

THE OTHER SIDE OF SANDPOINT: EARLY HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY BESIDE THE TRACKS

THE SANDPOINT ARCHAEOLOGY PROJECT 2006-2013



VOLUME 2: MATERIAL CULTURE OF EVERYDAY LIFE



SWCA
ENVIRONMENTAL CONSULTANTS

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PREFACE

The Sand Creek Byway, illustrated on the cover of this report, parallels the Burlington Northern Santa Fe tracks as it passes along the eastern edge of Sandpoint, Idaho. What looks like a ribbon of asphalt and steel today was once Sandpoint's town center and a thriving lumber mill. The lives and material culture of the people who lived and worked here are the subjects of this four volume report. The organization of this document is not typical of most archaeological data recovery reports. For example, if you are interested in the archeological methods used or data produced, go to Volume 4, Summary of Methods and Data. Ethnography and prehistory of Sandpoint are presented in Volume 3, and Volume 2, Material Culture of Everyday Life, focuses on specific historical artifact classes. Volume 1, Sandpoint Stories, provides a brief history of the byway and the reasons for the archaeological project, as well as a select number of "stories" gleaned from analyzing the historical artifacts recovered and their cultural context.

The Sandpoint Archaeology Project field work began in 2006 with approval of a research design that addressed adverse effects to historic properties identified as part of the Sand Creek Byway project (US 95 Sandpoint, North & South) and ended in 2013 with above referenced report. In between, nearly 500 units were excavated by 36 archaeologists, 566,674 precontact and historical artifacts were recovered, processed, and analyzed, grade school teaching kits were developed, a museum exhibit was installed, and a book on local history was published. All of this was funded through the Federal Highways Administration and District 1 of the Idaho Transportation Department (ITD) and managed on the agency level by Randy Hirst of District 1 and Marc Münch, ITD Archaeologist. SWCA Environmental Consultants became involved with the project in 2009. James C. Bard served as SWCA's project manager, as well as one of three project principal investigators (PI) and was lead specialist in prehistory. Robert M. Weaver of the Environmental History Company and Mark Warner of the University of Idaho were the other two PIs specializing in historical archaeology. All three were also primary authors and editors of the report.

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Over 100 people over 10 years contributed their valuable time and skills to tell the tales of early Sandpoint. The authors wish to thank each and every one of them wholeheartedly. First and foremost, we want to acknowledge the Idaho Transportation Department staff. Mr. Randy Hirst provided leadership and project management on behalf of District 1 and the Sandpoint Byway project and coordinated with Byway Project Manager, Ken Sorenson. He was assisted by highway archaeologists Marc Münch and Dan Guard in integrating the engineering needs with the archaeological requirements including taking bureaucratic and administrative aspects off the shoulders of the Principal Investigators. During data recovery, David Suhr and Craig Lewis not only provided day to day coordination, but also became honorary archaeologists assisting both project managers and crew in numerous ways. Additional much welcomed support came from Susan Kiebert and Julie Bishop in the Sandpoint Transportation Information Office, along with ITD Public Information Specialist, Barb Babic. All three helped in arranging the several open house displays given in the town during field work, which drew over 300 people on the first opening.

A number of local and regional people provided enthusiasm and assistance throughout the project. In particular, members of the Bonner County Historical Society, Ann Ferguson, Dale Selle, Vern Eskridge, and Olivia Luther made major contributions in terms of documents, photos, and their longstanding knowledge of local history, which allowed us to focus on key areas of the site(s) and interpret the findings. Additional assistance came from local collector and historian, Gary Weitz, who provided his own observations as well as his summaries from years of visiting both historical and prehistoric sites. We also appreciate the contributions of Cliff SiJohn of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe, Nancy Renk, Marti Betts, and members of the Farmin family who also provided detailed information and assistance that furthered our understanding of the Sand Creek/Sandpoint area. Terry Abraham and Priscilla Wegers from the Asian American Comparative Collection at the University of Idaho provided much needed education of the field workers about Chinese material culture as well as assisted in public presentation and display of artifacts.

The project was governed by a Memorandum of Agreement that involved the lead federal agency, the State Historic Preservation Office, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and the Kalispel Tribe. In addition, the Kootenai and Coeur d'Alene tribes were consulted. The MOA parties provided guidance and assistance that helped keep the project moving forward. In addition, they waded through the report volumes and provided numerous and appreciated comments. Mary Anne Davis, Suzie Neitzel and Ken Reid represented the SHPO; Lawr Salo and Kara Kanaby lead Corps of Engineers contributions; and Kevin Lyons and Kendra Philmon contributed for the Kalispel Tribe.

During site excavations, we were assisted by Kiebert Natural Resources, Northwest Tree Service, and Glahe and Associates. In particular, Adam Long, one of the best backhoe archaeologists we've seen, moved and managed the overburden with amazing precision and Kermit Kiebert assisted with the mechanical equipment efforts that opened up areas for study.

Senior managers from the various contractual companies included Ron Borkan and Elizabeth Perry (SWCA), Kevin Cooley and Art Jenkins (CH2M Hill), and David Butzier and Tracy Olson (URS). Chris Miss (NWAA/SWCA) provided not only support, but also the insight of many years working on the archaeological history and prehistory of the region. Their participation facilitated project objectives as well as explanation of the Byway design and areas of effect.

This report would not have been possible without the help of the people putting it together at SWCA: editing and formatting voluminous text and graphics. Lorelea Hudson directed the final assembly; Malini

Roberts edited the hundreds of pages; Johonna Shea brought exceptional skills to not only producing the archaeological drawings but also ensured the best quality for all graphics; and Rhiannon Held slaved away at final layout and formatting of the documents.

We would especially like to thank John Mihelich and the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Idaho. His approval and assistance not only provided facilities for artifact analysis and reporting, but also fostered our atypical integration of academic and private consulting perspective. The arrangement gave us the opportunity to provide a much more robust product, let alone allow students the experience of a large mitigation project.

Finally, we would like to thank and acknowledge all of the professionals that participated in the fieldwork, cataloging, analysis, and reporting. The sheer numbers of people involved prohibits singling out individuals and any omissions are sincerely regretted. Hopefully they all took away good memories of an interesting and exceptional opportunity.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Mark S. Warner

When you recover as many artifacts as we did over the course of the Sandpoint Archaeology Project, you have myriad interesting stories to share. When viewed through a broad lens, the stories can be about broader social processes or accounts of groups of people, which is the focus of Volume 1. Volume 2, however, focuses the lens a bit more closely. Rather than discussing ideas or groups, the accounts presented in Volume 2 begin with the artifacts. The model for Volume 2 is a hybrid of two widely used readers produced by the Society for Historical Archaeology, *Approaches to Material Culture Research for Historical Archaeologists* (Brauner 2000) and *Studies in Material Culture Research* (Karklins 2000), or in our project vernacular, the “Blue Book” and the “Green Book.” Our objective for Volume 2 is to build narratives that stay fairly close to the objects recovered—with an important caveat. We deliberately attempted to veer away from descriptive chapters while staying centered on objects to explore what the artifacts say about some taken-for-granted aspects of everyday life in Sandpoint.

Chapters 2-9 of this volume explore aspects of daily life through the materials found in our archaeological excavations. Some of the themes are relatively common in historical archaeology such as alcohol consumption and how people were using medicines. Some of the other topics in the first volume are a product of the unique collections of materials recovered—a good example is the chapter on domesticated animals. Almost 200 horseshoes were recovered from the excavation of the Humbird Blacksmith Shop. Between that horseshoe collection, pet care products, a dog skeleton, and several other esoteric items that were recovered, we were able to create a narrative about pets and animal care in the town. Certainly pets and animal care are part of daily life, yet from an archaeological perspective we do not often recover objects that allow us to talk about animal care at any length. The situation with the “Archaeology of Sex” chapter is similar. When we found over 20 irrigators from the Herman’s Bordello excavation we knew we had the makings of a truly distinctive chapter.

Chapters 10-15 are based heavily on topics that we were able to explore largely because of the scale of the Sandpoint Archaeology Project. Many archaeological projects recover isolated coins, small numbers of bullet casings, or the stray toothbrush or hair comb; in our case, we recovered dozens (and in the case of bullet and shell casings, hundreds) of these objects. If you examine many historical archaeology reports, you will almost invariably find a coin or two in their catalog. In this project, we found 254 coins and tokens. Such a volume of coins and tokens provided an opportunity to do more than use them as convenient sources of terminus post quem (TPQ) dates; it allowed individuals with knowledge of numismatics—such as Jim Bard—to undertake an analysis of the coins to explore what they said about a variety of behaviors in the town.

We also want to call attention to the last chapter in the volume, Priscilla Wegars’ “History of the Chinese in Sandpoint.” In some regards it is an anomalous chapter because, as the title indicates, it is a “history” rather than an artifact-driven narrative. One of our largest excavations was of “Chinatown.” Chinatown was a term the locals used to describe a particular area in Sandpoint. However, the reality was that Sandpoint’s Chinatown consisted of one or possibly two small buildings that had mixed commercial and residential uses. Over 120,000 artifacts were recovered from this small area. Furthermore, unlike other parts of the project area where only a small percentage of the assemblage was excavated, almost the entire area associated with the Chinese residence was excavated. This was done because of the uniqueness of that location in the broader scope of Sandpoint. Given the volume of recovered materials associated with this diminutive Chinatown and the unique circumstances of Chinese in Sandpoint, we determined that it would be appropriate to devote a chapter to the history of the Chinese in Sandpoint.

More so than other areas, we felt that to do justice to the archaeological remains it was important to have a focused history as well, and Chapter 15 is the end result.

Finally, as you peruse Volume 2, it is important to remember that these stories are but a few among many more potential stories that can be told from this project. The popular perception is that the archaeology is done when the digging is over and the report is written; that is absolutely not the case with this project. Over the coming years, we fully expect there to be more stories to emerge from this project. There are many more theses to be written, articles to be published, and coffee table picture books to be compiled using the materials recovered. We hope that as you read Volume 2 and Volume 1, you may be spurred to pursue some of the many more questions that can be asked and stories that can be told.

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CHAPTER 2. THE BUSINESSMAN'S SHELVES

Amanda Haught-Bielmann and Oliver Bielmann

Between 1880 and 1910, Sandpoint's commercial townsite provided residents a distraction from the wilds of northern Idaho in the form of stores and other commercial outlets. The "downtown" was centered on both sides of the Northern Pacific Railroad right-of-way and provided residents with necessary goods, such as groceries, clothing, and tools, while at the same time providing the businessman a viable means to make money.

The commercial district in Sandpoint covered an area of just under 10,000 square feet and, over the span of 30 years, provided residents with a minimum of 18 retail-type stores, from butchers to jewelers to clothiers (Selle n.d.a). The wide array of goods and services offered in this part of town left little to be desired; almost every need was tended to, and if not, additional goods could be ordered from one of the many mail-order catalog outlets, such as Sears, Roebuck and Company or Montgomery Wards.

As early as 1882, the Barton, Baldwin, Russell, and Weeks families had established mercantiles in the vicinity of Sandy Point, as Sandpoint was once known (Weaver et al. 2006:2.41). At roughly the same time, Northern Pacific Railroad (NPRR) survey crews, laborers, and managers were working nearby, constructing the most difficult portion of the railroad. With already established businesses, Sandpoint provided the NPRR a convenient place to house its employees (Weaver et al. 2006:2.42–44). Many other entrepreneurs opened stores in Sandpoint between the original settlement in 1880 and the turn of the twentieth century. J.L. Pritchard and Ignatz Weil each opened general stores in 1883 and 1891, respectively (Bonner County Historical Society 1883; *Northern Idaho News* 1905:14), though all of these stores had to be rebuilt due to fires in 1892 (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892c:5; *Spokane Review* 1892:7).

Examining the artifacts recovered from Sandpoint's original townsite, including the Restricted District, the Humbird Blacksmith Shop, the commercial townsite, and several additional sites in between, gives insight into the consumer behavior of the residents of early Sandpoint. In urban settings it is common to turn to the archaeology of household assemblages (Praetzelis and Praetzelis 2004; Yamin 2001; Zierden 1999) to explore the economic and social standings of individuals; however, most of the Sandpoint excavations explored businesses from the town's early days and thus offer a unique glimpse of a town's collective consumer patterns within the community and the greater American West.

Sandpoint's artifacts illustrate the fact that the town's residents were not limited to mail-ordered products. Residents responded to advertisements in local newspapers, and, more than likely, word of mouth helped make purchases at local stores and pharmacies. This in itself drew the people of Sandpoint together as a community, while at the same time fostered the national ideals of consumerism found throughout towns in the West and indeed throughout America. This study examines the products that were commonly recovered throughout our excavations. Similarities between several different assemblages illustrate a common trend in purchasing among Sandpoint's businessmen. When compared with other Western towns of the same time period, this shows linkages with a broader consumer market present in America at the time.

BUSINESSES OF SANDPOINT

The exchange of commodities and goods has occurred throughout history and was a driving force in the creation of the United States. One of the first legitimate trading houses in the new world was established by the Hudson's Bay Company as early as 1684 on the Hayes River, a tributary to the Hudson Bay in Canada (Newman 1995:50). Named York Factory after the company's first governor, this isolated British trading house would become the model for stores to come (Newman 1995:10). Sprouting from

the trading post came a variety of store types, but one thing remained unchanged: the shop owner–customer relationship on North American soil had been born.

Not all stores were created equal, however. Several types of stores were present in Sandpoint during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These establishments are commonly referred to by the all-purpose term “store,” but there were clear differences in how they were established and operated. Before discussing particular businesses in Sandpoint it is useful to clarify the different types of stores. A mercantile is a place of business for retailing goods. While the term “mercantile” is used for any store, the terms “general store,” “country store,” and “trading post” all describe mercantiles that service sparsely populated regions and are usually stocked with a wide variety of merchandise (Wheeler 1975:88,97). Another type of store present in Sandpoint was the company store. In many places the company store was the most important type of mercantile, not because it carried a wider variety of goods, but because it could literally be the only store for hundreds of miles (Carlson 2003:108). A key distinction between a general store and a company store is the fact that company stores were commonly commercial monopolies. A third type of store was the drug store or pharmacy. While a primary function of these was to prepare and disburse medicines, drug stores or pharmacies were also known to stock items beyond medications. While there was some variability in what they were called, these stores all served multiple functions—from the obvious, selling merchandise to townsfolk, to the more symbolic, being a place for neighbors to meet and exchange news (Larkin 1988:263).

General Stores, Country Stores, and Trading Posts

General stores, country stores, and trading posts are synonyms for the same type of mercantile establishment, in which a variety of merchandise was offered. These commercial establishments serviced sparsely populated areas and carried a wide variety of merchandise to accommodate the customer's needs—the original one-stop shop. What was stocked and sold in these general stores? Everything—the merchants had to sell everything. As mentioned above, customers frequently had very little choice in their shopping experience, given the isolated locations of many Western towns. As towns grew larger, so did the general store, oftentimes stocking large, expensive merchandise, such as farm equipment and automobiles.

Today money is the nearly universal form of exchange, but before federally minted money existed customers could pay for goods in a variety of ways. Common forms of payment included the exchange of one form of goods for another, work for store credit, cash, or simple store credit where customers would take goods and the amount they owed would be recorded in the store ledgers (Larkin 1988:38–39). This form of exchange continued at country stores into the early twentieth century (Johnson 1961:9). Historical sources indicate that Sandpoint residents were able to use credit, but our archaeological work also reveals the early transition from credit as a personal relationship to the corporate credit system used by most Americans today. One of the objects recovered is a Charga-Plate (Figure 1) from Chinatown. Charga-Plates were the precursor to modern-day credit cards. They were introduced in 1928 and caught on quickly. One side of the plate has the raised letters of the customer's name and address. This was run through an imprinter and the raised letters would be copied to paper giving a quick record of the issued credit. With a manufacture date in the late 1920s, it is evident that the Charga-Plate found in the Sandpoint assemblage was deposited after the Chinese residents had vacated the area. The plate belonged to Mrs. Walter L. Jones and is a good indicator that even the valuable things in life can slip through the fingers of the past only to be discovered decades to centuries later by archaeologists.



Figure 1. Mrs. Walter Jones' Charga-Plate, recovered from Sandpoint's Chinatown (LC #7706).

One of the hallmarks of country stores/general stores was the malleability of the price of goods. Goods were bartered, and the resulting "price" would frequently depend on the "buyer's social position, need, and desire for a particular item" (Schlereth 1991:143). Fixed prices for items were not set until the establishment of department and chain stores, which gained popularity in the late 1800s through the early twentieth century. Department stores became known for both fixed prices and a heavy reliance on a credit system. When chain stores began to spread throughout the United States (ca. 1900–1920) so did the concept of "Cash-and-Carry," a policy where customers paid for the products they bought in full at the time of purchase (Schlereth 1991:151).

General stores were common in Sandpoint at the turn of the twentieth century. While records such as ledgers or receipts for the town's commercial district could not be located, town directories list store owners, and several notable merchants left their mark in the form of newspaper mentions, articles, and advertisements. Some of the stores that were prominent in early Sandpoint include the Sandpoint Mercantile Company, the Butler and Culver General Store, the Northern Mercantile Company, Ltd, the Pioneer General Store, and the Sandpoint Trading Company. As a group these stores almost certainly provisioned a great deal of Sandpoint's townspeople.

The Sandpoint Mercantile Company

As Sandpoint began to grow, it attracted the attention of business-minded entrepreneurs such as Ignatz Weil. Weil settled in the area in 1891 and established his general merchandise store, the Sandpoint Mercantile Company (*Northern Idaho News* 1905:14). Though not the first general merchandise store in Sandpoint (records indicate Robert Weeks opened a store in 1880) it was one of the earliest successful businesses in the town (Bonner County Historical Society 1882).

Considerable information pertaining to the business can be derived from local newspaper articles and advertisements. By 1892, Weil had created a large merchandise store where he dealt in general merchandise as well as "Wholesale Wines, Liquors, and Cigars" (Figure 2) (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892a:4). A newspaper blurb noting the happenings of Sandpoint stated: "Mr. I. Weil has been making some needed improvements in his mammoth establishment" (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892b:5). However, a few months later he lost 95 percent of his inventory in a fire that burned through his general store, residence, and warehouse (*Spokane Review* 1892). The loss was enormous as one newspaper claims that Weil's store was perhaps the largest general merchandise store in the state (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892c:5). With insurance settlements and a commitment to the city he was now calling home, Weil rebuilt his store and by Christmas of 1892 was advertising a wealth of holiday goods (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892d:5). Information pertaining to the Sandpoint Mercantile Company fades after the holiday advertisement; however, Weil does not disappear from the press. Weil became a prominent figure within the community, serving as Sandpoint's U.S. census enumerator in 1900 and a U.S. land commissioner in 1903. He had several financial investments in the area, and ironically he also operated a fire insurance company (*Northern Idaho News* 1905:14).



Figure 2. One of the few surviving advertisements for Ignatz Weil's general merchandise store. (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892a:4).

The Pioneer Store

Horace C. Culver began a cedar products company with his brother Frank in 1898 and together they organized their company in 1904 into the Sandpoint Cedar Company. The business was a successful venture, and by 1905 the local paper called them "one of the largest producers and shippers of cedar telegraph and telephone poles, cedar piling and posts in the country and which has mainly resulted in making Sandpoint the largest shipping point in the United States of these supplies" (*Northern Idaho News* 1905:21).

By the turn of the twentieth century, Horace Culver is listed as a general store proprietor along with business partner Benjamin Butler (R.L. Polk & Co. 1901–1902). Records indicate that there was a general merchandise store within the canopy of the Sandpoint Cedar Company, which carried a large inventory of "dry goods, groceries, flour, feed and general merchandise" (*Northern Idaho News* 1905:21). In 1903, Butler sold his interest in the business to W.H. Kiernan and T.E. Carlin who operated the business alongside Culver as the Pioneer Store. It is apparent through store advertisements in local newspapers that the Pioneer Store continued with its diverse inventory through at least 1908 (Figure 3). The Pioneer Store and the Sandpoint Cedar Company are not listed in the 1910–1911 *Idaho State Gazetteer* business directory for Sandpoint. Instead H.C. Culver is listed as cashier at the Bonner County National Bank, clearly suggesting that for one reason or another he was no longer running the Sandpoint Cedar Company (R.L. Polk and Co. 1911).

The Pioneer Store

GOLD MEDAL FLOUR will make the best and lightest loaf of bread of any hard wheat flour on the market. We are exclusive agents for this flour. One sack will convince you of its superior quality. For soft wheat flour we are exclusive agents for the celebrated Red, White and Blue flour which we furnish at \$1.50 per sack or \$5.75 by the barrel.

If you need wheat, oats, barley, chops, bran or nice bright timothy hay we will furnish it at the lowest price. The price and the quality and quantity we have.

FRUIT AND VEGETABLES

We handle in larger quantities than ever. Our prices are always the lowest and the quality the best. It will pay you to investigate our liberal offerings.

Pickling Cucumbers, per pound	3c	Grapes, Concord, eastern, 10 pound basket	50c
Green Tomatoes, per pound	3c	Black Berries, per basket	25c
Celery, fancy, 12 bunches, per box	10c	Plums, blue, by the pound	2 1/2c
Chickadees, per pound	10c and 15c	Bananas, fancy and large, per dozen	30c
Wax Beans, large, per pound	2 1/2c	Sweet Oranges, per dozen	30c
Fancy French Sweet Potatoes, per box	10c and 15c	Blue Grass Butter, per pound	30c
Cantaloupes, each	7c	Pioneer Coffee, per pound	25c
Hillbrand Squash, each	15 and 20c	Red Gate Coffee, 2 pound tin	75c
Potatoes, large, per bushel	10 and 15c	Waxen coffee, 3 pound tin	1 00
Sweet Potatoes, large and fresh, 6 pounds	15c	Cracked Wheat, per package	10c
Peas, per box	\$1.25 and \$1.50	Kellogg's Toasted Corn Flakes, per package	10c
Peaches, per box	60c and 75c	Aunt Jemima's Pancake Flour, package	15c
Crab Apples, per box	\$1.25	Pie and Ham, per pound	12 1/2c
Fancy Eating and Cooking Apples, per box	75c	Fresh Eggs, per dozen	30c

Sandpoint Lumber and Pole COMPANY, LIMITED

Sandpoint Cedar Co., DEALERS IN GENERAL MERCHANDISE

CARRY IN STOCK

Missoula and Red, White and Blue

Made from No. 1 Hard Wheat Fancy Family Flour

Hay, Oats, Wheat and Feed

Complete stock of Groceries, Shelf Hardware, Gents' Furnishings, Shoes and Hats.

THE PIONEER STORE,

Opposite N. P. Depot.

Several consignments of fall and winter goods have been up this week.

YOU WILL NOW FIND A FINE LINE OF

Rubbers for Men Women and Children

MALONE'S PANTS FOR WORKINGMEN

A fine stock of the famous makes. Also a new line of

Dress Pants, just received from Virginia

A complete line of

LEATHER and GANVAS GLOVES

THE PIONEER STORE

Sandpoint Lumber & Pole Co.

Figure 3, Pioneer Store advertisements from the early 1900s. (Left: *Bonner County Democrat* 1908a:8; top right: *Northern Idaho News* 1904a:3; bottom left: *Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907d:2).

The Northern Mercantile Company, Ltd

The one-stop shopping center in Sandpoint at the turn of the twentieth century had to be the Northern Mercantile Company. The store, owned and operated by B.S. Defenbach, was established in 1903 and quickly grew through buying up other local businesses (*Northern Idaho News* 1905:38). Shortly after opening, Defenbach bought the inventory of Frauman & Brown, a local clothing store that closed that same year as well as the stock of The People's Store Company (Selle n.d.b:4,9). By 1905, the reputation of the store had grown and so had its merchandise. The *Northern Idaho News* calls the Northern Mercantile Company a "modern departmatized store" that is "in every respect and character cosmopolitan under the very best standards prevailing in the largest cities of the country" (1905:38). Advertisements in the local newspaper attest to this reputation, with slogans boasting "You Cannot Afford to Go Below Our Price. You Cannot Go Above Our Quality," "If You Do Not Attend Our Sales, You Are The Loser," and promises such as "You take no chances in buying of us, because we guarantee every garment. We are always glad to show our goods, whether you buy or not" (Figure 4) (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905a:4; Polk 1911:195).

To say the business was a success is an understatement. With stock including dry goods, groceries, clothing, boots and shoes, and notions, among other things, the Northern Mercantile Company truly attained its goal of becoming one of the most "complete department store business in Idaho" (*Northern Idaho News* 1905:38).

Company Stores

Unlike other mercantile establishments of the time, the company store served a different role in the community. The company store was usually the only general merchandise outlet for miles around. Company stores were closely tied to a particular industry and strove to establish economic monopolies in a particular location. One example of a successful company store was in Potlatch, Idaho. The store was operated by Potlatch Lumber Company, a division of Weyerhaeuser Lumber, as was the Humbird Lumber Company in Sandpoint.

Not only was the company store a place to buy necessary goods and cash paychecks, isolation also made the company store an ideal location to catch up with neighbors and listen to stories. Company store sales and holiday festivities attracted people from long distances, especially when the nearest town was hundreds of miles away (Carlson 2003:102). Aside from being a commercial hub and social center, company stores could also house a post office as well as payroll and bill collection offices. When a single store was able to consolidate several services they often became a powerful tool for controlling employees in these isolated settings. Employees not only were expected to buy from the store but were often threatened with the loss of their jobs if they bought goods from other retail establishments (Allen 1966:128).

With their threats to employees' livelihoods it is no surprise that the company store was not always viewed in a positive light. Popular culture helped cement this reputation when Tennessee Ernie Ford immortalized the words, "I owe my soul to the company store" (Carlson 2003:101). Maligned for uncompetitive pricing, poor selection, and unethical credit policies, the company store garnered very little affection from outsiders; yet the company store was oftentimes the last operating structure in an economically depressed company town (Carlson 2003:101).

The Humbird Lumber Company

The Humbird Lumber Company opened a company store in the fall of 1901, soon after buying out the Sandpoint Lumber Company and establishing their company name within the town (Renk 2006:13). Like many businesses in town, the Humbird Lumber Company Store grew to be a sizable establishment (Figure 5) housing the mercantile business, offices for the Humbird Lumber Company, storage of goods and lumber, and apartments for T.J. Humbird and "visiting stockholders" (*Northern Idaho News* 1905:20).

The advertisement is a rectangular box with a double-line border. At the top, it features the text "U.D. B.D." on the left and right sides, with a central logo for "Northern Mercantile Co., Ltd." that includes a star and the slogan "STAR BRAND SHOES ARE BETTER". Below the logo, it reads "THE SANDPOINT DEPARTMENT STORE". The main body of the ad contains three sections: 1) A paragraph about rubber shoes: "We have been losing business on Rubbers, because our new stock was late in coming and we had none left over. We don't believe in 'left-overs.' Our stock is arriving and if you get Rubber Shoes from us you get nice new goods." followed by the word "RUBBERS" in large, bold letters. 2) A paragraph about clothing: "Our Stock of Men's & Boys' Ready-Made Clothing is the largest in Kootenai County. You take no chances in buying of us, because we guarantee every garment. We are always glad to show our goods, whether you buy or not." 3) A bold statement: "IF YOU DON'T ATTEND OUR SALES, YOU ARE THE LOSER". Below this is the company name "Northern Mercantile Co., Ltd." in a large, stylized font. At the very bottom, in small print, it says "V.P. S.—Sandpoint is all right.—N. M. C.". Below the main ad box, there is a smaller section with the text "Northern Mercantile Co., Ltd. Cor. Main and First" and a slogan: "You Cannot Afford to Go Below Our Price. SANDPOINT IDAHO You Cannot Go Above Our Quality."

Figure 4. Northern Mercantile advertisements. (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905a:4; R.L. Polk and Co. 1911:195).



Figure 5. Interior view of the Humbird Lumber Company Store, circa 1910. (Renk 2006:14).

A store for the whole community (Figure 6), the Humbird Lumber Company Store did not cater to just the mill's employees and marketed "the best of goods" to the residents of Sandpoint at "very fair prices" (*Kootenai County Republican* 1903:3). A 1905 edition of the *Northern Idaho News* repeats this notion, claiming the store had great products with competitive pricing (*Northern Idaho News* 1905:21). The newspaper also informed the reader of how different the Humbird Lumber Company Store was from other industrial company mercantile stores, stating: "it does not oblige its employees to trade with them; to the contrary it discourages this feeling as much as possible. Only upon the merits of the goods and service is their extensive trade solicited" (*Northern Idaho News* 1905:21). This was a strategic move for a company store that did not have a monopoly in Sandpoint. To thrive in the non-company town of Sandpoint you had to market to all facets of the town's residents and businesses, and the Humbird Lumber Company did just that.

PHARMACIES AND DRUG STORES

Pharmacies and drug stores provided town residents a place to purchase medicines, whether prescribed or patent (over-the-counter). Much like today, drug stores of the 1800s and 1900s sold more than just medicines and medicinal supplies. Many drug stores sold stationery and cards to send to the sick and grieving (Staten 1998:39). Newspaper advertisements often list the diverse inventory of these establishments; for example, a druggist in Peoria, Illinois, in 1837 advertised itself as "wholesale dealers in drugs, medicines, dyestuffs, chemicals, varnishes, patent medicines, window glass, paints and oils, and surgical instruments" (Bogard 1982:99). Another example is the drug stores of Missouri around the time of the Civil War, which advertised that they sold stationery, books, perfumes, toiletries, paints, oils, and tobacco (Strickland 1981).

Humbird Lumber Co., Ltd.

**A Store Full of Bargains
For You All the Time**

Yours Very Truly,
Humbird Lumber Co., Ltd.

HUMBIRD LUMBER CO., Ltd.

THE STORE THAT GIVES YOU QUALITY.

The unquestioned success of our last 10 cent sale has prompted us to give to the buying public another sale of the same nature, only Greater Bargains and better values will be found.

10c	Men's Heavy Suspenders, worth 25c.	Men's Turkey Red Handkerchiefs, 3 for	Men's Cotton Flannel Mitts, 2 pair for	Canned Corn, Peas, Beans and Tomatoes.	Fancy Japan Rice, 2 pounds for	10c
10c	10c	10c	10c	10c	10c	10c
10c	Clothes Pins, 8 dozen for	A full line of sizes of Children's Fine Cotton Hose, pair	A big line of Flannellettes, all up-to-date patterns, yd.	Men's Cotton Sox, fast black, the 15c kind, for	Blown Glass Tumblers, assorted patterns, worth 15c.	10c
10c	10c	10c	10c	10c	10c	10c
10c	Fancy Decorated China Creamers, You will want one	Decorated China Cups and Saucers, Fine Values	Pretty Patterns in a Neat Shaped Mug, for this sale	Bread and Butter Plates, for this sale	Neat Patterns in Decorated Out Meals.	10c
10c	10c	10c	10c	10c	10c	10c

Sale Days

Oct. 22d, Oct. 24th

Sale Days

We expect to make this our Banner Sale. Everything we offer for this sale is a bargain and cheaper than you ever bought the same article before.

SANDPOINT, IDAHO. HUMBIRD LUMBER CO., Ltd

Figure 6. Humbird Lumber Company advertisements. (*Northern Idaho News* 1904b:3; *Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905b:8).

Sandpoint druggists were no different, with advertisements for items well beyond drugs such as toiletries, stationery, cigars, and camera supplies (*Hope Herald* 1913a:1; *Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905e:5). George Eastman (of Kodak camera fame) is said to have marketed his cameras and film directly through drug stores because they were the one store that remained open seven days a week and Sunday was a favorite picture-taking day. After the boom in amateur photography in the 1890s, film and batteries became normal inventory for drug stores (Bogard 1986:92). This trend is evident in a 1913 advertisement for the Sandpoint Drug Company, which advertised its stock of "Drugs, Drug Sundries, Stationery, Kodaks and Camera Supplies" (Figure 7) (*Hope Herald* 1913a:1). Regardless of whether druggists were a town's only source for these items or the extra inventory was a means for gaining profits or it was just the thing to do, druggists commonly had a large variety of stock beyond just medicinal drugs and supplies

By the turn of the twentieth century, more money was spent advertising and promoting medicines than any other product in the United States (Heetderks 2002:19; Staten 1998:34). Pharmacies, druggists, and patent medicine manufacturers advertised heavily in a myriad of ways including local newspapers. This fact is evident in the local papers of the time. As with its general mercantile stores, Sandpoint was not at a loss for pharmacies and drug stores. The most prominent advertisers in local papers were the druggists Charles Foss and Allen Brothers Druggists (more information on Sandpoint's pharmacies is included in Chapter 7 of this volume).

THE SANDPOINT DRUG CO. Ltd.

SANDPOINT, IDAHO

Drugs, Drug Sundries, Stationery, Kodaks and Camera Supplies

Take advantage of the largest stock of PURE DRUGS
and Drug Sundries in Northern Idaho

MAIL ORDERS

Receive our prompt and closest attention* It costs no more
We pay the postage and guarantee satisfaction
Send us a trial order and see how well we'll serve you

THE SANDPOINT DRUG CO. Ltd.
SANDPOINT, IDAHO.

Figure 7. Sandpoint Drug Company advertisement for Kodak cameras and camera supplies (*Hope Herald* 1913a:1).

ADVERTISING AND THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF SANDPOINT'S CONSUMERISM

Artifacts of every conceivable material type and object category were recovered during the excavations of Sandpoint—goods that were acquired at one time or another from one of the many merchants in Sandpoint. Knowing that these items had to be purchased, whether through the mail or in local stores, one begins to ponder the similarities across the assemblage and what motivated Sandpoint residents to purchase these items.

Clothing

Historical archaeology is known for melding the archaeological record with historical documentation to create a more comprehensive picture of the past. A study on the archaeology of Sandpoint businesses is no exception. Advertising in local newspapers and national magazines helps fill the gaps in the archaeological record and occasionally raise new puzzles for future archaeologists to solve. While we know the residents of Sandpoint clothed themselves with wools and other fabrics, as evidenced by the many fragments unearthed during excavations, what was advertised in newspapers and magazines helps to reconstruct the torn pieces of the past. Makers' labels for fabric items most often do not survive archaeologically, if the item in question even did have a label; however, local merchant advertising for men's, women's, and children's clothing inform researchers that the residents of Sandpoint did not have to leave their town to purchase needed clothing. In fact, in many cases, these items could be purchased in the same places their daily errands took them. Other items, such as shoes, jewelry, and tools have similar stories. We know that residents of Sandpoint had these items, and lots of them. Turning to the local papers and mail-order catalogs of the time, archaeologists can see how Sandpoint was intimately tied to world markets.

Clothing, namely shoes and gentlemen's suits, are widely advertised in Sandpoint's newspapers. These advertisements give insight into the trends and styles of the time; they also speak to the specific markets of Sandpoint. Local merchants regularly printed large shoe advertisements to draw in their customers, touting brands, high-quality materials, and great low prices. Stores such as the Humbird Lumber Company Store and the Northern Mercantile Company boasted shoe varieties and durability (Figure 8) (*Northern Idaho News* 1904c; *Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905d:8). They appealed to a customer's pocketbook with promises such as "Reduce your bills...Every pair (except patent leather) fully guaranteed" and "Best Workingmen's Shoes for the money" (*Northern Idaho News* 1904d; *Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905d:8). Several advertisements for rubber boots and shoes appeared in the wet months; "clean sweeps" of leftover stocks were on sale by January (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905c:4, 1907b:2, 1907c:5).

NORTHERN MERCANTILE CO., Ltd.
SANDPOINT'S CASH BARGAIN STORE

PATRIOT MEN'S \$3.50 Two things which can always be depended on for
Fit, Style and Durability

Star Brand Shoes
The Kingsbury Hat
Latest Styles
Carried in variety

NORTHERN MERCANTILE CO., Ltd.,
SANDPOINT, IDAHO

The University
The Best Dress Shoe For The Money
3.50

Anchor Brand
Best Workingmen's Shoes for the money.
\$3.00

These are our leaders. We have others, all bargains.
SANDPOINT TRADING COMPANY.

Figure 8. Examples of shoe advertising in Sandpoint newspapers (*Northern Idaho News* 1904c:10, 1904d:8).

The Sandpoint assemblage includes a large number of shoe and boot fragments with a minimum number of individual items (MNI) recovered from all excavations totaling 143 shoes and boots. The shoes vary in shape and size, and many are damaged and/or fragmentary pieces; therefore, we have very little evidence of maker information. Identified shoe makers within the Sandpoint assemblage are all manufacturers of rubber shoes. This is likely due to the fact that rubber lasts much longer in archaeological contexts, whereas the organic nature of leather tends to break down over time when exposed to the elements. The Hood Rubber Company and the United States Rubber Company are both represented in the Sandpoint assemblage. While newspaper advertisements do not list specific companies they do have lots of “rubbers” to sell.

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Suits, trousers, and other men's accessories were also heavily advertised in Sandpoint newspapers. Clothing was available to Sandpoint residents through general mercantile stores, clothiers, and tailor shops as well as mail-order catalogs. General stores advertised ready-made clothes, and the Northern Mercantile Company advertised the largest stock in Kootenai County (Figure 9) (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905c:4). In contrast, tailors offered custom-made clothing. The contrast between “off the rack” clothing and tailored clothes was apparent in an advertisement by Lea, a Sandpoint tailor who was competing with general stores and their ready-made clothes. His 1904 advertisement particularly emphasizes the style and quality of his suits (Figure 10) (*Northern Idaho News* 1904e: 7).

Our Stock of Men's & Boys' Ready-Made Clothing
is the largest in Kootenai County. You take no chances in buying of us, because we guarantee every garment. We are always glad to show our goods, whether you buy or not.

IF YOU DON'T ATTEND OUR SALES, YOU ARE THE LOSER

Northern Mercantile Co., Ltd.

Figure 9. Portion of Northern Mercantile Company advertisement for ready-made clothing. (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905c:4).

Clothing, or rather full garments, do not fare well within the archaeological record, and this is very true for the Sandpoint assemblage. The collection contains 1,315 fragments of fabric, the most identifiable among them being portions of stockings. One item that is unique is a piece of wool that was balled up in the wet muddy earth of the Restricted District. Once cleaned and laid out, it was evident that it was a portion of a men's wool vest (Figure 11). Found between Herman's Bordello and the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon, the vest could have belonged to a bordello patron, a saloon patron, or even the saloon cook who lived behind the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon and just south of where the garment was unearthed. At any rate, the presence of the vest indicates a male in the vicinity of the Restricted District who, for one reason or another, removed his vest and discarded or "lost" it behind a bordello and saloon.

Local advertisements showcased other clothing accessories as well, such as gloves, hats, suspenders, corsets, underwear, and petticoats. The Northern Mercantile Company has an advertisement for women's sateen petticoats, and with the many fragments of sateen and taffeta in the assemblage it is not much of a leap to associate these once soft and silky fabrics with petticoats, corsets, or other undergarments (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907b:2). Gloves were also a necessity in the cold climates of Sandpoint and in the industrial businesses of the times. Many advertisements for gloves appear in the form of winter preparedness (Figure 12), and fragments of both men's and women's gloves within the assemblage reflect this need (Figure 13) (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907d:2).

Oftentimes, the hardware, or metal pieces of clothing are all that remain archaeologically of a full garment. In the Sandpoint assemblage there are 1,652 artifacts identified as clothing hardware related. These items reflect the everyday necessities of dressing and style among the town's residents. Clothing hardware artifacts, such as corset stays and eyes and suspender hardware (Figure 14) reflect the needs and wants of Sandpoint's residents mirrored in local advertising. While the Humbird Lumber Company advertised nondescript but definitely essential suspenders, Mrs. McMath, the "Largest Millinery Dealer in Northern Idaho" advertised just the "Right Corsets" in stock (Figure 15) (*Northern Idaho News* 1904b: 3; *Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905e:5). Both advertisements, catering to different clienteles, give insight into the needs and styles of the people of Sandpoint.



Figure 10. Portion of Sandpoint tailor advertisement (*Northern Idaho News* 1904e:7).

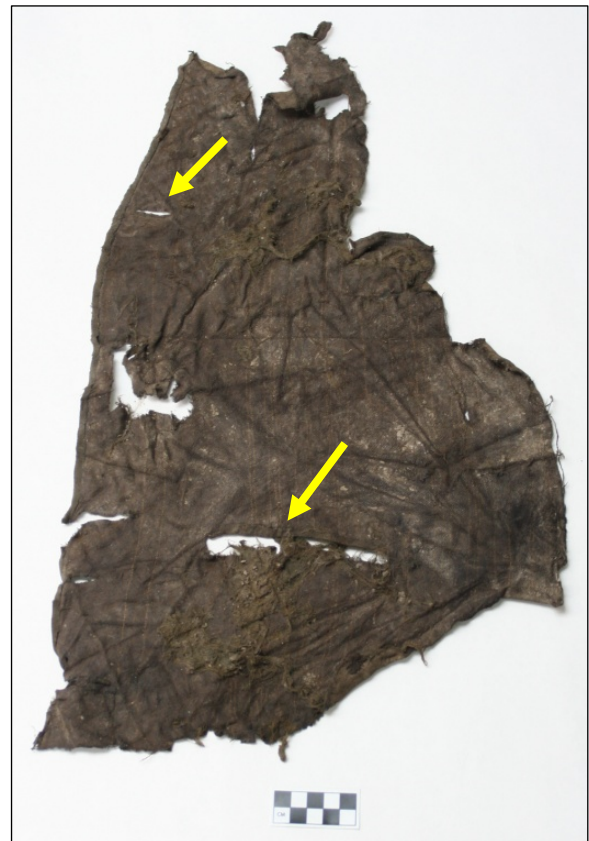


Figure 11. Portion of wool vest recovered from Sandpoint's Restricted District (LC #71810). Notice the long slit for a pocket and the smaller slits on the left for button holes



Figure 12. Leather and canvas gloves available at the Pioneer Store. (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907d:2).



Figure 13. Examples of gloves recovered from Sandpoint excavations (LC #83066; LC #33498).



Figure 14. Examples of clothing hardware artifacts from the Sandpoint assemblage. Left: corset eye (LC #70888). Right: suspender strap adjuster (LC #49190).

Mrs. G. G. McMath
Largest Millinery Dealer in Northern Idaho

We keep up to date goods, and our prices are the lowest. Ladies, buy your Hats where you can get a selection. We can supply you with Cravenette Rain Coats, Underwear, Hosiery, Waists and Neck Furs, Sateen or Silk Under Skirts, Walking Skirts or Knit Goods. When it comes to Fancy Goods, we are Headquarters in Sandpoint and Northern Idaho.

We Keep the Just Right Corsets

Special	Reduced Prices
Flannellets, 10c grade, at 8c	Fancy Winter Dress Pattern, worth 30c a yard, reduced to 20c
8-4, 9-4 and 10-4 Sheeting, at 25c	Calico, now, per yard 5c
Blankets from 50c and up.	Ginghams at 6c
One-Third Off on Quilts. This is for one week only.	Ladies' Heavy Fleeced Underwear 50c

Men's Heavy Suspenders, worth 25c,

Sale Price

10c

Figure 15. Corset advertisement for Mrs. G.G. McMath's millinery and a Humbird Lumber Company advertisement for men's suspenders. (Left: *Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905e:5; right: *Northern Idaho News* 1904b:3).

FOOD, PHARMACEUTICALS, AND OTHER HOUSEHOLD ITEMS

A group that can illustrate the activities of local businesses is bottled goods, specifically food containers, pharmaceutical bottles, and other household items. These are items that archaeologists recover in large numbers and that present nuanced accounts of what choices businessmen were making. They are also objects that are easily linked to local advertising. In exploring these goods it is important to remember the real distinctions between local production of goods and nationally produced goods.

Local and National Products

Local products are items manufactured within the immediate region of Sandpoint. This includes products made in Sandpoint and surrounding cities such as Spokane, Washington, and Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. What types of local products were Sandpoint residents buying? Archaeological evidence suggests some variability in product choices. For instance many pharmaceutical products were manufactured and marketed locally, as were a number of alcohol products. Yet it is important to recognize that archaeology cannot always answer questions of origin with total certainty. For example, many local communities had potteries. These potteries would commonly produce utilitarian ceramics and would be sold locally, but frequently without any markings indicating where they were made. One such example is Palouse Pottery, of Palouse, Idaho, which made brick, tile, and stonewares from 1893 to 1908 (*Brick* 1903:150, *Clay Record* 1908: 34). Turning to Sandpoint we identified the Panhandle Bottling Works, a bottling plant for "soda pop and syrups" as being in existence from at least 1903 to 1911 (Figure 16); yet, we found no evidence of products from the company in our excavations (Selle n.d.b:10; *Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907e:3; Polk 1911:175).

The question of choosing local or nationally produced goods is one that is discussed in some detail in Volume I, and is something we see in the choices that were being made about what is placed on businessmen's shelves. This is clearly apparent in an advertisement for one of Sandpoint's bars where the availability of both local beer and the widest selling beer in the country are highlighted (Figure 17) (*Northern Idaho News* 1904f:7). What follows is an exploration of local versus national consumption of certain foodstuffs, medicines, and other products.

