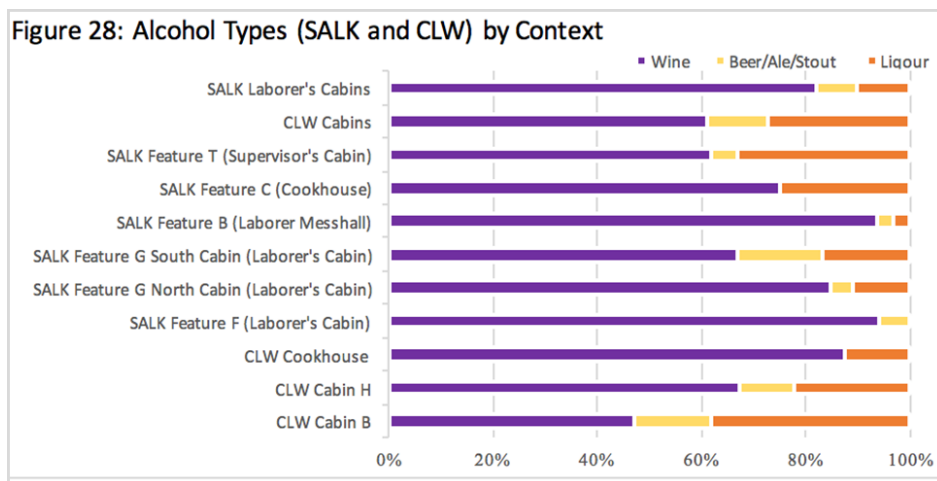
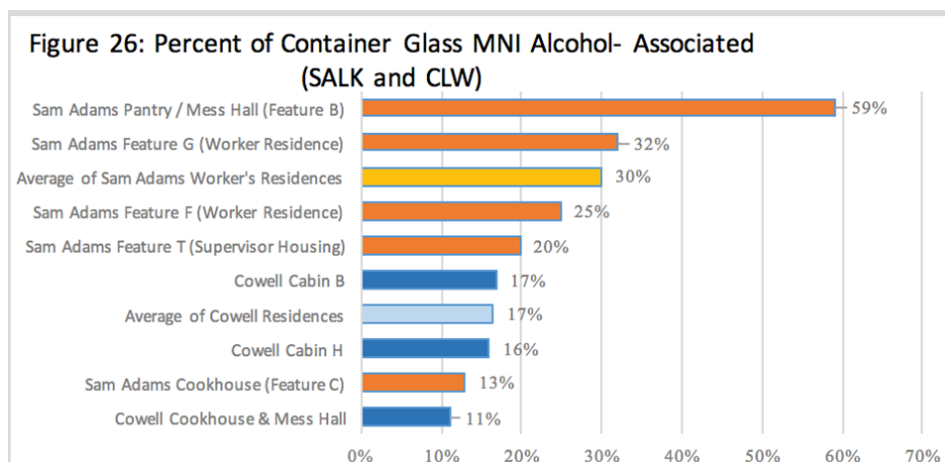
*Previous page: Overview of the Cowell Lime Works operations in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Friends of the Cowell Lime Works)*

The stigmatization of alcohol consumption associated with Victorian morality was often entrenched by company town management as part of an effort to shape an ideal, rationalized laborer. As a result, archaeologists investigating company towns have often interpreted drinking as a form of resistance to corporate control. While there may be considerable truth to this approach, this investigation avoided reducing these practices to a simple binary of domination and resistance, instead highlighting the relation of alcohol consumption to pluralistic forms of power present in industrial communities. In this light, drinking practices can be seen as ways in which laborers contested their position within the labor process more broadly.

I employed this theoretical framework to interpret the results of a detailed analysis on thousands of container glass fragments excavated across eight spaces at the Cowell Lime Works and the Samuel Adams Lime Kilns. Within each context, fragments were grouped, examined for diagnostic traits that may indicate the former contents, quantified, photographed and cataloged. This data was used to determine the likelihood that each container was associated with alcohol, allowing for the observation of patterns within the distribution and concentration of alcohol consumption between discrete spaces.

Assemblages excavated from the Samuel Adams Lime Kilns offered an opportunity to compare attitudes to-

wards alcohol between the residences of general laborers and supervisorial staff. The Supervisor's cabin sampled for this investigation was associated with significantly fewer alcohol containers relative to those of other workers. While alcohol was not totally absent, this pattern suggests that supervisors limited their alcohol consumption, perhaps as an effort to differentiate themselves from other laborers. This attitude towards drinking can be interpreted as the performance of a class-linked ideological position through which supervisors sought to elevate their social standing. In contrast, the substantial number of alcohol containers associated with residences of general laborers at these sites can be seen as a rejection of the class politics represented by bourgeoisie Victorian values, instead attaching their own, distinct meanings to these practices.



*Charts illustrating the relative concentration of alcohol containers (above) and the relative presence of specific beverages (below) at the Samuel Adams Lime Kiln (SALK) and Cowell Lime Works (CLW). (Akey 2018)*

Previous work, including Patricia Paramoure's Master's Thesis on the lives of laborers at the Cowell Lime Works, has drawn attention to ways in which laborers remained connected to their countries of origin through the maintenance of foodways associated with their homelands. Extending this line of reasoning, we can see alcohol as another means through which workers embodied and experienced connections to their ethnic identities within settings defined by the confluence of various immigrant populations. The ubiquitous and dominant presence of wine across all contexts considered within this paper, a beverage associated with the heritage of both Azorean-Portuguese and Swiss-

Italian laborers, may evidence a strategic embodiment of ethnic identity that allowed workers to remain grounded in shared memories of distant homelands while facing unstable and challenging circumstances.

In many cases, it was not entirely clear whether the performance of class ideologies or ethnic identities was the dominant driver behind patterns in laborer's drinking patterns. This dynamic provided an opportunity to reflect on the intersections of these identity positions within west coast industrial communities. Rather than expecting these patterns to map on to the performance a specific, isolated identity position, it seems more fitting to understand this indeterminacy or 'messiness' as representing the complicated materiality of intersecting identity positions in multi-ethnic labor communities. In other words, in cases in which one's status as an 'ethnic other' and as a lower class laborer went hand in hand, as they did often in such settings, elements of material culture cannot be reduced to the expression or performance of one identity position. In this sense, alcoholic beverages functioned as multivalent symbols, irreducible to one driving or 'dominant' factor. Though purely speculative, it is tempting to imagine alcohol consumption practices as a foundation for the emergence of solidarity and understanding between Azorean-Portuguese and Swiss-Italian laborers at these complexes, based on their shared class position and common status as recent immigrants and outsiders in unfamiliar communities.

Differences in the spatial distribution and concentration of alcohol consumption between the Cowell Lime Works and the Samuel Adams Lime Kilns offer a way to tie this discussion to the organization of consent to capitalist relations of production. In general, a larger percentage of container glass assemblages from the Samuel Adams Lime Kilns were made up of alcoholic beverages relative to the spaces investigated at the Cowell Lime Works. Even more intriguing is the marked disparity between the relative presence of alcohol at comparatively 'public' (cookhouse, messhall, etc.) and 'private' spaces (residences) at the two complexes. While residences at the Samuel Adams Lime Kilns only showed slightly higher concentrations of alcohol consumption than their counterparts at the Cowell Lime Works, the presence of drinking within the comparatively public spaces of cookhouses/messhalls contrasted substantially between the two sites; the Samuel Adams Lime Kilns showed by far the highest concentration of alcohol containers across the two sites, while the combined cookhouse/messhall at the Cowell Lime Works fell at the opposite extreme.

While a simplistic explanation of these discrepancies could reduce these trends to contrasting management styles, the pitfall of this assertion is that it privileges the power and agency of management and reduces workers to passive roles in an otherwise determined historical moment. Instead, we could read these differences as contrasting expressions of the strategies employed by workers in order to negotiate and contest their position within the organization of the labor process and the moral controls of company town life. In this way, drinking may have functioned as a way to claim agency within the capitalist labor process, contest the subject formation efforts of industrialists rooted in Victorian moral values, and exert some control over their everyday experiences.

The conclusions reached through this analysis contribute to the efforts of Frank Perry, Patricia Paramoure and a number of other scholars who have sought to better understand the lives of ordinary workers in these settings. On an-



other level, these conclusions have implications for the wider study of west coast multi-ethnic labor communities. Specifically, it demonstrates that inquiries into the contingent and locally specific meanings held by alcohol consumption among such communities can help us understand the plural forms of power that structured company town life, and the strategies employed by laborers to navigate their everyday experiences. Taking alcohol seriously, as a multivalent symbol and meaningful part of material culture offers ways to understand the complex intersections between various identity positions, as well as how members of these communities contested and negotiated their positions within the capitalist labor process, the complex terrain of bourgeois Victorian morality, and industrialists' attempts to create an ideal industrial subject.