Food

Evidence for food within the archaeological record generally falls within two categories: food storage vessels and faunal remains. The faunal remains have been discussed in multiple contexts in Volume I and Volume IV; our focus here will be the containers that held foodstuffs. Many advertisements for food in the local Sandpoint papers present a lush, yet perishable, variety of fruits, vegetables, dairy products, and meats, all of which leave little to no evidence



Figure 16. Advertisement for the local Panhandle Bottling Works. (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907e:3).



Figure 17. Sandpoint bar advertisement listing both "local" Spokane beer and the more nationally recognized Schlitz beer. (*Northern Idaho News* 1904f:7).

archaeologically, save the bones from meat. Occasionally seeds and fruit pits are found during excavations and this is true for the Sandpoint assemblage, with various peach and cherry pits, pumpkin seeds, and sunflower seeds recovered from several contexts. Again, given that our focus is on what businessmen provided the townspeople of Sandpoint, this discussion centers on the jars, cans, glass bottles, ceramic crocks, and jugs that we recovered.

As with other goods marketed to Sandpoint residents, both fresh and preserved foods were advertised in the local newspapers on a regular basis. Many stores such as the Pioneer Store and the Northern Mercantile Company carried groceries in addition to their wide variety of non-perishables. Sandpoint also had a few grocers dealing specifically in food goods such as Hulbert's Grocery, Bruce's Grocery, and The Gold Medal Grocery. While fresh groceries were generally the top biller for store advertisements, the advertisements also mentioned canned vegetables and fruits (Figure 18) (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905f:8, 1907f:4).

HULBERT'S GROCERY

We wish to announce to the people of Sandpoint and vicinity that we have opened up for business with a complete line of

Groceries, Canned Goods, Fruit, Etc.

and would like to have you call and inspect our goods.

Respectfully yours,

M. M. HULBERT

Main Street.

EVERY DOLLAR

expended in our store brings you an adequate return in the shape of fine, fresh, high class

Groceries.

We make a specialty of rich full flavored, fragrant Coffee
Fine quality, imported Teas
canned and fresh vegetables etc.

M. L. Bruce

The Groceryman

Figure 18. Local grocers advertising canned goods (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905f:8, 1907f:4).

The archaeological record contains several fragments of canned goods; however, painted or paper labels did not survive. With the aid of local advertisements we can make educated guesses as to what the can fragments once held. Fruits and vegetables could be bought fresh; however, long winters and other climate issues would have made some things unavailable during certain seasons. Fresh food obtained seasonally would be preserved throughout the year by the "simple" act of canning. Canned fruits and vegetables allowed people to have certain products year-round and, as evidenced above, grocers and other merchants sold these canned products. Another canned item advertised in local papers is the immortal Western product of baked beans (*Bonner County Progressive* 1914a:3). Soups, meats, and milk were also canned at the time and would have been available in local stores. Other archaeological evidence of preserved food can be seen in the many fragmentary remains of mason jars. What

individuals canned varied based on availability, skill, and to an extent ethnicity. The presence of these many fragments give insight into the climate and diet of Sandpoint's past residents.

Another group of containers commonly identified were used for condiments and sauces. While thoughts of meals past usually do not include the seasonings such as sauces and condiments, these tasteful additions were just as essential then as they are today. One article in the *Pend d'Oreille News* (1892e:2), titled "The Value of Condiments" states how great the various uses and values of condiments can be—"used with discretion" they can "promote digestion" among many other aspects of health. Regardless of whether Sandpoint residents saw such potential in their condiments, the archaeological record shows these bottles were no strangers to their tables, with 103 vessels identified within the assemblage (Table 1).

Table 1. Minimum Vessel Counts of Identified Condiments in Sandpoint

MVC of Identified Condiments	MVC	MVC %
Best Foods	2	2%
Con Products Refining Company: Karo Syrup	2	2%
Curtice Brothers Co.: Blue Label Ketchup	13	13%
E.R. Durkee & Co.: Durkee's Salad Dressing	8	8%
George C. Ovens & Co.: Pepper Sauce	2	2%
H.J. Heinz Co.	41	40%
Holbrook & Co.: Holbrook Worcestershire Sauce	1	1%
Lea & Perrins: Lea & Perrins Worcestershire Sauce	22	21%
Mountard Fine Grey Poupon Dijon Mustard	1	1%
Snider Preserve Co.: Snider's Catsup	11	10%
Totals	103	100%

Condiments are easy to recognize, both in advertisements and in the archaeological record, mainly because so many of the companies who manufactured products at the turn of the century are still in business today. The historical record of local newspaper and national magazine advertisements contains nationally recognized brands such as Heinz and Karo, both of which were found within the archaeological record (Figures 19) (Jones 1959:212). Monarch Vinegar, Yacht Club Salad Dressing, and Monarch Catsup are also advertised (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907b:2).



Figure 19. 1914 Heinz and 1910 Karo advertisements (*Bonner County Progressive* 1914a:3; Jones 1959:212).

When comparing our archaeological bottle assemblages with what was advertised in local papers, we find many parallels between newspapers and the products used. A total of 103 condiment vessels were identified. Heinz condiments such as ketchup, mustard, horseradish sauce, and celery sauce are among the 41 (40 percent of total) identified condiment vessels in the Sandpoint assemblage. Another brand of ketchup present in the collection is Curtice Brothers' Blue Label Tomato Ketchup. Curtice Brothers advertised their ketchup as "different from all other ketchups" and "having no equal"—opinions that may have been echoed by Sandpoint residents, with 13 bottles recovered (Zumwalt 1980:101). Snider's Catsup is another ketchup brand present in the collection, with 11 bottles. Salad dressing, pepper sauce, and Worcestershire sauce were other condiments popular among Sandpoint residents. Lea & Perrins' Worcestershire Sauce makes up 21 percent of the condiments identified in the assemblage, with 22 bottles, demonstrating a clear desire for the popular national brand. Advertisements for these products were also common in national magazines such as *Good Housekeeping* and *Woman's Home Companion*. They were nationally known brands and were easily stocked on the shelves of Sandpoint's mercantile establishments. The advertisement of nationally recognized products that are present in the assemblage makes it clear that consumption of national brands was common and very likely reflects the local merchants working to stock these nationally known condiments.

Pharmaceuticals

Pharmaceuticals are quite common in historical assemblages and can provide an array of information about behavior. This volume contains a chapter devoted entirely to these products (Chapter 7); however, a discussion as to how pharmaceuticals reflect the choices of Sandpoint's businessmen is also an important topic for this chapter. Advertising in local papers was a surefire way to get the attention of Sandpoint locals and no one took advantage of this system like the druggists and pharmacies in town. In fact, on a national scale, the turn of the twentieth century saw more promotional funds spent on drugs and medicines than any other product on the market in America and this is certainly true for Sandpoint (Heetderks 2002:19; Staten 1998:34). In the 1904 *North Idaho News* and the 1905 and 1907 editions of the *Pend d'Oreille Review*, the Allen brothers advertised on a weekly basis. Unlike other contemporary businesses who repeated the same advertisement over and over, Allen Brothers Druggists, while using some repetitive advertising, also included testimonials for specific products. These testimonials or descriptive advertisements would be written to look like a regular newspaper article and always ended with a reminder as to where the product was available: Allen Brothers Druggists.

Over a span of time starting in 1900, Charles Foss owned and operated several drug stores in Sandpoint including the Charles R. Foss Pharmacy (Figure 20), the Popular Pharmacy, and the Sandpoint Drug Company. Foss also invested heavily in local advertising using techniques similar to the Allen brothers', creating both general product advertisements and testimonial or article-type advertisements. Foss' behavior may indicate intentional mirroring of techniques, drug store to drug store; at any rate, it does appear these two businesses rivaled one another. In 1902, when Allen Brothers Druggists opened their "complete in every detail" drug store, the Kootenai County Republican began printing competitive advertisements between Foss' pharmacy and the Allen brothers' drug store (Kootenai County Republican 1902a:1). While the Allen brothers spent the first few months after opening promoting goods other than prescriptions and patent medicines (such as candy), Foss was busily advertising patent medicines and non-drug items as well as his pharmaceutical skills (Pend d'Oreille Review 1907:3, Kootenai County Republican 1902b:1, 1902c:1). On September 26, 1902, just 26 days after Allen Brothers Druggists opened, Foss reminds his patrons and the readers of the Kootenai County Republican that "prescription work is my specialty" and to "take your prescriptions where you have always had them compounded with care and precision, the most completely stocked drug store in Sandpoint – the Pharmacy, Chas. R. Foss, proprietor" (Kootenai County Republican 1902c:1). Other Sandpoint drug



Figure 20. Charles R. Foss Pharmacy, opened May 1900 along Railroad Avenue, in Sandpoint, Idaho. (Courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

stores advertised in newspapers as well, albeit not as heavily as Foss and the Allen brothers, focusing mainly on general advertisements for the store and products (Figure 21).

EXTRAORDINARY VALUES

Palm Olive Soap
3 Cakes Free With a 50c
Jar of Palm Olive Cream
As Usual The Quantity Is Limited So
HURRY

Stationery
48 sheets } **25c**
48 envelopes }
Cascade Linen }
Illuminated Crest-Linen
with YOUR Initial on
each sheet - - - 50c
We have the largest and best selected
stock in Northern Idaho - - -
50c Late Fiction 50c

FREE—7 piece set of Stout-
fers hand painted dinner ware
with each \$10 purchase
REMEMBER
This applies on all cash purchases

OUR LINES OF
Hand painted china
Cut glass
Persian ivory
Cutlery
Hand bags
Are the most elaborate ever
shown in the city.
Our prices are right as
we buy direct from the
factories.

WE WILL BE GLAD TO SEND YOUR GOODS
For Inspection At Our Expense

CENTRAL PHARMACY
SANDPOINT

SPECIAL SALE on High Grade SOAPS, including
Palm Olive, 12 cakes for 25c

Get More Eggs
Conkey's Laying Tonic
All High Grade
Stationery
at Half Price

Central Pharmacy
The "REXALL" Store
813 Main Street FRED A. HOWARD, Prop.

The City Drug Store
R. SAILEY, Proprietor.

A full line of
DRUGS, PATENT MEDICINES
AND TOILET ARTICLES.
Prescriptions carefully compounded

SAND POINT, - - IDAHO

Figure 21. Other local Sandpoint pharmacy advertisements. (Left: *Hope Herald* 1914:4, top right: *Bonner County Progressive* 1914b:4; bottom right: *Pend d'Oreille News* 1892a:4).

A total of 219 pharmaceutical or prescription bottles were recovered from the Sandpoint excavations (Table 2); of that figure, 97 bottles were identified to a particular pharmacy. Allen Brothers Druggists tops the list with 49 bottles, and they are followed closely by the Sand Point Pharmacy/Sandpoint Drug Company (which was run by Charles Foss) with 34 bottles. It is not surprising that Allen Brothers Druggists and Charles Foss' Sand Point Pharmacy/Sandpoint Drug Company are the leaders in identified pharmacy bottles considering each company's considerable advertising efforts outlined above. It appears that Foss' specialty in prescription work and Allen Brothers Druggists' "complete in every detail" inventory won over the citizens of Sandpoint when it came to their local prescription needs. In any case, it is evident that Sandpoint residents relied heavily on their local pharmacists (Figure 22).

Table 2. Identified Pharmacy Bottles Found in Sandpoint Assemblage

Identified Pharmacy Bottles	Pharmacy Location	MVC	% of MVC
Allen Brothers Druggists	Sandpoint, ID	49	51%
Central Pharmacy	Sandpoint, ID	6	6%
E.M. Shaw Druggist	Spokane, WA	1	1%
Harry S. Elwood	Ellensburg, WA	1	1%
Hodge, Davis & Co. Wholesale Druggists	Portland, OR	1	1%
Johnson Drug Co.	Spokane, WA	1	1%
Krum & Braley	Spokane, WA	1	1%
Mrs. A.L. Cook's Drug Store	Pocatello, ID	1	1%
Peck Brothers Druggists	Grand Rapids, MI	1	1%
Randall Drug Co.	Great Falls, MT	1	1%
Sand Point Pharmacy/Sandpoint Drug Co.	Sandpoint, ID	34	35%
Total		97	100%



Figure 22. Examples of various Allen Brothers Druggists bottles unearthed in Sandpoint excavations (LC #s 43015, 55519, 40002, 55509, 55001, 40204, 55041, 56297, 54014, and 40046).

Patent Medicines

Specific drugs, patent medicines, and drug companies were also extensively advertised in the Sandpoint papers. As stated above, newspapers printed testimonial articles for specific drugs, which ended with the name of the druggist who carried and sold the wonder cure featured in the article. There were also drug-specific advertisements printed by the drug companies themselves. These advertisements usually included addresses where one could inquire after the advertised drug, and many were also available at the local drug store (Figure 23). Patent medicines abound within Sandpoint's archaeological record with 173 bottles and 114 identified products. Of these 114 products, at least 19 were advertised in the local papers.

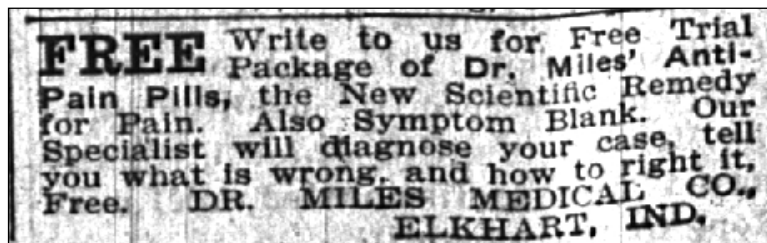


Figure 23. Portion of Dr. Miles' advertisement with an address to inquire after a sample (*Northern Idaho News* 1904f:9).

Both Foss and the Allen brothers advertised products made by the Chamberlain Medicine Company quite frequently and used testimonials in their advertising. Archaeologically recovered products that were also identified in local papers include Chamberlain's Cough Remedy and Chamberlain's Colic, Cholera, and Diarrhoea Remedy (*Kootenai County Republican* 1902d:3, 1902e:3).

Drug manufacturers pushed individual products in local Sandpoint newspapers before the establishment of pharmacies such as Foss' (1900) and the Allen brothers' (1902). Advertisements often ended with a generic "available at druggists" or the address of the company and sometimes an offer for a free sample. Drug manufacturers also relied heavily on testimonials as is evident in Sandpoint's early newspapers. Dr. A. Boschee's German Syrup is advertised via testimony in the *Pend d'Oreille News* wherein a Texas farmer states the medicine is for all "cold and lung troubles" and, after trying many different drugs, is adamant the German Syrup is the best and is the "medicine for this country" (1892f:6). Whether by this printed testimony or the recommendation of others in Sandpoint, it is evident that Dr. A. Boschee's German Syrup was to some degree a success, since we recovered at least three bottles during excavations.

Other products recovered and identified in local newspapers include Dr. J. Hostetter's Stomach Bitters, Dr. King's New Discovery (for coughs and colds), H.E. Bucklen and Company's Electric Brand Bitters, and Ely's Cream Balm. By playing to the emotions of the reader with promises of being "thoroughly effective," "an infallible cure," "vitaliz[ing] every organ of the body," and "take...and be cured...it is worth \$1,000 to any man, woman or child," the advertisements and products clearly caught the attention (and the money) of the people of Sandpoint (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892g:6, 1892h:6; *Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907g:8, 1907h:4).

Another local advertising technique that seemed to appeal to Sandpoint shoppers was elaborately designed advertisements that could not but catch the viewer's eye. Examples include St. Jacobs Oil, Syrup of Figs, Paine's Celery Compound, Fletcher's Castoria, and Oregon Blood Purifier (Figure 24). Similar to the advertising tricks above, these advertisements also use enticing wording. An example is a St. Jacobs Oil advertisement that claimed it "cures permanently," and used images to lure the reader to



Figure 24. Examples of patent medicine advertisements found in local Sandpoint newspapers: Fletcher's Castoria (*Bonner County Democrat* 1908b:7), Syrup of Figs (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892j:3), St. Jacobs Oil (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892i:3), Oregon Blood Purifier (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892k:3), and Paine's Celery Compound (*Hope Examiner* 1897:3).

explore the advertisement and pique interest in their products (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892i:3). Something clicked in the minds of the readers and residents of Sandpoint; at least one of each of the above examples was identified in the town's archaeological remains (Figure 25).

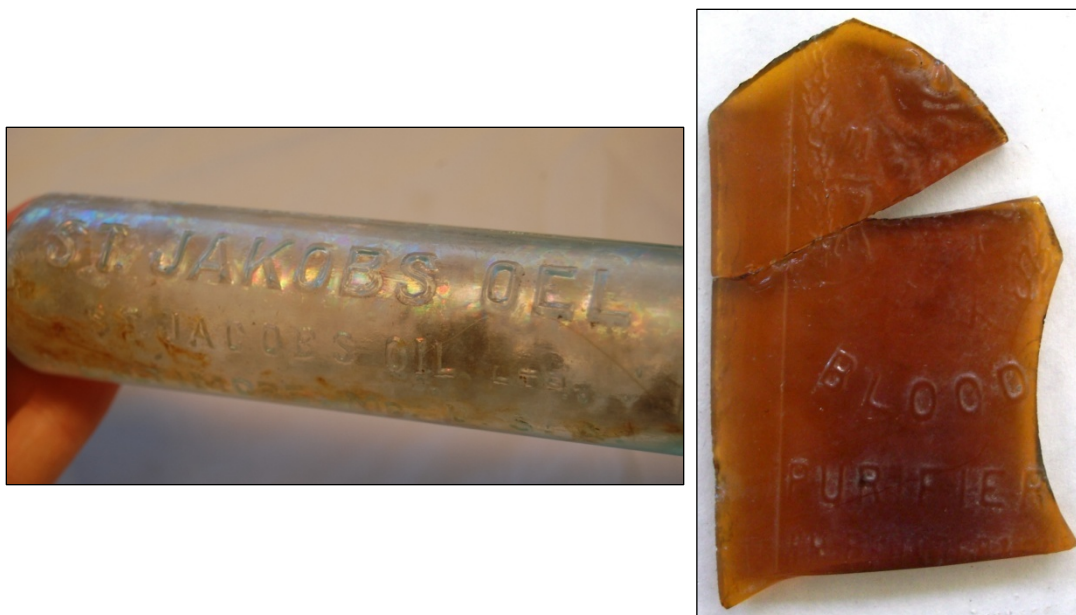


Figure 25. Examples of patent medicine bottles recovered from various areas in Sandpoint. Left: St. Jacobs Oil (LC #40219). Right: Oregon Blood Purifier (LC #77432).

Other patent medicine products advertised locally and found archaeologically include Murine Eye Remedy, Piso's Cure for Consumption, and Hood's Sarsaparilla. Advertisements for these relied on word size and placement to catch the attention of their customers (Figure 26). While their advertisements may not have been as flamboyant as the advertisements discussed previously, they still attracted Sandpoint's consumers.

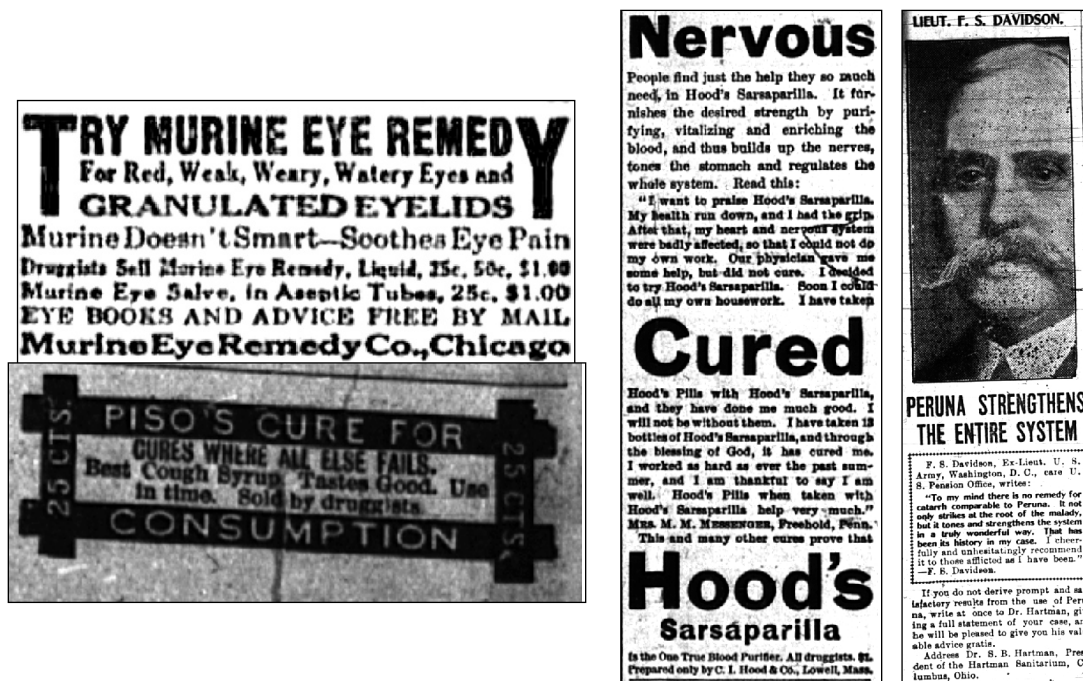


Figure 26. Examples of patent medicine advertisements using word placement to draw in customers: Murine Eye Remedy (*Hope Herald* 1913b:3), Piso's Cure for Consumption (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1905l:6), Hood's Sarsaparilla (*Hope Examiner* 1896:3), and Peruna (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905g:7).

J.C. Ayer is another company that advertised in the local papers. While the advertisements were for two products not recovered in the assemblage, the bottom of the advertisement lists all their popular products, including Ayer's Cherry Pectoral used to cure throat and lung ailments (Figure 27) (*Bonner County Democrat* 1908c:7). One bottle of Cherry Pectoral was identified in the archaeological assemblage, indicating that J.C. Ayer's line of products were physically present in the town and not just in the local newspapers.



Figure 27. Bottom portion of an Ayer's advertisement listing popular products, including the Cherry Pectoral found during Sandpoint excavations. (*Bonner County Democrat* 1908c:7).

Sears, Roebuck and Company filled catalog pages in 1897 and 1902 with their own patent medicines. By 1908 they were advertising medicines made by other companies; however, the medicine names were often generic and listed company names were few and far between (Schroeder 1969:790–791). Patent medicines were also advertised in magazines and nationally recognized brands—Bromo-Seltzer is a key example of the advertisements' effectiveness (Figure 28). While this product was not advertised in the local newspapers, its national reputation through magazine advertisements and word-of-mouth

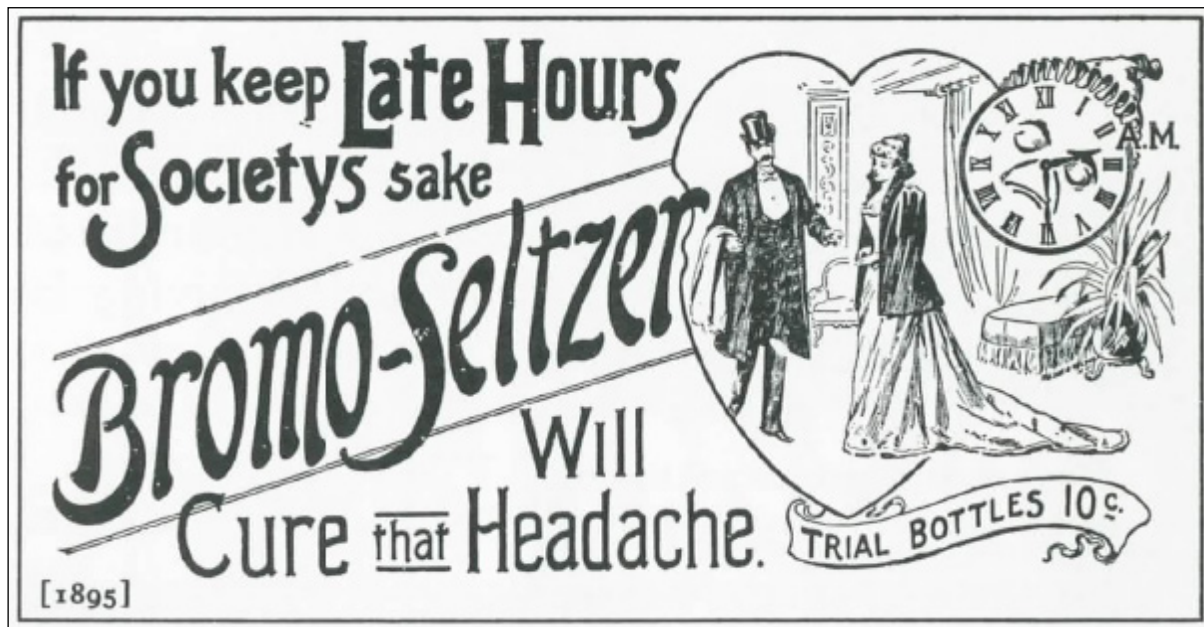


Figure 28. National advertisement, 1895, for Bromo-Seltzer (Jones 1959:87).

advertising apparently worked in Sandpoint, since 11 bottles of the product were recovered in our excavations.

In an era without fast traveling news, Sandpoint residents, as well as residents of the nation as a whole, had to rely heavily on word of mouth, the mail, and testimonials printed in newspapers when choosing a patent medicine. While not always a sound system, reputation and advertising ploys used in Sandpoint helped create the nationally recognized brands found throughout the United States.

Other Household Goods

In addition to what has been discussed, a plethora of other products recovered from the Sandpoint excavations can be linked to merchants of the town. To cover all of these items is beyond the scope of this chapter; however, a few items are worth a mention here. Household assemblages are nary complete within a historical archaeological context without the presence of some form of china or dishes, and this chapter would be remiss if these items were left out of the discussion of mercantile shelves. It is evident in newspaper advertisements that local businesses actively pushed the sales of their dishes to the community. For instance, in October 1904, the Humbird Lumber Company Store advertised a storewide “10 cent sale”—the sale included clothing items, canned goods, and various ceramic items. One could purchase “Fancy Decorated China Creamers. You will want one,” “Decorated China Cups and Saucers. Fine Values,” “Pretty Patterns in a Neat Shaped Mug,” and “Bread and Butter Plates” all for just 10 cents each, a steal (*Northern Idaho News* 1904b:3). In November 1905, Allen Brothers Druggists and Mrs. G.G. McMath both advertised ceramics for sale. Allen Brothers Druggists had “the only stock of imported hand painted china ever exhibited in Sandpoint” and Mrs. McMath’s millinery reminded readers to see her stock of “China and Japanese ware for Christmas presents” (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1905e:5).

Sears, Roebuck and Company also sold a variety of ceramics. Several makers present in the Sandpoint assemblage had patterns for sale in Sears, Roebuck and Company’s mail-order catalogs. Dunn, Bennett and Company, W.H. Grindley and Company, Alfred Meakin, J. and G. Meakin, and Upper Hanley Pottery

Company are all listed as ceramic manufacturers in the 1897 and 1902 Sears, Roebuck and Company catalogs available to Sandpoint residents and businesses (Lyons 2007:615–618, Amory 1969:792–794).

Wide arrays of ceramic vessels were identified in the Sandpoint assemblage. Approximately 1,125 Euro-American tableware vessels have been identified in the collection. Makers from Europe and America are present and, as noted above, many of the makers sold their products in mail-order catalogs. These ceramics would have been sold locally as well. With 31 butter dishes, 12 creamers, and 59 coffee cups recovered, one wonders how many were purchased during the Humbird Lumber Company's "10 cent sale?" And did Sandpoint residents take heed and purchase China and Japanese ware ceramics for the holidays? It is likely many of the vessels recovered came from these stores.

CONCLUSION

As with all towns in the West, a key component of Sandpoint's success was the energies and entrepreneurial spirit of its businessmen. While a seemingly isolated location, Sandpoint, Idaho, was not void of the everyday necessities of life, nor lacking in commercial businesses. The general stores and pharmacies provided a commercial and community sphere for the town's residents, a tradition that is still true for the tourist destination Sandpoint is today.

In many ways the local businessman played a key role in small towns across America. On one hand they were agents for expansion of national brands into small markets—something that is evident in the food products recovered from Sandpoint. At the same time, these small-town businesses were part of the glue that built, reinforced, and held their communities together. On the other side of the spectrum, there is also an emphasis on local products, seen in materials such as the many pharmacy bottles recovered, which demonstrate heavy patronage of local businesses and reliance on local medicines (and medical knowledge). Finally, we recognize how the local businessmen's shelves were the arbiters of taste. Their choices about what to stock and how to advertise were important in building a "cultured" community within Sandpoint. Certainly the necessities of everyday life such as shoes and gloves were common purchases in many stores, but the archaeology and the advertising also hint at the styles of Sandpoint. The fine stocking materials recovered or the advertising for the "latest fashions" also illustrate how central the goods on the shelves were to the town's sense of itself. Obviously these stores were packed with myriad items, but more importantly to us today, these items represent how Sandpoint's past community perceived itself as a part northern Idaho.

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CHAPTER 3. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF SEX

Mark Warner, Dan Martin, and Jamelon Brown

One of the largest components of the Sandpoint project was the excavation of a complex of two brothels and a saloon. The materials recovered provide the basis for a broad exploration of the material world of brothels and the economics of prostitution in Sandpoint (see Volume 1). The focus of this chapter is considerably narrower—it is about the material culture of sex, birth control, and the immediate consequences of sex (pregnancy and venereal diseases). In recent years, archaeologists have written about the archaeology of sexuality (Schmidt and Voss 2000) and historical archaeologists have written extensively about prostitution (Costello 1999, 2000; Seifert 2005, 1991), but there has been relatively little produced by archaeologists that focuses specifically on the material culture of sex (see, however, Valentine 2011). Certainly there have been many projects where an object, or a small cluster of objects, was identified as having been used to treat venereal disease, or as a form of birth control, or, in rare instances, for infanticide or abortion (Crist 2005). Wilkie's work on the archaeology of mothering (2003) is perhaps the most extensive discussion by an archaeologist on birth control; yet, Wilkie admits her work is somewhat speculative in that it lacks a "smoking gun," namely a conclusive assemblage of materials associated with the regulation of reproduction by women (Wilkie 2003:170). In Sandpoint we recovered multiple objects that served the purpose of birth control, along with many objects that dealt with the repercussions of sex. Further, we excavated several other products that could have had multiple functions but, given their context, were most likely used for birth control.

Our work in the "Restricted District" (the term used by the local populace) involved excavating a brothel managed by Marie Henderson and a bordello managed by Willa Herman (Volume 1). The two establishments catered to different clienteles. The larger of the two, Henderson's Brothel, primarily serviced the workers of Sandpoint and surrounding areas, while Herman's Bordello (the smaller of the two buildings) catered to a more affluent customer. The typical demographic of Herman's establishment was the small business owner in town or middle to upper management in the Humbird Mill. Our excavations of these two establishments yielded a constellation of objects that have allowed us to move beyond Wilkie's hypothetical discussion to explore in some detail contraception, pregnancy, and venereal disease in Sandpoint. The bulk of the materials discussed were excavated from either Herman's or Henderson's establishments, but in a few instances, materials were also recovered in other parts of Sandpoint—the implications of which will also be discussed.

BIRTH CONTROL

Humans have struggled to manage their reproductive capabilities in many ways for thousands of years (Riddle 1997). For some, the issue is a struggle to conceive a child (and in some cultures a male child), but for many women the greater challenge has been to avoid becoming pregnant. This is particularly the case in the lives of prostitutes for the simple reason that pregnancy and childbirth would limit, if not eliminate, their earning potential. Thus, for prostitutes birth control was central to their livelihood, but Victorian America was also a period where access to many forms of birth control was increasingly curtailed. The excavations of Willa Herman's Bordello and Marie Henderson's Brothel resulted in an assemblage of objects and products that provide intriguing insight into how the women working in the two businesses attempted to limit pregnancy.

Irrigators and Douching Paraphernalia

One of the unexpected collections of objects recovered was a group of 21 irrigators (and parts of a few others) (Figure 29). Lest there be any confusion about their function, we are talking about objects whose purpose was douching or the delivery of enemas. All but one of the irrigators were recovered in association with Willa Herman's Bordello. As we have noted previously, Herman's Bordello was the smaller of the two complexes and catered to a more affluent clientele. Table 3 provides a summary of the types of irrigators that were recovered. In addition to irrigators, other accoutrements associated with douching were also recovered. These include several segments of rubber tubing, fragments of a fountain syringe bag or hot water bottle, and hose clips. Several of these objects are quite similar, if not identical, to advertisements for fountain syringes (a.k.a. douche bags) (Figures 30 through 33).



Figure 29. Irrigators excavated from Sandpoint's Restricted District.

Table 3. Summary of Irrigators Recovered

Irrigator Type	Herman's Bordello	Henderson's Brothel	Owl Dance Hall and Saloon
Irrigator, vaginal	4	-	-
Irrigator, rectal	6	-	-
Irrigator, infant	5	1	1
Irrigator, indeterminate	3	-	-
Total	18	1	1

Note: The irrigator found in the Owl Saloon assemblage was adjacent to Herman's Bordello. There was some mixing of bordello materials with Owl Saloon materials. Thus it is reasonable to infer that the Owl Saloon irrigator was originally used in Herman's Bordello rather than the bar.



Figure 30. Fragments of douche bag.

**Our Guaranteed Rapid Flow
Perfection Fountain Syringe.
GUARANTEED FULL CAPACITY.**

The Rapid Flow Syringe is fitted with 1/4-inch tubing for flushing and for this reason is a special favorite. The tubing and bag are made of the finest quality rubber, four hard rubber screw pipes, infant, rectal, bent vaginal and irrigator. The bag is full capacity, made from heavy white ribbed rubber, heavily reinforced seams and fully guaranteed. It is one of the most desirable syringes on the market combining as it does all the necessary fittings for family use with unusual strength. Packed in fine box, wrapped and complete, at one-half usual price charged.

(Full measure.)

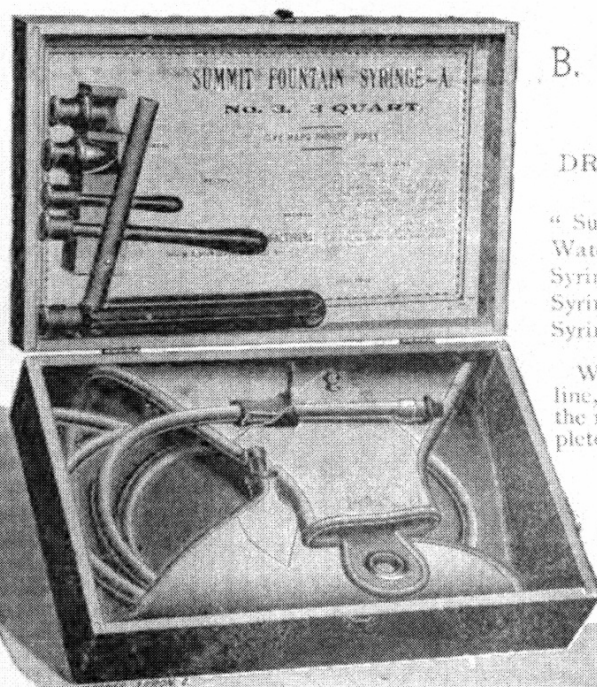
No. 8F2310	2 quarts.	Price..\$0.90
No. 8F2311	3 quarts.	Price.. .98
No. 8F2312	4 quarts.	Price.. 1.08

If by mail, postage extra, 27 cents.



Figure 31. Bag advertised in 1906 Sears, Roebuck and Company catalog.(Sears, Roebuck and Co. 1906:844).

THE "SUMMIT" FOUNTAIN SYRINGE.



B. F.
DRUG
"Summit"
Water
Syringe
Syringe
Syringe
We
line, a
the m
plete d

Figure 32. Syringe advertisement. Note clip (Chas. Truax and Co. 1890:493).

The types of irrigators recovered were initially somewhat puzzling, but ultimately shed considerable light on the reality of prostitution at the time. The puzzling part of our assemblage is the large number of anal irrigators. Certainly constipation was a health concern in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the administration of enemas was a well-known treatment for constipation. Yet it is important to note that all the irrigators were recovered in association with the brothel and bordello—none were recovered in any of the other project areas excavated. We think the significant number of anal irrigators is indirectly explained by the Comstock Act of 1873. The Comstock Act (named after its major advocate, a New York postal inspector named Anthony Comstock) defined birth control as obscene materials and made it illegal to send any material through the mail that provided information on contraception or abortion (D’Emilio and Freedman 1988:159). The effect of the Comstock Act was to effectively drive birth control underground. In 1880 for instance, Comstock, himself, reports on the seizure and destruction of, among other things, “...64,094 rubber articles for immoral use [and] 4,185 boxes of pills and powders for abortion...” (Brodie 1994:281).



Figure 33. Hose clip excavated from the Restricted District (LC# 70886).

What happened as a result of this? Instead of douching being discussed and advertised as a form of contraception, it became part of a broader discussion on women’s hygiene and other health challenges, most notably issues of constipation. Thus the apparatus for douching was still advertised and sold, but it was sold as a health device, and commonly a health device for married women or the entire family. Its packaging was modified so that the apparatus had multiple nozzles for douching and the administering of enemas—or in one case the watering of house plants (Brodie 1994:70)!

Illustrating the partial circumvention of the Comstock Act was Goodwin’s trade catalog from 1885, which offered customers 145 different types of syringes for the irrigation of many different bodily orifices (Brodie 1994:70). Similarly, an advertisement in Truax’s 1890 catalog for the Alpha Fountain Syringe (sold with five different nozzles) states in part: “The various uses to which this syringe is adapted render it indispensable to every family; while travelers and persons living at hotels, where they do not have the facilities of a private house, will find it a valuable improvement over any fountain syringe in the market” (Chas. Truax and Co. 1890:503). Figure 34 illustrates another syringe kit, the “Family Fountain Syringe.”

As for the vaginal irrigators, it is reasonable to assume they were used by the women of Herman’s Bordello for birth control (as well as disease prevention). Information on specific birth control practices in Victorian America is not extensive, but it is clear from the small number of medical studies at the time that douching was a commonly used form of birth control. Janet Brodie discussed women’s douching practices at length, noting that by late in the nineteenth century, douching was the most popular form of birth control used by middle and upper class women (Brodie 1994:68). Other studies corroborate the prevalence of douching as a type of birth control. One extremely small study of 45 women in 1892 listed douching as the most commonly used form of birth control, while a later study (conducted in 1924) found that, after condoms, douching was the most frequently recommended form of birth control by physicians (Tone 2001:73–76). Finally, we note Kinsey’s groundbreaking studies in the 1930s and 1940s on sexuality, which found that 24 percent of surveyed women who were born before 1899 (n = 323) had relied on douching as their primary form of contraception (Reed 1978:124).

SURGICAL SUNDRIES.—SYRINGES.

THE SEAMLESS RUBBER CO'S EXCELSIOR FAMILY FOUNTAIN SYRINGE.



Fig. 1195. Packed in fancy wood boxes, like the above cut.

The Best Fountain Syringe Made.

The Excelsior Fountain Syringe is made of the best quality of white rubber, from pure Para gum and has six polished hard rubber pipes, as follows: large vaginal, irrigator, vaginal, rectal, nasal and spray pipes; also hard rubber connections connecting tubing to bag. We can guarantee this syringe



Fig. 1195. Syringe ready for use.

to give the best satisfaction to all who use it.

1 quart, price to patients	\$2 00.	See page 471.
2 " " "	2 25.	
3 " " "	2 50.	
4 " " "	2 75.	

Physicians are requested to specify our goods when ordering or prescribing.

Figure 34. Syringe advertisement from 1890 Truax catalog (Chas. Truax and Co. 1890:503).

Overall, the presence of these irrigators in the Herman's Bordello assemblage gives us a few important insights into prostitution in Sandpoint. First, remember the context that the irrigators were recovered in—trash deposits. Given that irrigators were being sold in sets to theoretically circumvent the Comstock Act, we hypothesize that we are seeing a bit of negative evidence here. The women of Herman's Bordello may have been keeping the irrigator they needed to use regularly, namely the vaginal irrigator, and disposing of (or merely losing—another issue noted in some of the syringe advertisements of the era) the ones they did not need to use; thus, we recovered 16 nozzles for administering enemas and only four for douching.

The presence of the irrigators also provides corroborative evidence about the economics of prostitution. Table 4 presents a summary of douching kit prices advertised in several Sears, Roebuck and Company and Montgomery Ward catalogs. While they were not inexpensive, they also represented something of a financial investment. The kits averaged about 92 cents, a figure that is based on the average cost of the total number of kits advertised in the 1902 Sears, Roebuck and Company catalog (Amory 1969:455). To put the cost of an irrigator assemblage in perspective, one dollar in 1902 would have purchased a fine enameled tea kettle, a good men's shirt, a ladies' hat, or a moderately priced corset. A bottle of medicine would have been about 60 cents. As a further price comparison, a condom would have cost about a dime at the time (Brodie 1994:210, D'Emilio and Freedman 1988:60). Simply put, it is not surprising to find these moderately more costly products in large numbers in the bordello that had a more affluent clientele.

Table 4. Costs of Douching Kits (in dollars).

Irrigator Type	1895 Wards (Lyons 2008:106–107)	1897 Sears (Lyons 2007:341)	1902 Sears (Amory 1969:455)	1908 Sears (Schroeder 1969:793)	Average
2 nozzles	.55 (n = 3)	.25 (n = 1)	.38 (n = 2)	.54 (n = 2)	.47
3 or more nozzles	1.16 (n = 8)	.63 (n = 4)	.92 (n = 6)	1.34 (n = 5)	1.04

The more compelling indicator of the economics of Herman's Bordello is the fact that the women were *able* to douche. Henderson's Brothel would have entertained clients in fairly rapid succession—perhaps as rapidly as every 10 to 15 minutes on a busy night. For those unfamiliar with the reality of frontier prostitution this may be hard to comprehend, but scholars have reported that on a busy night a woman could host up to 60 men over the course of an evening, though many averaged about 25 encounters on busy nights (Agnew 2008:72; Rutter 2005:10).

In contrast, the women working in Herman's Bordello would spend more time with their customers, have drinks or a meal with them, and perhaps subject them to a washing of their genitals prior to intercourse (believed to curtail the transmission of venereal disease). They had the time to douche after intercourse and before entertaining their next customer, thus hopefully minimizing the likelihood of pregnancy as well as "freshening up" prior to hosting another customer. On the other hand, women working in Henderson's Brothel would attempt to move from one customer to the next as rapidly as possible. In this circumstance, douching would have been a nuisance and would have been skipped (see Agnew 2008:87 for a brief discussion on the relationship between economics and douching in high-end bordellos and low-cost cribs). In other words, douching is an indicator of the pace of transactions at Herman's establishment—those transactions were not all that rushed, at least in comparison to Henderson's Brothel. Herman's Bordello was apparently an establishment that placed a premium on the quality of the experience more than on the volume of customers serviced.

CONTRACEPTIVE PRODUCTS

In addition to douching paraphernalia, two products were recovered that were recognized as having properties that could limit pregnancy—at least four bottles of Listerine and 22 bottles of Vaseline (an additional four bottles of Vaseline were recovered in other archaeological contexts in the town). Three bottles of Listerine were recovered in the Herman's Bordello assemblage and one was recovered in association with the Henderson complex. While Listerine was advertised as having many different uses, it is somewhat suggestive that the majority of the bottles found were in association with the two brothels (a minimum of four bottles were identified in the brothel assemblages, whereas two were found in the Chinese Occupied Area and one in the townsite excavations). Listerine was widely advertised in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as having germ-killing (and by implication sperm-killing) properties, in particular: "Listerine is invaluable in obstetrics and gynecology as a general cleansing, prophylactic, or antiseptic agent" (*Medical Bulletin* 1898:495). While we cannot know for certain if Listerine was actually used as a spermicide, it is clear that: a) douching was a very common form of birth control; b) the women in Herman's Bordello douched regularly (as indicated by the presence of the irrigators; c) Listerine was advertised as a douching product with prophylactic properties; and, finally d) historical accounts indicate douching was recognized as being more effective if it was done using a product that had some astringent and/or spermicidal properties as opposed to just water (Brodie 1994:68; McLaren 1990:185). At the very least there is an interesting compilation of circumstantial evidence to argue the point that Listerine was being used as part of prostitutes' efforts to maintain vaginal cleanliness, prevent pregnancy, and/or prevent venereal disease.

A second line of evidence that hints at the efforts of the women in Henderson's and Herman's establishments to control pregnancy is the exceptionally large number of Vaseline jars recovered from the two establishments (particularly Willa Herman's Bordello). Vaseline was marketed as having many uses and has been identified as a form of birth control at the turn of the twentieth century. As a side note, some also viewed it as a possible preventative treatment for venereal disease; one scholar reports that petroleum jelly mixed with other substances such as boric acid was used as an antiseptic salve (Agnew 2010:86). For women, Vaseline was used as birth control in several different ways. Wilkie reported that Vaseline alone was used as barrier contraception by applying it directly over the cervix

(Wilkie 2003:164). Others have identified Vaseline as a spermicide, either as salve mixed with boric acid (Haller and Haller 1974:262) or on a cotton ball covered in “borated vaseline” and then inserted into the vagina as a combination spermicidal/barrier form of birth control (Gordon 2007:148). Again we cannot know with certainty that the Vaseline was being used as birth control, but the presence of 22 jars indicates very heavy usage of the product. Indeed, it is something of a challenge to come up with other purposes that would plausibly explain the volume of Vaseline jars recovered.