*Laborers at the Samuel Adams Lime Kilns pose for a photo, taken in the 1890s (Santa Cruz Museum of Art and History)*

*This project would have been impossible without the help of Tsim Schneider, Patricia Paramoure, David Hyde, Andrew Kindon, Mark Hylkema and Sally Morgan. A full copy of this thesis project can be found at the UCSC Ethnographic Library, or by emailing [bakey@ucsc.edu](mailto:bakey@ucsc.edu). Helpful references for additional information on the Santa Cruz lime industry include 'Lime Kiln Legacies' (Frank Perry et al. 2007) available at the Santa Cruz Museum of Art and History, and 'Life in an Industrial Village: The Archaeology of Cabin B at the Cowell Lime Works Historic District' (Paramoure 2012), a master's thesis on file at the Sonoma State University library website. 🌿*

## In Memoriam: Ed Von der Porten



Edward Von der Porten, a Bay Area educator, maritime historian, and archaeologist, passed away in April at the age of 84. Born in New York, Ed moved to San Francisco to earn a BA and an MA in history from San Francisco State University. While at SF State, Ed learned field archaeology under Adan Treganza at his ALA-328 field school. Ed's MA thesis research on naval strategies resulted in the book *The German Navy in WW II*. While at San Francisco State, Ed met Saryl Corrick. They married in 1954 and began a life-long journey together.

Ed began teaching in Fremont and Vallejo, and then moved to Santa Rosa in 1958. He taught high school courses in US History, American Government, English, Geography, and Journalism until 1985. Ed began teaching night classes at Santa Rosa Junior College (SRJC) in 1961. In the 1960s, bulldozers were destroying Native American middens at Drakes Bay in the future Point Reyes National Seashore, so he developed an introductory archaeology class and archaeological field school. For years, Ed's classes spent weekends saving this heritage. Many of his SRJC students went on to make major contributions to the field of California archaeology. He

remained director of the SRJC archaeology program until 1982.

Ed's analysis of the porcelain fragments found in the Native American sites at Drakes Bay, in collaboration with Clarence Shangraw at the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco, determined that there were two distinct Chinese porcelain sets at Point Reyes corresponding to historically documented visits by early European explorers: Drake in 1579 and Cermeño in 1595. Through this work, Ed became a noted expert on sixteenth-century Chinese porcelains, using evidence from shipwrecks to help Chinese scholars date their materials. Starting in 1996, Ed and the Drake Navigators Guild led the work to have the Drakes Bay National Historic and Archeological District National Historic Landmark established. In 2011, he gave the presentations in Washington, DC, and in Florida leading to the Secretary of the Interior's approval in 2012.

Twenty years ago, Ed and Saryl, became aware of Chinese porcelain fragments found on a remote beach in Baja California, Mexico. That led to the discovery of the lost wreck site of a sixteenth-century Manila galleon (most likely the San Juanillo of 1578). Working with Mexican authorities, technical experts from many fields, and a diverse crew of volunteers, Ed built teams for fieldwork trips each year.

For many summers, Ed and Saryl traveled Europe in a 1970s VW camper van visiting historic sites, meeting archaeologists, and consulting on shipwreck projects including the raising of the Mary Rose. His research throughout northern Europe led to a 1994 article in *National Geographic*: *The Hanseatic League*.

In addition, Ed was an early member of the Society for California Archaeology, the Society for Historical Archaeology, and numerous other local and international organizations dedicated to historical research

and preservation. Ed gave a presentation at a SCAS meeting in 2013 discussing the three known sixteenth-century Manila galleon wrecks on the West Coast.

Married 56 years, Ed's wife Saryl passed away in 2011. Services for Ed will be announced at a later date. Donations in lieu of flowers may be made to the Drake Navigators Guild, the SS Jeremiah O'Brien National Liberty Ship Memorial, the Society for California Archaeology, or the Institute of Nautical Archaeology. 🌿

## **BOOK REVIEW: ERIC H. CLINE, THREE STONES MAKE A WALL: THE STORY OF ARCHAEOLOGY. BY KEVIN HILDRETH**

One of the first books I read on the subject of archaeology was C.W. Ceram's *Gods, Graves, and Scholars*, a gift from my parents for Christmas in 1973. Dividing his work into four parts, Ceram described the adventures of archaeologists whose efforts helped reconstruct the cultures of pre-classical Greece, ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Pre-Columbian Mesoamerica respectively.