ABORTIFACIENTS

Abortifacients are products whose purpose is to terminate a pregnancy through the abortion of the fetus (Riddle 1997:37). The topic of abortion stirs strong passions among many in contemporary society, but it is important to recognize the reality that it has been a strategy women in the United States (and elsewhere) have employed as a birth control option for centuries. As one commentator stridently stated: “abortion is a socio-sexual constant. No time, no culture, has been a stranger to it” (Smith-Rosenberg 1985:217). While the ethics of abortion in the United States have been discussed as far back as the 1700s, it was during the mid-nineteenth century that one sees a considerable rise in the public condemnation of abortion (Smith-Rosenberg and Rosenberg 1973:343–344). It was at this time that laws were increasingly enacted that began to criminalize abortions (Brodie 1994:253–288). Yet the reality is that despite public condemnation, abortion was still readily available to women. One 1898 study in Michigan, for example, estimated that roughly a third of the state’s pregnancies ended by an abortion (Smith-Rosenberg and Rosenberg 1973:344). Smith-Rosenberg and Rosenberg specifically commented that despite increasing condemnation and legal restrictions on abortion, both abortions and abortifacients were available in “even the smallest villages and rural areas” (1973:344).

Our archaeological and historical work bears witness to the reality of abortion and abortifacients as part of life in Sandpoint. From the historical side we find that local newspapers often carried advertisements marketing products that were supposed to induce miscarriages in women. Such advertisements are something of a challenge to identify without a considerable degree of familiarity with the language of the times. Advertisements for products that supposedly induced a miscarriage were typically extremely coded. One example of the circumspect use of language in local papers was in *The Hope Examiner*, which carried advertisements for products such as Chichester’s Pennyroyal Pills, a product that promised “Relief for Ladies” (*Hope Examiner* 1895:3). Other advertisements of the time would emphasize the abilities of particular products to treat female irregularities or help remove “obstructions” (Brodie 1994:225).

Historical archaeologists have on occasion excavated fetal human remains likely resulting from either abortion or miscarriage (Crist 2005). In Sandpoint we do not have conclusive evidence of women inducing abortions but we did recover two products that were advertised as abortifacients. The first, “Dr. Pierce’s Extract of Smart Weed” was recovered in our excavations of the Humbird Blacksmith Shop and in the Worker Housing assemblage. Extract of Smart Weed was advertised as potentially curing many things as well as being extolled by Dr. Pierce as “an excellent emmenagogue” (*The Record-Union* 1891:4). However, given the context where the bottles were recovered (an exclusively male work area and a housing area for male workers), it is highly unlikely that they were purchased for their abortifacient properties, but rather for some of their many other advertised healing properties.

The second possible product with abortifacient properties was a portion of a colorless Watkins bottle associated with Herman’s Bordello. Watkins was known for producing a variety of products and is still in business today as a marketer of a variety of natural health and beauty products. One of the products that Watkins sold during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was “Watkins Female Remedy.” This product was marketed as curing “...suppressed menstruation, falling of the womb, and

deranged monthly periods, as well as effective treatment of congestion of the ovaries and womb” (Cramp 1921:181). The challenge with identifying this product is that Watkins used a common bottle form and varied the label according to contents (John Goplen 2012, elec. comm.). Thus this association is tentative; however, the presence of such a product only in association with a brothel is certainly a suggestive, though not conclusive, indicator of the women of Herman’s place using abortion as a form of birth control.

REPERCUSSIONS OF SEX AND RELATED ISSUES

Venereal Disease

Any discussion of prostitution during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries should include some commentary on venereal disease. Venereal disease was a constant source of concern for prostitutes and their customers. There has been considerable discussion among historians about the rates of infection among prostitutes, and indeed, society at large. Out of this discussion two points emerge clearly. First, accurate numbers are almost certainly not possible to determine (due to a variety of reasons). Second, many of the studies of the time overstated the numbers of infections, one example being a 1904 report that stated 75 percent of American men contracted gonorrhea (Connelly 1984:197–199). Despite the inflation of numbers it is certain that venereal disease was a significant public health issue, and the concern among the general public was that prostitution was the primary vector of infection (Connelly 1984). Without a doubt concern about venereal disease reached Sandpoint. Much like for abortifacients, regional newspapers carried advertisements for venereal disease cures (Figure 35). Not surprisingly our findings apparently corroborate the presence of venereal disease in the town. What is interesting about our findings, however, is that we do not just have women treating their symptoms—we also see venereal disease being a concern among men. Further, though it may be counterintuitive, men were apparently also going to brothels to be treated for venereal disease—as well as for sex.

A side note on Condoms

Today condoms are widely thought of as an effective way to protect against venereal disease. One of our early findings in Sandpoint was a single “Silver-Tex” condom tin recovered in the vicinity of the Herman Brothel assemblage (Figure 36). The presence of the tin apparently in association with Henderson’s Brothel is a good lesson for archaeologists about jumping to conclusions.

When excavating a brothel one might assume that condoms would be a part of the assemblage and for logical reasons that is what we thought when the tin was identified. While many people today think of condoms as a relatively cheap form of birth control, that was not how they were viewed in early-twentieth-century Sandpoint. First, condoms were not viable for commercial sex, particularly in brothels such as Henderson’s. It was not a reasonable business practice to expect male patrons to assume procreative responsibility as well as limit their enjoyment of intercourse. Exacerbating this issue is the fact that condom manufacturing technology was far less sophisticated than is the case today. As one commentator stated regarding the use of birth control in a brothel: “Sexual frustration and social responsibility had no place in the ideotypic patron-prostitute relationship...” (Goldman 1981:126). Thus, through today’s lens many will think of the primary function of condoms as a form of birth control, the reality is that in the context of an early-twentieth-century brothel, that would not have been the case.

Big G is the acknowledged leading remedy for all the unnatural discharges and private diseases of men. A certain cure for the debilitating weakness peculiar to women.

Cures in 1 TO 5 DAYS.
Guaranteed not to cause Stricture.

M'd only by
THE EVANS CHEMICAL CO.
CINCINNATI, O.
U. S. A.

I prescribe it and feel safe in recommending it to all sufferers.
A. J. STONER, M. D., DECATUR, GA.
Sold by Druggists.
PRICE \$1.00.

A WEAK MAN

CAN NOW CURE HIMSELF OF THE DE-
plorable results of early abuse and perfectly
restore his v'gor and vitality by the great Austral-
ian REMEDY—A Physician's Gift to Humanity
—which will be sent F. O. D. to those afflicted. The
remarkable cures of hopeless cases of Nervous
Debility and Private Complaints are everywhere
stamping out quackery. Address with stamp, Box
1064, San Francisco, Cal.

Figure 35. Advertisement to cure venereal disease and impotence. (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892:3).



Figure 36. Silver Tex condom tin (LC #68439).

To further our presumptive thinking one argument was that the condom tin indicates an awareness of venereal disease by at least one of Henderson's patrons as it is not realistic to assume that patrons of an inexpensive brothel would go into the brothel thinking primarily of their procreative responsibilities. It is far likelier that their concern was about contracting a venereal disease (Agnew 2008:80). Such a concern would not be surprising since the use of condoms as protection against venereal disease dates back to at least the 1600s and continues up to today (Brodie 1994:205–208). Many reports of the time describe an association between condoms and prostitution, and the reason for that association was disease prevention (McLaren 1990:184). One even sees advertising of the time emphasizing their use for disease prevention rather than as birth control (Brodie 1994:211).

The problem with all of our creative thinking about is that the condom tin post-dates the brothel by approximately 20 years. As noted in the volume I introduction, excavation on a slope of a river that regularly flooded led to some mixing of artifacts. The circa 1930s condom tin is an ironic reminder of the complexities of interpreting the past. Same activity—sex—but very different context.

Treatments

A direct indicator of venereal disease was the presence of at least six products whose purpose was the supposed cure of venereal disease (Table 5). Five of the products were marketed primarily for venereal disease though we note that one product in particular (Lysol) was marketed as treating a variety of health issues. Again, the majority of these products were found in association with Herman's Bordello.

Table 5. Venereal Disease Treatments

Product	Location	Cure	Citation
Dr. Crossman's Specific mixture	Herman's Bordello	For the cure of gonorrhea, gleet, stricture, etc. and as a preventive of gonorrhea	Cramp 1921:586
Evans Chemical Co.	Herman's Bordello	"Leading remedy for all the unnatural discharges of men. A certain cure for the debilitating weakness peculiar to women"	<i>Pend d'Oreille News</i> 1892:3
Lehn & Fink (Lysol)	Herman's Bordello	Treatment of gonorrhea	Norris 1913:482,485
Knoxit Globules	Henderson's Brothel	Treats venereal disease	Cramp 1936:216
Knoxit (liquid)	Henderson's Brothel	Treats venereal disease in women and men	U.S. Bureau of Chemistry 1921:97-98
Santal de Midy	Indeterminate brothel	Treats gonorrhea and gleet in 24 hours	The Propaganda for Reform 1920:1016

There are two products on the list that merit further discussion because of what can be inferred by their presence. The Santal de Midy bottle (Figures 37 and 38) and an Evans Chemical Company bottle both raise some interesting issues, Santal de Midy because of its origin and Evans Chemical Company because of a local connection we have identified. Santal de Midy was a gonorrhea and "gleet" (a common name for what was seen as chronic gonorrhea) remedy that had wide popularity for several decades in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Direct indicators of Santal de Midy's popularity are not available but if imitation is any indication of its success, then it can be assumed that it was indeed a very popular product. We found several accounts in pharmaceutical periodicals of the late 1890s that reported on multiple attempts to manufacture and sell imitation Santal de Midy in Chicago (The Pharmaceutical Era 1898:300), a long way from the point of origin of the "real" Santal de Midy, which was Paris, France. What can be deduced from the fact that people were trying to produce fake Santal de Midy? It means that Santal de Midy was a widely recognized product (why copy something that no one has heard of?) and, more generally, that there was a substantial demand for home cures for venereal disease (why copy something unless you believe there is a market for it?). Furthermore, the presence of



Figure 37. Santal de Midy bottle (LC #11333).

a product manufactured in France for venereal disease that makes its way to a bordello assemblage in north Idaho is quite revealing simply because it demonstrates both a broad awareness of products for treating venereal disease and, more importantly, access to international markets for such treatments.

In contrast to the international link with Santal de Midy, the Evans Chemical Company bottle could be linked to local actions. The bottle originally could not be associated with a particular product, but newspaper research quickly answered that question. The *Pend d'Oreille News* regularly carried an advertisement in 1892 and 1893 for a product that cured the Big "G" (meaning gonorrhea) (see *Pend d'Oreille News* 1892:3). The Evans Chemical Company was based in Cincinnati, and had a full line of pharmaceutical products available from their store in Cincinnati. However, from what we can determine, their Big "G" cure was the product that had a particularly broad appeal to consumers. In 1909 the *American Druggist and Pharmaceutical Record* reported that: "The Big "G" is an injection which has been a big seller. It is widely advertised and offered to the drug trade on a liberal margin of profit, 50 percent, and its makers assert that it is really a very efficacious remedy" (Hints to Buyers 1909:26d).



Figure 38. Santal de Midy advertisement (*The Propaganda for Reform* 1920:1016).

The Big "G" and Santal de Midy bottles provide significant insight into the Sandpoint populace and the prevalence of venereal disease. The presence of these two products demonstrates an awareness of some of the most common treatments for gonorrhea, as indicated by the fact that both products were nationally marketed. Equally significant, however, is the fact that these products were available in Sandpoint and that the women of the red light district were able to obtain them with some ease. We do not know how they had access to them, whether they were available through the local druggist or through direct order, but we do know that the women were armed with two popular products of the era that were used to combat venereal disease.

There is a third product we did not include in Table 2.2.3 that *may* be part of the array of treatment products recovered. The Herman's Bordello assemblage includes a jar that would have held moist

surgical gauze. According to Toulouse (1971:283–284), Johnson and Johnson Laboratories needed a way to keep dressings sterile for shipment to and from storage by the medical trade, so between 1887 and 1913 they employed canning jars. The product they contained was an iodoform gauze called “Linton Moist Gauze,” which was marketed to physicians (Johnson and Johnson Laboratories 1897). It is impossible to determine if the dressings were used by someone at the bordello or if this is an instance of container reuse. However it should be noted that iodoform gauze was commonly recommended for daily use after douching for women suffering from venereal disease, particularly gonorrhea (*Encyclopedia Britannica* 1907:200; White and Martin 1897:154–155).

A second grouping of objects we must highlight in the discussion on venereal disease is a collection of syringe parts (Figures 39 and 40). We recovered portions of several syringes during our excavations, and all but one of them were recovered in the Restricted District in association with both Herman’s and Henderson’s businesses. Once again this is a case where the location of the objects is particularly telling. Some of the syringes could have been used to irrigate the nose, ears, or eyes, but out of such an enormous assemblage of objects recovered from many different places in Sandpoint it is significant that they were almost all found in association with the brothels. The only other place where another syringe was found was in the vicinity of the Foss drug store (the townsite excavations). Building on the evidence for how these syringes were specifically used is the fact that one of the hard rubber syringes we recovered was conclusively identified as a syringe to be used on males for injections into the urethra. It is our belief that the primary use for the syringes was to treat venereal disease. Syringes of the type we excavated were commonly used to treat venereal disease by injecting a variety of solutions into the urethra (though in some cases urethral injections were also used to treat impotence) (McLaren 2007:145).



Figure 39. Syringe parts (LC #s 3440, 3441, 69125, and 40291).



Figure 40. Urethral syringe and plunger ring (LC #69199, LC #70958).

The medical books, manuals, and journals of the time are laden with discussions on the most effective remedies for venereal disease. There were debates over large volume injections versus small volume injections, the relative merits of infrequent injections of more “irritating” solutions versus many injections of less astringent solutions, and finally whether self injection was viable (Watson 1916). To delve very far into this literature is somewhat cringe-inducing. For example, consider this piece of advice by one expert of the time: “Severe pain, haemorrhage [sic], and discharge of pus, and fragments of necrosed tissue may result from the use of unsuitable solutions of such urethral irritants as perchloride of mercury or carbolic acid” (Watson 1916:174). As with most medical procedures of the time it is somewhat of a challenge to gauge how common a particular treatment was, but in this case it is readily apparent that urethral injections were perhaps the most frequent course of treatment for gonorrhea. Illustrating the commonality of injections as treatments is Figure 41, which presents a compilation of the variety of solutions used for treating gonorrhea—though the author did note that such a table was “far from complete” due to the many solutions that were used.

Another aspect of the discussion on syringes is determining why syringes were present in the brothel assemblages in the first place, particularly the urethral syringes. By today’s standards people who think they have contracted syphilis or gonorrhea would go to a physician for treatment. As the medical literature attests, many people did go to doctors at that time. But at the same time many also apparently tried treating themselves due to the costs involved in medical treatments (one source put the cost of syphilis treatment at around \$100 [Agnew 2008:88]), or because of shame at contracting a socially stigmatizing disease. As counterintuitive as it may seem, many men apparently went to brothels for treatment. The cumulative Sandpoint archaeological evidence indicates that men may well have been traveling to Marie Henderson and Willa Herman for treatment. Further, there is at least one first-person account from a New York prostitute who recalled that many men came to her for advice on how to deal with their infections (Washburn 1997:306–307).

Insight into the treatment of venereal disease is one of the more intriguing finds of our Sandpoint work. Between the syringes and related products, we have fairly solid evidence to indicate that one of the

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REAGENTS EMPLOYED FOR URETHRAL INJECTIONS

	Strength for Injections.	Strength for Instillation.	Strength for Irrigation and Lavage.
1. Silver Nitrate	1 : 4,000 -1 : 2,000	1 : 500-1 : 100	1 : 10,000-1 : 4,000
2. Silver Fluoride . . .	1 : 10,000-1 : 2,000	—	—
3. Actol (silver lactate)	1 : 10,000-1 : 4,000	—	—
4. Itrol (citrate of silver)	1 : 5,000 -1 : 2,000	—	1 : 10,000-1 : 4,000
5. Silver Iodide	1 : 20 -1 : 10	—	1 : 2,000 -1 : 500
6. Argentide (iodide of silver, 100 gr. to 1 oz.)	1 : 60 -1 : 30	1 : 20 -1 : 10	1 : 4,000 -1 : 2,000
7. Protargol	1 : 800 -1 : 100	1 : 200-1 : 50	1 : 4,000 -1 : 2,000
8. Argyrol	1 : 50 -1 : 5	1 : 10 -1 : 5	1 : 1,000 -1 : 250
9. Largin	1 : 400 -1 : 100	1 : 50	1 : 4,000 -1 : 1,000
10. Albargin	1 : 1,000 -1 : 100	1 : 20	1 : 5,000 -1 : 1,000
11. Argentamin	1 : 3,000 -1 : 500	1 : 100	1 : 30,000-1 : 10,000
12. Argonin	1 : 200 -1 : 30	1 : 15	1 : 4,000
13. Nargol	1 : 400 -1 : 100	1 : 20 -1 : 10	—
14. Hegonon	1 : 400	—	1 : 6,000 -1 : 2,000
15. Novargan	1 : 500 -1 : 50	1 : 20 -1 : 10	1 : 3,000 -1 : 1,000
16. Ichthargan	1 : 2,000 -1 : 500	1 : 300-1 : 100	1 : 5,000 -1 : 2,000
17. Collargol (colloid silver)	1 : 30 -1 : 20	—	1 : 10,000
18. Colossal Argentum	used undiluted as dispensed	—	—
19. Ichthyol	1 : 100 -1 : 20	—	—
20. Resorcin	1 : 100 -1 : 25	—	—
21. Salicylic Acid . . .	1 : 3,000 -1 : 2,000	—	1 : 5,000 -1 : 3,000
22. Boric Acid	1 : 30 -1 : 16	—	—
23. Carbolic Acid	1 : 500 -1 : 250	—	—
24. Picric acid	1 : 200 -1 : 100	—	—
25. Citric acid	1 : 500 -1 : 250	—	—
26. Lactic acid	1 : 500 -1 : 200	—	—
27. Tannic acid	1 : 300 -1 : 200	—	—
28. Nitric acid	—	—	1 : 5,000 -1 : 1,000
29. Bichloride of Mercury	1 : 20,000-1 : 10,000	—	1 : 30,000-1 : 20,000
30. Permanganate of potash	1 : 3,000 -1 : 1,000	—	1 : 10,000-1 : 2,000
31. Quinine bisulphate . .	1 : 1,000 -1 : 200	1 : 400	1 : 5,000
32. Thallin sulphate . .	1 : 250 -1 : 100	—	—
33. Hydrogen peroxide . .	1 : 100 -1 : 30	—	—
34. Iodine	—	—	1 : 2,000 -1 : 500
35. Mercury oxycyanide . .	1 : 6,000 -1 : 4,000	—	1 : 10,000-1 : 4,000
36. Alum	1 : 500 -1 : 100	—	—
37. Copper sulphate . .	1 : 500 -1 : 250	—	—
38. Zinc sulphate	1 : 500 -1 : 100	—	—
39. Zinc sulphocarbonate	1 : 500 -1 : 200	—	—
40. Zinc chloride	1 : 2,000 -1 : 1,000	—	—
41. Zinc acetate	1 : 500 -1 : 100	—	—
42. Nizin (zinc salt sulphanilic acid) . .	1 : 240 -1 : 80	—	—
43. Lead acetate	1 : 250 -1 : 100	—	—
44. Bismuth subnitrate . .	1 : 50 -1 : 20	—	—
45. Bismuth citrate . .	—	—	1 : 3,000 -1 : 500

Figure 41. Compendium of urethral injection solutions (Watson 1916:94).

ancillary services being provided at Herman's Bordello, and possibly at Henderson's Brothel as well, was treatment of men with venereal disease.

IMPOTENCE

Impotence is not a topic common in archaeological literature but in the case of Sandpoint it merits some discussion. Investigating impotence is a challenge using historical sources, but in archaeological circles it is effectively an invisible topic (to the best of our knowledge). Fortunately, Angus McLaren (2007) has written an extensive cultural history on impotence. In the book, *Impotence: A Cultural History* he spends nearly 50 pages discussing impotency in Victorian America. In addition to McLaren's work there is also the scholarship of Kevin Mumford (1992) who traces changes in the understanding of the causes of male impotency. While scholars may not have paid it a great deal of attention, impotency was a niche problem that many in the patent medicine business exploited quite aggressively; and it was a subject that many in the medical community moralized about—and even occasionally attempted to treat. McLaren argues that the treatment of impotence in Victorian American was a no-win situation. One of the major causes of impotency was believed to be excessive sexual activity either through intercourse or through masturbation. In other words, impotence was thought to be due to sexual excesses—for example, too many ejaculations would lead to nerve damage. Given this rationale, treatment could in some ways be viewed as punishment for sins. Many medical treatments of the time consisted of using a variety of caustic/blistering agents on the penis (meaning injecting a solution up the urethra) or sending probes up the urethra in hopes of finding and removing obstructions. McLaren reports that after treatment by one doctor "...patients could not walk for three or four days...while others fainted from the pain" (McLaren 2007:145). Such "treatments" were what led many men to try patent medicine remedies (or indeed anything) before succumbing to a physician's "care." In Victorian America the cure was oftentimes seen as being much worse than the disease.

From our perspective another key point is the fact that impotency was not something that was readily talked about at the time; thus, it is a small bit of behavior that plays into one of the strengths of historical archaeology—namely reporting on what was commonly swept under the proverbial rug. In Sandpoint we see some archaeological evidence of men trying to "cure" their impotency through patent medicines. Four bottles were recovered in our excavations that were purported to cure impotency (Table 6).

Table 6. Products Used to Treat Impotence in Sandpoint.

Location	Product	Count	Cures	Citation
Townsite (OP-2)	Dr. Harter's Iron Tonic	1	...Dispels low spirits and nervousness...has a wonderful effect on the reproductive organs	Methodist Episcopal Church 1886:71
Townsite (OP-5)	Dr Liebig's Wonderful German Invigorator	1	...Strength to the reproductive organs and cures nervous debility, impaired development in youth, premature decay in old, seminal weakness, gleet.	The Record-Union 1891:4
Townsite (OP-5)	Paine's celery compound	1	"A reliable medicine for general nervous debility ... Also female complaints"	The Propaganda for Reform 1917:1638
Indeterminate brothel	Samaritan Nervine	1	Cure for "epilepsy, seminal weakness, every form of kidney disease...syphilis, loss of hearing and paralysis"	Cramp 1921:159

The real significance of these finds, however, is the fact that they extend beyond Henderson's and Herman's establishments. This is significant because it moves the discussion of sex outside the limited realm of the Sandpoint red light district. Despite historical archaeologists excavating thousands of residences we actually find very little discussion of sex and sexuality outside of the context of prostitution or occasionally same-sex living arrangements (Casella 2000; Davis 2000). Sex is an integral part of life but it is striking that discussions of sex and the material culture associated with sex are

essentially invisible to archaeologists outside of places where sex was a commodity. Is it not there or have we failed to see it? Our suspicion is that we have failed to see the material evidence of this in the past.

We do not claim to have conducted an exhaustive literature review on this topic as part of the Sandpoint project but our strong sense is that Barb Voss is correct in asserting that the archaeology of sexuality is very rarely explored by archaeologists (Voss 2006:121). Archaeologists have reported on finding isolated objects, such as condom tins and medicines, but there does not seem to be much discussion by archaeologists about sex and the repercussions of sex unless they are found in the context of prostitution. From an archaeological perspective, it seems as though the only place people had sex was in the context of brothels; thus it makes the discovery of the products listed in Table 6 all the more provocative.

The fact that these products were found in multiple parts of the town enables us to venture into the realm of sexuality outside of prostitution. It is reasonable to expect that a brothel would carry a product that could possibly help men during bouts of impotence. Indeed, while many physicians were opposed to the practice it was fairly common for men to visit prostitutes as a “cure” for impotence. This was particularly the case with soon-to-be-married young men who were nervous about their ability to have intercourse on their wedding night (McLaren 2007:143–144). Thus, the presence of Samaritin Nervine in association with the brothels is something that could be reasonably expected.

On the other hand, finding products throughout the Townsite excavations does present unexpected insight into the sex lives of the everyday folks of Sandpoint. As Table 6 indicates, these products could have been purchased for purposes other than impotence, but the presence of three different products in similar contexts (mixed residential/commercial) at least implies a concern with impotency and attempts by some men in Sandpoint to find a treatment. We admit this evidence is far from conclusive, yet the broader message that we would convey is that exploring the archaeology of sex and sexuality should not be limited to prostitution or relatively anomalous living situations such as prisons. Rather, the topic is one that we challenge archaeologists to examine in the context of the voluminous literature and collections excavated from households throughout the United States.

SEX THROUGH THE LENS OF VICTORIAN MORALITY

As one digests what we have explored archaeologically in this chapter it is important to be mindful of the changes that were taking place at the turn of the twentieth century. It was an era where: “...within the middle class, gender differences were becoming sharper. While the ideals of social purity advocates had permeated the consciousness of women, men had ever easier access to a world of commercialized sex whose size dwarfed the more casual prostitution that had existed earlier in the century” (D’Emilio and Freedman 1988:173). This is what we apparently see in Sandpoint. In one context the town of Sandpoint was “growing up,” meaning it was actively transforming itself from a rough-and-tumble frontier town to one focused on becoming “...one of the most noted and popular resorts in the Northwest” (*Kootenai County Republican* 1903:3). This transformation of the town was to some degree paralleled by the changes in perception of the Restricted District (see Volume 1). What we see is a shift from a tacit acceptance of prostitution to increasingly public condemnation of it, culminating in city officials shuttering the Restricted District in 1913.

Ultimately the tensions we see in Sandpoint are small examples of what was playing out nationally. One part of the story is the domestication of the West; curbing prostitution was part of establishing refined cities and towns. But the reaction to prostitution was also part of a complex shift in accepted wisdom on women and sexuality. As we have noted, there were many examples of regulation of sexuality

throughout the nineteenth century, as seen in legislation curbing birth control and abortion. More generally, the late nineteenth century was also a period where there was a burgeoning social purity movement that was actively attacking many forms of perceived vice, and prostitution was one of the primary targets (D'Emilio and Freedman 1988:150–156). One of the major objectives of the movement was the removal of any discussion of sex from the public sphere (e.g., the view that advertising birth control encouraged recreational sex) and making sexuality an exclusively a private issue (meaning within the household).

Through one lens the movement was a success—we see red light districts such as the Sandpoint Restricted District disappear. Yet through another lens the success was muted; it just moved sexuality out of the public domain. Certainly prostitution does not disappear, and beyond commercial sex it is apparent that the public rhetoric and many of the laws that were passed did not have the intended impact. By the start of the twentieth century birth rates for White women stood at approximately 3.5 births—a number that was roughly 50 percent lower than it had been a century earlier—despite the increasing restrictions on birth control and abortion (D'Emilio and Freedman 1988:173–174). The precipitous drop in the number of births bears witness to women actively taking steps to manage their fertility. It indicates a situation where personal behaviors hint at the private challenges to publicly espoused ideals. In Sandpoint, even though we are largely dealing with sex in a commercial setting, the material culture demonstrates the actions of women who challenged the social purity movement. It tells us a story of women actively attempting to manage their fertility and having both the financial wherewithal and the access to materials, such as irrigators and medicines, to continue to do what many were striving to prevent, namely exert some control over their bodies.

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CHAPTER 4. “TRY ONE OF FATTY’S ‘VELVETS’”: DRINKING AND SOCIALIZING IN SANDPOINT

Mary Petrich-Guy, Mark Warner, and Jamelon Brown

“Try one of Fatty’s ‘Velvets’” certainly was an eye-catching headline for a *Pend d’Oreille News* article in 1892 announcing the opening of a new bar in Sandpoint (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892)—and it serves as an opening to explore drink and drinking in Sandpoint. Depictions of alcohol consumption have persisted in representations of the post-contact West, yet what alcohol consumption meant is the subject of considerable discussion. On the one hand, drinking in the American West (and elsewhere) at the turn of the century was about socialization and leisure; on the other, it was about class ideologies and projecting middle-class morality in the form of temperance. When relating the formation of women’s temperance unions and the birth of American Prohibition, authors describe the scene in terms of extremes: abstinence versus drunkenness (Burns 2004:Ch. 4).

Expected gender and class roles of idealized home and family sometimes conflicted with the realities of public drinking, such as in saloons and brothels, or single men working in the West. Excavations of multiple and roughly contemporaneous historic businesses in Sandpoint, Idaho, provide an opportunity to explore the complex meanings of alcohol use and its pervasiveness in the town of Sandpoint at the turn of the twentieth century.

SANDPOINT, IDAHO

Sandpoint, Idaho, grew from a rail depot haloed by various commercial businesses and entertainments to a thriving town with booming lumber and mining industries (Weaver et al. 2006:2–60). As the town grew from a place populated largely by single men to one populated by families, and from the time that Sandpoint was established in 1882 to when the county became dry in 1910, attitudes toward alcohol and associated drinking establishments changed. Illustrating this transformation is the contrast between the *Pend d’Oreille News* celebrating the opening of a new saloon in town:

Messrs. McVeigh & Bertrand have opened up a very neat saloon and restaurant on Main Street. They had a grand opening last Wednesday night which was liberally patronized and the new firm was sent on its way to prosperity. They are both prominent business men, well liked and will no doubt receive their share of the public patronage ... We wish the gentlemen all possible success in their new enterprise (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892:5).

... with the stridently anti-alcohol editorial message of the *The Bonner County Issue* in 1910:

The voters of this county can do nothing better to make it attractive to the outside world than advertise abroad the fact that we have no saloons and our laws are well enforced. We shall then cease to be claimed as a part of the “Wild and wooly west” and be looked upon as one of the most inviting sections of the country where people can establish fine homes among congenial and safe surroundings (*The Bonner County Issue* 1910:2).

In many regards, local newspapers such as the *Pend d’Oreille News*, the *Kootenai Herald*, and the *Bonner County Issue* paralleled the change in attitude toward alcohol with the changing demographics of the town. Sandpoint was a town of 507 people in 1900 and expanded to a population of 2,993 by 1910 (with almost 47 percent of the town’s population in 1910 being women, up from 35 percent women in 1900). While the success of businesses selling alcohol in Bonner County was congratulated in the newspapers in the first years of Sandpoint’s development, roughly 20 years later, when many families were settled in the town, a local prohibition movement was well underway and alcohol consumption was a much more polarizing topic.

Sandpoint was considered by some to be the “toughest place in the Union” in the 1880s. Considered to be a party town in its earliest years, visitors would make their way to Sandpoint for a day, night, or week of entertainment. Over the years, the north Idaho town had much to offer loggers, miners, and railroad workers, including drinking, gambling, bowling, and prostitution (*Sandpoint News Bulletin* 1964:6).

For the citizens of Sandpoint, 1910 was a busy year: Bonner County went dry at midnight on Tuesday, August 23, 1910, six years before the State of Idaho and almost 10 years before national prohibition (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1910b:1); two months later raids on liquor joints throughout the town resulted in seven arrests (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1910c:1). One may speculate that the lack of protest on the evening that Bonner County went dry was indicative of restaurateurs and saloon keepers' skepticism that the laws would last.

Though temperance was an ongoing part of public and private discussions throughout the nineteenth century, not every woman jumped on the temperance bandwagon. Six months before Bonner County went dry, Nellie Smith celebrated the opening of her café at the back of the Bradley Saloon with free-flowing booze. The party went on until two o'clock in the morning, and she was arrested, though her husband remained sober and free from incarceration (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1910a:1). In Nellie Smith's case, not only did a woman own a business, contradictory to common practice, but she also drank in celebration while her husband refrained. While women, in general, are too often interpreted as harbingers of temperance and prohibition at the turn of the century, women of Sandpoint and northern Idaho did drink alcohol. Aside from women of virtue in the town who may have drunk alcohol, it is apparent (and not surprising) that alcohol was also present in the town brothels. In the previously noted liquor raids, brothel keeper Marie Henderson is listed as one of the arrestees.

SANDPOINT AND ALCOHOL: AN OVERVIEW

As expected, alcohol was found in significant amounts throughout the many excavated areas in the town, including in Marie Henderson's Brothel, Willa Herman's Bordello, the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon, the Butler Saloon, the Pend d'Oreille Hotel, the Nesbit Boarding House, the Worker Housing, the Humbird Privy, the Humbird Blacksmith/Machine Shop, and “Chinatown” (Table 7).¹

Table 7. Percent of Alcohol Bottles Per Site by Minimum Vessel Count

Location	% of MVC (minimum vessel count)
Henderson's Brothel	33.3
Herman's Bordello	23.3
Owl Dance Hall and Saloon	29.6
Butler Saloon	14.6
Pend d'Oreille Hotel	30
Nesbit Boarding House	28.6
Worker Housing	24.6
Humbird Privy	48.4
Blacksmith/Machine Shop	25
Chinese residence/business	34.6

The particular forms of alcohol consumed throughout Sandpoint were fairly common. Wine/champagne, beer, and liquor bottles were recovered throughout our excavations. However, some areas favored at least one type of alcohol over others, providing us with some subtle insight into people's alcohol preferences. For example, a large number of wine/champagne bottles were recovered from both the bordello (294) and brothel (275), yet far more known liquor bottles were recovered from the bordello

¹ Minimum vessel count methodology for both ceramics and glass is discussed in Volume 4.

(72) than any other excavated business or residence in historic Sandpoint (Table 8). Exploring the nuances of who was drinking, what they were drinking, and how much they were drinking presents interesting narratives on the role alcohol had in the town. Additionally, drinking glasses and other tableware help us build a picture of the manner of drinking alcohol. Illustrating this point we note that over a thousand drinking vessels were recovered from the bordello area, far more than any other excavated area (Table 9). As we proceed with this discussion, our objective is to identify and discuss some of the drinking tendencies of particular groups in town and to explore what some of the broader implications were of their drinking choices.

Table 8. Alcohol Types by Location based on Bottle Minimum Vessel Count.

Location	Indet. Alcohol MVC	% of Site	Alcohol, Chinese	% of Site	Beer	% of Site	Flask	% of Site	Liquor	% of Site	Wine, Champagne	% of Site	Total
Henderson's Brothel	36	9.5	2	0.5	14	3.7	36	9.5	14	3.7	275	72.9	377
Herman's Bordello	67	13.7	2	0.4	21	4.3	32	6.6	72	14.8	294	60.2	488
Owl Dance Hall and Saloon	3	10.3	1	3.4	3	10.3	3	10.3	3	10.3	16	55.2	29
Butler Saloon	3	15	0	0	0	0	3	15	5	25	9	45	20
Pend d'Oreille Hotel	26	12.4	0	0	163	77.6	5	2.4	10	4.8	6	2.9	210
Nesbit Boarding House	0	0	1	16.7	2	33.3	1	16.7	2	33.3	0	0	6
Worker Housing	2	18.2	0	0	4	36.4	2	18.2	3	27.3	2	18.2	11
Humbird Privy	0	0	0	0	2	6.7	11	36.7	18	60	1	3.3	30
Blacksmith/Machine Shop	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	6	75	1	12.5	0	0	8
Chinese residence/business	36	33	11	10.1	8	7.3	14	12.8	9	8.3	31	28.5	109
Total	173		17		218		113		137		676		1,288
Aggregate of worker assemblages*	2	3.4	1	1.7	9	15.3	20	33.9	24	40.7	3	5.1	59

*For interpretive purposes, assemblages recovered from areas conclusively associated with workers—the Humbird Blacksmith/Machine Shop and housing such as the Nesbit Boarding House and Humbird Privy—have been combined in this line.

Table 9. Alcohol-related Tableware by Location and Minimum Vessel Counts.

Location	Decanter	Stemware	Cordial Glass	Mug/Tankard	Pilsner Glass	Short/Shot Glass	Tall Glass/Tumbler	General Glass/Tumbler	Total
Henderson's Brothel	0	12	1	0	2	30	8	139	192
Herman's Bordello	2	37	1	4	5	138	105	817	1,109
Owl Dance Hall and Saloon	1	1	0	0	0	13	2	20	37
Butler Saloon	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	6	9
Pend d'Oreille Hotel	0	1	0	0	0	3	13	26	43
Nesbit Boarding House	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Worker Housing	0	0	1	1	0	0	4	5	11
Humbird Privy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Blacksmith/Machine Shop	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Chinese residence/business	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	30	35
Total	3	52	3	7	8	188	132	1,047	1,440
Aggregate of worker assemblages*	0	0	1	1	0	0	4	8	14

*For interpretive purposes, assemblages recovered from areas conclusively associated with workers—the Humbird Blacksmith/Machine Shop and housing such as the Nesbit Boarding House and Humbird Privy—have been combined in this line.

Working People and Drink

Excavated areas associated with working class Sandpoint include a blacksmith/machine shop, two boarding houses for workers, and a privy associated with Sandpoint laborers. All of these places were in a relatively close proximity to each other, and almost all of the excavated assemblages were comparatively small, with no more than 31 identified alcohol bottles recovered. Such small sample sizes do not present much opportunity for meaningful analysis. However, aggregating these small assemblages can provide some useful insight into the lives of the workers of Sandpoint. For analytical purposes, the alcohol bottles from all of these worker-related areas are presented as a thematic assemblage, though exact counts from each area are distinguished in Table 8. Overall, the most prevalent alcohol types are liquor bottles and flasks, which would have contained a higher percentage of alcohol than the other forms recovered. The greatest number of alcohol containers was recovered from the Humbird Privy (31), which was associated with the Nesbit boarding house. It could be expected that the bulk of the alcohol bottles would be recovered in living spaces; given this, the small number of bottles recovered at the Blacksmith Shop is revealing.

One common question about working life we considered is how workers behaved on the job. In Sandpoint we found evidence of drinking—presumably on the job. Eight bottles that would have contained some form of alcohol were recovered from the Humbird Blacksmith Shop—six flasks, one beer bottle, and one liquor bottle—which made up a quarter of the bottle glass assemblage at the Blacksmith Shop. Two alcohol bottles had identifiable products and places of manufacture (a McAvoy Brewing Company bottle manufactured in Chicago and a Paul Jones Whiskey bottle, manufactured in Louisville, Kentucky). We note that a “clubhouse” constructed for workers’ social and leisure gatherings may have been located adjacent to/under the Blacksmith/Machine Shop building and may explain the presence of alcohol at an industrial workplace to some extent. Whether drinking on site took place during the workday or after hours cannot be determined; however, the evidence of alcohol at a workplace is intriguing.

Male drinking in the American West was often about coming together in a social experience and, to some degree, about escapism (Kingsdale 1973:472; Smith 2008:103). Alternatively, we also think it worth suggesting that alcohol consumption in a space associated with work may indicate workers’ agency in the defiance of workplace rules and regulations. In the nineteenth century it was not all that uncommon for men to drink while at work (Murdock 1998:14). By the time the Humbird Blacksmith Shop was in full swing, however, drinking on the job would likely have been actively discouraged, if not banned by management. By drinking on-site, the workers were subverting common industrial policy excluding alcohol from working areas and perhaps also taking it a bit further than management desired in transforming a workspace into a more social space.

Hotels

Hotels have served important, yet frequently unrecognized, roles in settling the West. For many western communities, hotels were early anchors for recently established towns, providing links to transportation networks joining other parts of the country. As towns became more established hotels were central to later waves of Western migration (Sandoval-Strausz 2007:110–111). As Sandoval-Strausz commented, “[h]otels thus formed a leading edge of urbanization on the frontier” (2007:111). The hotels of Sandpoint were part of this transformation. The early hotels of the town were built on the east side of the Northern Pacific railroad grade. The most prominent hotels in the town at the turn of the century were the Palace and Pend d’Oreille Hotels. After fires rolled through the commercial businesses lining the rail lines many abandoned the east side of Sand Creek in favor of open lots that allowed for greater expansion, leaving the Pend d’Oreille Hotel as one of the few businesses on the west side of the tracks.

The hotel was one of the areas excavated as part of the “Townsite” portion of our excavations, and not surprisingly there were many alcohol bottles recovered from there (Figure 42).



Figure 42. Advertisement for the Pend d'Oreille Hotel (*Kootenai County Republican* 1902:3).

As the advertisement in Figure 42 makes abundantly clear, Sandpoint hotels, such as the Pend d'Oreille, commonly had a bar in connection to the hotel. Indeed, “[h]otel bars often merged the attributes of club and saloon, providing a public drinking space exclusive enough in appearance to guarantee a respectable presence” (Murdock 1998:13). Hotel bars were part of the public spaces of hotels that served both guests at the hotel and the local community. While seemingly for travelers, the reality was that hotel bars were also central to the locals as a space for drinking/socializing. More important, the hotel bar was generally the most profitable part of the hotel (Sandoval-Strausz 2007:168). This is part of the rationale for the heavy presence of hotel advertisements in local papers—the advertisements extolled their meals, drinks, and cigars, not necessarily the quality of their accommodations (Figure 43).

What is interesting in the archaeological data is the details of what was consumed. Hoteliers took pride in being able to provide a variety of drinks to their patrons (see Figure 43). Yet the archaeological evidence illustrates a consumption reality apparently at odds with the marketing ideals of hotel bars. In the case of the Pend d'Oreille Hotel excavations, the predominant form of alcohol consumed was beer (Table 8). More significantly, it was overwhelmingly the drink of choice, constituting almost 78 percent of the identified alcohol-containing bottles. This information provides some hints as to the clientele of the Pend d'Oreille Hotel. As one commentator noted, “Beer was what the working stiff drank when he had a thirst”



Figure 43. An advertisement for the Palace Hotel (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907:4).

(Erdoes 1979:96). We do not wish to overextend this argument, but we do know that hotel bars were generally considered to be masculine spaces (Sandoval-Strausz 2007:168). Further, given the hotel's location (near boarding houses, the Humbird Mill, and the red light district) it is not a stretch to infer that many of the patrons of the hotel bar were the working men of the town.

Saloons/Dance Hall

The role of women in the West was unique. At first men determined the role women should play. Later on women often determined the life men were to lead.

—Richard Erdoes (1979:182)

Saloons, as “points of social contact” for miners, loggers, and settlers in the American West, were akin to the social networking forums of today (West 1979:73). When men relocated to a new town and needed to make contact with suppliers of goods, services, news, gossip, or jobs, the saloon was the place to go (West 1979). Anybody could sell whiskey, but “The best barkeepers sold not just whiskey but also an atmosphere, a feeling a customer got when he walked through the door” (West 1979:71). Part of the saloon atmosphere can be attributed to the predominantly masculine clientele. Some women went into saloons, but those who did were considered “bad” or “immoral” (Erdoes 1979:184–185).

Outside of saloons, women voiced their disapproval of these male spaces, where shady politicking often took place alongside social networking. Ella Farmin, the wife of a prominent Sandpoint settler, who was active in the community and is often cited as a woman of high moral standing held a job at the local train station, working with her husband. She reminisced about the early days of Sandpoint and its saloons:

The saloons were a curse in those days. Thank God, they are no more. It was an every-day occurrence for timber men to come to town with their time checks, got them cashed, and instead of getting the needed shirts, socks and shoes, every cent of the money would go to the saloon keeper and the man either had to walk back to Colburn and Elmira or beg the Great Northern agent to “put him up a ticket” (Farmin 1928:20).

Though Ella Farmin disapproved of men's behavior in saloons, working men may have found alternative spaces to behave in a similar fashion. Hugh Fox, the Secretary of the Brewer's Union, pointed out that illicit behavior would continue, and saloons were merely a space in which it took place, not the cause (Fox 1908:62).

The Butler Saloon and the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon represented businesses from two neighboring districts of Sandpoint, close in proximity but separated by a road. Butler's business was located in the original commercial district between the Northern Pacific grade and Sand Creek, whereas the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon was at the south end of the Restricted District and adjacent to Willa Herman's Bordello. The alcohol assemblages associated with each establishment were quite small, with 29 alcohol-containing bottles identified at the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon and just 20 recovered at Butler's establishment (Table 8). A variety of alcohol types were recovered from each saloon, but the greatest number of alcohol bottles recovered from both saloons was wine/champagne (16 from the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon and nine from Butler Saloon). Several known brands were recovered from the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon, including G.H. Mumm Champagne, Gordon's London Dry Gin, and Old Quaker Whiskey (Table 10).

Table 10. Known Alcohol Products Recovered from Owl Dance Hall and Saloon

Product	Alcohol Type	Product Manufacturer	Location	Date Range	MVC
Coors	Beer	Coors Brewing Co.	Golden, Colorado, USA	1873-present	1
G.H. Mumm Champagne	Champagne	G.H. Mumm & Co.	Reims, France		1
Gordon's London Dry Gin	Liquor, gin	Gordon's Dry Gin Co.	London, England	1909–1914	1
Old Quaker Whiskey	Liquor, whiskey	Unknown manufacturer	Lawrenceburg, Indiana, USA	1878–ca.1970s	1
Unknown	Wine/champagne	Garrett & Co.	Multiple, USA	1835–1965	1
Total					6

While champagne and wine is closely associated with prostitutes (Appendix I), liquor is most often associated with male spaces such as saloons (Erdoes 1979:84–92). Given this association, it was initially somewhat puzzling that wine/champagne containers were the most frequently recovered ones in both establishments. We will leave aside Butler's assemblage as a bit of a puzzle for other scholars to mull over, but the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon materials are somewhat more understandable.

As mentioned above, the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon was in the southern end of the town's Restricted District. To be more specific, the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon was immediately adjacent to Willa Herman's Bordello (Figure 44). The close proximity of a saloon and/or dance hall to a brothel was common in many Western landscapes (Rutter 2005:20). Further, two businesses such as these often had close working relationships that proved mutually beneficial. Men visiting the dance hall would likely have been encouraged to visit the brothel next door, while the women working in one or both of the brothels would have paid a visit to the nearby dance hall to liven up the evening and drum up business. One piece of evidence suggesting a close relationship between the dance hall and prostitution was in a 1905 newspaper account of Ben Wingard's arrest in Spokane. The story reported that Wingard was in a fight with a prostitute he had been living with; it goes on to note that he had also been arrested the previous year for attempting to "induce girls" from Spokane to go to the [Owl] Dance Hall in Sandpoint (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905:1).

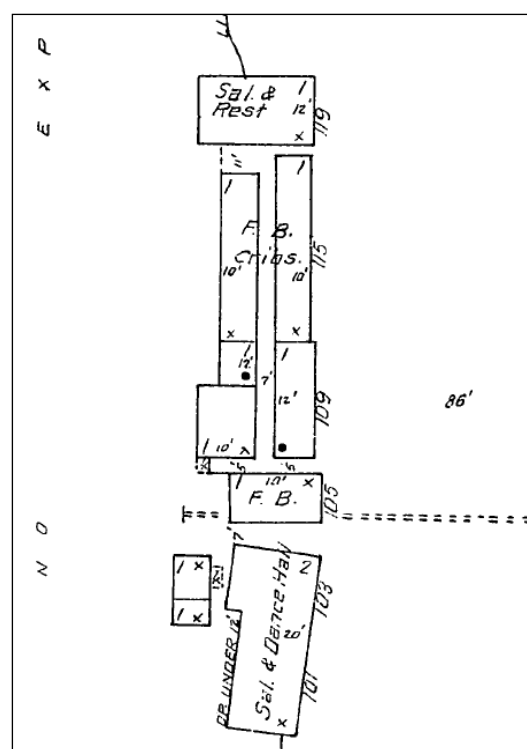


Figure 44. Sanborn map of the Restricted District. Owl Dance Hall and Saloon is labeled "Sal. & Dance Hall" while Herman's Bordello is labeled "F.B."

What this relationship between the dance hall and prostitution means for understanding the archaeological materials recovered is that the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon was likely not the typical "shot and beer" bar. There were likely other transactions going on there and socializing that was not just about male camaraderie. Those behaviors would provide a tentative explanation for why wine/champagne constituted 55 percent of the alcohol assemblage or why the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon and Herman's Bordello were the only places in Sandpoint where we recovered glass decanter fragments. This is a case where the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon was more than just a saloon to the locals.

Henderson's Brothel and Herman's Bordello

Through the pages of social history, alcohol figures as the evil genius of sex life almost from the beginnings of civilization.

—Walter Clarke (1917:75)

The largest assemblage of alcohol-containing bottles was recovered from the excavation of two brothels. Marie Henderson's Brothel (which catered to working class men) and Willa Herman's Bordello (which apparently hosted a somewhat more affluent clientele) formed the core of Sandpoint's Restricted District, which was in business for a number of years in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Excavations of the buildings and the trash dumps behind them provide details of the lives of the working women who were minimally documented. The archaeology of the two brothels is discussed at some length in Volume 1, but for the purposes of this chapter we return to the extremely large number of alcohol-containing bottles associated with Herman's and Henderson's businesses for the obvious reason that alcohol was a standard component of the business of prostitution.

At the turn of the century, a stereotype of the boozing prostitute or demimonde was prevalent. While women in restricted districts on the fringes of acceptable society may have drunk openly, high society matrons, if they drank, were supposed to do so privately (Hale 1907). Common public opinion was that the "desire for drink" was key in both men's and women's "drift toward prostitution" because it "inhibits the inhibitions" (Clarke 1917:79). Though stereotypes of the alcoholic prostitute were rampant, alcohol was first and foremost considered necessary for business. The Sandpoint brothels were clearly no exception as both Herman's Bordello and Henderson's Brothel had significant amounts of alcohol in their assemblages (Table 8). Both assemblages were dominated by wine/champagne bottles but there was also considerable diversity in each assemblage, both in terms of the kinds of products available as well as their point of origins (Tables 11 and 12).

Table 11. Herman's Bordello Alcohol Products

Product	Alcohol Type	Product Manufacturer	Location	Date Range	MVC
Unknown	Beer	F.D. Radeke Brewing Co.	Kankakee, IL, USA	1805–1915	1
Unknown	Beer	Hieber Brewing and Malting Co.	Spokane, WA, USA		1
Unknown	Beer	John Gund Brewing Co.	La Crosse, WI, USA	1892–1904	1
Unknown	Beer	New York Brewery	Spokane, WA, USA	1886–1904	1
Unknown	Beer	North Yakima Brewing & Malting	North Yakima, WA, USA	1887–1916	1
Edelweiss	Beer	Peter Schoenhofer Brewing Co.	La Crosse, WI, USA	1868–1926	1
Unknown	Beer	Peter Schoenhofer Brewing Co.	Chicago, IL, USA		1
Unknown	Beer	Spokane Brewing & Malting Co.	Spokane, WA, USA	1900–1937	1
Cresta Blanca Wine	Wine/champagne	Whetmore-Bowen Co.	Livermore Valley, CA, USA	1882–1941	3
Virginia Dare Wine	Wine/champagne	Garret & Company American Wine	St. Louis, MO/Norfolk, VA, USA	1838–1965	1
Unknown	Wine/champagne	Garrett & Co.	USA		3
Veuve Cliquot Ponsardin Champagne	Champagne	Werle & Co.	Reims, France		1
G.H. Mumm Champagne	Champagne	G.H. Mumm & Co.	Reims, France	1852–1929	7
Absinthe	Liquor	Pernod Fils	Pontarlier, France		1
Walker's Canadian Club Whisky	Liquor	Hiram Walker & Sons	Walkerville, Ontario, Canada	1860–1929	1
Gordon's London Dry Gin	Liquor	Gordon's Dry Gin Co.	London, England	1902–1914	41
Seagram's Whisky	Liquor	Joseph E. Seagram & Sons or Seagram Co.	Waterloo, Ontario, Canada		1

Table 11. Herman's Bordello Alcohol Products

Product	Alcohol Type	Product Manufacturer	Location	Date Range	MVC
William Austin Scotch Whisky	Liquor	Unknown manufacturer	Unknown		1
Whiskey	Liquor	James Durkin Wines & Liquors	Spokane, WA, USA		1
Whiskey	Liquor	Paul Jones & Co.	Louisville, KY, USA	1880-1919	1
Unknown	Liquor	Fleckenstein & Mayer	Portland, OR, USA	1876-1914	1
Unknown	Liquor	James Buchanan & Co.	London, England	1884-1895	1
Unknown	Wine/liquor	James Durkin Wines & Liquors	Spokane, WA, USA		1
Unknown	Liquor	John Dewars & Sons	Perth, Scotland	1875-1895	1
Unknown	Liquor	Woolner & Co.	Peoria, IL, USA	1902-1919	1
Unknown	Unknown	Hieber Brewing and Malting Co.	Spokane, WA, USA	1894-1905	1
Unknown	Unknown	Hildebrandt, Posner & Co.	San Francisco, CA, USA	1884-1919	1
Total					77

Table 12. Henderson's Brothel Alcohol Products

Product	Alcohol Type	Product Manufacturer	Location	Date Range	MVC
Unknown	Beer	Aberdeen Brewing Co.	Aberdeen, Washington, USA	1901-1915	1
Unknown	Beer	C.H. Evans & Sons	Hudson, New York, USA	1888-1928	1
Unknown	Beer	John Gund Brewing Co.	La Crosse, Wisconsin, USA	1892-1904	1
Unknown	Beer	Schoenhofen Brewery	Chicago, Illinois, USA	1905-1924	1
Unknown	Liquor	Olympia Brewing Co.	Olympia, Washington, USA		1
Unknown	Liquor	Fleckenstein & Mayer	Portland, Oregon, USA	1876-1914	1
Unknown	Liquor	Taylor & Williams	Louisville, Kentucky, USA	1876-1969	1
Unknown	Liquor	Woolner & Co.	Peoria, Illinois, USA	1902-1919	1
Absinthe	Liquor, absinthe	Edouard Pernod	Couvet, Switzerland	1835-1895	1
Gordon's London Dry Gin	Liquor, gin	Gordon's Dry Gin Co.	London, England	1909-1915, 1916-present	2
Bénédictine	Liquor, liqueur	Benedictine S.A. Co.	Fecamp, France	1870-1895	1
Old Mr. Boston Whiskey	Liquor, whiskey	Old Mr. Boston Distillery	Boston, Massachusetts, USA	1933-1949	1
Old Quaker Whiskey	Liquor, whiskey	Old Quaker Distilling Co.	Frankfort, Kentucky, USA; Lawrenceburg, Indiana, USA; Fresno, California, USA	1878-1970s	1
Paul Jones Whiskey	Liquor, whiskey	Paul Jones & Co.	Louisville, Kentucky, USA	1880-1919	1
Cresta Blanca Wine	Wine	Wetmore-Bowen Co.	Livermore Valley/San Francisco, California, USA	1883-1905	1
Virginia Dare	Wine	Garrett & Co.	Multiple locations, USA	1834-1965	1
Unknown	Wine/champagne	Fruit Industries	California, USA	1920- present	1
Unknown	Wine/champagne	Garrett & Co.	Multiple locations, USA	1901-1925, 1835-1965	3
G.H. Mumm Champagne	Champagne	G.H. Mumm & Co.	Reims, France	1875-1895	2
Total					23

Given the size of the assemblage there are many avenues we can explore with these materials, but two areas we would like to focus on are the diversity of alcohol products recovered and the presence of the champagne bottles. One point food scholars have noted for many years is that the exotic is often equated with status/class. In other words, a person of some wealth is going to have access to and consume a wider variety of foodstuffs. Building off this fact, it is reasonable to assume that a diversity of products can frequently convey the impression of status. This may be what is going on in these two

assemblages. Not surprisingly, there is a greater diversity of products in Herman's Bordello (n = 77) as compared to Henderson's Brothel (n = 23). Such a finding corroborates the evidence on the class differences between the two institutions. Yet it is important to recognize that there is a level of complexity in the relationship between class and material culture that should not be overlooked. To highlight this we turn to the beer that was consumed at the two brothels.

Beer constituted only a small percentage of the identified alcohol bottles associated with the two brothels—3 to 4 percent of the identified assemblages (n = 35 bottles, Table 2.3.2); yet, out of those 35 bottles, we identified nine different breweries. In contrast out of the 163 beer bottles recovered from the Pend d'Oreille Hotel, we only identified four breweries. This is made all the more intriguing by the realities of beer production. Making beer was an easy way to use surplus grain and by the 1880s vast amounts of beer were being produced, with one estimate being that three billion gallons of beer were produced by the major breweries during that decade (Erdoes 1979:95). By the same token beer was: a) cheap, b) bulky, and c) heavy—which did not lend itself particularly well to shipping, especially to more remote areas. So many communities had their own breweries. In Idaho, local breweries produced 3,747 barrels per year in 1883, and by 1907 they produced 38,945 barrels per year—a quantity that would not be exceeded by Idaho state brewers until 1944 (Ronnenberg 1993:198). The end result of this local/national dichotomy was that communities commonly had varying mixtures of local and national products. In the case of Herman's and Henderson's establishments, there was apparently some effort made to have a variety of beers available with a considerable number of them coming from across the country. Basically, it was access to such products that would presumably add a bit of panache to the establishments. Indeed, many accounts that describe differences in status between parlor houses, bordellos, cribs, etc. note that the quality and quantity of alcohol available was one of the indicators of difference (Agnew 2008:62; Rutter 2005:16–18).

It is important to make clear that beer was not the only product that may have carried complex messages. Indeed there were many products in the two assemblages that raise thought-provoking questions about their presence in the context of a brothel; an example is bitters bottles. Bitters were ostensibly medicinal products but they also came to be recognized as products for social drinking. Further, they were clearly concentrated in the Restricted District, as 20 of the 23 identified bitters bottles were found there (Table 13).

Table 13. Bitters Bottles Recovered in Sandpoint

Product Name	Henderson's Brothel	Herman's Bordello	Owl Dance Hall and Saloon	Townsite
Abbott's Bitters		1		
Amer Picon Bitters	6	6	1	
Angostura Bitters	2	5		2

As for specific products, the most commonly identified bitters was Amer Picon. Amer Picon Bitters, primarily distributed through wine and liquor wholesalers, was categorized as a spirituous bitters by the United States Department of Treasury, who estimated the alcohol content to be between 30 and 40 percent, and recognized it as a liquor in a notice in a 1914 druggists' journal (as was the case for Angostura Bitters) (Office of Commissioner of Internal Revenue 1914:93; United States Department of the Treasury 1891:7; *The Wine and Spirit Bulletin* 1905:41). Touted by some as an alternative to the supposedly evil absinthe (see Appendix II for a discussion of absinthe, another product that was symbolically loaded), Amer Picon was a product of French colonization of Algiers during the mid-1800s (*The Oxford Magazine* 1900:317). As with many other bitters the product was initially a fever treatment in the tropics of colonial Africa and became an aperitif through the continued habitual use by soldiers returning home. It was sipped as an alternative to absinthe; an image-provoking description of

someone's first taste of Amer Picon included in a short travel narrative frames the complex understanding of bitters' classification in drinking culture: "It wasn't alcoholic, or narcotic, or anything that it oughtn't to have been, but it took us gently by the hand and led us into pleasant places, and shed a soft nepenthe over the sorrows of our past" (*The Oxford Magazine* 1900:317).

A second product we note from Table 11 was the presence of 41 bottles of Gordon's London Dry Gin. Once nicknamed "Mother's Ruin" (Watney 1976:71) and strongly associated with the lower classes of London, gin underwent a shift in popularity among classes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Dixon 2005:75). Gordon's London Dry Gin was officially distributed throughout the United States in glass bottles by 1902 (Diageo Archives 1990) and has been found at saloons in Nevada (Dixon 2005) as well as bachelor cabins in Alaska (Higgs and Sattler 2011). Its presence in Herman's Bordello may actually encapsulate the change in status that was occurring (Figure 45). Given the working class association of gin (as well as a modest association with African-Americans—see Sismondo 2011:186,190) the expectation would be to see larger numbers of gin bottles in Henderson's assemblage rather than the more affluent Herman's Bordello. This is a puzzle we will not conclusively answer but it does highlight challenges of class and material culture through archaeology. The presence of large amounts of gin in Herman's Bordello may be indicative of the gentrification of that drink; conversely, it may suggest the self-made men of Sandpoint were harkening back to their working class roots. Such scenarios are quite speculative, but overall the gin products do highlight the fact that exploring class through material culture is not a straightforward process—and by themselves archaeological objects do not create self-evident stories.

The wine/champagne bottles tell a contrasting story to this cautionary note, however. As noted, these materials dominated the assemblage, forming the vast majority of the identifiable alcohol bottles recovered. By the mid-1800s there was a definite association between champagne and brothels in the United States (O'Brien 2005:52; Sanger 1858:551, 554; Seifert and Balicki 2005:59) (Figure 46). In large cities, historians documented the role alcohol played in the business of prostitution. Sanger (1858:551) set the scene at a high-class brothel: "There is no bar-room or public drinking place in the house, but it is a general custom for each visitor to invite his *pro tempore* innamorata and her companions to take champagne with him, which is supplied by the keeper of the place at the charge of three dollars a bottle." Especially attractive women were retained for their ability to induce men to drink (Sanger 1858:555). Alcohol was sold at a large markup and could account for much of a brothel's profits and, in some brothels, madams gave the prostitutes a commission on drinks sold (Kneeland 1916:72).



Figure 45. U.S.-distributed Gordon's London Dry Gin bottle, ca. 1909–1914. Recovered from Sandpoint's Restricted District (Diageo Archives 1990).

Champagne and brothels may have gone hand in hand, but the practice varied from city to city and from one type of brothel to another. In New York, high-class brothels may have served champagne exclusively (Sanger 1858:551,554) whereas in St. Paul a high-class brothel served beer instead (Ketz et al. 2005:78). Kneeland (1916:72) indicated that in New York champagne was served in most types of houses but the markup was in direct proportion to fee for services. In the cheapest houses, champagne was sold at as much as three times the cost, whereas at more expensive houses it sold for as much as five times the cost “or as much as the inmates could persuade the customers to pay.” It may be the case that the more expensive houses had more discriminating clientele and therefore sold better quality and costlier champagne, in which case the markup may have been no greater (see Appendix I for an expanded discussion of champagne).

Unlike brothels, which sold alcohol in addition to other services, the main goal of saloons and dance halls was to sell drinks. According to Kneeland (1916:75–80), beer and wine sold at dance halls were of the cheapest grade, and proprietors counted on the volume of sales rather than a huge markup to turn a profit. Prostitutes were paid to “stimulate” the sale of alcohol at dance halls and saloons. They also used these establishments for the purpose of soliciting customers for prostitution. One description of a dance hall in early 1900s New York said, “Beer, whiskey, and champagne were constantly served” (Kneeland 1916:76).

One of the interesting shifts in our thinking about the two brothels concerns the view that champagne was one of the indicators of status differences between the two establishments. In the field, excavators believed that champagne was being served much more frequently in Henderson’s establishment and that champagne was being pushed to compensate for the lack of refinement in the establishment. Once we analyzed the bottles, that did not seem to be the case. While it is true that the number of champagne bottles as a percentage of all alcohol products was somewhat higher in the Henderson assemblage (72.9 percent, compared to 60 percent), the contrast was not overly dramatic. Instead, what we think we are seeing with the champagne bottles and the two establishments is part of a broader trend, which was that wine/champagne were the products that were particularly pushed in brothels and bordellos (Agnew 2008:62).

DRINKING IN CHINATOWN

A total of 109 bottles were excavated from Chinatown that contained alcohol (Table 8), a figure that represented 34.6 percent of the Chinatown assemblage (Table 7). The 34 percent figure also represents the second-highest percentage of alcohol among all of the Sandpoint assemblages. The data set for exploring the alcohol consumption habits of Sandpoint’s Chinatown is rich, but somewhat puzzling. Frankly, in this instance, the remains lead us to more questions rather than providing answers.



Figure 46. Image depicting champagne as the “stimulant to the wildest of revels...” in an 1882 history of the drink (Vizetelly 1882:166).

First, we note that the number of alcohol bottles recovered at the Chinatown was quite high in comparison to what has been identified on many other Chinese-occupied sites (Table 14). It is well documented that alcohol has been a part of the fabric of Chinese life for at least hundreds of years

Table 14. Percent of Alcohol Bottles on Selected Chinese-occupied Sites

Location	% of MVC
Sandpoint	34.6
Silver City, ID (Holm 2008)	16.2
Los Angeles (Greenwood 1996:118)	27.9
Lovelock, NV (Praetzelis 2004:255)	14.5
Sacramento (Praetzelis 2004:255)	3.4
Sacramento (Praetzelis and Praetzelis 1997:291)	24.5
Stockton (Praetzelis 2004:255)	31.0
Oakland (Praetzelis 2004:255)	8.7

(Anderson 1988:120–121; Newman 2004:20), so the presence of alcohol bottles at this location is expected, though perhaps not in such a high volume. One partial explanation for the volume of alcohol bottles recovered is the proximity of the Chinese residence to the nearby Owl Dance Hall and Saloon. Proximity to a saloon almost certainly elevated the number of alcohol bottles in the vicinity, but it is impossible to determine the extent that the actions of saloon patrons impacted the assemblage.

A second issue is the fact that opium was clearly being smoked at the site, based on the recovery of over 2,500 artifacts associated with opium consumption (see Chapter 9 this volume). Regardless of whether this was an establishment where people went to smoke opium (probably) or a residence where people happened to smoke as a leisure activity, the fact is that gambling, drinking, and smoking opium frequently went hand in hand as the recreational activities of many Chinese in the Americas. The volume of opium-related materials suggests that opium consumption may have been somewhat more extensive than occasional use, which presumably would also mean that the volume of alcohol consumption at this locale was greater than the occasional Friday night beers. In other words, if this was a destination point where people came to smoke opium it would be reasonable to infer there would be a similar bump in alcohol consumption as well.

Finally, we note that people living in this minuscule “Chinatown” were quite democratic in their alcohol consumption choices. Of the broad groupings of alcohol bottles presented above (Table 2.3.1), there was no single alcoholic beverage that was predominant. While the wine/champagne bottles did represent 28.5 percent of the assemblage, this figure was much lower than what was seen in the nearby brothels and saloon. Every other site that was excavated in Sandpoint (and that had a good sized alcohol assemblage) showed a clear preference for a particular type of alcohol. While there is some evidence of efforts to consume Chinese alcohol (11 bottles, 10 percent of the assemblage), overall, the bottles imply a remarkable diverse palate. We suggest that this is a case of somewhat opportunistic drinking. In other words, the occupants of the site chose to consume a variety of products, and their choices were probably based on availability.

Indirectly supporting this suggestion is the fact that the number of alcohol brands identified was remarkably low. While we identified numerous brands/bottlers of products in most of the other Sandpoint locales, only fragments from two brands were identified (Paul Jones Whiskey, Louisville, KY Kentucky, and McAvoy Brewing Company, Chicago) in the assemblage. Unlike elsewhere in Sandpoint, brand names were not coming into Chinatown. Such a paucity of brand products at least hints at the possibility that the residents of the area consumed what they had access to. Since generic brands or privately brewed products were what folks had access to, that’s what they drank in Chinatown.

As we said at the outset, the alcohol bottles in Chinatown raise interesting questions but unfortunately do not provide us with concrete answers—just some intriguing hints. It is important to recognize, however, that we are not implying that the Chinese were without agency in alcohol acquisition. Indeed, just the opposite was probably true—the Chinese were actively acquiring and consuming alcohol just like everyone else. What we think was different is the channels they were employing to get the alcohol, which resulted in a pattern of alcohol bottles that is in contrast to many of the other assemblages.

CONCLUSION

Alcohol is part of the fabric of the West—its consumption was celebrated as part of the mythic Wild West and its control (or elimination) was central to a town being seen as “respectable” or “on the upswing.” The nearly 1,300 bottles in the collection tell that story. However, they also tell more nuanced accounts of alcohol in daily life in Sandpoint, ranging from the men in the mill taking a flask to work and having beers in the hotel bar, to getting a brothel customer to spring for another bottle of champagne before taking him upstairs. Yet we also feel that we have only scratched the surface here. As with the Chinatown assemblage, there are many more bits and pieces of Sandpoint’s past that can be extracted from the myriad of glass that we recovered.

CHAPTER 4, APPENDIX I. WINE/CHAMPAGNE: BROTHELS AND BUBBLY

Jamelon Brown

It was no surprise that champagne bottles turned up at Sandpoint's Restricted District since it was common for customers to spend money on alcohol as a prelude to sex. But this large assemblage provides an opportunity to examine this practice in more detail. Were customers more likely to spring for a quart of imported French champagne or skimp on a cheap pint of domestic sparkling wine?

THE FINE PRINT

Identification

Champagne is a type of sparkling wine, and the term is generally reserved for those produced in the Champagne region of France. However, the term has historically been used by producers in other locations, including in the United States. For this discussion of champagne in brothels and the identification of bottles, the term is used in a general manner to refer to both French champagnes and American sparkling wines made in the same style.

This appendix seeks to isolate and discuss champagne bottles despite some difficulties in distinguishing them from bottles that contained other alcohols. Both distilled liquor and wine (including still wine and champagne) were sold in olive-colored glass bottles. Some still wine and champagne bottles shared characteristics such as long sloping shoulders and kick ups (deep indentation in the base of a bottle). In addition, champagne-style bottles were sometimes used for other substances, such as wine and beer (Lindsey 2011). For these reasons, alcohol bottles, or at least wine and sparkling wine bottles, are often lumped together in archaeological studies. For this study, bottles or bottle fragments were classified as champagne if they were olive colored and had a champagne finish, long sloping shoulder, or kick up. The typical champagne bottle in the Sandpoint collection was also made of thick turn-molded glass and had a large mamelon protruding from the tip of the kick up.

Champagne products were identified using metal artifacts associated with bottling. In the Sandpoint collection most of these artifacts are lead capsules that would have covered the cork, finish, and neck of bottles (these are found in G.H. Mumm Champagne, Sparkling Cresta Blanca, and Great Western Champagne). A few are still attached to the bottles, but most are not. Lead capsules were used from 1843 to the mid-1920s, when they were replaced with foil capsules and other forms of closures. After 1862, the tops and sides of capsules were often impressed with trademarks or names of producers (Nayton 2011:172–173). In addition to the capsules, two metal objects bearing the names of champagne producers were used for identification—a cap that would have covered the cork (for instance, Veuve Clicquot) and a tag that would have been attached to the wire cage (for instance, Perrier Jouet) (Figures 47 through 49).

Quantification

Mamelons were used for quantification to achieve the most accurate MVC. They are easily recognized and frequently preserved even when vessels are fragmentary. If a bottle was classified as champagne but the bottle style did not have a mamelon, the bottle was included in the MVC if more than 50 percent of the base was present.



Figure 47. Veuve Clicquot metal cap (LC #70988).



Figure 48. Front of Perrier Jouet metal tag (LC #69130).

Product counts were gathered primarily from metal capsules. It was assumed that most bottles of commercially produced champagne consumed at the Restricted District would have had lead capsules, but it is possible that not all were impressed with marks identifying the producer. The metal cap and metal seal were also used for quantification. Metal caps were ubiquitous at the time, but metal seals do not appear to have been used by all producers. Two other champagne-related artifacts that did not contribute to vessel or product counts are a wire cage and a cork, both recovered from Willa Herman's Bordello.

Sizing

Three champagne bottle sizes were recorded (Table 15). Larger sizes exist but none were observed in the Sandpoint collection, so they are not included here. These three sizes are based on size groupings observed in the collection compared to historical and current bottle volumes. Because most bottles were incomplete, diameter was used to infer overall size. To further complicate size determination, quart-sized still wine bottles have a narrower diameter than quart-sized champagne bottles, so if they were mistaken for champagne they would have fallen in the pint category, skewing the data for champagne bottle sizes. Also, there could be a bias in preservation toward smaller bottles since they tend to survive taphonomic processes better than larger bottles.



Figure 49. Perrier Jouet metal tag attached to wire cage (Orensten 2011).

Table 15. Champagne Bottle Sizes

Historical American Terminology	Other Terminology	Base Diameter	Volume (mL)
Half pint	Piccolo, demi pint, quarter bottle, split	Less than 2.5 inches	187.5–200
Pint	Demi, half liter, half bottle, split	2.5 to 3 inches	375–400
Quart	Standard, liter	Greater than 3 inches	750–800

French champagne and American sparkling wine was bottled and sold in bottle sizes referred to as quarts, pints, and half pints, but the volume they contained was actually a little less than the names indicated. There are many other historical and current terms for the same bottles size (Table 15).

SMALL BOTTLES AND BIG LABELS

At least 584 champagne-style bottles were recovered from the Restricted District (Table 16). Fewer than half the bottles could be assigned a size. Of those, almost all were identified as pint size, which is half the size of a standard bottle. These small bottles were not only popular in Sandpoint, but in the rest of the country as well. Miller (1906:59) estimated that half the French champagne consumed in the United States in the early 1900s was imported in pint bottles.

Table 16. Champagne Bottle Distribution in Sandpoint

Provenience	Half Pint	Pint	Quart	Indeterminate	Total
Owl Dance Hall and Saloon	0	10	0	4	14
Willa Herman's Bordello	1	156	4	133	294
Marie Henderson's Brothel	4	99	4	168	275
Indeterminate units	0	0	0	1	1
Restricted District total	5	265	8	306	584

Sixty-one champagne products were identified in the assemblage (Table 17). They suggest that French champagnes outnumbered American sparkling wines by more than two to one.

Table 17. Champagne Product Distribution

Provenience	G.H. Mumm	Perrier Jouet	Veuve Clicquot	Imports	Cresta Blanca	Great Western	Domestics	Total
Owl Dance Hall and Saloon	2			2				2
Herman's Bordello	25	1	1	27	13	1	14	40
Henderson's Brothel	13			13	5		5	18
Restricted District total	40	1	1	42	18	1	19	61

French Champagnes

French champagnes make up more than two-thirds of the sparkling wine products in the assemblage. According to Miller (1906:59–60), consumption of French champagne in the United States increased by more than a third between 1900 and 1905. By 1905, Americans drank more than 4,500,000 quart bottles of champagne, approximately one-seventh of that consumed in the world.

- The three French champagnes found at the Restricted District are:
- G.H. Mumm Champagne made by G.H. Mumm & Co. of Reims, France
- Perrier Jouet Champagne made by Perrier Jouet & Co. of Epernay, France
- Veuve Clicquot Ponsardin made by Werle & Co. of Reims, France

G.H. Mumm Champagne was by far the most popular import at the Restricted District and was also the most popular champagne in the rest of the country. Veuve Clicquot was the fourth most popular import in the United States (*The Wine and Spirit Bulletin* 1908:55). Veuve Clicquot's New York agent gave the company very little detail on their clientele during this period, but their annual report referred generally to hotels, restaurants, and wine shops with no mention of less glamorous outlets (Pierre 2011).

Early 1900s restaurant wine lists indicate that these French products generally sold for the same price; \$3.50 to \$3.75 in 1901 and \$5.00 in 1907 for quart sizes. They were available in quart or pint sizes (Blanco's 1907; Café St. Denis 1901; Columbia Restaurant 1901). Miller (1906:59,61) explained that a high tariff on champagne in the United States protected consumers from inferior (and therefore cheaper) grades of French champagne.

There is little information on the brands of champagne or sparkling wine consumed at brothels in other cities. When Ohio passed a law forbidding the sale of alcohol in houses of prostitution, importers of G.H. Mumm, Piper Heidsieck, and Pommery Sec estimated annual revenue losses ranging from \$30,000 to \$60,000 (Tabor 1892:105). Archaeological excavation at Mary Ann Hall's brothel in Washington, D.C., revealed that Piper Heidsieck was the ladies' champagne of choice (John Milner Associates 2012).

American Sparkling Wines

American sparkling wines account for less than a third of sparkling wine products recovered at the Restricted District. American companies began producing them to compete with French imports in the mid-1800s (Phinney 1989:161,197,253). The two American sparkling wines identified in Sandpoint's assemblages are:

- Sparkling Cresta Blanca made by the Wetmore-Bowen Company of Livermore, California (Figures 50 through 52)
- Great Western Champagne made by the Pleasant Valley Wine Company of Rheims, New York

Early 1900s restaurant wine lists show these were sold in the same amounts and were half the price of French champagnes (\$2.00 in 1901 and \$2.50 in 1907 for quart sizes). They were available in quart, pint, and sometimes half pint sizes (Blanco's 1907; Café St. Denis 1901).

In his discussion of prostitution and alcohol, Kneeland (1916:72) refers to "so-called" champagne of cheap grade and seems to imply that all brothels sold the cheap stuff. Sanger (1858:541) also refers to "champagne, or what passes for it" being sold at brothels. Whether they are referring to American sparkling wine or something worse is impossible to determine. Perhaps some brothels did not offer imports or substituted something else for the champagne the bottles had originally contained.



Figure 51. Portion of Sparkling Cresta Blanca metal capsule (LC #69131).



Figure 50. Portion of Sparkling Cresta Blanca metal capsule (LC #70658).

Quality over Quantity

The two most striking aspects of the champagne bottle assemblage are the relatively large proportions of pint-size bottles and the dominance of French imports. There were only five vessels for which both size and product could be determined. In each case, a pint-size bottle was wrapped in a G.H. Mumm capsule. This intersection of quantity and quality may represent a win-win situation. The sale of small bottles allowed the madam to apply a substantial markup while keeping the price manageable for customers, who viewed the purchase of the bottle as a means to an end. The sale of high-quality French champagne allowed the ladies to project a classy image and to enjoy the beverage they were expected to consume as part of their duties.

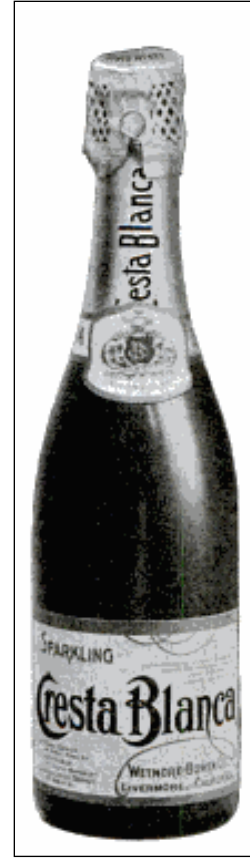


Figure 52. Advertisement, 1912, for Sparkling Cresta Blanca showing capsule (Wetmore-Bowen Company 1912:41).

CHAPTER 4, APPENDIX II. ABSINTHE

Mary Petrich-Guy

Drinking is both pervasive within many social classes and occasionally variable between classes. Alcohol can transcend or reinforce social distinctions, and the popularity or acceptance of particular alcohol types can often highlight those distinctions. One relatively uncommon find in our excavations was fragments of absinthe bottles. All three were from establishments located in Sandpoint's Restricted District. Two were manufactured by the French company Pernod Fils and recovered during excavations of Willa Herman's Bordello and Marie Henderson's Brothel, and one was manufactured by the Swiss company Edouard Pernod and recovered from the area associated with Marie Henderson's Brothel. Absinthe, sometimes referred to as "the green fairy" for its supposed historical psychotropic effects, is a prime example of an alcoholic beverage that conveyed complex meanings to a full spectrum of social classes.

Although absinthe has a long history as a bitters, wormwood, a main ingredient, has an even longer history as a medicinal herb, dating back to about 1552 BC (Huisman et al. 2007:738; Padosch et al. 2006). Once used by French soldiers to mask the bitterness of quinine medicine in the heat of north Africa, the taste of absinthe as an aperitif was brought back to France upon their return in the late 1700s and early 1800s (Adams 2004:20). Though commercialization of absinthe is commonly attributed to Dr. Pierre Ordinaire (Padosch et al. 2006), soldiers' tastes were actually sated by the recipe of Mademoiselle Henriod of Couvet, Switzerland (Adams 2004:21):

Several cultural functions were served when Ordinaire and not Henriod was seen as the originator of modern absinthe: it meant the drink was a product of science rather than folk medicine; it became the creation of a man, not a woman; and if it had been made by a Frenchman only staying in Switzerland then it could be claimed as French, not Swiss. This creation of a culturally acceptable myth was characteristic of the whole long history of absinthe, in which the green fluid accepted whatever desires were projected onto it and combined with them in an opaque, cloudy mix (Adams 2004:21).

By 1805, Henri-Louis Pernod acquired the recipe for absinthe and began to produce it commercially, and by the mid-1800s it was popular among the rich and "fashionable idlers" of Paris (Huisman et al. 2007:739; Padosch et al. 2006). At the end of the 1800s, Pernod's production was up to 125,000 liters annually, or roughly 33,000 gallons (Padosch et al. 2006). Production of absinthe grew in large part because vine pest had obliterated much of the vintners' grape crops around the world, allowing absinthe to flourish in the place of wine (Padosch et al. 2006). Perhaps because of its intoxicating qualities, absinthe became a popular beverage with bohemians of Europe and is still infamous today for its fantastical and sordid historical reputation. Both the French lower classes and the artists of the Belle Époque drank absinthe during the green hour, though many did not restrict their drinking habits to the prescribed hour (Padosch et al. 2006).

Derived from the wormwood plant mixed with alcohol, anise, and such regional herbs as fennel, peppermint, or angelica root, the bitter aperitif was drunk by the likes of Van Gogh, Toulouse-Lautrec, Gauguin, Wilde, Baudelaire, Poe, Verlaine, and Rimbaud (Adams 2004:6, Padosch et al. 2006). In France, at the end of the nineteenth century, it was found in every class of society as well as in many other countries; "over mere decades absinthe was transformed from the green fairy, muse of artists, hymned by poets, aperitif of the middle class, to the poison of the haggard working class, responsible for all the ills of industrialization" (Adams 2004:2). By the 1880s, a glass of absinthe was a third the price of a loaf of bread in France (Huisman et al. 2007:739).

As absinthe became more popular with lower classes, it was increasingly regarded as a social vice (Huisman et al. 2007:740). In the late 1800s, physicians named a condition “absinthism,” (essentially a form of alcoholism) claiming that, among other things, the overuse of absinthe led to seizures, speech impairment, somatic conditions, mental derangement and prostration, auditory and visual hallucinations, brain damage, sterility, impotence, gastrointestinal problems, risk of psychiatric disease, feelings of uneasiness, anxiety, giddiness, and an increased incidence of oesophageal cancer (Adams 2004:6; Huisman et al. 2007:740; Padosch et al. 2006). Ultimately, absinthe was declared to be an illegal substance in many countries in the early twentieth century. Switzerland prohibited the manufacture, importation, or sale of absinthe in 1908; the Department of Agriculture banned the sale of absinthe in the United States in 1912; and it was finally banned in France in 1915 (Adams 2004:10; Huisman et al. 2007:738; Schaffner 1908:562).

Thujone, a ketone cited as the active ingredient in wormwood, was historically found to affect brain chemistry and induce seizures in animals during tests (Huisman et al. 2007:711); however, the quantity of thujone in absinthes varied greatly, depending on the manufacturer and manner in which wormwood plants were processed prior to distillation (Adams 2004:3; Lachenmeier et al. 2008). Though thujone can alter brain chemistry enough to bring about seizures and an altered state of mind (Lachenmeier et al. 2006), modern-day chemical experiments taking into account thujone’s rate of decomposition have found that absinthe made to historical specifications did not necessarily contain enough of the chemical for it to have produced deleterious effects beyond those of the alcohol (Lachenmeier et al. 2008,2009). In fact, Lachenmeier et al. tested 13 vintage pre-ban absinthes and found that thujone concentrations had been grossly overestimated in the past (2009:2782). Historical findings of absinthe’s effects as a psychoactive substance were likely inaccurate and fed the vilification of the alcohol’s reputation.

Pernod Fils was one of the first and largest companies to commercially produce absinthe, and they distributed their product globally, including to the United States (Lachenmeier et al. 2009:3079). Smaller companies, such as Edouard Pernod, borrowed the Pernod name and were able to capitalize on the association of what became widely known as one of the best companies producing absinthe (Lachenmeier et al. 2009:3079). At least three bottles bearing the name “Pernod” were recovered from Restricted District excavations. By the time the bottles reached Sandpoint the association of absinthe and the excesses of “la bohème” was well established; absinthe was a target of many of the global temperance movements (Adams 2004). It had made its way from the gilded tables of the idle rich to the wooden surfaces of public bars patronized by the lower class and artists.

The presence of vintage pre-ban Pernod Fils and Edouard Pernod bottles in Sandpoint’s restricted district indicates a level of alcohol variety not necessarily considered in stereotypical accounts of the historic American West. The fact that the bottles are Pernod and would have been considered of higher quality may be indicative that the purchasing power of bordello and brothel businesses transcended ideals of social standing and acceptability. Even people in the rapidly closing American West could experience the mystique of la bohème through the consumption of foreign absinthe. Though we now know that most varieties of the historical green beverage likely mirror current impotent recipes in terms of psychotropic effects from thujone, historical patrons would have consumed the emerald ideal of the green fairy along with the potentially high alcohol content. Concepts of how people were affected by absinthe were, in part, projected onto the beverage by society, and the mysticism surrounding its reputation can be attributed to the associated culture and class.

MIXING AND DRINKING: THE ABSINTHE HOUR

Common concepts of how to prepare absinthe typically revolve around variations of one style of preparation, which involves slowly dripping ice water into a glass of absinthe. A common variation is to

place a sugar cube on a perforated spoon and drizzle drip the water over the cube, let it disintegrate a bit, and then slowly let the rest of the ice water drip into the glass. Part of the fascination with absinthe is its ritual preparation. The preparation of an aperitif true to the historical French Belle Époque style requires patience (Oxygenee Ltd. 2011a) (Figure 53).

Ingredients and Tools:

Absinthe

Sugar cube, 1–3 (optional)

Glass

Carafe or pitcher of ice water

Perforated spoon (Figure 54)

The method of setting flame to the sugar and then dunking it into the absinthe is a recent style of preparation that, though currently popular, is historically inaccurate (Oxygenee Ltd. 2011a).

American books of mixed drinks include many variations of the traditional preparation as well as cocktails that include absinthe. In George Kappeler's *Modern American Drinks: How to Mix and Serve All Kinds of Cups and Drinks* (1900), he includes 13 variations of absinthe-based drinks and cocktails that include absinthe. Three of the variations have regional names: California Style, Italian Style, and Swiss Style, whereas a traditional preparation variation is listed as Dripped. The regional recipes are more like cocktails in the sense that they are mixed with additional ingredients and shaken. Both Kappeler's book and *The Ideal Bartender* (Bullock 1917:7) call for bowls or nested cups with holes that are rested atop the absinthe glass, rather than using an absinthe spoon and carafe. This may be due to the desire to mix the drink with less effort because it would allow the barman or customer to fill the top glass and watch it drip, rather than manually administer the chilled water. Daly's version is lesser known, but historically accurate and a bit of a show (Oxygenee Ltd. 2011b); his recipe calls for a pony of absinthe to rest in a cup of ice and slowly pour water into the pony (Daly 1903:102). Whether the preparation was traditional or with an American twist, it is certain that individual bartenders could put their own spin or character into the preparation of an absinthe.

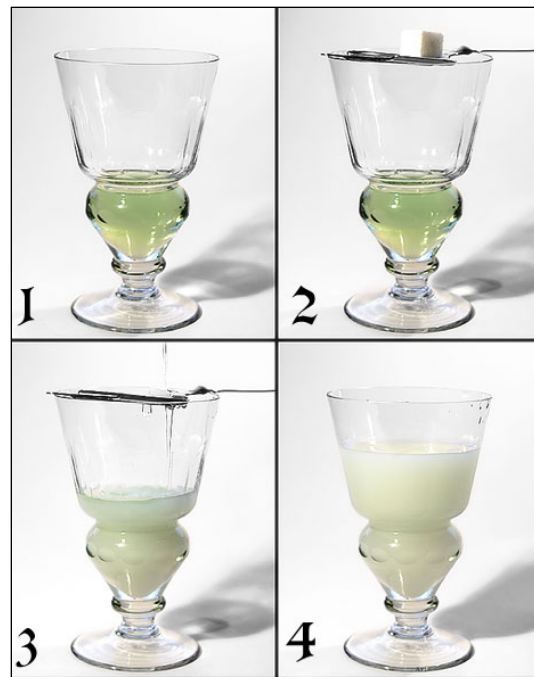


Figure 53. Absinthe preparation.

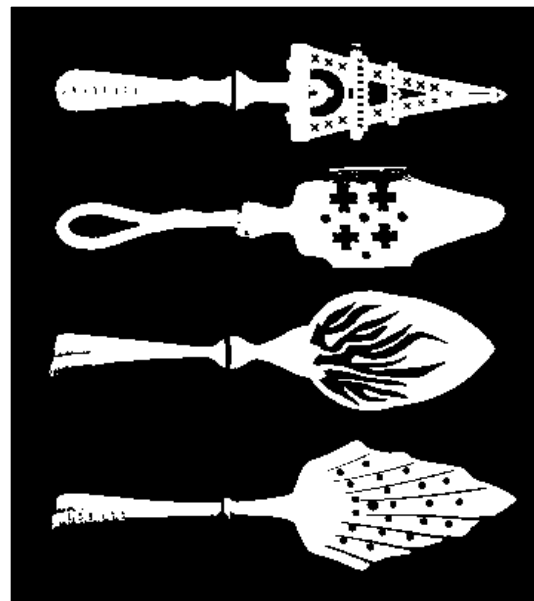


Figure 54. Absinthe spoons.

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CHAPTER 5. DAMSELS AND UNDRESS: THE BUSINESS OF CHANGING AND LAUNDERING CLOTHES IN EARLY SANDPOINT

Jamelon Brown

Mark Twain's oft-quoted "Clothes make the man" is a nod to the notion that identity is expressed through clothing. This straightforward approach characterizes most archaeological studies of clothing and personal adornment in which traits such as gender and social status of a site's occupants are inferred from the artifact assemblage. Twain's accompanying statement "Naked people have little or no influence on society" points to a more subtle role that clothing plays in social interactions. People did not conduct their affairs outside of the home (or inside it, for that matter) without wearing clothing. This study explores the potential for clothing and adornment artifacts to reveal details of interactions in a community. Artifacts from a Chinese laundry and red-light district in historic Sandpoint tell tales of symbiotic relationships and secret affairs.