It seems appropriate, therefore, that Eric Cline mentions Ceram as one of the authors that inspired him to pick up the trowel, pick-ax and brush. And he does so in the introduction to his own book, *Three Stones Make a Wall*, a suitable early 21<sup>st</sup> Century replacement for the out-of-date book of our mutual childhoods. Like Ceram's tome, Cline's book recounts tales of archaeologists working in the field, describing their techniques and methods (and inevitable ordeals) in their search for clues about the past. Cline writing style is both entertaining and easy to read, though not in a patronizing manner.

However, it is the expansion of the focus beyond Classical old-world sites that enhances this book's value as an introduction to those newly curious to antiquities. Though Cline's extensive experience in the east Mediterranean and Near East is manifest in his entries there, he also gives adequate coverage to other areas, both in the deep past of human prehistory and to other parts of the world often neglected due to lack of representative "treasure." It would have been nice, though, for him to have included more information regarding California besides the account of Ishi. This broader scope does limit the amount of time spent on each area, giving the reader just enough material to whet their appetite for more. The book is accompanied by a 47-page bibliography from which readers can use to find other works on topics that interested them.

Finally, unlike earlier works I read when I was younger, Cline spends time going over the harm done through pot hunters and the antiquities trade fueling their search for artifacts. He also discusses the dilemma some researchers face when they are approached by dealers bearing discoveries that could enhance our knowledge of some aspect of the past, but whose finds are now removed from context and whose acceptance by experts would encourage further illegal activity. Cline also touches briefly on pseudo-archaeology, particularly citing how a Swiss ex-con convinced a number of people that the Nazca Lines were landing directional marking for extraterrestrial visitors, a notion Cline successfully puts to rest.

*Three Stones Make a Wall* is available at the Santa Cruz Public Library (check their catalog on-line at [www.santacruzpl.org](http://www.santacruzpl.org)). Publisher info: Princeton; Oxford Princeton University Press, 2017. Pp. xix, 455. ISBN 9780691166407



# Honoring Gary Breschini

Gary Breschini passed away on Tuesday, June 5<sup>th</sup>, 2018 after a long illness. He was the son of Margaret Storm and John Breschini, and is survived by his professional partner, collaborator and wife, Trudy Haversat, and also nieces, nephews and cousins. He grew up in Corral de Tierra where he developed a love for local history around the dinner table, attended Salinas's schools and met Trudy at the University of Washington, where he received his PhD in Anthropology.

Gary was a major contributor to our understanding of Monterey Bay area history and archaeology. He was one of the first archaeologists in the Monterey Bay area to work with the California Coastal Commission on procedures for implementing appropriate rules and regulations to conserve and protect archeological resources in the coastal zone and throughout Monterey, San Benito and Santa Cruz Counties.



He and Trudy produced pioneering work in Rock Art, radiocarbon studies, climatic variations, and DNA studies of past and living (with their permission) Native Americans. This last work enabled Gary and Trudy to connect modern day Native people with specific ancestors who lived five thousand years ago.

Concerned over the lack of access and the loss of regional archaeological classics, they founded Coyote Press and made those books and reports available to the archeological community along with large numbers of limited edition cultural resource reports that otherwise would not have been available for distribution. Additionally, they have written and published landmark books for the public on local Native Peoples, especially a re-

markable book on the Esselen peoples. This book, *Esselen Indians of the Big Sur Country* distills years of research into a popular story, and was the basis for many of Gary and Trudy's lectures at local groups and service organizations. Other publications include the *Early Salinas* and *Spreckels* volumes in the "Images of America" series, and *10,000 years on the Salinas Plain: An Illustrated History of Salinas City, California*, and many other professional reports and papers.

Gary was an outdoor enthusiast who, with Trudy, explored miles of trails on horseback. He is a past president of the Society for California Archaeology, the Monterey Historical Society, was a Registered Professional Archaeologist, and a member of other professional organizations.

Gary was a staunch supporter of the Santa Cruz Archaeological Society and the Archaeological Technician program at Cabrillo College. He is remembered for his distinctive cowboy hat and western-style shirts. Gary was instrumental in building and funding the Monterey County Historical Society Archaeological Archive at the Monterey County Historical Museum located on Boronda Road, which stores the materials he and Trudy





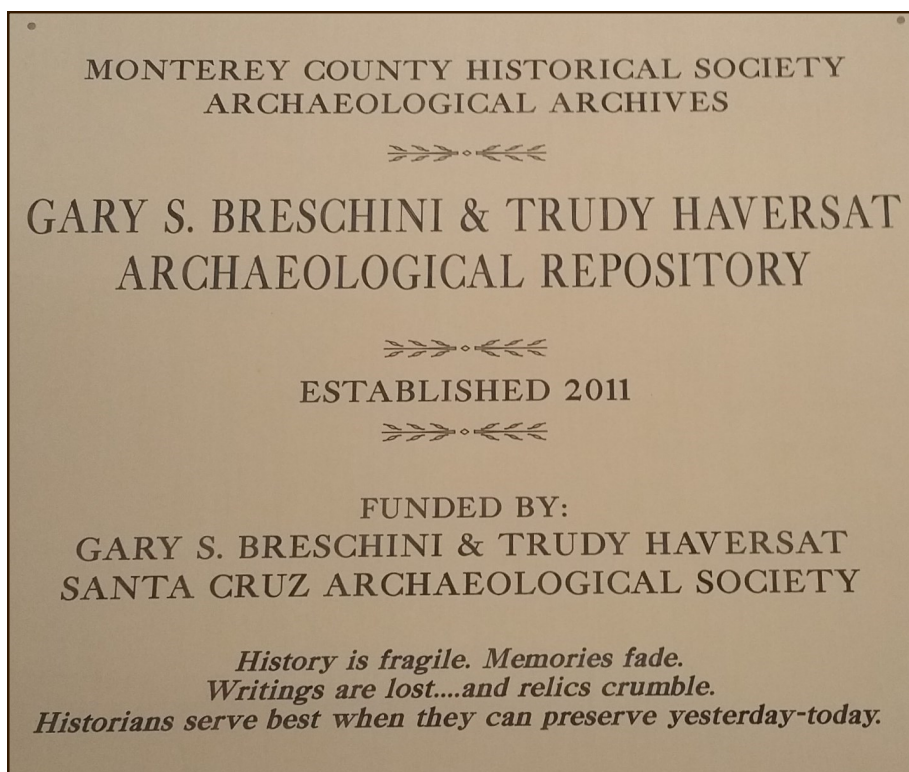
Gary Breschini and Trudy Haversat receive the Mark Raymond Harrington Award for Conservation Archaeology at the Society for California Archaeology Conference in March, 2017.

collected during their professional career.

Recently, that repository was renamed in honor of Gary Breschini and Trudy Haversat. The Santa Cruz Archaeological Society has donated \$5000.00 to the newly named Archive. Those of you who want to join us in this honoring, can contribute to the Archive fund by sending a contribution to the Monterey County Historical Society, P.O. Box 3576, Salinas, California 93912.

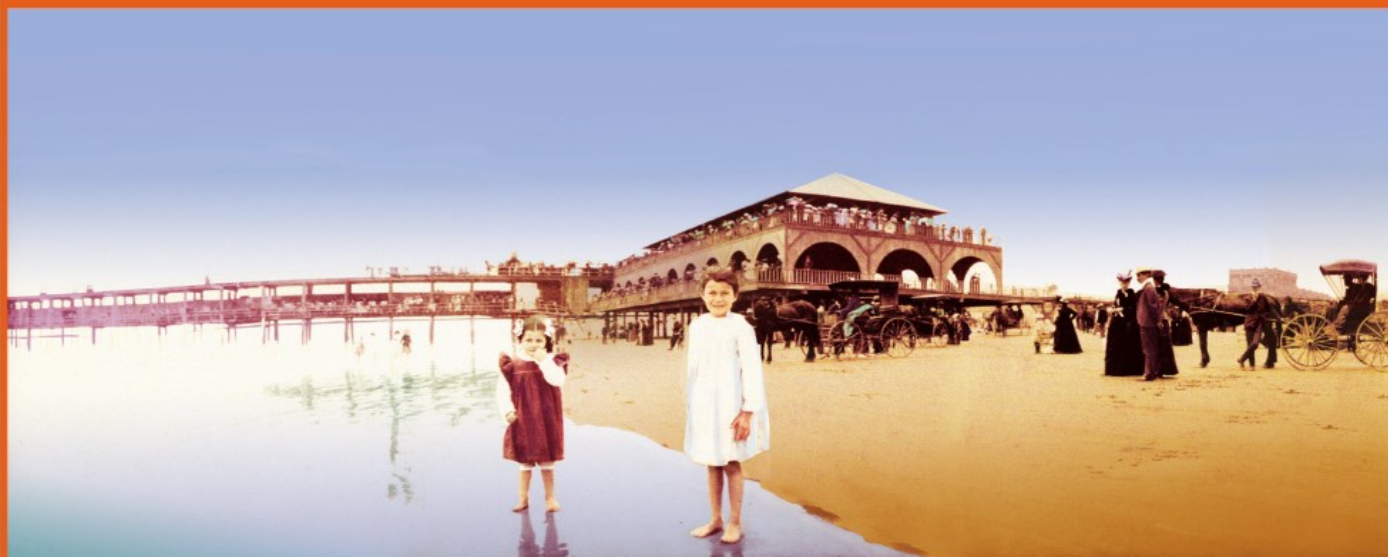
Messages to Trudy can be sent to Coyote Press at 320 W Market St, Salinas, CA 93901.