FROM IDENTITY TO INTERACTION

Archaeologists usually incorporate analysis of clothing hardware and personal adornment into broader site interpretation. While they are becoming more sophisticated, studies that focus on clothing and personal adornment artifacts are usually limited to what they tell us about the identities—the gender, ethnicity, class, and age—of site occupants (White and Beaudry 2009). A study of interactions requires the archaeologist to consider the possibility that artifacts recovered from a site may not necessarily represent the site's occupants and instead may have been lost by visitors as a result of activities that took place at the site. To conduct a study of interaction based on clothing and adornment artifacts, two conditions must be met: interaction must have taken place at the site between site occupants (workers or residents) and visitors (or customers) and there must have been circumstances that would have resulted in the loss of clothing hardware or personal adornment objects by the visitors.

While there are many circumstances under which interaction would have taken place, archaeological studies have identified limited circumstances that regularly resulted in the loss of clothing hardware and personal adornment objects. One of these is places where commercial laundering of clothing took place. Manipulation of clothing during washing would have resulted in the detachment of hardware as well as emptying of pockets (Praetzelis 2004:252; Waghorn and Meyer 2004:79,82). Laundry customers obviously did not wear the clothes they intended to have washed to the laundry. Yet the clothes still reflected the identities of those patrons, at least to the extent that the particular garments chosen to be laundered (and the contents of their pockets) reflected their identities.

Another very different circumstance that created the potential for objects to fall off and out of garments was the frequent changing of clothing, such as at brothels (Seifert 1991:99; Spude 2005:99). Even in brothels there was variation in the practice of undressing. Men visiting more expensive brothels enjoyed a range of services at a slow pace. Those visiting cribs, relatively low-cost operations, were rushed along in the interest of high turnover and often were not allowed to remove their clothing. However, prostitutes who wished to pilfer money and valuables from the pockets of their customers did encourage the men to undress (Agnew 2008:71–77). Changing of clothing therefore provided the opportunity for both unintentional loss and intentional removal of objects from visitors' clothing.

Clothing hardware and personal adornment objects share characteristics that make them useful for interpretation of interactions through the archaeological record. First, they were ubiquitous at the turn of the century. At the most basic level, clothing provided protection from the environment, particularly in places like Sandpoint with seasonally cold temperatures. Clothing also offered modesty, which was

imperative in the Victorian era (Agnew 2008:21). Finally, both clothing and personal adornment offered a means of self-expression, and by the late 1900s, mass production made it affordable for individuals to outfit themselves in the latest fashions (Swiencicki 1999:221). Clothing and personal adornment would have been essential in the environmental and social context of historic Sandpoint.

When clothing hardware and personal adornment objects were shed inadvertently, they remained unnoticed because of their small size. They often survived loss and burial because they were made of durable materials. Metals and Prosser-molded ceramic were popular materials for the manufacture of clothing hardware in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Metals, glass, and stone were popular for personal adornment because of their durability. These materials survive taphonomic processes much better than the organic textiles that were used in most clothing articles. While these characteristics make clothing hardware and personal adornment useful for archaeological study, they also result in bias in the archaeological record (White 2010:113).

The methods that were used for classifying, quantifying, and inferring identity from clothing hardware and personal adornment artifacts are outlined briefly below and are typical of most archaeological studies. For sites that met the conditions for a study of interaction, subsequent steps were followed to distinguish objects belonging to site occupants from those of visitors, in order to further investigate the interactions that may have taken place.

Before artifacts were used to assess identity, they were classified and quantified. Clothing hardware includes fasteners such as buttons, shirt studs, cuff links, buckles, and strap adjusters that might have attached to garments such as suspenders, garters, corsets, and belts. Personal adornment includes jewelry, beads, pins, fobs, and pocket watches. Because they cover the time period corresponding to the Sandpoint sites in question and contain a range of products that were available to the masses, Sears, Roebuck, and Company catalogs were helpful for classifying these objects. Detailed patent drawings available through Google Patents, as well as magazine advertisements available through Google Books, were also helpful for categorizing clothing hardware. Collector and historical archaeology publications and websites proved to be the most useful for classification of buttons and beads.

Minimum number of items (MNI) for clothing hardware and personal adornment artifacts was generally based on items that were more than 50 percent complete. Objects less than 50 percent complete contributed to the count if there was no possibility they could mend with items already counted. For clothing hardware, the MNI represents the number of pieces of hardware and does not represent the number of clothing items because each clothing item could have consisted of multiple pieces of hardware; there is so much variation in clothing styles, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to determine how many pieces of hardware constituted one garment. The same is true for beads—an indeterminate number of beads of the same style, or of different styles, could have been used to decorate the same garment or item.

Once artifacts were classified and quantified, it was possible in some cases to infer the gender, ethnicity, class, or age of people they represented. For this study, clothing hardware and personal adornment objects were associated with a gender using both the resources used for classification and the system proposed by Spude (2005:94). Women's items include fancy buttons, hair accessories, hatpins, women's jewelry (pendants, earrings, and bracelets), corset hardware, and garter hardware. Men's items include suspender hardware, watch fobs, pocket watches, work wear fasteners, collar stays, cuff links, shirt studs, and large belt buckles. Ethnicity, class, and age were assigned based on the resources used for classification and on archaeological studies of clothing and adornment.

Next, sites that met the conditions for a study of interaction were identified. These are locations where interaction took place between site occupants and visitors, and where activities would have resulted in the loss of clothing hardware or personal adornment objects by the visitors. These sites were identified using the research design for the archaeological investigation of historic Sandpoint (Weaver et al. 2006), as well as information gathered through ongoing historical research and artifact analysis. The same data were used as the basis for determining identities of people who occupied the sites. These identities were then compared with identities inferred from artifacts so that artifacts representing visitors could be isolated. Those artifacts consistent with the identities of site occupants were attributed to them. There are circumstances in which artifacts may not appear to be consistent with site occupants even when they did belong to them. For example, people may have used objects in ways that did not conform to social norms (White and Beaudry 2009:213), or some site occupants may not have been documented in the historic record. These possibilities were considered before conclusions were drawn.

Artifacts that could not be attributed to site occupants were then attributed to visitors and used to assess their identities. Exploration of visitor identity was not expanded to other artifact classes for this study and was based solely on clothing hardware and personal adornment. Information about occupant identity, visitor identity, and activities that took place at the sites was combined to explain the presence of distinctive groups of artifacts at two Sandpoint locations.

DROPPING OFF AT THE CHINESE LAUNDRY

Archaeological investigation at Sandpoint included the location of a Chinese laundry/residence. Sandpoint was home to a few Chinese laundries during the late 1800s and early 1900s. The laundry operated by Sam Sing, discussed here, was located adjacent to the Restricted District saloons and brothels. Sing leased the land in that area in 1891 with the intention of opening a laundry and may have remained there until his lease expired in 1907 (Northern Pacific Railroad 1891,1902). Two other Chinese immigrants, a man and a woman, lived with Sing at the laundry in 1900 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900).

Archaeologists have identified a limited number of clothing hardware and personal adornment items commonly associated with overseas Chinese. According to Greenwood (1996:87), most forms of traditional Chinese dress did not have fasteners that would have survived in the archaeological record. The Chinese laundry in Sandpoint yielded a small number of Chinese clothing and personal adornment objects, including 17 small, round brass buttons and a jade or nephrite bracelet. These objects were almost certainly owned by the Chinese occupants of the site.

To complicate the interpretation of identity based on this class of artifacts, overseas Chinese sometimes wore “Western” clothing styles when conducting business outside the home and changed into traditional clothing when they returned home. Acculturation could therefore account for the presence of some Euro-American artifacts at the site. A large number of Euro-American clothing hardware ($n = 462$) and personal adornment ($n = 34$) items were recovered. Because historical records indicate the site was occupied by only a few Chinese individuals, acculturation cannot account for the presence of these artifacts in such large numbers. A more plausible explanation is that the laundry served Euro-Americans.

There have been many archaeological studies of overseas Chinese sites, several of them laundries (Praetzelis 2004:239–240). An abundance of Euro-American clothing and personal adornment objects is usually interpreted, in conjunction with supporting historical documentation, to indicate the presence of a laundry. In particular, large quantities of buttons are commonly attributed to laundry operations (Waghorn and Meyer 2004:79), either as a result of stockpiling for repair of customers’ clothing (Costello et al. 2010:6.47) or as a result of inadvertent detachment from customers’ clothing. These

buttons are sometimes interpreted as gambling paraphernalia at sites where there were no laundry operations (Costello et al. 2008:38; Greenwood 1996:88). The varieties and quantities of objects other than buttons recovered from Sandpoint excavations point to historical use of the site as a laundry. A closer look at the artifacts provides some insights into who may have patronized the business.

Bachelor's Button

Excavation of Sandpoint's Chinese laundry turned up 153 sew-through buttons and 18 shirt studs made of Prosser ceramic that represent daily wear of Euro-American men and women. Large numbers of these objects are interpreted as evidence that Chinese laundries primary clients were Euro-Americans (Praetzelis 2004:252). According to Yang (1999:iv, 27, 58, 63) white middle-class and working-class people who lived within walking distance patronized a Chinese laundry in late-nineteenth-century Oakland. They would have had their moderately expensive outerwear and daily wear garments laundered there and sent more expensive items to French laundries where the upper classes had their laundry taken. Sandpoint's Chinese laundry assemblage also contains at least 13 metal sew-through buttons that probably represent daily wear or work shirts. These are the sorts of clothing that men living at a boarding house and working at the mill or on the railroad might have brought to a Chinese laundry at the turn of the century. Bachelors in frontier towns were not inclined to do their own laundry and sought the services of Chinese laundries to wash their linens, shirts, and underwear (Praetzelis 2004:245).

In addition, there are 85 work wear buttons in the assemblage, indicating that garments such as cotton duck bib overalls, waist overalls (work pants), and coats were also washed there. Most of the metal buttons are corroded or do not have marks, but several have trademarks like Carhartt, Headlight, and Ideal. On the rare occasion that laborers laundered their work wear, they probably dropped it off at the same location they did their white clothing. The laundry assemblage also produced a thimble, sewing scissors, safety pins, and possible sewing machine oil, which suggests that the people working at the laundry also repaired clothing. Because of its proximity to the mill and boarding houses, not to mention its cheap labor, this laundry may well have provided one-stop shopping for men who did not have mothers or wives to tend to their clothing.

In Sandpoint there was occasional social pressure for Euro-Americans to patronize "white" businesses, including laundries. A newspaper advertisement for The Sandpoint Steam Laundry stated "We do work and do it right" and "Patronize White Labor" (Wegars 2011). The impact of racism and consumer behavior is a complicated question to evaluate (see Mullins 2011). There is no question that the Chinese of Sandpoint would have experienced episodes of racism and in some instances people may well have chosen to avoid a business for a period of time due to flaring of racial tension. Yet over the long term, businesses such as this laundry would often survive. The reason for this was that the Chinese laundry would still derive a substantial portion of its business from people who, because of their social status or occupation, were largely driven by their pocketbooks. Put simply, the economic constraints faced by laborers residing at nearby boarding houses as well as the men and women who worked next door in the Restricted District would ultimately have compelled them to continue to take their business to the Chinese laundry; the laundry would have been practical both in terms of cost savings and its proximity to their residences.

Airing Dirty Laundry

Euro-American women's objects were recovered in the laundry assemblage. Two decorative black glass buttons were recovered from the site. One has a molded windmill scene and the other has a molded bull's-eye design (Figures 55 and 56). There are also two decorative brass buttons in the assemblage. One has an embossed Victorian crane and tree design, and the other has a cut and ground



Figure 55. Black glass button with windmill design (LC #49787).



Figure 56. Brass button with glass inlay (LC #8379).

polychrome glass inlay that resembles an eye. On the more mundane end of the women's clothing spectrum are a ceramic panty-waist button, which probably came from women's or children's underwear (Meredith and Meredith 2004:10; Sprague 2002:120), and domed garter buttons, which were usually used on women's and children's clothing (Lindbergh 1999:52; Sprague 2002:120). Ten pieces of garter hardware were also recovered.

A range of women's personal adornment items were recovered. The assemblage includes a brass dangle earring that would have held a stone, and a ring with amber-colored stones and an incised decoration on the side. A serpentine-style necklace, at least 46 centimeters (18 inches) long, was also recovered and appears to be made of copper but may have originally been gold plated. There is a black glass teardrop-shaped pendant with ground facets. Finally, an unidentified stamped brass object with an art nouveau design was classified as personal adornment and would have been worn by a woman. These types of items could have been inadvertently left in pockets of women's garments sent to the laundry (Figures 57 through 59).



Figure 57. Dangle earring, missing stone (LC #8140).



Figure 58. Art nouveau, possible personal adornment (LC #40327).



Figure 59. Serpentine necklace (LC #40336).

These objects appear to represent middle-class and perhaps working-class women of Sandpoint. However, respectable family women would have felt the social pressure to patronize laundries operated by their Euro-American friends and neighbors. Respectable women of the day also avoided venturing into the area of town occupied by brothels and saloons (Spude 2005:91; Swiencicki 1999:225). Clothing and jewelry that might otherwise be identified as having belonged to middle-class women might be attributable to prostitutes in this context of a Chinese laundry adjacent to a red-light district. According to Seifert (1991:87,93), prostitution afforded working-class women material goods normally enjoyed by the middle class. Objects such as black glass buttons found in brothel assemblages have been interpreted as evidence of the decorative attire preferred by prostitutes (Seifert 1991:98–99).

Brothels provided a range of “house services” for the women who worked there, including laundry services (Meyer et al. 2005:113; Sanger 1858:551). If Sandpoint’s madams chose to do business with the Chinese laundry next door, the arrangement could have been lucrative for Sam Sing. Baumler (1998:13) described a “mutually beneficial, symbiotic relationship between red-light women and neighboring businesses,” particularly at the adjacent Chinatown, in Butte, Montana. Red-light districts in American cities of the era often had laundries that profited from the large quantities of dirty sheets and towels generated by brothels (Shumsky 1986:666). There was some variation in the changing and laundering of linens, and presumably clothing, among prostitutes of the West:

The frequency with which a prostitute’s bed linen was changed was in direct proportion to the price charged for sex. In expensive parlor houses, the bed-sheets were typically changed after each client. Medium-priced houses changed them daily. In the cheap cribs, the grubby sheets might not be changed until enough customers complained, and by then, they probably had to be thrown away. (Agnew 2008:71)

Little evidence of these types of linens would survive in the archaeological record, but prostitutes probably would have had their clothing laundered at the same location. Some evidence of such transactions could survive in the form of clothing hardware and adornment items left in pockets.

A “pocket hypothesis” was posited by Daniel Martin (Daniel Martin, 2007, pers. comm.) during excavation of Sandpoint’s Chinese laundry. This hypothesis explained the presence of all manner of small Euro-American personal items as the result of objects accidentally left in the pockets of garments taken to the laundry. These objects were presumably lost or accidentally broken and discarded on-site. It was not until the artifact analysis phase that this hypothesis was extended to the brothels next door.

DROPPING IN AT THE BROTHELS

Sandpoint's Restricted District was home to brothels, saloons, dance halls, and a restaurant in the early 1900s. Although occupied by other types of businesses in the late 1800s, this area saw its first saloon as early as 1901 when the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon was built at the south end of the area (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1915). By 1904 the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon offered prostitution as one of its attractions (Sanborn Map Company 1904). Buildings in this area were used for prostitution until at least 1915 (Sanborn Map Company 1915).

The area was divided into three assemblages for the purpose of artifact analysis and each of these had a brothel component at some point in time. At the north end of the Restricted District was Marie Henderson's Brothel, which conducted at least a portion of its operation in cribs, a series of small rooms where women entertained customers. The madam, 10 female roomers, and one male roomer lived at this location in 1910 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910). The assemblage also encompasses a restaurant and saloon (Sanborn Map Company 1909) and was home to unidentified businesses prior to becoming part of the red-light district (Sanborn Map Company 1904). To the south, Willa Herman's Bordello was probably a relatively high-class establishment, similar to a parlor house. In 1910, the madam, three female roomers, and two male roomers lived at this location (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910). There is no indication that the area attributed to Herman's Bordello served any other purpose. Just south of this was the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon, which served primarily as a dance hall and saloon as the name indicates, but housed a brothel upstairs during its earlier days (*Northern Idaho News* 1904:1; Sanborn Map Company 1904). By 1910 it was home to two men. According to census records, the men who resided in the Restricted District worked at the saloons and dance halls (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910). For most of this study, these three areas are discussed collectively as the Restricted District, but results of the analysis for each of the operation units are available in Volume 4 and a more general discussion of life in Henderson's and Herman's establishments is presented in Volume 1.

Prostitution has been the subject of study by historians for the past few decades, and archaeologists have more recently begun to bring to light the material culture of American brothels (Gilfoyle 2005:133–134). Because brothel occupants were women and because those women were engaged in frequent changing of clothing, archaeological assemblages would be expected to contain many women's clothing and personal adornment objects. Women's artifacts recovered from these sites can in most cases be attributed to the prostitutes because it was unlikely, given the stigma attached to the establishments, that women other than the prostitutes would have visited brothels or saloons (Spude 2005:91; Swiencicki 1999:225). Archaeological evidence supports observations that prostitutes could afford fancy goods that respectable, working-class women could not afford (Seifert 1991:93,99). Women's objects recovered from Sandpoint's Restricted District include 63 women's clothing hardware objects ranging from corset hardware to fancy belt buckles and 23 personal adornment objects ranging from earrings to decorative hair combs.

Men's objects recovered from the Restricted District include 166 clothing hardware objects, such as cuff links and suspender hardware, and 13 personal adornment objects, such as watch fobs and rings. The men who lived at the Restricted District would not have engaged in frequent changing of clothing (and they would have had the opportunity to retrieve lost items—a luxury not afforded to customers), so it is unlikely that they are responsible for the volume of men's objects recovered from these sites. Men's objects in these assemblages are therefore attributed to brothel visitors, with the caveat that some may have been lost or discarded by residents. Again, a closer look at the artifacts offers insights into the interactions that took place at Sandpoint's brothels.

Dressed for Success

During the late 1800s and early 1900s, men often wore adornment items that conveyed their memberships or activities. Several of these objects were recovered from the Restricted District (Figure 60). A lapel pin in the shape of a tree stump would have been worn by a member of the Woodmen of the World organization, a fraternal benefit society that offered life insurance to its members (Woodmen of the World 2011). A lapel pin stamped FULLER would have been worn by salesmen for the Fuller Brush Company, which sold grooming and household cleaning products door to door (Fuller Brushes 1922:64). Prostitutes often purchased goods such as clothing and personal items from salesmen who visited red-light districts (Seifert 1991:93). An 1896 Bimetallic Union button signified membership in an organization popular with farmers and silver miners that advocated a return to the use of silver as a form of currency in addition to gold (University of Illinois at Chicago 2011).



Figure 60. Men's fobs and pins recovered from the Restricted District.

Two fobs were recovered from the Restricted District. One of them commemorated the forestry building at the 1905 Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition held in Portland, Oregon. The forestry building has been described as “log cathedral” that “testified to the potential of the Northwest lumber industry” (Portland State University 2011). Such an item is not entirely unexpected given the prominence of the timber industry in the region. It was likely worn by one of the many workers or managers who worked in the industry in the 1900s. The second fob commemorated the 1904 presidential election campaign.

Some of these items suggest a well-traveled clientele of some means. Others suggest that the men who lost them were businessmen with financial as well as political concerns. According to Swiencicki (1999:224–225), it was common for both working-class and middle-class men to frequent saloons and brothels. Prostitution was generally viewed as a necessary evil, particularly in Western towns where men frequently outnumbered women. In 1900, Sandpoint was home to twice as many men as women (Weaver et al. 2006:2–52). The Restricted District's location near the railroad depot and hotels would have made it a handy stop for men from out of town as well. Volume 1 contains a broader discussion of the realities of prostitution in Sandpoint.

A Fool and his Jewelry are Soon Parted

Few objects held more meaning, not to mention monetary value, than wedding rings. Four rings, all of which appear to be gold or gold-plated bands, were recovered from Herman's Bordello (Figure 61). Their plain style, width, and size indicate they are men's rings, and they are consistent with wedding bands sold in the Sears, Roebuck and Company (1908:309–311) catalog. These were the only men's bands recovered from any of the Sandpoint archaeological sites, and they were found within 18 feet of each other, suggesting that they represent a cache kept by one of the prostitutes. Men may have offered up valuable



Figure 61. Men's wedding bands recovered from Willa Herman's Bordello.

goods such as adornment items as payment for services, but it is unlikely that they would have willingly given up their wedding rings. Instead they may have made the mistake of slipping them into their pockets before entering the brothels. To supplement their incomes, prostitutes stole money and jewelry from their unwitting (or even unconscious) clients, and the men were often too embarrassed to report the crimes (Butler 1985:57–58; Goldman 1981:115–116; Sanger 1858:564,573–574).

There are news accounts of Sandpoint prostitutes stealing cash from their customers. According to a 1901 story, “Maud Mitchell and Jett McDermott, two women of the town, were today arrested at the White Swan on complaint of Charles Erickson, who claims they robbed him of \$50” (*Kootenai County Republican* 1901a:5). However, proprietors of the White Swan reportedly said “he did not go up stairs where the women are at all” and therefore could not have been robbed by them. In 1909, Oscar Larson claimed that two women had stolen \$250 from him while he visited the Restricted District. “At the time of the robbery Larson claimed that while on a visit to Dixie Colton’s place she and another woman threw him upon a bed and robbed him of the money” (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1909b:8). In a somewhat different account, the newspaper claimed Larson said “... the Colton woman and Pearl Davis had removed the money from his pocket while he was visiting Dixie Colton” (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1909c:1). In both cases, the charges were dismissed (*Kootenai County Republican* 1901b:5; *Pend d’Oreille Review* 1909c:1).

A gold signet ring was found in the same location as the four bands and may be part of the cache (Figure 62). It is consistent with styles marketed to both men and women in Sears, Roebuck and Company (1911:875) catalogs, but appears to be relatively small and may have been stolen from a fellow prostitute. It is engraved with the monogram TW, which may stand for Trixie Winters, an alias for Trixie Edwards, who worked in the brothel next door. Historical accounts indicate that prostitutes stole from one another and that the most popular items were clothing and jewelry (Schafer 2009:74–76).



Figure 62. “Trixie’s Ring” women’s signet ring (LC #69008).

Dirty Little Secrets

Two types of adornment objects—monogrammed items and good luck charms—are relatively personal and, although they can be attributed to the site’s residents, are more likely to have been received as gifts from sweethearts or from loved ones. Monogrammed adornment items made of precious metals were found only at Herman’s Bordello. They include the signet ring described above, a postage stamp case, a clasp, and a possible stick pin. The silver postage stamp case is engraved with the monogram WH and the year 1900 (Figure 63). It may have belonged to the bordello operator, Willa Herman. Sears, Roebuck and Company (1905:262) sold a similar case in the section “Sterling Silver Novelties: Most Appropriate for a Gift or Personal Use.” The decorative clasp is square, gold plated, and has a large, engraved (but illegible) monogram on the front. The possible stick pin has a w or m monogram. These understated items, which reveal



Figure 63. WH engraved on stamp case (LC #70848).

the personal side of the bordello's occupants, may not have been visible to the casual observer. Unlike the flashy clothing and jewelry, they may have been gifts from loved ones or admirers that were not meant to be shared.

Good luck charms were found at two Restricted District sites. A scarf pin with a wishbone design was recovered from the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon (Figure 64). According to Chamberlain (1910:534), superstition is seen in "the gold or silver scarfpins worn by both men and women. The four-leaved clover and the wishbone, connected with the old beliefs as

to luck and wishing, survive in jeweled emblems expressive of good fortune." A second good luck charm, a possible scarf ring, has a design—

intertwining hearts with a crown above—similar to those found on Scottish Luckenbooth brooches. The brooches were said to signify love and marriage or to serve as good luck charms, and were most commonly worn by women and children (Parker 1910:354). Good luck charms, whether given as gifts or worn as expressions of superstition, were meant to be seen.

While for prostitutes the business of sex was not personal, they did have romantic involvements with men and sometimes women (Agnew 2008:61, 65). Sandpoint newspapers featured lurid stories of lovers and husbands whose visits to the Restricted District ended in tragedy. Roy Murphy shot his wife and then killed himself in her room at the brothel when she would not return to the married life. The headlines said "Murphy upbraided woman for her scarlet life and then poured a leaden volley into her" (*Northern Idaho News* 1904). One account of a shooting at the Restricted District has lumberjack Herbert Sullivan shooting bartender Mike Sontag over the affections of prostitute Hazel Wilson. "Another version is that Sullivan was jealous of the Wilson woman and when he found Sontag was in her company broke in the door to the room and proceeded to beat up Sontag in revenge, Sontag firing after Sullivan had attacked him" (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1909a).

CONCLUSION

Archaeological investigation of a range of sites representing historic Sandpoint provided a unique opportunity to investigate community relationships. Two types of sites, a Chinese laundry and brothels, proved useful for a study of interaction based on clothing and personal adornment. There are other locations where interactions took place, but there was no mechanism for loss of clothing hardware or personal adornment at these locations. For example, the commercial areas of Sandpoint yielded relatively few clothing and personal adornment items, but the businesses in those locations certainly received many patrons. Alternatively, there are sites where clothing hardware was frequently shed as a result of activities that took place there, but because there were few visitors, only the site's occupants were represented. For example, the Humbird Mill's blacksmith shop assemblage included many clothing hardware items, particularly work wear buttons, but these could be attributed to the site's occupants. A study of interaction need not rely upon clothing hardware and personal adornment. If expanded to a wider range of artifacts with other mechanisms for loss or disposal, other types of sites may offer valuable details of interactions within a community.



Figure 64. Good luck charms recovered from the Restricted District (LC #70728 and LC #69939).

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CHAPTER 6. COME OUT, COME OUT, WHEREVER YOU ARE: SEEKING SANDPOINT'S CHILDREN

Molly E. Swords and Breanne Kisling

Historical archaeology, as defined by Kathleen Deagan, is “the documentation of disenfranchised groups without written history” (1991:15). In the analysis of numerous excavations of Sandpoint, Idaho, we have upheld this definition by focusing on such disenfranchised groups as prostitutes and Overseas Chinese. Yet another group, even more rarely discussed in community histories, is children.

With few artifacts attributed to children and no doubt other artifacts misinterpreted, children are often hidden participants in the archaeological record. In documentary accounts, children’s experiences are also commonly overlooked or ignored in preference of louder historical voices—“Historians of childhood must not only collect and interrogate but also imaginatively wrestle with them to uncover their hidden stories” (Nasaw 1992:14). In the case of the Sandpoint project, exploring children through archaeology was particularly problematic since our excavations were predominantly conducted in areas that were not primarily residences or typically associated with children. Yet our excavations still yielded an unexpected assemblage of children-related material culture, allowing us to actually explore the world of the seemingly invisible children of historic Sandpoint. By delving into Sandpoint’s historical documents, photographs, and records, clues were uncovered that offered another facet to our understanding of the unique material culture recovered in our excavations. By interweaving both archaeological and historical records, we can obtain a small glimpse into the lives of children who were actually present in the places where they were thought to be absent (Figure 65).

CHILDREN IN THE AMERICAN WEST

The first waves of Euro-American settlers to the American West were largely male. In the early years of westward migration, with the boom and bust cycles of the mining and logging industries, frontier towns found themselves with populations that were overwhelming both adult and male. However, what often goes unrecognized is the number of families who also came West, leading to the presence of unexpected numbers of children in early town populations.

Children were in fact a significant part of the landscape of the American West and were in some ways integral to the nineteenth-century settlement of the West. Indeed, children are often considered “probably even more important on the frontier than elsewhere in rural America” (West 2005:219). Children provided an extra pair of hands to work the land, manage a home, or assist in the family business; they were active participants in the towns, ranches, and farms of the West (Figure 66).

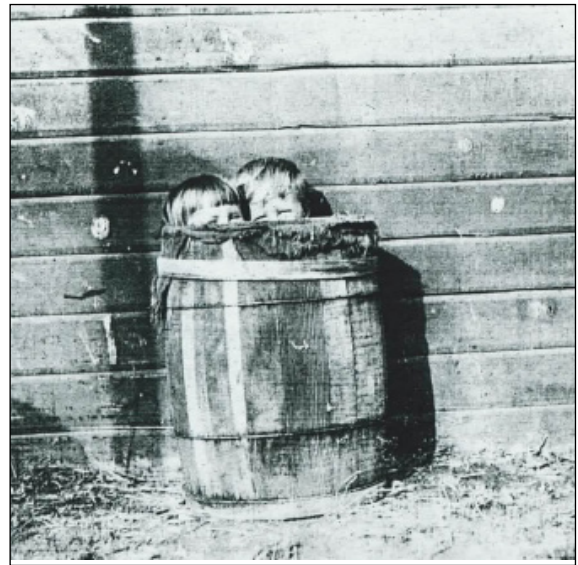


Figure 65. Sandpoint children hiding in a barrel (Courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

Children who migrated to the West had completely different experiences from children who lived on the East Coast. While some children of the East also worked in their family businesses or helped manage the



Figure 66. Photo of the Farmin Family, one of the early families in Sandpoint (Courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

home, these similarities should not be taken as directly translating into similar child experiences across the nation. Children in the West had to grapple with an unsettled, harsh, and often unpredictable environment, while children in the East would have lived in more established rural communities or bustling urban environments. The lesson for anyone trying to reconstruct the lives of children is clear:

Be careful. Generalizing about the history of children, based mainly on the experiences of the boys and girls of one social class in one part of the country, tells us as much (or as little) as looking at the history of the United States entirely through the eyes of adults (West 2005:224).

The lives and experiences of children in the West were vastly different not only from those of children of the East, but also from the lives and experiences of the adults in the West. As the majority of adults in the early West grew up in the East and later migrated westward, they were essentially leaving one home region for a completely new one. This change likely created disparities between the life they were accustomed to and the life they now had to forge on the frontier:

But pioneer children, whatever other difficulties they faced, did not have to grapple with this irresolvable conflict. Growing up in the West, they felt no tug from another place. To understand the child's experience, we have to adopt a perspective different from virtually all books written about western settlement. Children did not see themselves as a "scattered people" since one must be scattered *from* someplace, and the West was the only place they had ever known first-hand. They were not "far from home"; they *were* home (West 1992:33).

CHILDREN IN SANDPOINT

Historical Record

In the 1800s, the Progressive Movement helped to illuminate the importance of education and highlight the realities of children's work and living environments: "For older children, those roughly between the

ages of six and fourteen years, reformers turned to schools, rather than families and churches, as environments that offered the most promising networks of good influence for the rising generation” (Finkelstein 1985:131). The people of Sandpoint were well aware of this call for education of children. In February 1892, the dire call for a school in Sandpoint was expressed to the community in *The Pend d’Oreille News*:

Sand Point is sadly in need of a school house. There are fully fifty children here and why it is we are not favored with a place in which to educate them instead of letting them run around the streets and acquire bad habits is a matter the proper authorities should be brought to account for. By all means let us have a school house, and money with which to pay a teacher and for other necessary expenses (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892).

The newspaper’s plea was answered sometime in the following two years, as an 1894 photograph shows a school house standing on the west side of Sand Creek with the teacher’s residence located right next door (Figure 67). Of note, Sandpoint’s first school was located across the creek in the respectable part of town.

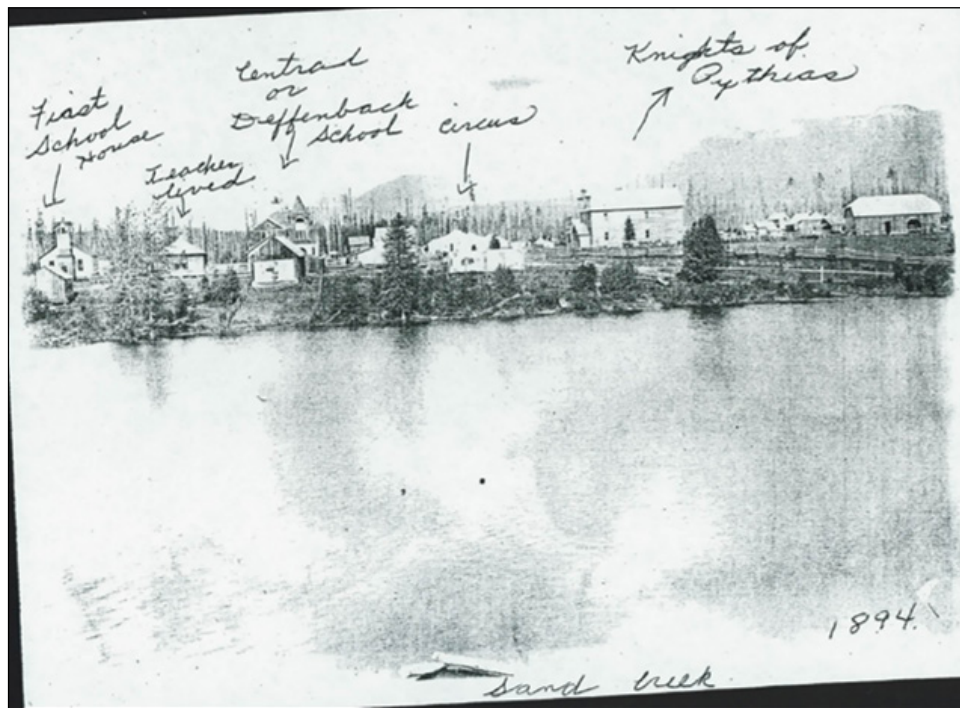


Figure 67. Photograph of first school house in Sandpoint on far left. (Courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

The newspaper article and photograph illustrate how the residents of Sandpoint were starting to domesticate and “civilize” a notoriously rowdy town by building a school—starting to tame it beginning with the youngest generation. The school construction also says something about how quickly children came to be a meaningful presence in the town. In just over a decade since the town’s settlement, a school had become a pressing issue for the community. The population of 50 children present in Sandpoint in 1892, as reported in the newspaper article above, increased by the 1900 census (Weaver et al. 2006). A total of 193 men, 78 women, and 128 children were listed in the 1900 census for the recording township (Weaver et al. 2006:2–52). The fact that children outnumbered the women of Sandpoint by a ratio of 1.64 to 1 speaks to the relative youth of the community. This suggests that a disproportionately large percentage of women in the town were of child-bearing age, as opposed to a

long-established community where there would have been a somewhat larger percentage of older women. To put this information in perspective, the fact that children accounted for 33 percent of Sandpoint's population is approximately in line with regional figures in the West, which had children accounting for 30.4 percent of the population. The key point is that the ratio of women to men in Sandpoint (almost 2.5 to 1) is well below the national average, meaning that the folks in Sandpoint were procreating at a much higher rate than what was going on nationally (Gibson 2012:Figure 5.6), which also would make it not surprising that schooling was a significant issue in the community.

Somewhat later, a related issue seemed to crop up—troublesome children. An article in the *Pend d'Oreille Review* on July 8, 1917, brings to light this issue:

Alderman Stuart waxed forceful at Monday night's council meeting when he laid before his colleagues the deplorable state of affairs existing in the city relative to children running at large upon the streets at night. He said Sandpoint had a curfew ordinance and the whistle was blown regularly at the hour when children should get off the streets unless accompanied by parents or guardians, but there was absolutely no attempt made to observe the law. He said that almost every night children were to be found on the streets until 10 o'clock or after. One instance in particular he cited, wherein a family of small children were loitering on First Avenue at a late hour, while their parents were attending a dance. He proposed that the police have strict instructions to gather up all children found on the streets after curfew and detain them at city hall until their parents call for them. The proposal met with council approval and the rigid enforcement of the curfew ordinance was directed (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1917).

Both the numbers we report and this news story reinforce our archaeological findings: that children were not just relegated to the acceptable places associated with children's activity. Children interacted with the adult landscape in a way that archaeologists cannot completely understand, but should nevertheless try to recognize. The children roaming the streets after curfew may have delighted in sneaking around the banks of Sand Creek, forming playful landscapes in areas behind the bordello, in junk piles, or around the Chinese dwelling.

Historical data show us that the number of children in Sandpoint was significant enough to warrant the opening of a school, as well as to gain the attention of adults as they broke curfew. The fact that they were roaming the streets shows that a selection of Sandpoint's children were obviously not confined to socially acceptable places. Instead, they were noted to be in the absence of their adult chaperones as they broke curfew and were roaming the streets at their own will.

Archaeological Record

A toy that pleases a child one minute may be discarded the next. One child's favorite toy may be another's junk (Mergen 1992:87).

The Sandpoint excavations focused largely on sites typically associated with adult behavior, such as Marie Henderson's Brothel, Willa Herman's Bordello, the Chinese residence, and the commercial townsite. No children were documented as living in these places (according to the 1910 census, the Hotel Pend d'Oreille was home to 10 people, including the proprietor's four children). Yet the presence of 257 artifacts associated with children tells us they were interacting in this landscape, regardless of whether they were expected to be there. The artifacts found include children's toys, tableware, and shoes, as well as one adolescent tooth (Table 18). Marbles are also included in the count of children's artifacts; however, we acknowledge the possibility that marbles were used by adults for activities such as gaming and gambling, and possibly as hem weights.

Table 18. Overview of Children's Artifacts Recovered

	Chinatown	Owl Dance Hall and Saloon	Willa Herman's Bordello	Marie Henderson's Brothel	Townsite	Nineteenth Century Railroad Worker Housing	Humbird Blacksmith Shop	Total
Button	1							1
Doll parts	36		6	42	40			124
Marble	18	1	9	37	12		3	80
Shoes			3	5	6			14
Tableware	10		12		2	3		27
Toys	3			8				11
Total	68	1	30	92	60	3	3	257

Because Sandpoint was a stop on the Northern Pacific Railroad, the residents of this northern Idaho town were able to buy supplies, necessities, and luxuries that residents of more rural outposts of the American West would not have had ready access to. The children of Sandpoint were thus more exposed to the possibilities of having toys from across the country, as well as from other countries, such as German porcelain dolls, than did the children of more remote Western towns. We have highlighted a few of the artifacts from the different areas (Figures 68 and 69).



Figure 68. Doll hat (LC #69887).



Figure 69. Miscellaneous doll parts.

Willa Herman's Bordello

Excavations associated with Willa Herman's Bordello recovered 30 artifacts that were related to children, including six doll fragments, nine marbles, three shoes, and 12 tableware fragments. Among the doll parts recovered were two complete Frozen Charlottes (Figures 70 and 71). Frozen Charlottes are single-bodied porcelain dolls, usually female and typically nude, and were popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Corbin 2000:98). These small, common dolls were sold in drug and general stores for a penny and would have been an inexpensive mass-produced toy (Gordon 1948:35).



Figure 70. Frozen Charlotte dolls (LC #68703 and LC #69265)



Figure 71. Frozen Charlotte dolls (back).

Marie Henderson's Brothel

Marie Henderson's Brothel was located right next door and to the north of Willa Herman's Bordello. There were 92 child-related artifacts found in the brothel area—42 doll parts, 37 marbles, five shoes, and eight toys. Whereas the bordello assemblage yielded only stereotypically female-oriented toys, the brothel's artifacts included toys that were meant for boys. Two of these were a cast-iron cap gun (Figure 72) and a lead toy locomotive (Figure 73). The cap gun was manufactured by the Kilgore Manufacturing Company and is dated to around 1915; however, the toy locomotive has no manufacturer's marks present.



Figure 72. Children's cap gun, with NEW 50 SHOT/INVINCIBLE embossed (LC #71654).



Figure 73. Toy locomotive (LC #40232).

In addition to these objects, an isolated human tooth was also recovered from Marie Henderson's Brothel. It appears to be a deciduous molar, which would have been lost at between 7.5 and 12.5 years of age after having been in the mouth for several years, long enough to develop two caries (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994:51) (Figure 74)(The tooth is discussed further in Chapter 11 of this volume). Clearly children were leaving behind more than just their toys in the Restricted District.

Chinese Occupied Area

“Chinatown” was the known residence of two men and one woman at the time of the 1900 census. This area was located near the Restricted District and was materially similar, in that many children’s objects were recovered despite the fact that no known children resided in their residence. The artifacts recovered numbered 68, including one button, 36 doll parts, 18 marbles, 10 tableware fragments, and three toys. One remarkable artifact from this assemblage is a decorative plate with a decal of the “Hey Diddle Diddle” nursery rhyme pictured on it, with the words of the rhyme underneath (Figure 75).



Figure 74. A child’s deciduous molar.

Townsite

Sandpoint’s commercial townsite was located north of the Restricted District, and contained a number of mixed commercial and residential spaces. Sixty child-related artifacts were unearthed in this location, consisting of 40 doll parts, 12 marbles, six shoes, and two tableware fragments. One of the tableware fragments, a small ceramic hollowware body sherd, displayed a blue transfer printed portion of the alphabet. Alphabet tableware may be seen today as cute and quaint, but it served another purpose back in the early twentieth century. In addition to its functional purpose, serving food, this alphabet tableware would have been used as an educational tool, helping to teach children the alphabet in a domestic setting (Figure 76).



Figure 75. Children’s plate with nursery rhyme.

PLAYING WITH FOUND OBJECTS

Because “children’s play often involves found or discarded artifacts, and artifacts attributable solely to children are rare, if not absent, from most archaeological assemblages” (Baxter 2006:3), attempting to use archaeological remains as a vehicle for studying this invisible group is a daunting challenge. A good illustration of this is the opening image (Figure 65) of children peeking out of a barrel—an “adult” object used as part of play by children. A second challenge is the fact that attributing artifacts to children and interpreting the meanings of these artifacts within social classes can be difficult—“Toys are used to define gender, age, social class, even race, but the definitions are not usually those of the children themselves” (Mergen 1992:89). Some artifacts used by adults, such as marbles, may also have been used by children and vice versa (Baxter 2005:22). Yet games were as much pastimes for adults as they were for young people (Chudacoff 2007:6).

When trying to find evidence of children and their behavior in the archaeological record, we focused on objects that were specifically designed for children. These goods include mass-manufactured toys, shoes, clothing, and other items. The results from our excavations are quite extensive.

Of course, children did not always use these objects the way adults intended them. Children modified existing rules of play or made up their own; they created games and even used imaginary objects for their play, all of which do not translate easily, if at all, to the archaeological record:

Play can include structured activities, such as games with clear rules, and unstructured activities, such as roaming the woods and fields. Play can also be either competitive, with winners and losers, or cooperative, advancing group goals. Play can involve toys, such as dolls or trucks, or it can involve interacting with the natural environment, including plants and animals. Finally, play can allow children to practice for adulthood in role-playing games, such as “playing house” or “playing soldiers” (Jabour 2010:88).

Sandpoint had a limitless supply of nontraditional objects that could be used as playthings, from the material culture of discarded objects thrown out the back of residences, shops, saloons, boarding houses, brothels, and blacksmith shops to the ever-present railroad, lumber, and mining industries. The town itself was surrounded by an abundant natural landscape that boasted mountains and forests, as well as lake and creek shores. Found objects of play included items from both the emerging commercial, human-made environment, as well as the natural environment. The possibilities were endless for these children, and there is no way to identify even a minute fraction of these playthings. As researchers we must try to illuminate what we analyze with a child’s imagination and think of how a child could have thought about and used an object. For instance, pieces of lumber and stones may have helped build a fort, or broken pieces of glass bottles could have been seen as jewels or treasures (Figure 77).

DISCUSSION

Through excavations and analysis, the Sandpoint project has been able to illuminate several disenfranchised groups present in this north Idaho town at the turn of the century, including children. From our research into the historical record, certain facts begin to take shape: (1) no children were documented as residing in the excavated establishments (with the exception of the hotel, which only had four children), (2) the school was not located in close proximity to the Restricted District and railroad commercial townsite, and (3) large populations of children were known to be mobile



Figure 76. Children’s alphabet plate (LC #81344).



Figure 77. Children playing near Sandpoint (Courtesy of Bonner County Historical Museum).

throughout the town. This last point is particularly significant. Despite excavating throughout the “adult” areas of town, we were able to pick up quite a few vestiges of children’s lives throughout this adult world of brothels, bars, and boarding houses.

By juxtaposing the archaeological record against documentation, we see that documentation does not reveal the whole story of children in Sandpoint. A surprising number of artifacts relating to children were recovered in our excavations. Almost all of these were small artifacts, easily transportable by children. This brings to mind porcelain dolls brought everywhere under the arm of a little girl, and Frozen Charlottes hitching rides in dress pockets or secured in tiny fists. Thus, it seems Sandpoint’s children were coming to the areas behind the Restricted District, Chinese residence, and commercial townsite to play.

Of course, there are alternate possibilities to the theory that the east side of Sand Creek was used as a play landscape for children who did not actually live in those locations. Some children may have been present in the brothel and bordello as the children of prostitutes or perhaps as prostitutes themselves. Although no known historical records support these possibilities, they are nevertheless possibilities that hold some weight.