Friends, colleagues and family were invited to a celebration of Gary's life at the Church of the Good Shepherd, 301 Corral de Tierra Road, Salinas on Thursday, June 21 at 4 P.M. Rob Edwards gave a eulogy, and Native American prayers were offered. The well-attended service was followed by a potluck meal on the church grounds where stories about Gary, and good food were shared. 🌿



*This remembrance borrows heavily from obituaries written by Rob Edwards and Jan Whitlow. Thank you Rob and Jan for your words and photos.—The Editor*

# SESQUICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION



## Discover Your Neighborhood Local History Programs

**Scotts Valley History** with Jay Topping  
Saturday June 16 11am Scotts Valley

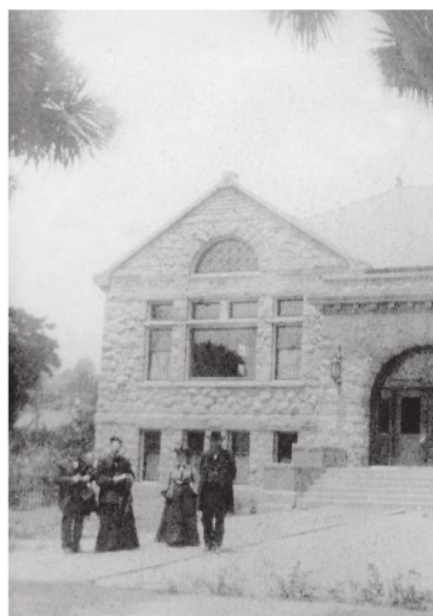
**West Side Santa Cruz History** with Ross Gibson  
Thursday June 21 12pm Garfield Park

**Aptos History** with John Hibble  
Thursday June 28 1pm Aptos

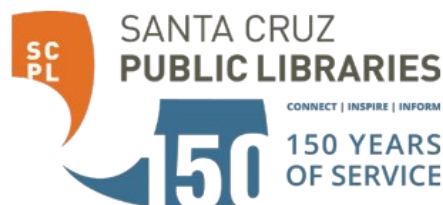
**Boulder Creek History** with Lisa Robinson  
Saturday June 30 1pm Boulder Creek

**Live Oak History** with Norman Poitevin  
Saturday July 14 1pm Live Oak

**East Side Santa Cruz History**  
With Judy Steen & Joe Michalak  
Saturday July 28 11am Branciforte



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# SCAS GENERAL MEETING SCHEDULE

General Meetings take place on the second Thursday of the month, 7:30 p.m., at the Santa Cruz Live Oak Grange Hall at 1900 17th Ave, Santa Cruz, CA 95062.

This building is on 17th Avenue between Capitola Road and Mattison Lane.

**There will be no general meeting during July and August. See you in September!**

September 13, 2018	Beth Mabie, Osteologist
October 11, 2018	Juliana Quist, Project Manager, GIS Specialist, Archeo-Tec
November 8, 2018	John Foster, Retired, California State Parks
December 13, 2018	Ryan Brady, Project Manager, Dudek
January 10, 2019	Jason Field, Archaeologist CEMML, Camp Roberts, San Luis Obispo
February 14, 2019	Katie Vallaire, Project Manager, LSA
March, 14, 2019	Adrian Praetzellis, Head of Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University (Retired)

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY BUSINESS

### SCAS Officers and Contact Info

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President	Kären Johansson (acting)	johans161@gmail.com	831-247-3063
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Secretary	Open		
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Please share any archaeological interests or experience:

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*Mail completed application with dues to: SCAS Membership, P.O. Box 85, Soquel, CA 95073, or visit our website:  
<http://www.santacruzarchsociety.org/join>*