In 1910, there were 11 women listed as living in Marie Henderson’s Brothel and three women living in Willa Herman’s Bordello. Not one of the women on the censuses for either establishment is listed as having any children in residence; however, of those 14 women residing in the Restricted District, five were recorded as having given birth to seven children, with four children listed as being alive. And although no children were listed as living there, several of the women working there were confronted with the challenges of motherhood, so it is not unreasonable to assume that at some point, a few of these women had their children in residence. This possibility is strengthened by two early surveys of prostitutes’ lives on the East Coast (one conducted in 1855 and the other in 1912), which reported that between 11 (1912 study) and 17 (1855 study) percent of the prostitutes had children (Agnew 2008:41):

If matrimony seemed an unusual venture for a prostitute, the concept of the prostitute as mother was even more startling. The disparate concepts of mother and whore jarred as an incongruous coupling, yet the presence of children, often fully involved in the mother’s occupation manifested itself as a common frontier occurrence. The conditions under which children lived varied only slightly from those of their mother and suggested that such a childhood did not lead to a serene adulthood or desirable career opportunities (Butler 1985:35).

Women working as prostitutes often lied about their names, dates of birth, and locales of origin in order to hide their work from their families or to avoid being traced back to criminal records. Misreporting the presence of their offspring may have served to further mask their identities, as well as hide them from the growing numbers of reformers of Victorian America targeting the demimonde.

Another possibility is the presence of child prostitutes. One goal of the Progressive Movement’s reformers was to “eliminate juvenile prostitution” (Hawes and Hiner 1985:9). Although, according to the censuses the youngest worker in Sandpoint’s bordello and brothel was 16 years old, this could have been incorrect. Women could have easily lied about their age and where they were originally from.

Sandpoint during the late nineteenth century was thought of as a “rough and tumble” town. Yet the children-related artifacts recovered here help illustrate that children were present amid the rowdy and seedy Restricted District, among the commercial businesses, and around the known Chinese Occupied Area. This presence reveals that while adults may have created distinctions both spatially and by name, children may have looked upon these areas as exciting playgrounds.

CONCLUSION

Rarely are children given due attention when discussing the migration and the settling of the American West. However, they were as much a part of the American West because what they experienced helped shape future Western states. Though we cannot pinpoint specifics, we can say with certainty that children were present in areas of Sandpoint, either as residents (not reported on the censuses) or as visitors from the other side of the creek. Social hierarchies are latent in not only classes but in age groups as well. Adults take center stage in archaeological interpretations, and while we acknowledge the difficulty of identifying children through material culture, the evidence left behind by children in Sandpoint allows us to examine the role children played in the American West. Including children in the archaeological record helps our interpretation of early Sandpoint by examining another layer of the complex portrait of the historic town.

Often adults and parents of children had a difficult time adjusting to new lives in the West, whereas children, ever resilient, may have seen through hardships and rough ways to an idealistic, exciting adventure. It is their memoirs and remembrances that have told the story and helped shape the concept of the American West. Coupled with the archaeological record, this playground of Sandpoint can begin to take shape for us today.

With this new lens of interpretation, we can recognize that the adults of Sandpoint were busying themselves throughout the bustling commercial district, saloon, and brothels; however, we recognize that there was a previously hidden group, children, who used these areas for their own purposes. Seen through the eyes and imaginations of a child, everyday objects take on new and creative meanings, making a dump pile a playground, forts out of fallen trees, and a barrel a hiding place.

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CHAPTER 7. MEDICINAL ASSEMBLAGES

James C. Bard and Robert M. Weaver

The appearance of a disease is swift as an arrow; its disappearance slow, like a thread.

—Chinese Proverb

To understand the concept of medicine in Sandpoint's early days, we need to recognize the different mindset of these pioneers compared to today's medical advances. When it comes to curing or even understanding disease, things were different in the early Sandpoint days. Many people still subscribed to the miasma concept of contagion, and while scientists had started to develop and promote the concept of germ theory in the early 1800s, it took time to convince even the medical profession, let alone people in general, that living organisms caused ailments. The properties of antiseptics were first promoted by Lister in 1879; many of the advances in medical theory occurred in the 1880s and 1890s. Viruses were unknown until 1892. In popular culture, the emphasis was on treating symptom, not cause (Clarence 1985).

The situation was ripe for promoting "cure alls" as evidenced by the proliferation of patent medicines in the mid- to late-1800s (Sohn 1997). The same period, however, also saw an increasing move toward regulation of both medicine and drugs (Osborne 1904). That said, even in 1900, many so-called doctors, particularly in the West, held no real professional degree and were self-proclaimed. In 1889, in one of the more progressive states, Illinois, there were 7,400 practicing "doctors", with more than half with no training in a medical college; Idaho did not adopt laws requiring licensing and academic medical training until 1899 (Hamowy 1979:82; Shadduck 1993). The same situation applied to pharmacists, if not more so.

In 1882, when Sandpoint was founded, there were multiple sources of remedies to treat ills. Trained and quack doctors prescribed compounds that were filled by druggists, or the druggists would prepare compounds themselves based only on their personal experience. Even there, prescription medicine relied more on natural organic compounds that provided relief from symptoms but not cures. In 1895, the *Western Druggist* published a survey of the contents in prescription medications (Hallberg 1895:514), which, for the most part, were written by doctors. The survey showed how many of the prescriptions contained various compounds. Table 19 lists the top 10 compounds used and their proportionate uses in tests of 10,000 formulas.

Table 19. Top 10 Substances in Prescriptions in 1895

Drug	Frequency of Use
Opium	10.46%
Quinine	9.77%
Mercury	7.24%
Nux vomica (1–2% strychnine)	4.72%
Morphine	4.45%
Iron chloride	4.43%
Ipecac	3.74%
Pepsin	3.74%
Sodium bicarbonate	3.55%
Boric and carbolic acid	3.53%

In those days there was little synthetic development of drugs; as can be seen, most were naturally derived organic compounds, many of which are now illegal or tightly controlled substances. But even as late as 1900, most people could buy these ingredients off the shelf.

People also relied on published books that contained listings of remedies that they could prepare themselves, especially in the West where populations were widely dispersed. An example is *Dr. Chase's Receipts: Or Information for Everybody*,¹ which began as a small pamphlet in 1856 but burgeoned to many hundred pages and over 800 recipes over the next 40 years. In keeping with the discussion above, Chase was a self-taught "doctor," but actually was accepted by educated pharmacists in his town, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Like the physicians, however, Chase's recipes included substances that were toxic, addictive, or deleterious. For instance, his recipe for a "magical" painkiller is as follows:

Pain Killer, Truly Magical, for All Purpose and Places of Pain.—

Morphine, 10 grs.;
Chloral hydrate and camphor gum, each, ½ oz.;
Sulphuric acid, several drops
Chloroform, 1 oz.;
Nitrite of amyl, 2 drs.;
Oils of cloves and cinnamon, each, ½ oz.;
Alcohol (best), to fill a 4 oz. bottle.

Chase noted "This will stop any kind of pain almost immediately, and does seem, at least, to be magical by its quick action upon the nerves, relieving pain at once" (Chase 1897:129). No wonder. Today, morphine is a regulated prescription drug; chloral hydrate is also regulated and is described as a sedative and hypnotic drug; chloroform was once a widely used anesthetic; and amyl nitrite was known as "poppers" in the 1970s disco scene, which induced states of euphoria.

The overwhelming source of medicines between the 1850s and the early 1900s, however, came from the explosion of so-called proprietary or patent medicines. These represent medicinal industrialization at its best ... or worst. These were mass-produced and advertised products that are better known as "proprietary medicines" because the manufacturers did not disclose the "secret ingredients." They were not patented with the U.S. Patent Office, and the formulas (if they had any) were not disclosed. A number contained high quantities of alcohol as well as some of the more intoxicating and addictive drugs, along with a wide range of other "miracle" substances.

At the time, there was no regulation or quality control. Some medicines, like Bromo-Seltzer, actually worked and remain in use today; many, however, were low on effective ingredients and high on profit. They prospered due to a combination of factors including the explosion of transportation networks via railroad, decreases in the cost of postal service, and the rise of mass marketing through advertisement. The medical profession and pharmacists not only disdained these formulations, but lobbied for years to undercut their popularity. That was difficult to do. One of the authors' ancestors at a conference of the Michigan State Pharmaceutical Association in 1888 cautioned his fellow pharmacists on their proposal to lobby for a law requiring content labeling of patent medicines. Ottmar Eberbach (1889:83–84) noted:

I think we ought to be very careful in this matter. We must take into consideration that parties interested in proprietary medicines have got an influence back of them greater than this Association has, and they know how to use it. I think the scheme to make patent medicine men label their goods will meet with much opposition.

¹ The full title of the earlier volumes was "Dr. Chase's recipes, or, Information for everybody: an invaluable collection of about eight hundred practical recipes, for merchants, grocers, saloon-keepers, physicians, druggists, tanners, shoemakers, harness makers, painters, jewelers, blacksmiths, tinners, gunsmiths, farriers, barbers, bakers, dyers, renovators, farmers, and families generally with a rational treatment of pleurisy, inflammation of the lungs, and other inflammatory diseases, and also for general female debility and irregularities."

The proprietary medicine men had their own national association and formed a strong lobby in the days of the “Gilded Age” with its laissez-faire attitudes. Also, here we have to distinguish between pharmacists and druggists. In many instances, local druggists who may have had some apprenticeship training but not academic training (or possibly superficial academic training), were more than willing to sell patent medicines as well as compound prescription formulas. With the popularity of the former due to the bombardment of advertising in local papers and popular magazines, it was part of doing (and staying in) business.

The advertising was key. At the time, it was not that germs were unheard of in the general populous; they were just not understood—they were something new and possibly feared. Alarmist messages were used by the purveyors of patent medicines to promote their products. Capitalizing on public fear, the patent medicine industry flooded the market with nostrum products. Calling attention to the fear of consumption (tuberculosis), which was often fatal, patent medicine vendors claimed that if you took care of your cough or cold early enough, you could ward off illness and prevent premature death. Nostrums could also induce alcohol and opium dependence. A real illness often became worse because the patient’s pain was deadened by opiates or alcohol content of the patent remedy. Doctors railed against the patent medicine industry because patients self-treating with patent medicines waited too long to finally consult a physician.

The press promoted patent medicines, and many newspapers across the country relied upon nostrum advertising to survive. With the fall in the price of newsprint, newspaper size and advertising volume increased. Additional space simply allowed larger and more creative advertising copy (Young 1961:101). Skillful promotion helped create demand. Nationally distributed medicines such as Lydia Pinkham’s Vegetable Compound required about \$1,000,000 per year in advertising fees to maintain consumer demand (Young 1961:104). Symbols of death were used in advertisements, such as robed skeletons, tombstones, and skull and crossbones, and were juxtaposed with images of a knight standing by with unsheathed sword or a hovering angel ready to reach across the grave to any mortal willing to pay a dollar for the saving remedy (Young 1961:181). One advertisement showed a corpse sitting upright in a coffin with the legend “Killed by Catarrh!” (Young 1961:183).

Fear of disease also helped the patent medicine purveyors elevate the practice of purging to new levels of acceptance. Nostrum makers made common indigestion and constipation into sources of all diseases (Young 1961:78). The human body was explained to be a constant battleground between the forces of life and death. If pollutants and bodily waste could be eliminated with sufficient speed through natural outlets, life went on and mankind could be healthy.

The demise of the “rip-off” patent medicine era began with the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act in 1906. The Act, passed during the reforming Progressive era of Teddy Roosevelt, required labeling of ingredients and identification of dangerous contents (alcohol, heroin, cocaine, morphine, opium, and cannabis among others), and established a cadre of inspectors and analysts through what is now known as the Food and Drug Administration (FDA).

In some ways, we still have remnants of that age with advertising for “prostate relief” or the promotion of human growth hormone (HGH) as a “fountain of youth” anti-aging drug. We are bombarded with conflicting health claims, fad diets, must-have medicines for conditions hardly imaginable 100 years ago, and ever-changing advice on what not to eat or drink. But there now is at least some control over the products.

Short of visiting the doctor, Sandpoint residents in 1900 could remedy their ailments only by using either patent medicines, prescription medicines, or both. Advertised as natural, effective, and safe to remedy

whatever ailed you, patent medicines were often ineffective, dangerous, poisonous, or addictive due to the presence of alcohol (Welch 1891) or opiates in their formulations. If you consumed enough of either, you just might be cured ... or dead ... or hooked on the use regardless of complaint. And the businessmen behind the proprietaries just smiled as the profits rolled in.

Benjamin Franklin once commented (Quotations.com 2012): "...God heals, and the doctor takes the fees" and "...He's the best physician that knows the worthlessness of the most medicines." Franklin's messages probably did not reach Sandpoint. Of the 885 pharmaceutical and medical artifacts recovered from Sandpoint, 295 (33.3 percent) were patent medicine bottles, dose cups, jars, stoppers, and tubes, while 289 (32.6 percent) were prescription bottles, bottles and stoppers, jars, and vials.

SO WHAT'S AILING YOU, SANDPOINT?

I am at the moment deaf in the ears, hoarse in the throat, red in the nose, green in the gills, damp in the eyes, twitchy in the joints and fractious in temper from a most intolerable and oppressive cold.

—Charles Dickens (Dickens et al. 1879:108)

According to data compiled by the National Office of Vital Statistics (2009), the most common causes of death, per 100,000 people in 1900, were:

- Pneumonia and influenza (202)
- Tuberculosis (194)
- Diarrhea, inflammation, and ulceration of the intestines (143)
- Diseases of the heart (137)
- Intracranial lesions/vascular (strokes) (107)
- Nephritis (kidney diseases) (89)
- Accidents (72)
- Cancer and other malignant tumors (64)
- Senility (50)
- Diphtheria (40)

In theory, there should be a strong correlation between the medicines being consumed at Sandpoint and the commonplace diseases that imperiled Sandpoint's citizenry. In practice, however, the patent medicine industry often targeted symptoms that were common to both relatively benign conditions (common cold or upset stomach) and those that were life threatening. Many patent medicines used at Sandpoint claimed to cure or remedy multiple ailments, so we can never be quite sure of the reason why a given product was purchased. Though our data are open to reinterpretation, in this chapter we try to balance what we have learned from the actual archaeological excavations, the available historical record, and published sources on the subject to provide an interpretive framework that helps us better understand physiological and psychological aspects of medicine consumption in Sandpoint.

Recovered patent medicine products are grouped based on the primary *advertised* benefits to determine the major types of ailments plaguing Sandpoint's residents (Table 20). The following discussions are based on minimum vessel counts, which reflect reasonable proportions or popularity among the concoctions but not necessarily the overall quantities used by the citizens. As shown in other chapters, the actual uses for which certain medicinal products were employed often differed from how a product was advertised (see especially Chapter 3, The Archaeology of Sex in this volume). Based solely on the identification of the patent medicine bottles (Table 20), Sandpoint residents seemingly sought

Table 20. What Ailed Sandpoint's Residents Based on Patent Medicine Bottles

Minimum Vessel Count of Patent Medicine Bottles	Restricted District	%	Chinatown	%	Townsite	%	Other	%
Gastrointestinal, n = 149; 50.5%	110	57.3%	11	35.5%	25	43.9%	3	20.0%
Respiratory, n = 40; 13.6%	13	6.8%	7	22.6%	13	22.8%	7	46.7%
Cardiovascular, n = 11; 3.7%	8	4.2%	1	3.2%	2	3.5%	0	0.0%
Urogenital, n = 13; 4.4%	7	3.1%	1	3.2%	6	10.5%	0	0.0%
Analgesics, n = 20; 6.8%	14	7.8%	2	6.5%	2	3.5%	1	6.7%
Antiseptics, n = 7; 2.4%	3	1.6%	1	3.2%	3	5.3%	0	0.0%
Skin and scalp, n = 6; 2.0%	5	2.6%	0	0.0%	1	1.8%	0	0.0%
Miscellaneous, n = 49; 16.6%	32	16.7%	8	25.8%	5	8.8%	4	26.7%
Total, n = 295	192		31		57		15	

relief from gastrointestinal ailments (stomach, digestive tract, and elimination) and respiratory ailments (cough and cold). Other products varied by site location but included analgesics (painkillers) and bladder and kidney preparations as a second tier of ailment remedies.

Archaeological excavations recovered a wide range of medicinal products, including not only prescription and patent medicine bottles, but also homeopathic vials (also used by druggists for smaller doses), imported Chinese medicine bottles, jars, applicators, and dose cups (Table 21). The data reveal that by far the highest use of medicinal items occurred in the Restricted District, both in terms of numbers and density. When examined in terms of artifacts recovered per unit excavated, the Restricted District showed 2.5 times the number of artifacts recorded in the townsite area and about 4.5 times the artifacts recovered in the Chinese Occupied Area. To some degree, this is not surprising. Throughout history, prostitution has been associated with a combination of alcohol and opiates, as found in the readily available patent medicines of the time, which were used to steel nerves, drown sorrows, and of course, treat illness. In addition, suicide was a predominant hazard, and most of the bottles labeled "Poison" came from the Restricted District (see Appendix II for more information on poisons).

But this is not the whole story. We will never completely know how the various drugs and medicine were being used, including whether they were used to cure ills or dull the senses. If we just look at the bottles, patent medicines are about equal in number to the pharmacy products. That number changes when all artifacts ascribed to one group or another is taken into consideration. The mixtures and pills prepared by the local drug stores account for over 60 percent of the assemblage and exceed patent medicines. We know that the local doctors of Sandpoint volunteered to provide frequent examinations of the women when the Restricted District was established by city ordinance in 1907, and the higher amounts of pharmacy containers may reflect that the practice actually occurred. Also, the larger collection possibly suggests that local "clients" were using the Restricted District as a discreet place to treat their own embarrassing diseases. That thought may also be supported by the disproportionate distributions between the two main operations in the Restricted District. A significant proportion of the pharmaceuticals came from Willa Herman's Bordello, which in 1910 had four women, as opposed to Marie Henderson's Brothel with 10 women.

Table 21. Medicinal Artifacts Minimum Vessel Counts

Artifact	Restricted District			Chinatown	Townsite					Worker Housing		
	Henderson's Brothel	Herman's Bordello	Owl Dance Hall and Saloon	Chinese Occupied Area	Pend Oreille Hotel	Butler Boarding (Townsite OP-5A and 5B)	Townsite OP-6	Foss Drug Store (Townsite OP-2A)	Townsite OP-2B and 2C	Townsite OP-4A and 4B	Humbird/Nesbitt Boarding House	Humbird Privy
Chinese medicine bottle	1	6		13				1				
Homeopathic vial	10	131	5	4	3	2		1				1
Peddlers vial	1	2	2			1						1
Patent medicine bottle	45	123	15	31	2	25	4	9	11	5	3	1
Patent medicine jar	2	3										
Patent medicine tube		1										
Patent medicine - other (closures)	2	5				1						
Prescription pharmacy bottle	39	129	10	50	9	4	5	12	7	4	10	5
Prescription pharmacy jar											1	
Small medicine bottle				2								
First aid kit		1		1								
Surgical gauze jar		1										
Applicator rod	1											
Applicator (indeterminate)		1										
Dropper	1	5	3						1			
Dose cup		2	1			1	1					
Nasal irrigator		1										
Poison bottle	6	39	3	1	1							
Condom tin	1											
Total n = 832	109	450	39	102	15	34	10	23	19	9	14	8

THE MEN WHO FIXED YOUR AILMENTS—THE SANDPOINT DRUGGISTS

It is easy to get a thousand prescriptions but hard to get one single remedy.

—Chinese Proverb

Sandpoint residents relied on their local pharmacies for their medications (Table 22). Of the 291 prescription bottles found, 87 (30.0 percent) could not be geographically identified, 14 (4.8 percent) came from pharmacies outside of Sandpoint, and 190 (65.3 percent) came from Sandpoint.

Of the identified bottles, 68 percent came from local drug stores, and it may be likely that the unidentified bottles also relate to Sandpoint, but from an earlier period when paper labels were more prevalent. Only about 5 percent of identified bottles came from outside the area. One might have expected more from Spokane, especially in earlier years, as frequent trains plied between Sandpoint and Spokane, only 80 miles away. The lack of non-local druggist bottles in Chinatown might relate to the overall reluctance of Chinese to enter unfamiliar business establishments when traveling. Chinese medicine bottles were common in Chinatown.

Table 22. Prescription Bottle Minimum Vessel Counts by Location of the Druggist

Pharmacy Name and Location	Restricted District			Chinatown	Townsite			Other
	Henderson's Brothel	Herman's Bordello	Owl Dance Hall and Saloon	Chinatown	Pend Oreille Hotel	Lower Townsite	Upper Townsite	Worker Housing/ Boarding Houses
Allen Brothers Druggists, 115 N First Avenue; later moved to 201 N First Avenue, Sandpoint	14 (35.9%)	43 (33.9%)	4 (40.0%)	28 (56.0%)	4 (33.3%)	5 (16.1%)		2 (12.5%)
Central Pharmacy, 103 Main Street, Sandpoint	7 (17.9%)	2 (1.6%)		8 (16.0%)				
Charles Foss Sand Point Pharmacy/Sandpoint Drug Co., 29 Railroad Avenue; later moved to 305 N First Avenue, Sandpoint	5 (12.8%)	36 (28.3%)	2 (20.0%)	6 (12.0%)	5 (41.7%)	19 (61.3%)	4 (30.8%)	3 (18.8%)
Johnson Drug Co., Spokane	1 (2.6%)							
Krum's Drug Store (Krum & Braley), Spokane		1 (0.8%)				1 (3.2%)		
E.M. Shaw Druggist, Spokane			1 (10.0%)					
W.H. Stowell Drug Co., Spokane							1 (7.7%)	
Harry S. Elwood Druggist, Ellensburg, WA	2 (5.1%)							
Hodge, Davis & Co. Wholesale Druggists, Portland, OR		2 (1.6%)						
Blumauer & Heubner Pharmacists, Portland		2 (1.6%)						
Mrs. A.L. Cook's Drug Store, Pocatello, ID	1 (2.6%)							
Randall Drug Co. Great Falls, MT			1 (10.0%)					
Peck Brothers Druggists, Grand Rapids, MI								1 (6.3%)
Unknown	9 (23.1%)	41 (32.3%)	2 (20.0%)	8 (16.0%)	3 (25.0%)	6 (19.4%)	8 (61.5%)	10 (62.5%)
Total = 298	39	127	10	50	12	31	13	16

Note: The main townsite area is presented here as upper (northern) and lower (southern), although further divisions were recorded during fieldwork. Based on the 1904 Sanborn map, the upper end related more to residential activities and the lower end to commercial ventures. A residential signature, however, was identified throughout the stretch between Cedar Street and Bridge Street, which likely indicates the dynamic nature of the earlier occupation of the area. In earlier years, the area more likely was a combination of residences and boarding houses based on the limited historical information, and it was also plagued by numerous fires. The medicinal assemblage reflects those earlier years (1882–1904). The Restricted District (1904–1914) and the Pend Oreille Hotel (1908–1927) came later and reflect the competition among newly established drug stores.

We know little of the historical record of Sandpoint up to about 1900, with the exception of a brief period when the city had its own newspaper, the *Pend d'Oreille News* (1892 to 1893). The druggists and doctors during those earlier years, however, likely fit the model of opportunistic but only slightly trained practitioners.

An early Sandpoint druggist was Mr. J.L. Prichard, although one might characterize his operation more as a dry goods store. He and his wife arrived in Sandpoint early, in about 1882, and he staked a 160-acre claim on the west side of Sand Creek. He sold his claim to L.D. Farmin in 1893, and it became the future site of today's Sandpoint. Being a druggist was not his only business. He also served as Sandpoint's postmaster, justice of the peace, and notary public (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892a:4). He also raised livestock and held a contract from the Great Northern Telegraph Company to install 7,500 telegraph poles (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892b:5). Prichard repeatedly ran the following advertisement or variations thereof (Figure 78).

By late 1892, Prichard was running a number of advertisements in the *Pend d'Oreille News* proclaiming the availability of popular patent medicines in his store. In one edition of the *Pend d'Oreille News* (1892d:5), there were three short entries in a column of print—two advertisements by Prichard (quoted below) flanking a message from the U.S. Surveyor General (directed at Prichard, perhaps in his role as a justice of the peace) placed between them:

For a sore throat there is nothing better than a flannel bandage dampened with Chamberlain's Pain Balm. It will nearly always effect a cure in one night's time. This remedy is also a favorite for rheumatism and has cured many severe cases. 50 cent bottles for sale by J.L. Prichard.



Figure 78. Typical advertisement for J.L. Prichard (*Pend d'Oreille News*, various issues in 1892).

With the profitability of selling popular patent medicines to Sandpoint residents, Prichard began to attach the appellation “druggist” next to his name. The January 28, 1893, issue of the *Pend d'Oreille News* was fairly typical; J.L. Prichard, druggist, advertised Chamberlain's Cough Remedy for 50 cents a bottle (about \$12 in today's dollars and a handy profit considering that it was predominantly sugar and water with a little plant extract and ammonium chloride) (F&DA 1934).

Prichard briefly took over the role of another early Sandpointer, a so-called Dr. Sailey. The *Pend d'Oreille News* (1892:5) reported:

We regret the necessity of having to chronicle the fact this week of the departure of Dr. Sailey from among us. The doctor goes to Libby, Montana, to open up a drug business.

Sailey ran the City Drug Store, advertised in the *Pend d'Oreille News* (1892c:4): “A Full Line of Drugs, Patent Medicines and Toilet Articles – Prescriptions Carefully Compounded” (Figure 79).

If any of Dr. Sailey's bottles were recovered archaeologically, a lack of embossing prevents confirmation that they belonged to his business. Many druggists used paper labels on plain paneled prescription bottles, and these druggists are largely archaeologically invisible.

The other known businessman selling drugs east of Sand Creek was Mr. Charles R. Foss. He opened The Popular Pharmacy in 1900 at 29 Railroad Avenue in the townsite area (Figure 80) after attending a school of pharmacy in the East. He probably was the first certified pharmacist in Sandpoint.

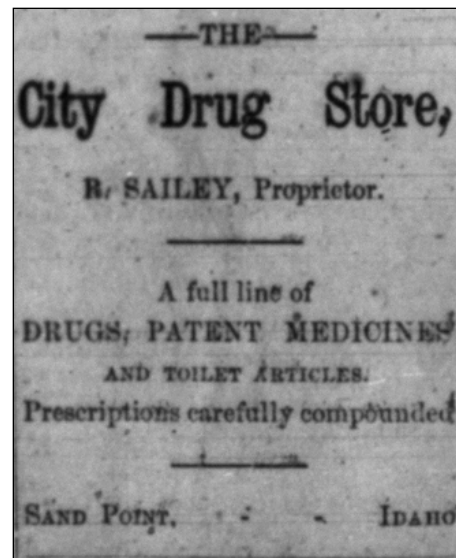


Figure 79. The City Drug Store advertisement (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892c:4).



Figure 80. Charles R. Foss Pharmacy in Sandpoint (Courtesy of the Bonner County Historical Society).

In 1905, Foss erected a building across the creek in the new part of town at 305 North First Street. His drug store and soda fountain operated well into the 1930s. He distributed products in bottles embossed as THE SAND POINT PHARMACY and THE SANDPOINT DRUG CO., LTD., PRESCRIPTION DRUGGISTS. According to a glowing promotional piece published by the *Northern Idaho News* (1905:15). Foss was a leading member of the community and someone who epitomized the ideals of the Progressive Era. A few highlights follow:

Charles R. Foss, Druggist. Nothing more clearly indicates the good taste and progressive ideas of a business community than a finely furnished and amply stocked, modern drug store ... Today, only those things that are attractive and pleasing to every sense are exposed to view and no store could possibly present, more agreeably, all these pleasing features than does The Popular Pharmacy, the pioneer drug store of Sandpoint of which Charles R. Foss is the sole proprietor.... He established the first [true] drug store and at all times, and in all things has been in the vanguard of progress. Socially, Mr. Foss is a favorite and leader and is amply shown in the fact that he held ... the highly prized and honorable office of Grand Chancellor of the fraternal order of the Knights of Pythias for the jurisdiction of the state of Idaho, the performance of the duties of which office required his presence in all parts of the state which brought him into close personal relations with leaders in the progressive society and business interests of the state. Mr. Foss is also a prominent member of the Odd Fellows and several other fraternal orders. Mr. Foss is married and resides with his family, a wife and child, in a pretty home on Pend d'Oreille Avenue.

By 1902, Foss had competition. The *Kootenai County Republican* (1902:1) carried the following message "Don't go to Spokane, but buy your drugs of Allen Bros.; the Sandpoint druggists." Their first shop was located at 115 North First Avenue, until Arthur and Herbert Allen moved into their new building in 1903 (Figure 81) at 201 North First Avenue.

Central Pharmacy, located at 106 Main Street, also played a smaller role in providing prescription drugs to the residents east of Sand Creek.

Fierce competition arose between Foss and Allen Brothers. The largest assemblage in the Sandpoint collection comes from the Restricted District, and it seems that Allen Brothers had a slight advantage selling to the residents of the district. Of 113 identified bottles, Allen Brothers sold 54 percent, followed by Foss at 38 percent, with the remainder originating at the Central Pharmacy. An additional 11 bottles came from other regional stores, which may reflect the transient nature of the women who worked in the Restricted District. The presence of pharmacy bottles from Spokane, Ellensburg, Portland, Pocatello, and Great Falls could be an archaeological signature of the circuit of major towns and cities where these ladies plied their trade from time to time.

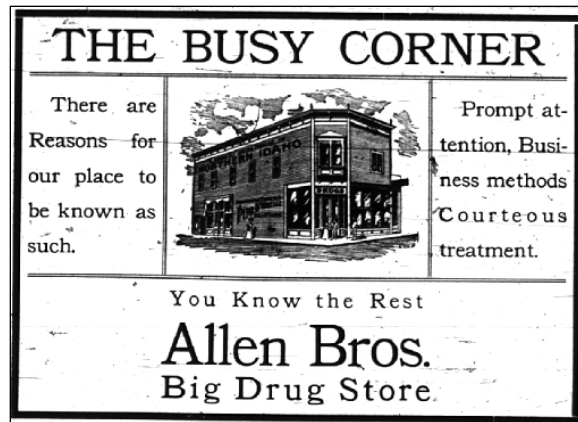


Figure 81. Advertisement for Allen Brothers at 201 North First Avenue (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905:4).

The Chinese also relied more on Allen Brothers (66.7 percent), followed by Central Pharmacy (19.0 percent) and Sandpoint Pharmacy (14.3 percent). The Central Pharmacy was incorporated in 1910 and was a latecomer to the east side residents.

The archaeological results from the main townsite area reflect its demise in 1904 as people and businesses moved to the new Sandpoint. Foss bottles represent 52 percent of the finds, with unlabeled bottles constituting 32 percent. A few Allen Brothers bottles were found, but the majority appear to relate to the period before 1903, including the Krum & Braley drug store and the W.H. Stowell Drug Co. (founded in 1890 in Spokane) bottles.

Though both Allen Brothers and Foss products were consumed in the Restricted District and in the Chinese enclave, the distribution of the bottles suggests that Allen Brothers might have been perceived as being more accommodating to these patrons. Whether this has to do with the competitive nature of the newcomer druggists or with social proclivities cannot be determined from the records, either historical or archaeological.

Thirteen Chinese medicine bottles were recovered from Sandpoint's Chinatown, six were recovered from Herman's Bordello, and a single Chinese medicine bottle from Henderson's Brothel. The latter finds are explained through the 1910 census—Charlie Hong lived as a roomer at Willa Herman's house and worked at the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon. Sandpoint's Chinese residents used both traditional Chinese medicine and western medicine. Having an open mind about the treatment of one's maladies was not just a one-way street. At least some European-Americans were becoming receptive to traditional Chinese medicine (Barlow and Richardson 1979). Because there was often a shortage of American doctors in the 1870s and 1880s, white patients seemed more than willing to consult Chinese doctors. The Chinese actually were in abundance. Many who had worked on the Central Pacific Railroad in the 1860s as well as others were attracted to the gold fields of eastern Washington, Oregon, and Idaho. A large portion of the Chinese doctor's patients were women, who felt that white doctors were unsympathetic to their special complaints (Steele 2005:106).

One reason why Chinese medicine appealed to white people was because herbal medicines were often less harsh than treatments provided by Euro-American doctors. Chinese medicine seemed more

effective for female complaints, sexual disorders, and psychological symptoms. The West became a new Chinese frontier where ancient traditions, including medical and pharmaceutical theories and practices, could take hold (Steele 2005:106). According to Zhu (1999:50), Euro-American medicine shared strong similarity with Chinese medicine in its use of herbs in drugs, but Chinese medicine was more sophisticated. The Chinese used molds to cure infection long before the invention of penicillin. Similarly, a compound of whiskey and opium was used to relieve influenza and diarrhea and Chinese physicians discovered the use of common baking soda to treat a skin infection caused by poison ivy.

Some prostitutes sought Chinese physicians to treat various ailments. In many towns, the bordellos and brothels were located adjacent to or within the Chinese communities (Moynahan 2000:18). Though we do not believe Sandpoint ever had a formal Chinese apothecary business (as did larger Western cities), interaction with the Chinese is well documented, primarily through arrests for opium use (which was allowed, but not for Caucasians).

PATENT MEDICINES

Sandpoint residents seemed to trust their home-grown pharmacists for prescriptions (Table 22), or perhaps simply patronized them for convenience; however, their patent medicines came from all over the United States, and abroad (Table 23). Some patent medicines were so well known and entrenched in the national marketplace that Sandpoint consumers might have preferred nostrums made by large, recognized firms. Many of the larger national brands were frequently advertised in Sandpoint newspapers and these products were carried and sold by the local Sandpoint druggists.

Table 23. Places of Origin of Sandpoint's Patent Medicines

West	Eastern Seaboard	Midwest	South	Foreign
San Francisco, CA	New Haven, CT	Des Moines, IA	Paducah, KY	Angostura, Argentina
Portland, OR	Barnstable, Boston, and Lowell, MA	Bloomington, Danville, Chicago, and Peoria, IL	New Orleans, LA	Marseille and Paris, France
	Baltimore, MD	Elkhart and Fort Wayne, IN	Greensboro, NC	London, Great Britain
	Asbury Park, Glen Ridge, and Woodbury, NJ	Wichita, KS		Milan, Italy
	Binghamton, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Garden City, New York City, Owego, Rochester, Troy, and Yonkers, NY	Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Winona, MN		Rheinberg, Germany
	Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Warren, PA	Kansas City, St. Joseph, and St. Louis, MO		Toronto, Canada
	Providence, RI	Omaha, NE		
	Burlington, VT	Detroit, MI		
		Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Toledo, OH		

Some of the prostitutes working in the Restricted District allegedly came from foreign countries and may have had more cosmopolitan tastes or knowledge, including their acceptance or even preference for patent medicines from abroad. Certainly the women recorded in the 1910 census who claimed their origins as Canada (Lillian M. Earl, Belle Richmond, and Lou Chapman), England (Hanna Tackbery), and France (Trixi Edwards) might have regarded themselves as such—they certainly were not common streetwalkers. It was not uncommon for prostitutes to make up foreign origins in an attempt to appear more exotic; being a courtesan from France must have been better than being a common prostitute from Philadelphia.

The Remedies

The following sections characterize the patent medicine products used in Sandpoint and their nominally associated ailments. The real question, however, is what people *really* bought the drugs to “treat.” We only have the advertised cures, which for the most part were false claims. Well into the 1930s, the F&DA prosecuted many brands for “misbranding” their products. While it is likely that people purchased the medicines for specific illnesses, given the amount of alcohol and opiates contained in many of the formulations, a number of the purchases may have been for self-medication of depression—or just the experience of “getting high.” One of the most difficult exercises from a modern perspective is to interpret the perceptions and the mindsets of people living over 100 years ago. When it comes to the big picture, we probably are not all that different, but a lot has changed in society as information has drastically expanded and knowledge has driven new interpretations and expectations. The current understanding of wellness is quite different from that of the Sandpoint residents of old.

Gastrointestinal Ailments

Patent medicines recovered from Sandpoint cluster in logical groups based on the primary advertised benefits (Table 19). Sandpoint residents seemingly sought relief mainly from gastrointestinal ailments (stomach, digestive tract, and elimination). Stomach-focused remedies included several brands of bitters (Appendix I). Bitters were concocted as tinctures with dubious medicinal benefits. Where known, the alcohol or narcotic content of these medicines is noted in the appendix.

Doctors prescribed bitters, often in mixtures, to excite the appetite, invigorate the digestion, and rid the stomach and bowels of gas and relieve dyspepsia (Young 1961:129). Hostetter’s Bitters contained about 32 percent alcohol by volume (Young 1961:129). In 1883, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue decided to let the nature of the sale determine the tax status of bitters. If sold across the counter as a drink, the dispenser would have to pay for a liquor license. If sold as a medicine, no alcoholic beverage tax applied (Young 1961:130). In places where the Anti-Saloon League or temperance groups managed to shut down the liquor trade, the deprived could still legally get alcohol through high-proof bitters (Young 1961:133). The 1906 U.S. Food and Drug Act regulated ingredients and required proof of health benefits; it effectively outlawed many bitters. Prohibition finished off most of the rest, although buying medicines for their alcohol remained prevalent throughout that period.

Popular bitters at Sandpoint included Amer Picon Bitters (13) and Dr. J. Hostetter’s Stomach Bitters (10). Amer Picon Bitters were an orange-flavored aperitif touted for stomach and digestion problems while Hostetter’s promised relief from a broad range of maladies (Young 1961:95); it was a great way to help start off a healthy New Year (Figure 82).

Angostura Bitters (9) could alleviate hiccups and an upset stomach. Koehler & Hinrichs Red Star Stomach Bitters (8) and Lash’s Bitters (6) were also popular. Other brands recovered included Litthauer Stomach Bitters (4), Underberg Boonekamp Bitters (4), Hibernia Bitters (4), Peruvian Bitters (3), Dr. Henley’s Wild Grape Root Bitters (2), and Columbo Peptic Bitters (2). One each of Abbott’s Bitters, Electric Brand Bitters, and Kennedy’s East India Bitters round out the bitters assemblage.

The popularity of laxatives and other nostrums to deal with gastrointestinal distress was an outgrowth of the common belief that



Figure 82. Hostetter’s advertisement (*Hope Herald* 1914:3).

constipation and irregularity would bottle up potentially deadly toxins within the body and blood. Allen Brothers carried patent medicines that were touted as effective means to address these concerns (Figure 83).



Figure 83. Advertisement for laxative available at Allen Brothers (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907a:3).

None of the Sandpoint patent medicines specifically identified acid indigestion per se, but this symptom of indigestion was often referred to as biliousness, heartburn, or somehow related to a disorder of the liver. Though bitters were often touted as remedies for these conditions, the patent medicine industry provided several interesting products that Sandpoint residents availed themselves of. Eight specimens of Chamberlain's Colic, Cholera, & Diarrhoea Remedy claimed to remedy flatulent or wind colic—better known to us today as gas. Wind colic was defined in old medical dictionaries as pain in the bowels due to their distension with air or gas (Bethard 2004:169). Even during Sandpoint's early years, there was a market for Chamberlain's Colic, Cholera and Diarrhoea Remedy. It was sold by J.L. Prichard (Figure 84). Interestingly, Chamberlain's contained ether (as an expectorant/carminative), which was an additive in many pioneer and frontier remedies but lost favor to the less flammable chloroform (Bethard 2004:169).

Parke, Davis & Co. sold popular remedies for dyspepsia that used amylase (which was isolated from a mold, *Aspergillus oryzae*). *Aspergillus niger*, another mold, is the active ingredient in today's **Beano**. Twenty-three Parke, Davis & Co. bottles (paper labels not preserved) were recovered, mostly from the two brothels.

Cholera, which afflicts the small intestine, in particular was much feared. As explained by Steele (2005:262–263), cholera epidemics ravaged several eastern cities in the mid-1800s and the disease spread quickly through Western army posts, mining camps, and settlements. Cholera is transmitted through human waste. A sudden onset of severe abdominal cramps and diarrhea lead to the loss of massive volumes of intestinal fluid, leaving victims dehydrated to the point of death.

Even if a person did not suspect they had contracted cholera, in that era, biliousness was believed to indicate the presence of some functional disorder of the stomach or liver. The G.G. Green firm had just the right remedy. Six examples of Dr. A. Boschee's German Syrup were recovered from Sandpoint, including three from Herman's Bordello. Boschee's claimed to remedy stomach and liver ailments. A

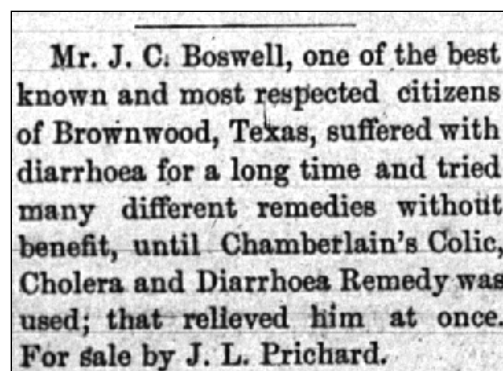


Figure 84. Chamberlain's Colic, Cholera and Diarrhoea Remedy available at J.L. Prichard's (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892d:5).

most interesting find was two specimens of Smith's Bile Beans. Smith's Bile Beans (Figure 85) touted their ability to cure biliousness, sick headache, neuralgia, sour stomach, torpid liver, and loss of appetite.



Figure 85. Smith's Bile Beans (Sure Cure Antiques 2012a).

If using a product by Parke, Davis & Co. or Smith's Bile Beans did not relieve gas and bloating, at least one lady working at Henderson's Brothel tried using a bottle of Mayr's Wonderful Remedy. Mayr's cured stomach, liver, and intestinal ailments, and removed poisonous catarrh and bile accretions. Difficulties with elimination were, as today, treated with laxatives, and most of the laxatives recovered from Sandpoint came from Herman's Bordello and Henderson's Brothel. Eno's Fruit Salt (Figure 86) was a popular laxative at Herman's Bordello (six recovered) and Henderson's Brothel (two recovered).

An unknown product recovered from Herman's Bordello was two specimens of a remedy bottled by John Wyeth & Brother. One of the more popular products sold by John Wyeth & Brother was sodium phosphate, a laxative, in a bottle with a dose cap. A bottle of Fletcher's Castoria was found at Herman's Bordello as well. Fletcher's, a national brand, was heavily advertised in Sandpoint (*Bonner County Democrat* 1908:7). A bottle of Herbine was found at Herman's Bordello; it claimed to prevent constipation, bilious fever, and malaria. It is likely that malaria was the least of concerns for Herman's Bordello employees.

A Citrate of Magnesia bottle was found at Henderson's Brothel; it was a well-known laxative. A bottle of Milk of Magnesia was also found at Henderson's Brothel. A single laxative bottle was found in Chinatown, a bottle of Pitcher's Castoria. Two bottles of an S. Pitcher & Co. product was found in the townsite. They probably contained Dr. Samuel Pitcher's cathartic compound. Pitcher's products were later sold by Fletcher's (Castoria). A Syrup of Figs bottle was found in Chinatown and in the townsite. Hiss (1898:250–251) described two of the various formulas used to create this and similar fig syrup products.

Constipation was seemingly more of a problem in Sandpoint than diarrhea, at least based on the use of patent medicines. Certainly, both constipation and diarrhea were treated using prescription medicines.



Figure 86. Eno's Fruit Salt (Grace's Guide 2011).

As its name implies, Chamberlain's Colic, Cholera, & Diarrhoea Remedy was used for diarrhea relief, as well as for flatulence. A single bottle of Wakefield's Black Berry Balsam Compound was found at Henderson's Brothel. Wakefield's was touted as a remedy for common diarrhea.

Two specimens of Extract of Smart-Weed were recovered (one each) from the Worker Housing and Blacksmith Shop deposits. Extract of Smart-Weed was a liniment touted for pain and bowel complaints. Use of a topical liniment for pain, particularly bowel pain, may have enabled Sandpoint workmen to soldier through their workday without having to free up their hands to drink a patent medicine remedy from a bottle. Four bottles of a product manufactured by G.G. Green were recovered from the townsite (two samples) and the Restricted District (one from the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon and the other from unprovenienced Restricted District). These bottles likely contained either Green's August Flower (for the stomach or liver) or Dr. Boschee's German Syrup (for colds and cough).

Archaeological evidence for the presence of children at Herman's Bordello may be represented by a bottle of Trophonine. Trophonine was used to remedy a weakened stomach. A label (Figure 87) indicates its use as a nutrition replacement consisting of beef, egg albumin, and gluten of wheat predigested. Other archaeological evidence described in Chapters 3 and 6 of this volume attest to the possibility that one or more women became pregnant and had children present and living with them in the Restricted District at one time or another. A predigested product like Trophonine could easily have been used as baby food if an infant or young child developed colic and could not otherwise tolerate home-prepared soft "first foods." Alternatively, this product may have simply been purchased to treat a weak stomach in an adult.

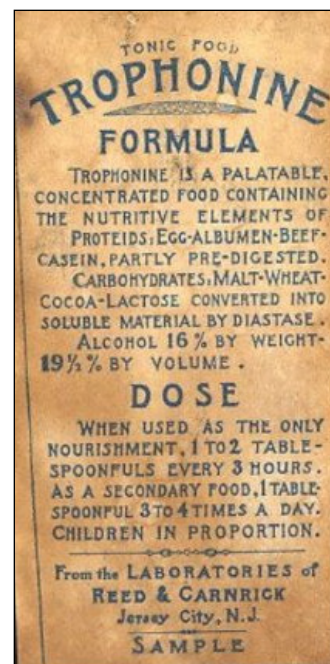


Figure 87. Trophonine, ca. 1910 (Sure Cure Antiques 2012b).

Nine examples of Bromo-Seltzer were recovered, including six specimens from Herman's Bordello, one from Henderson's Brothel, one from Chinatown, and one from the townsite. Bromo-Seltzer once contained sodium bromide. Whether Willa Herman and her ladies were aware of the tranquilizing properties of Bromo-Seltzer is unknown. The abundance of bitters in the Restricted Districts suggests they were used for stomach and digestive ailments, while Bromo-Seltzer may have been recognized as helpful with nausea. The carbonation induced by the fizzy action of the seltzer likely alleviated nausea.

From the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon were recovered two bottles containing Essence of Jamaica Ginger, and one example was found in Chinatown. The Chinese have long used ginger as both food and medicine, and its calming effect on the stomach and ability to relieve nausea are well known. Ginger is used to remedy motion sickness, morning sickness, poor circulation, dysentery, colic, nausea, gas, indigestion, coughs, colds, and flu, and also has antiseptic properties citation (Malu, et al. 2009:365). An example may have been recovered from the townsite, since J.A. Folger & Co. was known to have produced and sold Essence of Jamaica Ginger and other plant extracts in addition to its main business as a purveyor of coffee products.

Respiratory Ailments

Sandpoint residents also appeared to seek relief from respiratory ailments (cough, cold, "catarrh") (40 of 295 patent medicine artifacts, 13.6 percent, are respiratory related; see Table 2.6.1). A variety of patent

medicines were employed by Sandpoint residents to alleviate the symptoms of the common cold, cough, and upper respiratory distress (Appendix I) and to ward off more serious illnesses like pneumonia. At best, these patent medicines helped suppress cough or helped open swollen sinuses; at worst, some of these products contained toxins. The fear of colds leading to more serious diseases cannot be underestimated. Patent medicine companies were more than willing to use this fear to help promote their remedies. Large national branded patent medicines were promoted through strategic placements in local newspapers. Local druggists were more than happy to carry these products and enjoy the additional foot traffic and sales. The sales pitch was none too subtle, though it was couched as being educational—as though the public was not already fearful of colds becoming something more dangerous. On the second page of the October 17, 1907, issue of the *Pend d'Oreille Review*, Allen Brothers, in association with a Chamberlain's distributor, ran an advertisement for Chamberlain's Cough Remedy (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907b). It read as follows:

WHY COLDS ARE DANGEROUS. Because you have contracted ordinary colds and recovered from them without treatment of any kind, do not for a moment imagine that colds are not dangerous. Everyone knows that pneumonia and chronic catarrh have their origin in a common cold. Consumption is not caused by a cold, but the cold prepared the system for the reception and development of the germs that would not otherwise have found lodgment. It is the same with all infectious diseases. Diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles and whopping cough are much more likely to be contracted when the child has a cold. You will see from this that more real danger lurks in a cold than in any other of the common ailments. The easiest and quickest way to cure a cold is to take Chamberlain's Cough Remedy. The many remarkable cures effected by this preparation have made it a staple article of trade over a large part of the world. For sale by Allen Bros.

The distribution of patent medicines for the treatment of colds shows no significant patterning. The term "catarrh" was the common usage for colds. As explained by Hiss (1898:71), catarrh manifested as either acute ("cold-in-the-head") or chronic ("catarrh"). Both were treated the same way or in a similar manner. Some cures were snuffs, while others were to be used by inhalation; some by spraying, and others by insufflations or by injection with syringe or a douche. Still others were in the form of an ointment applied to the interior of the nostrils and others were to be taken internally. Hiss (1898:71–72) condemned the use of snuffs containing cocaine, the indiscriminate or careless use of which cannot be too severely condemned. Dr. Birney's Catarrhal Powder (a snuff) contained 19 grams of cocaine hydrochlorate (Hiss 1898:48)!

Narcotics (cocaine, morphine, and so on) were common ingredients in catarrh remedies. H.E. Bucklen & Co. of Chicago offered products that were very well received by Sandpoint residents (especially its Dr. King's brand remedies). A total of 13 Dr. King's products were recovered from Sandpoint, including examples of Bucklen's Dr. King's New Discovery for Consumption, touted for cough, colds, and lung ailments and Dr. King's New Discovery (for cough, colds, and all lung conditions). King's New Discovery contained 8 grams of morphine sulfate (Hiss 1898:176). It was carried by Allen Brothers (Figure 88).

Many products recovered from Sandpoint were made to remedy a full range of respiratory ailments and some contained narcotics. Ayer's Cherry Pectoral claimed to cure dreaded childhood afflictions (whooping cough,

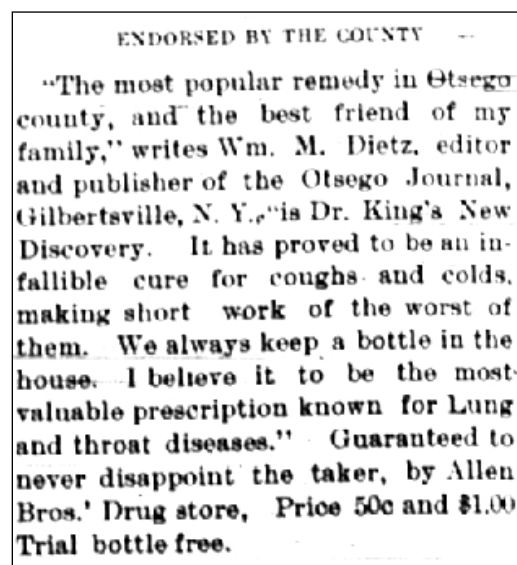


Figure 88. Dr. King's New Discovery, advertised at Allen Brothers (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907c:8).

influenza, consumption, and so on). Olson (2006:3–4) noted that Ayer's Cherry Pectoral included 1 to 6 grains of heroin in its formulation.

Two bottles of Johnson's American Anodyne Liniment were recovered from the Nesbitt Boarding House and the Blacksmith Shop (one from each). According to the Smithsonian Institution (2012), it was:

...for coughs, colds, grippy cold, colic, asthmatic distress, bronchial colds, nasal catarrh, cholera morbus, cramps, diarrhea, bruises, common sore throat, burns and scalds, chaps and chafing, chilblains, frost bites, muscular rheumatism, soreness, sprains and strains.

Just like the Extract of Smart Weed liniment (see above), the Johnson's liniment claims were perfectly suited to a man laboring outside in a sawmill yard. Another popular liniment, Mentholatum was also found associated with the Worker Housing and Blacksmith Shop. Ely's Cream Balm claimed to open and cleanse nasal passages, allay inflammation, heal and protect the membrane, and restore sense of taste and smell. Better yet, Ely's advertised that their product had no cocaine, no mercury, and no injurious drug. Hiss (1898:119) confirmed the absence of any narcotic in Ely's balm. Kondon's Catarrhal Jelly claimed their product was good for the ailments listed in Figure 89.



Figure 89. Kondon's Catarrhal Jelly (Etsy 2012).

Some compounds were effective, but little was known about side effects. Coltsfoot Expectorant got its name from the use of colts-foot (*Tussilago farfara*); its leaves were hoof-shaped. While still sometimes recommended by today's herbalists, later scientific studies indicated that the plant has toxic side effects to the liver system (Medicinal Herbs-4U 2012). The only example of Coltsfoot Expectorant was recovered from Chinatown. Four bottles of Piso's Cure for Consumption (Figure 90) were recovered; it may have relieved a cough and or dulled the effects of consumption, but that wouldn't be surprising. The formula contained cannabis extracts (Cramp 1921:101) as well as morphine sulfate, chloroform, and plenty of sugar (Hiss 1898:223).



Figure 90. Piso's Cure (BidStart 2011).

Even more mainstream products used alcohol as a major part of their recipe. Pe-Ru-Na, an anti-catarrrhal medication, had up to 28 percent alcohol. The single example of Pe-Ru-Na recovered was from the Worker Housing area.

Cardiovascular Ailments

Sandpoint residents sought relief from cardiovascular system ailments (heart and blood) (11 of 295 patent medicine artifacts, 3.7 percent, were for cardiovascular ailments; see Table 19). Some patent medicines (Appendix I of this chapter) were employed by Sandpoint residents to address their fears of a failing cardiovascular system. Hydropericardium, referred to at that time as “dropsy of the heart” (Appleton 1904) could strike at any time. At least among the public, the causes of heart disease were poorly understood, and many believed that some disorder or impurity of the blood could lead to sudden death.

E.G. Lyons Co. marketed The Life of the Orange, Orange Tonic Cordial as a nerve and blood regenerator. Whatever its real properties and its alcoholic content, this product probably tasted good, and may even have been used in cocktails. Examples were found only at Henderson’s Brothel (five bottles) and Herman’s Bordello (two bottles).

Another interesting product was recovered from Herman’s Bordello—a bottle of Pepto-Mangan (Gude). It is described as a hematinic drug that increases the amount of hemoglobin in the blood (Hiss 1898:133). The Breitenbach Company spent a lot of money on advertising, particularly within medical journals and through leaflets to doctors, but once the pure drug movement started, the effectiveness of the product came into question (Council on Pharmacy and Chemistry 1905: 200-211) Only a single bottle was recovered from Sandpoint. Two examples of Oregon Blood Purifier were recovered from the townsite; it was touted as a liver and kidney regulator and a remedy for blood impurities.

Recovered from Chinatown was a single patent medicine bottle of the Sultan Drug Co. All references for the Sultan Drug Company seem to lead to something called “cactina pellets.” Cactina, made from *Cereus grandiflora mexicana* (cactus), was thought to be of great value in the treatment of cardiovascular diseases. It supposedly had no cumulative action and was agreeable to the stomach. It addressed tachycardia, palpitation, irregularity, and feebleness. It supposedly helped with cardiac weakness and nervousness caused by the excessive use of tobacco, tea, coffee, or alcohol, and could support the heart in the treatment of febrile and chronic diseases, and could sustain fetal circulation during gestation (Clymer 1905:Cactus). Euro-American doctors used cactus extracts to prevent cardiac depression when administering anti-pyretics, anodynes, and hypnotics. Cactina was recommended to be taken together with *Capsicum* as the best treatment for heart trouble. We cannot know how and why cactina was used in Chinatown, but it might have substituted for some other plant substance in a traditional Chinese remedy.

Urogenital and Renal Ailments

Patent medicines designed to treat bladder, kidney, and reproductive ailments are relatively few in number across the Sandpoint sites (13 of 295, 4.4 percent; Appendix I). Venereal disease remedies were dispensed by Sandpoint’s druggists, and the prostitutes were savvy enough to know what products were effective and which ones were not. Chapter 3 in this volume provides a more extensive discussion on the treatment of venereal disease in the Restricted District. Remedies for gonorrhea were used externally or internally. External remedies were usually in the form of “injections” or “washes.” They usually contained a zinc salt combined with Hydrastis or one of its alkaloids, lead acetate, opium, carbolic acid, or other substance (Hiss 1898:145). The remedies for internal use contained copaiba or

Santal Oil or both combined with cubeb, Matico, spirit of nitrous ether, gum turpentine, or eucalyptus. Additional information is presented in Chapter 3.

The Restricted District's heyday coincided with important developments in medicine. In 1905 the Spirochete responsible for syphilis was discovered and in 1906, the Wasserman blood test, a procedure to diagnose syphilis even after the external symptoms had disappeared, was developed (Steele 2005:276). Untreated syphilis could progress to cause brain and major artery damage. It must be remembered that any effective syphilis treatment used in the Restricted District is archaeologically invisible; doctor-prescribed and druggist-compounded and bottled treatments cannot be identified in the numerous unlabeled medicine bottles.

Internal use patent medicines took the form of paste, capsules, pills, or emulsions. The external and internal remedies could be used simultaneously, though there was no benefit from conjoint use. As Hiss (1898:145) recommended, patients suffering from gonorrhea should keep their bowels well open and refrain from the use of any stimulants during the course of the disease. As further detailed in Chapter 3, five products whose purpose was the supposed cure of venereal disease were recovered (Dr. Crossman's Specific Mixture, Evans Chemical Co, Knoxit, Santal de Midy, and Lysol).

Two examples of Knoxit Globules were found at Henderson's Brothel. Knoxit, as the name implies, promised to knock it out quickly. The globules were for internal use; there was also a liquid version that could be applied externally. The product contained zinc acetate, hydrastis alka-loids, glycerin, and water, perfumed with oil of rose. Along with gonorrhea and blenorhea, the product supposedly addressed a wide range of ills including catarrhal affections of the eye, nose, and throat, inflammation of the mucous membranes, beneficial in the treatment of hemorrhoids, ulcers, and other mucous irritations, as a prophylactic for inflammation of the mucous membranes in general. What better-named product at a bordello than Knoxit, which would treat a range of illnesses, and supposedly stopped discharge in 1 to 5 days (U.S. Department of Agriculture Bureau of Chemistry 1921:93)?

Dr. Crossman's Specific Mixture was not shy about what its product was good for. It was promoted as being good for gonorrhea, gleet (urethral discharge), strictures, and analogous complaints of the organs of generation (Figure 91). Somebody at Henderson's Brothel was using it. Gonorrhea can be painful at times, more often for men than for women. It is not surprising that extract of opium was a major component in gleet cures. As noted by Hiss (1898:64), the following are said to be substantially the formulas for cures of this class: zinc sulfate (gr. 10), extract of opium (gr. 60), glycerite of Hydrastis, U.S.P. (fl. dr. 1), glycerin (fl. dr. 4), and water (fl. oz. 4).

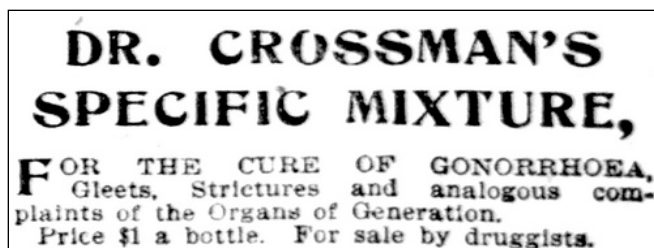


Figure 91. Dr. Crossman's Specific Mixture advertisement (*The San Francisco Call* 1900:12).

A single example of Santal de Midy, imported from Paris, found its way to the Restricted District. It too was known as a gonorrhea treatment; it was advertised for the treatment of bladder, liver, and venereal problems.

Staying in Shape

For the prostitute repetitive sex was hard work and took its toll on the female anatomy. The patent medicine industry offered a great variety of remedies delivered as "compounds." The "vegetable compounds" were remedies for female disorders (Hiss 1898:88). Many were uterine tonics intended to

strengthen or “tone up” the organs of gestation to fit women to endure child-bearing with comfort, to prevent, relieve, and cure distressing pains that occurred from excessive or tardy menstruation, and to relieve the nervous disorders accompanying these complaints. These preparations were known by such names as “catholicon,” “woman’s friend,” “female remedy,” “mother’s friend,” “female tonic,” “female cordial,” “female elixir,” “vegetable compound,” “ladies’ tonic,” and so on (Hiss 1898:132). A bottle of Paine’s Celery Compound was recovered from the Restricted District. Among other claims, it was touted as a reliable medicine for general nervous debility and female complaints. Speaking of nervous debility remedies, Hiss (1898:200) commented:

Of late it has become quite the fashion for the public in general to believe they are suffering from nervous disorders, and many so-called “nervines” have appeared upon the market. Some of these contain celery, others phosphorus and damiana, the latter also frequently containing kola, nux vomica, gentian, cinchona or Columbo. These preparations may, according to their form or composition, be known as “celery nervine” or “celery cordial” (if containing celery), “nerve tonic,” “vitalizer,” “vitalizing tonic,” “damiana compound,” “nervous debility pills,” “aphrodisiac elixir,” “aphrodisiac pills,” “compound damiana pills,” etc.

From the townsite was recovered a bottle of Dr. Harter’s Iron Tonic. It claimed to dispel low spirits and nervousness. Other claims included its “wonderful” effect on the reproductive organs. Another nervous townsite denizen, perhaps in this case, a male, used a bottle of Samaritan Nervine. Samaritan Nervine was sold as a medicine for the relief of epileptic fits and similar diseases, a cure for epilepsy, seminal weakness, every form of kidney disease, syphilis, loss of hearing, and paralysis.

Three examples of Warner’s Safe Cure Co., or Warner’s Safe Remedies Co. were recovered from the townsite and Chinatown. Warner’s was sold for ailments of the kidneys and liver, and Bright’s disease. It also claimed effectiveness for urinary disorders and female complaints.

If Warner’s Safe Cure didn’t work, there was always Dr. Liebig’s Wonderful German Invigorator. Dr. Liebig, in the fine tradition of San Francisco, didn’t beat around the bush when it came to sexual matters. He claimed his product gave strength to the reproductive organs and cured nervous debility, impaired development in youth, premature decay in the old, seminal weakness, and gleet. Furthermore, for any man with doubts about his ability to perform his duties, either domestically or at one of the Restricted District bordellos, Dr. Liebig’s Wonderful German Invigorator No. 1 was touted as the only positive cure for spermatorrhea, seminal weakness, and loss of manhood or impotency (see Chapter 3 for additional perspectives on the treatment of impotence in the Restricted District). The German Invigorator No. 2 was claimed to be the only known cure for prostatorrhea, the complication that prevents the cure of the above complaints in the thousands.

Herman’s Bordello yielded a bottle of Fernet-Branca Bitters. Though it too claimed many uses such as being an effective febrifuge, vermifuge, and tonic and was invigorating, warming, and anti-choleric, it was marketed also as cure for menstrual cramps.

A man or woman in the townsite used a bottled of Dr. Kilmer’s Swamp Root Kidney Liver & Bladder Cure, which was good for kidney, liver, and bladder ailments. The Kilmer Company distributed its product through the mail and even provided a free urinalysis to lure potential customers (Millon and Capizzano 1991:1). Naturally, the results were used to recommend Swamp Root to the sick and to the healthy (presumably to prevent kidney problems). Swamp Root played a marquee roll in the “Fraud Above the Law” article that appeared in *Collier’s* on May 11, 1912 (Adams 1912). It was essentially alcohol, sugar, water, and flavoring matter with a slight laxative. According to its label, it contains the active medicinal properties of swamp root, field herbs, and healing balsams. Alcohol strength was 18 proof—more than champagne! The prescribed dose was one, two, or three teaspoonfuls or more

(without limit), four times a day. The patient who took Swamp Root, according to the directions, was getting a steady and considerable dosage of alcohol—and this was to cure (or remedy) kidney, bladder, and liver diseases. Between the alcohol and mild laxative, the afflictions for which the nostrum was prescribed would not have been cured, but instead these ingredients likely gave the suffering Sandpointer a helping hand to the grave.

Pain Relief (Analgesics)

Pain relievers (analgesics) were used to treat pain in various parts of the body. Twenty of 295 patent medicine artifacts recovered from Sandpoint excavations were pain relievers. Known remedies were recovered (Appendix I). Opiates are extremely effective painkillers and were included in many products whose primary advertised uses were for ailments other than pain per se. The most common patent (pain) medicine recovered from Sandpoint was 10 bottles (unlabeled) of John Wyeth & Brother product. Though we cannot be certain of their content, John Wyeth and Brother were known to have marketed painkillers that contained cannabis. Five examples were recovered from Herman's Bordello, two from the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon, two from Chinatown, and one from the Humbird Boarding House Privy.

Liniments were extremely popular patent medicines for pain relief. Hiss (1898:183) wrote extensively on the subject and found that they were advertised for a variety of problems including cramps, cholera, diarrhea, rheumatism, neuralgia, bruises, chilblains, frost bites, sprains, stings and bites of insects, and lameness. Two examples of Mexican Mustang Liniment were recovered from Herman's Bordello. This product was a pain-relieving emollient touted as good "for man and beast" and the concoction claimed to cure over 30 ailments, including rheumatic pains, sprains, strains, burns, bites, scalds, colds, sore throats and lameness. In reality, it contained only Crude petroleum, ammonia, water and brandy. A bottle of Hiram G. Farrell & Co. patent medicine was recovered and likely contained H.G. Farrell's Arabian Liniment.

The possible dual use of liniments on man and beast (Chapter 8 of this volume contains more information on animals in Sandpoint) could account for the recovery of a bottle of Save-The-Horse Spavin Cure at the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon. Bone spavin is a bony osteoarthritic growth within the lower hock joint of horse or cattle. Although primarily for its stated use, spavin cures were also advertised as good for treating rheumatism in humans. Another product to cure rheumatism and neuralgia, Athlophoros, appeared at Henderson's Brothel. Along with the primary claims, it also was advertised for sciatica, lumbago and gout, and sick headache. A sufferer at Herman's Bordello used a bottle of St. Jacobs Oil, which similarly was advertised for rheumatism, neuralgia, sciatica, lumbago, backache, and other aches and pains.

A few miscellaneous products are conveniently lumped into this category of ailments, though they may have been used for conditions whose secondary symptoms were pain and discomfort. Perry Davis's Vegetable Pain-killer treated cholera, morbus, cramps, and bowel troubles (Figure 92). Interestingly, though the word "vegetable" appeared in advertisements and on containers, this product contained no vegetables (only alcohol and opiates) (Bethard 2004:119). A bottle of Keasbey & Mattison Co. product probably was Bromo Caffeine. The original "Bromo" Headache Cure was also advertised for seasickness (Keasbey and Mattison 1890).

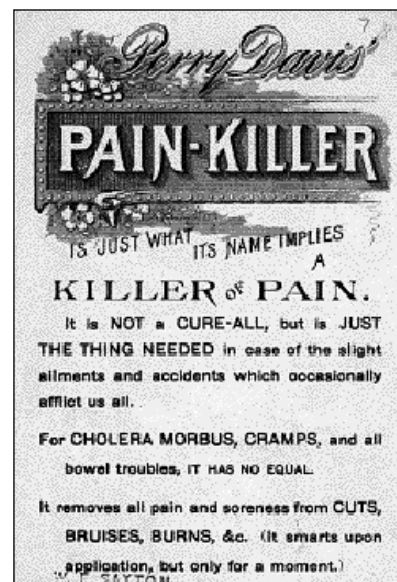


Figure 92. Perry Davis' Pain-Killer (Brown 1990).

Finally, a product bottle from Eli Lilly & Co. could have contained throat lozenges.

Antiseptics, Germicides, and Vermifuges

Antiseptics provided a degree of cleansing, while vermifuges dealt with parasites. Seven of 295 patent medicine artifacts at Sandpoint belong to this category. A few lesser known remedies were recovered (Appendix I).

The only product recovered from Sandpoint whose touted qualities emphasized worm elimination was a bottle of Dr. D. Jayne's Tonic Vermifuge recovered from Herman's Bordello. This vermifuge claimed to eliminate worms, dyspepsia, and piles; it also claimed to improve digestion, control heartburn, and served as a "general strength giver." The Jayne company was one of the longest lasting of the proprietary medicine businesses. Founded in 1831 it lasted until 1976. An early advertisement is shown in Figure 93. While the vermifuge product was likely reformulated due to the Pure Food and Drug Act(s), the product was still being sold in the 1930s (Munsey 2012: 12-23).

The only example of an eye care remedy (Murine) was found at Herman's Bordello. Though more likely used by an adult, this medicine was used to help clean debris from the eyes of children whose dirty fingers often found their way into their eyes.

An interesting product found in Chinatown was New-Skin, which was a liquid court plaster (Figure 94). Liquid court plaster was a liquid preparation for cuts and bruises; it was made by mixing 0.75 oz. of flexible collodion with 0.25 oz. of ether. This solution when applied to cuts does not wash off. This must have been a novel product because according to Hiss (1898:223), most of the plasters manufactured at the time were rubber. The Sandpoint Chinese mostly worked as cooks and laundrymen. Either of these occupations were hazards to the hands from scalds, burns, or lacerations, and a plaster would not be an unexpected product in the "medicine cabinet".

Skin and Scalp Ailments

To begin this tale, someone in the townsite used a bottle of Hood's Sarsaparilla. It was advertised to treat skin disorders, rheumatism, dropsy, and diseases of scrofulous origin (Rance 2009:1). Four other skin and scalp remedies were found in the Restricted District (Appendix I). As with the Save-The-Horse Bone Spavin Cure liniment being good for man or beast, Glover's Imperial Mange Cure was sold to treat both canine mange (see Chapter 7 of this volume) and human psoriasis, dermatitis, and other skin ailments. Another bottle made by the H. Clay Glover Co. was found at Henderson's Brothel; though it might have included Glover's Imperial Distemper Remedy, it may also have contained the mange cure or been used for one of the many local dogs or horses. The remedy could also be used as an antiseptic.

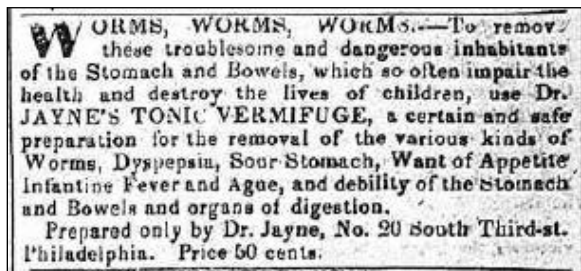


Figure 93. Jayne's Tonic Vermifuge advertisement from 1839 (antiquemedicines.com 2012).



Figure 94. New-Skin (The Practical Druggist 1912:92).

Three bottles of T. Hill Mansfield's Capillaris (Figure 95) were recovered from Herman's Bordello. Capillaris was believed to cure all scalp diseases, promote luxuriant hair, and prevent dandruff; it restored hair to the bald and caused it to grow out natural color in place of gray (Fadely n.d.). By using Capillaris, Herman's women were practicing good personal grooming of their hair. Herman's Bordello's women were regarded as the more fancy women for hire in the Restricted District, and products like Capillaris promised them good-looking hair (and by association, prevention of mangy locks).

Miscellaneous Remedies

Many patent medicines were touted to cure multiple ailments. Forty-nine of 295 patent medicine artifacts, 16.6 percent, fall in this category (see Table 19 and Appendix I). Nine bottles of Hunyadi Janos Bitterquelle were recovered, one from Chinatown and eight from the Restricted District. Bitterquelle was mineral water (which contains various minerals and sometimes gases taken from wells or natural springs). It is often effervescent and was once consumed almost exclusively for medicinal purposes. This particular product did it all:

According to the opinions of the most eminent medical authorities the Hunyadi Janos Water: Is a safe, gentle and reliable aperients [laxative]; Is invaluable in habitual constipation; Is a preventative of inflammation, congestion and gouty disorders; Is beneficial in chronic affections of the organs of respiration and circulation; Arrests and prevents fatty degeneration of the heart; Overcomes the tendency to obesity; Prevents hemorrhoids; Averts many of the complications of pregnancy and of diseases peculiar to women; Procures relief in and prevents the recurrence of bilious attack and liver congestion; Wards off the consequences of indiscretions of diet". (Label contents shown at Saxlehner (1896:105).

If Bitterquelle was not enough to remedy almost every ailment from which people could suffer, Liquozone or Liquid Ozone cured:

Asthma, Gallstones, Abscess Anemia, Goiter Gout, Bronchitis, Hay Fever Influenza, Blood Poison - La Grippe, Bowel Troubles- Leucorrhoea, Coughs- Colds, Malaria- Neuralgia, Consumption, Piles- Quinsy, Contagious Diseases Rheumatism, Cancer- Catarrh, Scrofula, Dysentery- Diarrhea, Skin Diseases, Dyspepsia- Dandruff, Tuberculosis, Eczema - Erysipelas, Tumors-Ulcers, Fevers, 'Throat Troubles' - all the results of impure or poisoned blood. In nervous diseases Liquozone acts as a vitalizer, accomplishing what no drugs can do. (Adams 1907:28-29)

Liquozone was recovered from Herman's Bordello, Henderson's Brothel, and Chinatown (Figure 96). Liquozone was touted as a germicide and bactericide; it contained sulfuric and sulfurous acids with occasional traces of hydrochloric or hydrobromic acid. Pointing the finger at others, its manufacturer held its head high, declaring:

We wish to state at the start that we are not patent medicine men, and their methods will not be employed by us Liquozone is too important a product for quackery. (Adams 1905:23)

Interestingly, the Lederle Laboratories published its experimental results on Liquozone on October 21, 1905. They inoculated 24 guinea pigs with anthrax and tried to treat the infected guinea pigs with



Figure 95. Capillaris advertisement (Fadely n.d.).

Liquozone. All the guinea pigs died, both those treated and those that were untreated (the control group). As reported by Adams (1905:25), the study concluded that Liquozone had no curative effect, but did, when given in pure form, lower the resistance of the guinea pigs so that they died a little sooner than those not treated.

A heavily advertised product like Liquozone, at the height of the patent medicine era, certainly attracted a number of consumers interested in trying it. We can never be sure of the reason somebody at Herman's Bordello or Henderson's Brothel or Chinatown would have for giving it a go (since it claimed to remedy all kinds of germ-based ailments it might even have been used as a douching product).



Figure 96. Liquozone bottle circa 1890–1910.

Henderson's Brothel and the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon yielded five Ayer's product bottles. The most common Ayer Co.

products and those likely to have been represented by these bottles include Ayer's Sarsaparilla, Cherry Pectoral, Cathartic Pills, Hair Vigor, or Ague Cure. Two examples of Gladstone's Celery & Pepsin Compound were recovered from the townsite. Gladstone's remedied nerves, stomach, and brain. A bottle of product made by Etna Chemical Co. was recovered from Chinatown. This product could have been Phenalgin (ammoniated phenylacetamide). It had multiple uses including remedy of indigestion and headaches caused by influenza, and was touted also as a stimulant, analgesic, hypnotic, and expectorant (Anonymous 1906:134). At Herman's Bordello a bottle of Dr. Miles Restorative Nervine was found. It remedied a variety of ailments including those that might have afflicted Willa Herman herself.

Henderson's Brothel yielded a bottle of product made by Palisade Mfg. Co. They sold three major medicines: Kola Cardinette, Borolyptol, and Hemaboloids. Kola Cardinette was a cordial of kola with cereal phosphates that could help alleviate heart palpitations, melancholy, constipation, neuralgia, rheumatic muscular pains, nervous dyspepsia, and depressed nervous function (Palisade Manufacturing Company 1890:1–8). Borolyptol was used for pruritus (itching) and was also used to treat venereal sores and as an irrigating fluid for stomach, bowel, bladder, urethra, vagina, old sinuses, or abscess cavities (Palisade Manufacturing Company 1890:1–8). Hemaboloids was concentrated solution of iron-bearing nucleo-proteids from iron-rich vegetables. Hemaboloids, when arsenated (with strychnia) was supposed to be helpful for adynamia (lack of strength or vigor due to a pathological condition) following La Grippe or severe colds and many other conditions (Palisade Manufacturing Company 1900:48,1930).

Henderson's Brothel also yielded a bottle of product made by Sharp & Dohme. They made poisons and standard medicinal fluids, solid and powdered extracts, and sugar-coated pills. Herman's Bordello yielded a bottle of Trask's Magnetic Ointment, which was a remedy for pain, nervous headache, inflammation of the bowels, burns, and fever sores. Hiss (1898:262) determined it consisted of fine-cut tobacco, raisins, lard (equal parts each, simmered together and then strained), to which was added cerate of subacetate of lead and powdered opium.

From Chinatown was recovered a dose cup of Quina-Laroche; it was a medicinal tonic good for mental depression, fevers, stomach problems, anemia, debility, and so on. A patent medicine bottle with product made by Louis Taussig and Company was found in Chinatown. Louis Taussig was primarily a liquor merchant, and this product probably had high alcohol content if it was a bottle of Dr. Cooper's Grand Prize Bitters.

Owl Drug Company product bottles were found at Henderson's Brothel and Herman's Bordello. The Owl Drug Company's products included prescription medicines, soda water, poison, pills, and medicine dose glasses. United Drug Co. was a firm that later became part of Rexall Drugstores; some product bottles of the company's were found at various Sandpoint locations (Anonymous 2011).

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The medicinals found during the archaeology of Sandpoint represent a distinct period in time as well as unique social and cultural aspects of the fledgling town. With the artifacts recovered from "old" Sandpoint, we are best able to glean information from the variety of patent medicines that were used. Prescription bottles and vials from the drug stores, which in reality make up almost half of those recovered, long ago lost their labeling—if they had any in the first place. Archaeology does not tell us what they contained. Given, however, the formulations in the medicine books and in the medical journals of the day, they too probably contained the opiates, alcohol, herbals, and other compounds that are more prominently discussed in regard to patent medicines.

Circumstance dictated that we unearthed a more robust record of the Restricted District and the Chinese enclave than we did for the main settlement. Even so, providing a glimpse of groups that are underrepresented in the historical record is one of the purposes of archaeology. The important thing is to interpret the findings within the context of not only the historical and archaeological record but also the times and experiences of the people in Sandpoint between 1882 and 1914.

As previously noted, the concepts of disease and treatment were different then. People had a poorer understanding of disease and transmission if none at all; a lot of the drugs, even those prescribed by physicians, alleviated symptoms but did not eradicate the causes. Interpretation of the medicines used in Sandpoint necessarily revolves around the addictive or deleterious compounds used in many of the prescriptions.

Those of us who grew up in the 1950s, and whose grandmothers lived during the 19th century, remember nose drops of Argyrol (a silver-gelatin colloid originally developed to treat venereal disease in a coal tar mix); cotton wads saturated with the tarry compound stuffed up our noses. The product can still be bought today, but the prevalence of this treatment was long ago surpassed (even in the 1950s) by other "modern" treatments. Continued use indicates a certain generational lag time. The Sandpoint assemblage includes a glass nasal irrigator that would have been used to douche nasal passages with a compound such as Argyrol.

One must understand the times and the context to evaluate the findings from Sandpoint. The system was different then—there was virtually no regulation and the concept of clinical trials was in its infancy; even the doctors relied more on old but presumably "effective" formulas that were more palliative than curative. Until professionals and politics entered the scene around 1900 leading to the Pure Food and Drug Act, even some proprietary drugs were prescribed by doctors and were available in pharmacies as well as general stores (Grinnell 1905:590–591). Most contained legal and available compounds that now are totally banned or severely restricted. In 1900, addictive yet effective compounds were universally accepted and represent many of the palliatives used in Sandpoint society.

Grinnell distinguished between patent (commercially produced) and proprietary (originating from for-profit but not necessarily scientific chemical companies) medicines. This was the beginning of a push to eliminate "nostrums and quackery" that made people rich but with little medical value. In 1900, he conducted a survey in Vermont and found that most physicians were mixing their own prescriptions (which included substances now "controlled"). He queried the drug stores on their use of specific

addictive compounds (see Dawson 1901 for typical drug store inventory) as directly formulated by the druggists and found the following usage for the respondents (Table 24).

Table 24. Volume of Addictive Drugs Dispensed

Product	Amount
Opium	573 pounds
Morphine	239 pounds
Morphine pills	92 ounces
Dover Powder ¹	300 pounds
Paregoric ²	387 gallons
Laudnum	387 gallons
Cocaine	326 ounces
Chloral hydrate	387 pounds
Indian hemp	444 ounces

¹ Dover Powder was an old formula that contained ipecac, powdered opium, lactose, and anhydrous morphine that was used against colds and fevers (Wikipedia n.d.a). ² Paregoric is chlorinated opium (Wikipedia n.d.b)

What this says is that even in 1900, opiates and hypnotic sedatives (chloral hydrate) were widely used even in the so-called professional arena. Bottom line: medicine had more to do with making people feel better than it did with attacking specific germs, viruses, or bacteria. These times, for the most part, have changed, but the FDA still challenges the claims of companies (note the prevalence of dietary and weight loss “programs” we still deal with).

In this context, what do we see in the Sandpoint assemblages? It would be easy to follow the current historical stereotype that the women of the Restricted District were self-medicating to drown their sorrows—a bunch of drug addicts and alcoholics. After all, the medicinals found in the Restricted District were more than twice the number of those found in the main residential/commercial area. The data, however, suggest an alternative interpretation. Of the different patent medicines, fully two-thirds within the district were not identified as containing alcohol or mind-altering drugs.² It is more likely that the women in the Restricted District felt the need for medications much more than a general populace.

Unlike the general public, they were intimately exposed to multiple “carriers” on a daily basis and far more susceptible to “catching something” than most. In addition, there were constant concerns about the known diseases or other “issues” of their profession—venereal disease, pregnancy, skin abrasions, and the like—which would drive the demand for more routine medical ablutions.

Interestingly, that trend is reversed with the artifacts from the remainder of the site areas, predominantly the town. That assemblage shows that 59 percent of the medicines contained higher alcohol contents or opiates than seen in the Restricted District and may support another historical thesis applied to that period, namely that patent medicines were used discreetly as the “drug of choice” to counteract depression, particularly for women (men, for the most part, could openly drink liquor, but women were supposed to be temperate).

Another concept in the popular lore (and actually emphasized in Victorian times) was that prostitutes invariably committed suicide. Seagrave (1994) restates this belief for prostitution in the West. The record from Sandpoint indicates an incredible number of poison bottles recovered almost exclusively from the Restricted District; poison was the alleged choice for female suicides regardless of profession. There were, in fact, several recorded suicides in the Restricted District, but they tend to point to

² This number is likely a bit high as identifying ingredients of the patent medicines is a laborious task at best, but the difference is wide enough to support the hypothesis at a preliminary level.

dissolving relationships rather than depression over occupation. The poison assemblage likely points to other uses (see Appendix II), namely a combination of use as a contraceptive or vaginal wash and as pest control.

Maybe it is time to rethink some of the lore of prostitution. Good historical data are not readily available, particularly unbiased data from the Victorian era. But there were then (and still are now) different classes of prostitutes, ranging from the level of streetwalker through the brothels and bordellos; the larger proportion of medicinals (and poisons) came from the higher class Willa Herman bordello. This suggests that these were women who were proficient and conscientious practitioners, not wayward downfallen harlots. This was also observed in Alaska and counterpart Restricted Districts, where a number of the Klondike women went on to become entrepreneurs or spouses of relatively important men (Morgan 1998). The women of Sandpoint's bordello and brothel were citizens of the town. Their status and acceptance probably varied over time, despite the short period between the town's founding and its last days. Although not supported by historical record or archaeology, prostitutes likely were fairly well accepted in the then male-dominated society; in 1907, when the Restricted District was established, they clearly were seen as a part of the community, but it was time to push them to the fringe and control the situation; by 1914, the effects of the Progressive Era weighed heavy along with the rise of the women's movement. The town was becoming a city, and this element had to go. The pattern occurs throughout the West.

It is also clear from the archaeological findings that gastrointestinal afflictions represent the greatest issue for Sandpoint residents. The issue, however, was more than dealing with an upset stomach or gas. Another belief of the time had to do with cleansing or purifications of the digestive tract to eliminate potential "inflammations" of the body. In general, respiratory problems rank second, with the exception of the Restricted District. Rather uniquely, given the differing natures of the settlements, urogenital and renal medicines rank high in the townsite, but relatively low in the Restricted District. This may be due to the nature of categorization, as the second-highest number of patent medicines in the Restricted District fall into the catch-all "Miscellaneous" category, and as noted for the poison bottles, some of those products also could have been used as specific urogenital treatment, which may signal a more informed and targeted practice in the Restricted District.

Finally, there is a definite distinction between the Restricted District and the town in product preference. In the former, the predominant selections include less-advertised products and also several foreign products like Amer Picon Bitters (the highest represented) from France, Eno's Fruit Salts from London, and Hunyadi Janos Bitterquelle—and not surprisingly, Bromo-Seltzer. Products from the townsite reflect heavily advertised products, with Dr. J. Hostetter's Stomach Bitters being the most prevalent, followed by Dr. King's New Discovery for Consumption, and Chamberlain's Colic, Cholera & Diarrhoea Remedy—and no Bromo-Seltzer in the top 10. Chamberlain's, in particular, was the subject of a media blitz in the early-1900s local newspapers.

Much more could be gleaned from the recovered assemblages, both with more in-depth research and testing of additional perspectives or hypotheses. What we can present now provides a glimpse of health and the fears or concerns of the citizens of Sandpoint in the early years.

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CHAPTER 7, APPENDIX I. SUMMARY TABLE OF PATENT MEDICINES RECOVERED FROM SANDPOINT

Table 25. Patent Medicines Recovered from Sandpoint

	Restricted District					
	Henderson's Brothel	Herman's Bordello	Owl Dance Hall and Saloon	Chinatown	Townsite	Other
Gastrointestinal Ailments						
C.W. Abbott & Co. Baltimore, MD. 100 Proof		1				
Amer Picon Bitters Picon & Co. Marseille, France. 78 Proof	6	6	1			
Angostura Bitters Dr. J.G.B. Siegert & Hijos. Angostura, VZ. 89 Proof	2	5			2	
Dr. A. Boschee's German Syrup G.G. Green. Woodbury, NJ. 12 Proof, morphine		3		1	2	
Bromo-Seltzer Emerson Drug Co. Baltimore, MD.	1	6		1	1	
Chamberlain's Colic, Cholera, & Diarrhoea Remedy Chamberlain Medicine Co. Des Moines, IA. 96 Proof & 1.99 gr. Opium		2		1	4	
Citrate of Magnesia	1					
Columbo Peptic Bitters L.E. Jung & Co. New Orleans, LA. Alcohol		2				
Electric Brand Bitters H.E. Bucklen & Co. Chicago, IL. 39 Proof					1	
Eno's Fruit Salt J.C. Eno's Ltd. London, England.	2	6				
Essence of Jamaica Ginger McMillan & Kester, San Francisco, CA. 140–160 Proof			2	1		
Extract of Smart-Weed R.V. Pierce, Buffalo, NY. Opium, 30 Proof						2
Fletcher's Castoria and Pitcher's Castoria NY and MA. 6 Proof		1		1	2	
G.G. Green August Flower G.G. Green. Woodbury, NJ. 20 Proof			1		2	
Dr. Henley's Wild Grape Root Bitters Louis Gross & Co. San Francisco, CA.	1			1		
Herbine Herbine Co. St. Louis, MO.		1				
Hibernia Bitters Braunschweiger & Co. San Francisco, CA.		2		1	1	
Dr. J. Hostetter's Stomach Bitters Hostetter Co. Pittsburgh, PA. 86 Proof	1	2	1	1	5	
J.A. Folger & Co. San Francisco, CA.					1	
Kennedy's East India Bitters Iler & Co. Omaha, NE.		1				
Koehler & Hinrichs Red Star Stomach Bitters St. Paul, MN.		8				
Lash's Bitters Lash's Bitters Co., NY, Chicago, and San Francisco. 42 Proof	3	3				1
Litthauer Stomach Bitters S. Loewenthal Co. Cleveland, OH. 90 Proof		4				
Mayr's Wonderful Remedy George H. Mayr. Chicago, IL.	1					
Milk of Magnesia	1					

Table 25. Patent Medicines Recovered from Sandpoint

	Restricted District						Other
	Henderson's Brothel	Herman's Bordello	Owl Dance Hall and Saloon	Chinatown	Townsite		
Charles H. Phillips Chemical Co. New York, NY.							
Parke, Davis & Co. Detroit, MI.	4	14	1	2	2		
Peruvian Bitters Wilmerding & Kellogg Co. San Francisco, CA. ca. 80 Proof	1	2					
Smith's Bile Beans James Ballard & Co. St. Louis, MO.		1	1				
Syrup of Figs California Fig Syrup Co. San Francisco, CA. 10 Proof				1	1		
Trophonin Reed & Carnrick. New York, NY.		1					
Underberg Boonekamp Bitters Underberg-Albrecht, Rheinberg, DE. 80 Proof		3			1		
Wakefields' Black Berry Balsam Compound Bloomington, IL. 24 Proof	1						
Unknown product John Wyeth & Brother. Philadelphia, PA.		2					
Respiratory Ailments							
Ayer's Cherry Pectoral. Ayer Co./J.C. Ayer Co. Lowell, MA. 3 grains of morphine acetate or 1–6 grains of heroin					1		
Dr. Bell's Pine-Tar-Honey E.E. Sutherland Medicine Co. Paducah, KY.	1		1				
Dr. Birney's Catarrhal Powder. New York and Chicago. Ca. 4% cocaine							1
Chamberlain's Cough Remedy Des Moines, IA.		1		1			
Coltsfoot Expectorant T.A. Slocum Co. New York, NY.				1			
Ely's Cream Balm Ely Bros. Owego, NY.					1		
Hall's Catarrh Cure F.J. Cheney & Co. Toledo, OH. 28 Proof, opium					1		
Dr. King's New Discovery for Consumption H.E. Bucklen & Co. Chicago, IL. 8 Proof, opium, chloroform		3		1	4		1
Dr. King's New Discovery (unknown) see above				1	3		
Johnson's American Anodyne Liniment Boston, MA. 27 Proof, ether, opium							2
Kondon's Catarrhal Jelly Minneapolis, MN.		1					
Mentholatum Yucca Co. or Mentholatum Co., Wichita, KS.							2
One Minute Cough Cure E.C. Dewitt & Co. Chicago, IL.	1						
Pe-Ru-Na Dr. Samuel B. Harman & Co. Cincinnati, OH. 56 Proof							1
Pinex Cough Syrup Pinex Co. Fort Wayne, IN. 34 Proof		1		1			
Piso's Cure for Consumption Hazeltine & Co. Warren, PA. Barnstable, MA. Cannabis				1	3		
Rhinol Cream Rhinol Chemical Co. Asbury Park, NJ.		1					
Vick's VapoRub	2						

Table 25. Patent Medicines Recovered from Sandpoint

	Restricted District					
	Henderson's Brothel	Herman's Bordello	Owl Dance Hall and Saloon	Chinatown	Townsite	Other
Vick Chemical Co. Greensboro, NC.						
Weatherby Remedy Co. Kansas City, MO.	1					
Weeks & Potter Co. Boston, MA.				1		
Cardiovascular System (heart and blood)						
Oregon Blood Purifier.					2	
Wm. Proofunder & Co. Portland, OR.						
Pepto-Mangan Gude		1				
M.J. Breitenbach Co. New York, NY. 32 Proof						
likely The Life of the Orange, Orange Tonic Cordial	5	2				
E.G. Lyons Co. San Francisco, CA.						
Sultan Drug Co. St. Louis, MO.				1		
Urogenital-Renal Ailments						
Dr. Crossman's Specific Mixture	1					
Wright's Indian Vegetable Pill Co. New York, NY. 36 proof morphine						
Cod Liver Oil		1				
Unknown manufacturer.						
Fernet-Branca Bitters		1				
Fratelli Branca & Co. Milan, Italy. 90 Proof						
Dr. Harter's Iron Tonic					1	
Dayton, OH.						
Dr. Kilmer's Swamp Root Kidney Liver & Bladder Cure					1	
Dr. Kilmer & Co. or Kilmer Medicine Works. Binghamton, NY. 21.8 Proof						
Knoxit Globules	2					
Beggs Mfg. Co. Chicago, IL; Toronto, Canada.						
Dr. Liebig's Wonderful German Invigorator					1	
San Francisco, CA.						
Paine's Celery Compound	1					
Wells, Richardson & Co. or Wells & Richardson Co. Burlington, VT. 39.6 Proof						
Samaritan Nervine					1	
S.A. Richmond. St. Joseph, MO.						
Santal de Midy	1					
Rigaud & Chapoteaut. Paris, France.						
Warner's Safe Cure Co. or Warner's Safe Remedies Co.				1	2	
Rochester, NY. 31.2 Proof						
Pain Relief (Analgesics)						
Athlophoros	1					
Athlophoros Co. New Haven, CT.						
Eli Lilly & Co.		1				
Indianapolis, IN.						
Possibly H.G. Farrell's Arabian Liniment					1	
Hiram G. Farrell & Co. Peoria, IL.						
Possibly John Wyeth & Brothers Cannabis Powder		5	2	2		1
John Wyeth & Brother. Philadelphia, PA. Indian Cannabis						
Probably Bromo Caffeine					1	
Keasbey & Mattison Co. Philadelphia, PA.						
Mexican Mustang Liniment		2				
Lyon Mfg. Co. Brooklyn, NY.						
Perry Davis's Vegetable Pain-killer		1				
Perry Davis & Son. Providence, RI. 110 Proof, opium						

Table 25. Patent Medicines Recovered from Sandpoint

	Restricted District					
	Henderson's Brothel	Herman's Bordello	Owl Dance Hall and Saloon	Chinatown	Townsite	Other
Save-The-Horse Spavin Cure Troy Chemical Co. Troy, NY.			1			
St. Jacobs Oil Charles A. Vogeler Co. Baltimore, MD. 20 Proof, ether		1				
Antiseptics, Germicides and First Aid						
Dr. D. Jayne's Tonic Vermifuge D. Jayne & Sons. Philadelphia, PA. 60 Proof		2			3	
Murine Eye Remedy Murine Eye Remedy Co. Chicago, IL.		1				
New-Skin New Skin Co. Brooklyn, NY.				1		
Skin and Scalp Remedies						
Glover's Imperial Mange Cure H. Clay Glover. Garden City, NY.		1				
Hood's Sarsaparilla C.I. Hood Co. Lowell, MA. 40 Proof					1	
T. Hill Mansfield's Capillaris Capillaris Mfg. Co. Glen Ridge, NJ.		3				
H. Clay Glover Co. Garden City, NY. H. Clay Glover, NY.	1					
Miscellaneous						
Ayer Co. or J.C. Ayer Co. Lowell, MA.	2		3			
Etna Chemical Co. New York, NY.				1		
Gladstone's Celery & Pepsin Compound Mastico Medicine Co. Danville, IL.					2	
Glover's Imperial Distemper Cure H. Clay Glover. Garden City, NY.		1				
Hunyadi Janos Bitterquelle Andreas Saxlehner. New York, NY.	2	6		1		
Liquozone Liquozone Co./Liquid Ozone Co. Chicago, IL. McKesson and Robbins. New York, NY.	1	3		1		1
Dr. Miles Restorative Nervine Dr. Miles Medical Co. Elkhart, IN. Bromides (depressant) H.K. Mulford Co. Philadelphia, PA.		1				
National Remedy Co. New York, NY		1	1			
Owl Drug Co. San Francisco, CA.	2	1				
Palisade Mfg. Co. Yonkers, NY.	1					
Quina-Laroche M. Laroche (dose cup). Paris, France.				1		
Sharp & Dohme Baltimore, MD.	1					
Louis Taussig & Co. San Francisco, CA.				1		
Trask's Magnetic Ointment David Ransom, Son & Co. Buffalo, NY.		1				
J.R. Watkins Medical Co. Winona, MN.		1				
United Drug Co. Boston, MA.		1		2		
Unknown				1	3	2

CHAPTER 7, APPENDIX II. WANTED: POISON OR POISONS RESPONSIBLE FOR SANDPOINT BROTHEL ASSEMBLAGE

Jamelon Emmick Brown

Dozens of small, rectangular brown poison bottles were unearthed at the location of Sandpoint's former Restricted District. A deeper look at the distinctive bottle reveals the limited number of substances it could have contained. The potential uses of those substances paint a less-than-pretty picture of life in Sandpoint's brothels.

POISONS AT LARGE

Until the mid-1900s, bottles of poisonous substances were stocked in homes and businesses alongside less harmful substances. They were popular for getting rid of insects and rodents. People purchased bottles of concentrated poison that they later mixed with food to bait rats or diluted with liquids to apply to insect-infested areas. Poisons were also common ingredients in health and grooming products. Sometimes consumers were aware of this—after all, poisons could be effective treatments—and sometimes they were not. In these types of products, poisons were often diluted with other substances so the containers were not labeled as poison.

By the mid-1800s, drug companies were compelled to label bottles of poisonous substances with the word “poison,” and they eventually developed distinctively shaped and colored bottles to prevent accidental ingestion. There were many varieties, but triangular-shaped bottles were popular in the United States as were the colors cobalt blue and amber (Griffenhagen and Bogard 1999:92–95).

In archaeological studies, poison bottles have been classified as household maintenance (Costello et al. 2010:4.19; Fitts 2002:11), medicine (Jones and Sullivan 1989:72), and possibly pest control. Categorization is problematic because the bottles were sold containing a variety of substances, and those substances were used for many purposes.

POISON IN HISTORIC SANDPOINT

Archaeological excavations at Sandpoint turned up 50 poison bottles. All but two of them were found in the Restricted District, which was home to saloons and brothels at the turn of the century. The largest concentration of poison bottles in the Restricted District was found in the back of Willa Herman's Bordello. Four styles of bottles, all relatively small at less than 3 inches tall and made of brown glass, were recovered from the site:

- 44 were rectangular bottles with bumps on four edges, patent/extract/flat finish or prescription finish, body embossed with POISON on two sides, base embossed P.D. & CO. for Parke, Davis & Company of Detroit, Michigan, who manufactured pharmaceuticals and chemicals (Lindsey 2011) (Figure 97).
- 1 bottle was triangular, with one curved side and bumps on at least two edges, bead finish, and indeterminate embossing (fragmentary but probably similar to LC #74708 below).
- 2 bottles were triangular with xs on two sides and three



Figure 97. Most common style of poison bottle recovered from the Restricted District (LC #11575).

chamfered edges, patent finish, body embossed with POISON on one of the chamfered edges, base embossed with PAT. APP.D FOR N. B. & CO. for Nelson, Baker & Company of Detroit, Michigan, who manufactured drugs including antiseptics (U.S. Patent Office 1904:602) (Figure 98).

- 1 bottle was rectangular, with a patent finish, body embossed with skull and crossbones on one side, and base embossed with P.D. & CO. for Parke, Davis & Company of Detroit, Michigan (Figure 99).

Sandpoint's commercial townsite produced one small brown poison bottle that is triangular, with one curved side and bumps on three edges, body embossed POISON on one side (Figure 100), while Chinatown yielded fragments of at least one small brown poison bottle (possibly the same style as LC #11575 above).



Figure 98. Poison bottle recovered from the Restricted District (LC #40047)



Figure 99. Poison bottle recovered from the Restricted District (LC #10902).



Figure 100. Poison bottle recovered from the commercial townsite (LC #74708).

THE LIKELY SUSPECTS

Small rectangular brown bottles make up 90 percent of the poison bottles found at Sandpoint archaeological sites. According to Lindsey (2011), this was a generic poison bottle used by Parke, Davis and Company, a large pharmaceutical and chemical firm in Detroit, Michigan, that operated from 1875 to 1970. That bottle was manufactured in a range of sizes up to 8 inches tall. All of the Sandpoint bottles appear to be less than 3 inches tall. Some of them have numbers embossed on the base but these appear to refer to the bottle style or mold number for glass manufacture and do not appear to identify the substance contained in the bottle (Lindsey 2011).

This study focuses on the possible contents of the small rectangular brown poison bottles distributed by Parke, Davis and Company. The identification of the substances contained in these bottles is useful for interpreting their historic function. A survey of Internet resources (such as photographs of the bottles retaining their paper labels) turned up three substances contained in these bottles: arsenic trioxide, mercury bichloride, and mercury bichloride with citric acid. Further research may reveal that they held a

greater variety of poisons, but the bottles invariably contained 100 tablets. Potential uses for these three identified substances are explored below.

Arsenic Trioxide

Alias: arsenous acid, white arsenic

Uses: rodenticide, insecticide, weed killer

Chemical testing of the contents of one of the small rectangular brown poison bottles (LC #15991) gave a positive result for arsenic. The authors concluded that the bottle most likely contained arsenic trioxide (Spinner et al. 2011).

This form of arsenic was commonly sold at drug stores and was used to kill rodents, such as rats, and insects, such as bed bugs (Lawson 1921:322; Potter 2008). By the turn of the century, arsenic trioxide was rarely used on the human body (Diehl 1907:258). One British reference mentions consumption as a tonic or application as painkiller for decayed teeth (Royal Pharmaceutical Society 2006), while an American reference says it was used as a hair powder (Haller 1975:95). Other references to medicinal and cosmetic uses for arsenic during this time period are more consistent with other forms of the substance such as potassium arsenite.

Mercury Bichloride

Alias: corrosive sublimate, mercuric chloride, mercuric bichloride, bichloride of mercury

Uses: insecticide, antiseptic, spermicide

Mercury bichloride was introduced as a surgical antiseptic (U.S. Public Health Service 1913:2402). It was a common remedy for bed bugs and other insects, such as moths, and could have been purchased in pure form to be mixed with alcohol or ammonia and water at home (*Good Housekeeping* 1888:136–138; Hooker 1862:163; Potter 2008).

Mercury bichloride was one of the substances used by prostitutes to prevent venereal disease (Agnew 2008:87) and pregnancy (Brodie 1997:75; Stika 2008). It was used in vaginal suppositories applied before intercourse as a means of prevention (Haller and Haller 1974:118). The military used washes of bichloride of mercury for prevention and treatment of venereal disease in men, and particularly as a means of disinfection following shore leave (Haller and Haller 1974:270). Prostitutes may have used it as a multipurpose antiseptic wash for themselves and their customers.

Mercury Bichloride with Citric Acid

Alias: Bernays white, Bernays blue

Uses: antiseptic

Mercury bichloride diluted with citric acid was marketed as an antiseptic. In a brothel context it probably would have been used as an antiseptic to prevent or treat venereal disease and perhaps as a spermicide to prevent pregnancy.

LESS LIKELY CULPRITS

Other popular and potentially poisonous substances were sold by Parke, Davis and Company, but their bottles were not consistent with the style found most frequently at Sandpoint. They include:

- Potassium arsenite a.k.a. Fowler's solution—used as medicine and a cosmetic
- Carbolic acid—used as an antiseptic and insecticide
- Mercury chloride a.k.a. mercurous chloride, calomel—used as medicine and antiseptic
- Strychnine sulfate—used as a rodenticide

UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCE

As noted earlier, poisons were common household items, so they were not newsworthy unless someone used them to commit suicide or murder. Suicide by poison was historically favored by women, including prostitutes. This included overdosing on drugs, ingesting chemicals intended for topical application, or consuming poison meant for vermin (Agnew 2008:118; Costello et al. 1999:111,115; Simmons-Rogers 1983:77). Goldman (1981:134) listed substances used by prostitutes on the Comstock Lode in Nevada: "Eleven prostitutes used laudanum, six opium, five morphine, two chloral, two arsenic, and twelve used unspecified poison."

Sandpoint prostitutes made headlines at least two times for suicide by poison. "Woman of Half World Takes Poison" (*Northern Idaho News* 1906) describes Leah Davis' attempt to commit suicide by taking three tablets of corrosive sublimate. "Takes Her Own Life: Josie Ellison, of Restricted District, Seeks End With Carbolic Acid. Dies From Drug's Effects" (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1908) details the circumstances under which Josie Ellison committed suicide by consuming a bottle of carbolic acid. These accessible substances provided a means for women to escape a life of selling sex.

UNSOLVED MYSTERY

The fact that a large number of poison bottles were found in the Restricted District and nowhere else in Sandpoint indicates they are related to a behavior that was unique to that location. Further, no mention of a similar phenomenon could be found in the archaeological literature of brothels or other types of sites. At the site of a high-end parlor house in turn-of-the-century Los Angeles (Costello et al. 1999:140), the ratio of poison bottles to medicine bottles (1:116) was much smaller than at Willa Herman's Bordello (39:251). The Sandpoint assemblage contained 18 times as many poison bottles as the Los Angeles assemblage. The consistency in the style and size of the Sandpoint poison bottles suggests that they may have contained the same substance or limited number of substances. The nature of the creek deposits where the bottles were found makes it difficult to determine whether they were deposited in a one-time event or whether the use of the poison or poisons was a behavior repeated over time.

Poisons that were purchased in pure form—in other words, taken home in small bottles labeled poison, such as those recovered in Sandpoint—were usually intended for use as rodenticides or insecticides. The positive chemical test for arsenic, a popular pesticide, in a Sandpoint poison bottle supports this conclusion (see Chapter 14 of this volume for more information on chemical analysis). This does not rule out an off-label use of arsenic by the prostitutes or other inhabitants of the Restricted District. However, the most realistic scenario is that they were trying to get rid of unwanted pests. The historic artifacts collected from the banks of Sand Creek attest to its use as a dumping ground by businesses and residences. The garbage and the labyrinth of poorly constructed wood buildings sitting over the creek in the Restricted District must have attracted rodents. However, the faunal assemblage from the Restricted District includes few rodent bones and few incidents of rodent gnawing on other bones (see Volume 4). Two possible rodent traps were recovered from other Sandpoint sites, but none were identified among the Restricted District artifacts.

In addition to resident rodents, unwelcome guests probably rode into town with travelers: “Hotels and boarding houses were especially buggy, and smitten travelers unwittingly carried them from place to place in their trunks and satchels” (Potter 2008). With its location on the railroad, Sandpoint saw its share of visitors. The Restricted District was just a couple of blocks from the railroad depot, hotels, and boarding houses, so bed bugs and lice could have been a recurring problem there as well.

According to census records, many of the women lived on-site and would have slept in the rooms where they entertained the men, so it was in their interest both professionally and personally to keep the pest population down. The lack of comparable assemblages from other archaeological sites suggests that the residents of the Restricted District either faced an unprecedented pest problem or took extraordinary measures to battle the usual foes.

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CHAPTER 8. PETS AND THE CARE OF WORK ANIMALS

Oliver Biemann, Carmen Bradbury, and Mark Warner

Keeping animals as companions goes back thousands of years, and has evolved from a personal act into what is today a multi-million dollar industry. From the indeterminate origins of “the first pet,” both the numbers of pets people keep and the kinds of animals seen as pets have consistently grown. In 1994, it was estimated that 56 percent of American households contained at least one companion animal (Serpell 1996:13); undoubtedly, the number of pets in American homes has grown since then. The nature of our domestication of animals, from our first contact with *Canis lupus*, the gray wolf, has either directly or indirectly shaped the lives of every animal on the planet since. More importantly, human attitudes toward animals in general have also changed dramatically over time.

In archaeological circles it is not uncommon to come across a pet burial or the occasional disposal of a litter of kittens or puppies in a privy. While interesting, most of these findings end up being treated as something akin to an anomalous find; that is, they are treated as sidebars to the main report and not seen as a primary research topic. The scale of the Sandpoint project is such that we recovered materials from several contexts that indicate dogs, cats, and birds were part of the fabric of the community. This work explores how they fit into that community.

WHAT MAKES AN ANIMAL A PET?

What makes one animal more desirable than another for companionship? When one thinks of pets, common house animals, such as dogs, cats, birds, fish, and possibly reptiles are what usually come to mind. In many instances one can also see how keeping an animal can serve a purpose in the household (beyond taking care of table scraps!). Dogs can be used for hunting and cats can keep the rodent population down, but there are many questions to be explored concerning pets that go beyond this. Why do people keep non-utilitarian animals inside their homes? How did pet keeping begin? What are the factors that compel people to domesticate some animals and not others? These are all questions to consider when understanding the processes that lead us to the dogs and cats of Sandpoint. Thousands of years of interaction with wild beasts have led to current situation, where some animals are raised to be food or labor and some are raised to sleep on our beds. So how did we get here?

The first question is what leads to domestication? Several factors contribute to some animals being domesticated and not others; some of these could be expected but are not things we typically think about. The key factors include: diet, growth rate, ability to be bred in captivity, disposition, nervousness, and social structure (Diamond 1997:169–174). If one element of domestication is missing, the animal, as Francis Galton summarized, is destined to wildness (Diamond 1997:165). Some criteria are straightforward, such as having a disagreeable disposition. Carnivores and other top-of-the-food-chain predators generally make terrible pets. We have all heard stories of urban residents keeping tigers and other big cats as house pets—typically ending in sensationally horrific accidents and usually the owner’s death or maiming (CBC News 2010; Rees 2003). An animal’s tendency to panic is another difficult trait to artificially select against. Animals with skittish natures or those who run at speed to avoid predators make awful domesticates. Animals that are skittish, such as gazelles, would be challenging to herd, let alone keep as a pet. Some of the other criteria are extremely specific, such as diet and breeding. For example, certain animals require such specific diets that to keep such an animal in captivity would be troublesome, even impossible, thus preventing any attempts at long-term domestication. Territoriality and range also dictate an animal’s ability to be domesticated. Animals that require large ranges are more difficult to domesticate, due to size constraints of the captive enclosure. Territoriality and

aggression go together, especially during mating season, with males of these species, such as deer, becoming extremely aggressive as well as a liability.

In general, the more socially oriented an animal species, the more readily it can be domesticated. Five of the six (the exception being the dog) most commonly domesticated mammals—cow, pig, sheep, goat and horse—are all sociable animals, have balanced temperaments, consume fairly general diets, and reproduce readily in captivity. But there are exceptions to this rule. For example, the common house cat (*Felis domesticus*) does not fit several of the criteria for domestication, such as having a social structure and a calm nature. Cats are solitary creatures. They run and hide when scared, yet they remain within the confines of humanity, though as many cat owners will attest, “domestication” is only a relative term with cats.

Finally, keep in mind that the cute animals that play fetch with us today were originally domesticated for practical reasons. Table 26 summarizes when several animals are believed to have been domesticated. There is a real distinction between an animal that is considered to be domesticated and one that is a “pet.” People often think of the terms “domesticate” and “pet” as somewhat interchangeable; yet, there is a key difference in meaning. The terms come down to whether an animal is kept primarily for entertainment or social/emotional reasons as opposed to being kept by people for economic reasons, meaning as a source of labor, meat, or other products such as wool (Serpell and Paul 1994:129).

Table 26. Approximate Time of Domestication for Key Species

Animal	When Domesticated	Place Domesticated	Source
Dog	12,000 BP	Europe, Asia	Clutton-Brock 1995:10
Pig	9000 BP	Europe, Asia	Reitz and Wing 1999:282–283
Sheep and goat	9000 BP	Southwestern Asia	Reitz and Wing 1999:282–283
Cow	8000 BP	Southwestern Asia, India	Reitz and Wing 1999:282–283
Horse	6000 BP	Europe	Reitz and Wing 1999:282–283
Cat	8000 BP	Southwestern Asia, Europe	Reitz and Wing 1999:282–283

Note on dogs: Origins of dog domestication are currently being re-evaluated. Some argue that domestication of dogs may be much earlier than 12,000 BP—in the vicinity of 32,000 BP (Germonpré et al. 2009).

For much of human history people have domesticated animals for practical reasons. For instance, domesticated dogs have served many roles. They can help in the hunt, work as guard dogs, pull sleds, herd animals, or be used as a source of food and clothing (Coppinger and Schneider 1995; Clutton-Brock 1995:9–10). It should be noted, however, that dogs are somewhat distinct in their versatility. Most other species were domesticated for only one or two reasons, generally either for food, clothing, or labor. The bottom line is domesticates (as opposed to pets) provide some sort of practical resource to humans.

ATTITUDES TOWARD ANIMALS

The story of animal-human relations is largely driven by the question of how animals have been of use to humans. One can, however, find a real change in the issue of animal ethics in the nineteenth century (Maehle 1994). During the early nineteenth century, ethicists began examining the treatment of animals and how to alleviate their all-too-common suffering. First attributed to the British, animal protection societies against cruelty to animals, such as the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA), were established in 1824. These organizations galvanized the passing of laws protecting animals, notably draft animals (Ritvo 1987:127). As compassion toward animals became more acceptable during the second half of the nineteenth century, the numbers of house pets also increased.

Unfortunately, changing attitudes were somewhat variable depending on the animal. As the pig, Napoleon, stated in Orwell’s *Animal Farm*, “All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than

others” (1946:112). Certain animals, such as dogs, cats, and horses, garner our affection, while others are still almost exclusively used for work or food. In the realm of pets, it is important to recognize that animals have been kept as exotics for centuries as status markers. Pets of royalty and the wealthy often led pampered lives to the point of having their own servants and even extravagant inheritances at the deaths of their owners (MacDonogh 1999:37).

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF COMPANION ANIMALS

While zooarchaeologists analyze all kinds of animal remains, certain animal remains, in particular those of dogs and cats, seem to raise more questions than they answer. Today these animals are common household members, but did the same hold true for pets during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? The answer is more complex than expected. On the one hand, we still see examples of dogs and cats being thought of as mere nuisances or threats, as indicated by cavalier disposal patterns (Grier 2006:104; Griffiths et al. 2000; Serpell and Paul 1994; Warner and Genheimer 2008), but at the same time this was also a period where people were doting on animals in ways that could become increasingly apparent to archaeologists.

The deliberate burial of dogs and cats dates back several thousand years, with dog burials being the earliest examples recorded (Morey 2006). Whether the animals were actually pets or companions/working dogs is open to discussion, but there is no doubt of the human-animal bond between people and dogs. Morey (2006:160,162) has identified at least 50 prehistoric archaeological sites throughout the world where dogs were deliberately buried. In historical archaeology pet burials are fairly common to find. Examples of nineteenth or early-twentieth-century pet burials have been recorded by archaeologists throughout the United States (Neely 2011; Solari 2004, 2009; Warner and Mullins 1993:78–79). In many instances they are identifiable through the obvious soil disturbance and the presence of a fully articulated skeleton, but in some instances the presence of pets can only be inferred through the recovery of dog tags, food bowls, or other ancillary materials associated with animal care (O’Connor 2003:81).

Companion Animals in Sandpoint

The identification of companion animals from the various Sandpoint target areas was seldom straightforward, as is the case in the majority of excavations. Osteological evidence of pets was inconclusive. We found no obvious pet burials, but we did recover many cat and dog remains from several locations. Specifically, remains of a total of 11 cats and nine dogs were recovered from the various excavation areas. Non-faunal evidence to support pet-keeping in Sandpoint was also recovered. The most notable finding in this regard was two fragments of a glass bird feeder.

Birds

Historical archaeology usually tells us stories on the basis of many artifacts, but in some instances a single object can actually tell a compelling story. Our bird story comes from the recovery of a piece of a bird feeder (Figures 101 and 102). This small glass fragment went unidentified for some time, until it was recognized by project archaeologist Dan Martin, who was part of the Spokane laboratory staff. What



Figure 101. Glass bird feeder fragment from Chinese assemblage (LC #43234).

makes this single artifact interesting is where it was found. The bird feeder fragment was recovered in excavations of the Chinese residence/business.

First, it is important to note that bird keeping was part of Anglo life in the late nineteenth century. During the Victorian era, birds were a form of living bric-a-brac, meaning they were decorative objects for the affluent household. The song birds kept in a Victorian parlor did provide entertainment but they also served as a material marker of social status, as it was generally the wealthy who could afford to care for and feed birds, and they were the demographic that possessed them in significant numbers. While small song birds were common in Victorian avian menageries, the elite of the time were also known to collect and display exotic birds such as white pelicans, ring-necked pheasants, or even the ill-tempered ostrich (Ritvo 1987:216).



Figure 102. Complete bird cage with feeder.

So what is interesting about a bird cage in Chinatown? In 1900, there were only nine people of Asian descent living in Sandpoint. Despite the local use of the term “Chinatown” to refer to the area where the bird feed fragment was found, there wasn’t a critical mass of people to have a real community of Chinese residents in Sandpoint (though for very brief points in time there were hundreds of Overseas Chinese living in the area while the railroad was being built). So for the few people living in the single building, it was not feasible to have a materially isolated enclave of Chinese. More important, the Chinatown material culture illustrates this lack of isolation. When we look at the archaeology of the area we do not see a typical “Chinatown” assemblage, but instead many ceramics that are Euro-American, food habits that do not reflect typical Chinese dining, and significant use of Anglo-derived patent medicines (see Chapter 7, this volume).

What we have in Sandpoint is an Overseas Chinese residence that relied very heavily on the materiality of the Anglo world. As we note in Volume 1, this is a relatively unique situation. Many have noted the premium that Overseas Chinese placed on being part of an insular Chinese community despite living within a broader Anglocentric community (Voss 2005). It is a situation that archaeologists have not been able to explore at great length, and makes the presence of the bird feeder particularly intriguing.

In China, bird keeping was something that people from all walks of life did. Ball commented on the prevalence of people walking their birds at the turn of the century (1900:322–324). A concise comment on the prevalence of bird keeping is illustrated in this account written in 1915 by a traveler in China:

... at least half ... have on the table in front of them a cage containing a pet bird. I have seen a street beggar asking for alms with a caged bird on his arm. At dawn of a summer morning, I have seen hundreds of people sitting at the street corners or in the public squares and giving their pets an airing. Many of the birds are trained to do marvelous tricks. A rice bird of large size is commonly taught to catch a grain of “kalian” (giant millet) in the air and fly back to the hands of its owner and eat the grain at leisure while it sits on its patron’s thumb. The birds, among which are many beautiful songsters, are petted and well cared for, and often have free access to their cage, going and coming as they please. (Uhrlaub 1915:154)

Bird keeping in China was widely practiced and a significant social activity—people would gather to discuss their birds and comment on their birds' singing. Leung (2001) has extensively documented the importance of bird keeping among the elderly in contemporary Hong Kong. He estimates approximately 200,000 people keeping birds and notes, like in the 1915 quotation above, people (primarily men) keeping birds and taking their birds out when socializing with others.

Looking at the small glass bird feeder fragment, we see more than a simple, functional bird cage. It was a male activity (a point of relevance given the fact that the Chinese population in Sandpoint was all male) and, in a place where Chinese were particularly culturally isolated, the keeping of birds would have served an extremely important symbolic function. Put simply, the bird feeder (and the keeping of birds) was a reminder of an earlier life back in China.

Dogs

The bones we recovered represented a minimum of nine dogs from seven distinct Sandpoint target areas. A very small number of dog/canid bones were recovered from Willa Herman's Bordello, Chinatown, the Worker Housing complex, and three of the townsite assemblages. In each of these cases, there was no more than a single animal represented by the bones. Further, there was nothing to indicate deliberate burial or any accompanying objects such as dog tags or collars. The notable exception to the smattering of dog bones recovered throughout the town was what was found in the Humbird Privy assemblage. At least 118 bones/fragments were recovered from the privy. These bones represented a nearly complete adult canid skeleton (Figure 103) with many of the bones showing evidence of being burned.

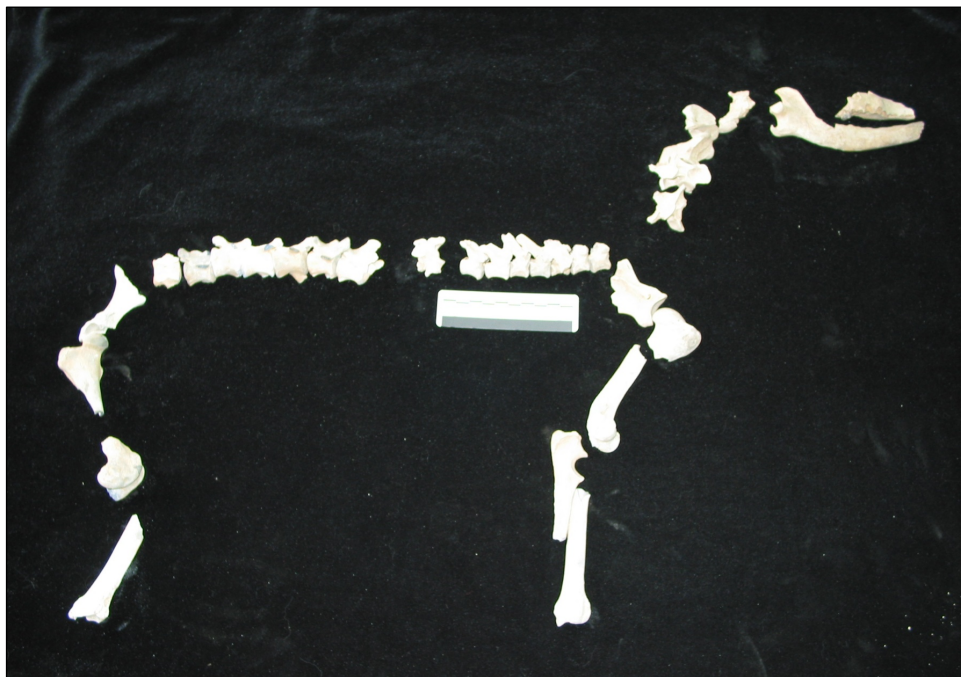


Figure 103. Canid remains recovered from the Humbird Privy.

In many ways the presence of the dog skeleton embodies the complexities of human-dog relationships of the time, hinting at both an increasing sensitivity toward their well-being and an understanding that they are still “just animals.” The animal that we recovered had obviously survived into adulthood—it was not an instance of doing away with an unwanted puppy; but why was it a privy? By contemporary

standards many people would not be likely to throw a pet into the trash; yet, one should keep in mind that attitudes toward animals have changed. Many historical archaeologists have recorded dogs or cats in privies. Anyone who would throw a dog out in such a manner would today likely be seen as being very callous (at best). Yet in the context of the times, disposing of a dead dog in a privy would not necessarily have been seen as offensive behavior. People enjoyed their animals while they were alive, but death was a fact of life and it was perfectly reasonable to simply dispose of the animal in the most expeditious manner possible. The bottom line is that we do not know for sure whether this was a pet or merely a feral dog that was killed and thrown out, but we do know that dogs were a pervasive presence in Sandpoint.

Apparently the circumstances of dogs in Sandpoint changed quite drastically in a relatively short period of time. As was commonly the case in many frontier towns, dogs ran semi-wild in Sandpoint. We know dogs were part of the town's fabric from shortly after the town's settlement and, as was the case with many towns, they were apparently a problem in Sandpoint's earlier years:

When the road was being built Sand Point numbered eight thousand. One hundred, would probably be the number now if a census were taken, but if the dogs were counted in, I think it would reach its old figure.

I never saw so many dogs as Sand Point owns, a fight was in progress soon after the train left. A big stubby tailed wooly dog ... had been boss of the town for a few days and the other dogs, probably to take the conceit out of him, had made a united onslaught ... I thought every person in town would be out to see it but no! ... this thing happened several times a day and caused no uneasiness. (Daly 1886 [accompanying sketch of the fight is presented as Figure 104; Daly 1886: 44–47])

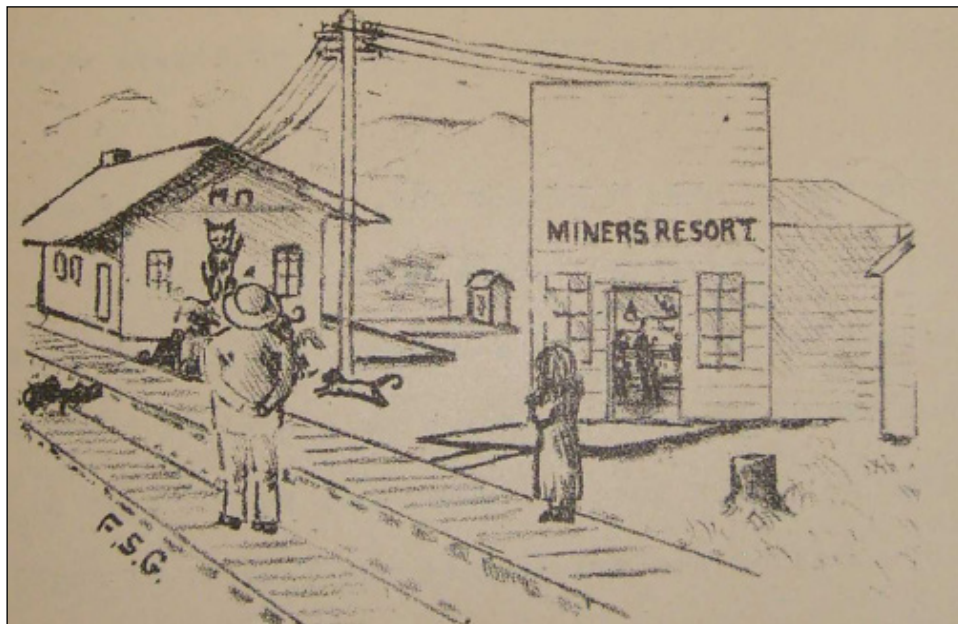


Figure 104. Sketch of a Sandpoint dog fight as described by Daly in 1886 (Daly 1886:46).

While dogs may have been a problem in 1886 Sandpoint, it was a problem that people eventually got under control. By 1911, a visitor to the town commented that, "... there are few dogs in Sandpoint than in any town he ever saw" (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1911:1). In fact the bulk of the images of the time

repeatedly show families posing with their pets (Figure 105). Images such as these are what animal lovers like to think of when picturing dogs' lives in Sandpoint in particular and the past in general.

We also find people putting substantial money up for information on some dogs' deaths. Harry Baldwin, for example, offered a \$50.00 reward for information about who poisoned one of his hunting dogs (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1893a). The Baldwin case seemed to be an early instance of a small epidemic of dog poisoning at the time. In March of that same year the local newspaper editorialized on the problem and solicited suggestions from prominent citizens on how to treat the culprit. The article ended by stating that: "Public opinion is rife on the subject and the guilty party, if he has any regard for the welfare of his body, had better take warning. Mob law is to be deplored, but in some cases it is justifiable" (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1893b).



Figure 105. Sandpoint circa 1905 or 1906 (Courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

Beyond offering rewards for information on who was poisoning dogs and threats of lynching, we also have small amounts of evidence on how people took care of their household pets through the medicines that we found in our excavations. Almost all of the patent medicines that we recovered were for treatment of human illness and disease, but there were two particular exceptions in the assemblages of one of the businesses in the red-light district. A single embossed amber bottle of "Glover's Imperial Mange Cure" was found in association with Willa Herman's Bordello, a find that suggests one of the four women at the house kept a healthy, furry pet dog and a dog that was apparently sans mange. Also found in the same complex was second amber bottle that contained "Glover's Imperial Distemper Cure."

Glover's products were both produced and marketed by the H. Clay Glover Company, Inc. beginning in 1874. By 1900, Glover was the largest seller of bottled veterinarian products in the country (Fike 1987:98) (Figure 106). Distemper, the more serious of the two ailments, is a viral infection found in many canid-like species from dogs to seals. It was also fatal 50 percent of the time, though largely preventable (Solari 2004:192). Symptoms of distemper oftentimes went unrecognized and thus untreated until damage to the central nervous system appeared. On the other hand, mange is an epithelial mite infestation easily cured by weekly baths. Initially produced for dogs, these distemper and mange cures supposedly helped owners prevent loss of their valuable companions. Eventually, Glover's

medicines would be used by humans for a wide range of aches, pains, ailments, and illnesses, but given the period from which we found those bottles, it is reasonable to assume they were treating dogs.

The fact that the women of Herman's Bordello were apparently actively treating their pets is an interesting one. It indicates that one or more of the women took pet ownership seriously by attempting to protect her dogs from disease and alleviate suffering. Interestingly, there has been some discussion in various histories of prostitution in the West on the relationship between prostitutes and dogs. There is some evidence to suggest that dogs could have been part of the décor/ambience of the brothel. One author notes that a dog was part of their advertising—when business was slow, women would make a point to take their dog out for a walk down the streets of town. They also note that the dog typically was not a run-of-the-mill mutt but a breed that was seen as more exotic, such as a poodle, which were apparently particularly in vogue among some prostitutes (Seagraves 1994:24–25). While we do not know for certain if dogs were part of Willa Herman's marketing strategy it is an intriguing prospect, and it would make a certain amount of sense given the circumstantial archaeological evidence of canine cures and dog bones at the site.

Overall, however, much like the dog in the Humbird Privy, the historical evidence presents a mixed message about dogs in town. Despite family pictures with dogs and significant rewards for information about people who harmed dogs, there still were some problems—problems that were dealt with in ways that are not generally used today. One newspaper account describes the circumstances of a shooting:

Dr. Slusser killed W.E. Hutchinson's dog Monday morning in the doctor's dooryard. The doctor claimed the canine had bitten his little boy and he was afraid to have it around. However, Dr. Slusser used his trusty shotgun to dispatch the dog and to fire a gun inside village limits is against the ordinance made and provided, and the doctor had to pay a \$5 fine and costs in Justice Norris' court. (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905:5)

The dog in the privy does indicate the relative disposability of dogs; indeed it is interesting that the reason for Dr. Slusser's appearing in court is not his killing of the dog but the fact that he fired a gun in the city. Indeed, the question of the appropriateness of shooting the dog does not appear to enter into

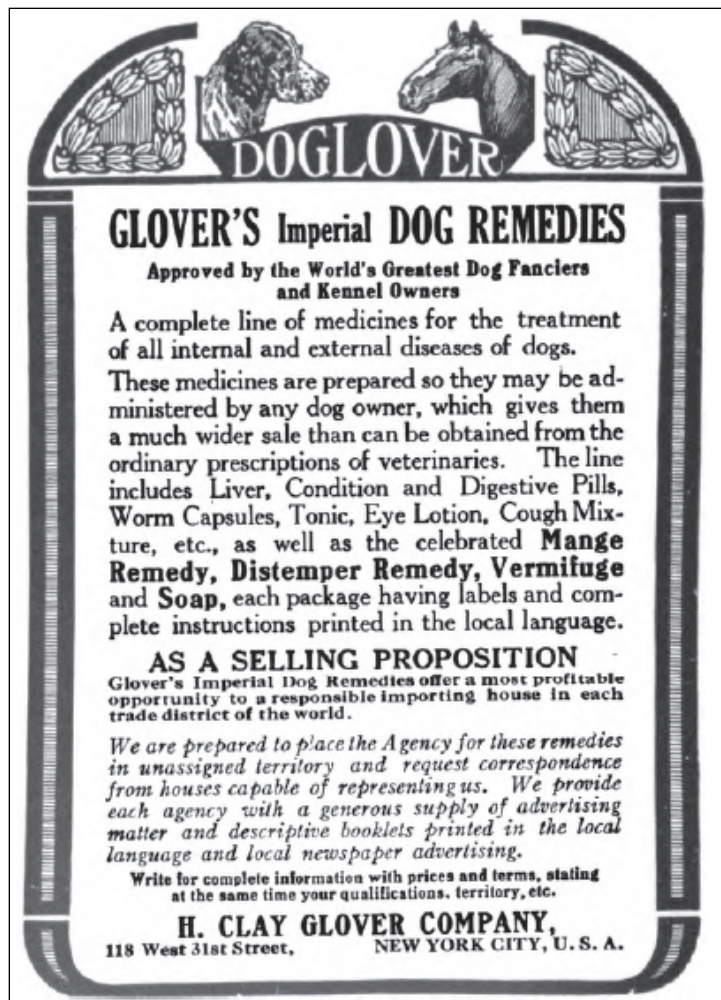


Figure 106. Advertisement for Glover's products (Commercial America 1916).

the discussion. We know from archaeology that dogs were part of the fabric of Sandpoint and were in many parts of the town. What is also apparent from both archaeological and historical sources is that how dogs were treated in Sandpoint is at odds with how many treat dogs today. They were certainly cared for by many and treated with affection (see again Figure 105), but they also were disposed of fairly readily, particularly if they were perceived to be a nuisance or a threat to people in the community.

Cats

Felid elements were recovered in small numbers from each of the major areas excavated in Sandpoint, with the majority of the remains associated with excavations of Chinatown ($n = 23$). A total of 33 cat remains were identified, representing a minimum of 11 animals. Overall, there is nothing particularly distinctive about the remains. Their widespread presence throughout the project area is a reasonable expectation. Regardless of whether they were fully domesticated pets or somewhat feral cats, they would have had some use in the town as “mousers.” At a minimum the cats would have kept the rodent population in town somewhat in check. An entertaining example of this was an article in 1910 in the *Pend d’Oreille Review*. A front page story reported on a small advertisement from the previous week requesting cats to rid a farm of mice and rats. The request was for 24 cats, but the unfortunate gentleman received 106 cats in five days (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1910:1). The article highlights both the use of cats in the community as well as an apparently ongoing problem with an excessive cat population in the town.

Work Animals in Sandpoint

In addition to cats, dogs, and birds, another important group of animals in Sandpoint were those that served as labor for the town. As noted above some dogs in Sandpoint were used as hunting animals, but the horse was of greater import. In some regards, the horse is the iconic work animal of the West. It is pervasive in images of the West, from the lone or Indian cowboy riding his horse to the wagon train pulling families westward to the famous “pony express.” While horse and rider imagery is often employed to symbolize “the West” and “pioneer spirit,” the reality is that horses were central to the economic growth of the western United States and indeed, the United States in general, until well into the twentieth century. Speaking of the United States in general, historian Katherine Grier commented that “In towns and cities, relatively few people owned horses but everyone relied on them” (Grier 2006:187).

As was typical in most cities, horses were an integral part of Sandpoint. They were particularly important to the Humbird Lumber Company, serving as a major source of labor for the company into the twentieth century. Since they were effectively *the* major source of labor in the town for many years (see Figure 105), it also meant that they represented a significant economic investment—an investment that people worked to take care of and an investment that we can see in our archaeological evidence.

Care of Horses

As noted in the chapter on the Humbird Blacksmith Shop excavations in Volume 1, we recovered a great deal of material associated with horses (approximately 390 items overall), which we had expected. What we did not expect was what we were able to learn about the care of horses. Our study of the horseshoes recovered (Bradbury 2010) provided several examples of how people were actively trying to take care of their horses. Project archaeologist Carmen Bradbury studied the recovered horseshoes in some detail and identified at least 16 horseshoes that were modified in some form or another (Table 27).

Table 27. Types of Horseshoes Modified to Treat Particular Ailments (Bradbury 2010)

Horseshoe Modification	Count	Purpose
Shoe with leather padding	2	Protection/treatment of the hoof
Shoe with additional 1/8-inch metal plate	1	Protection of hoof
Shoe with high heel caulk	1	Treatment of lameness
Uneven width of shoe	1	Protection/modification of gait (protect legs from striking opposite leg)
Shoe with short trailer	4	Corrects faults in conformation or overreaching
Miscellaneous corrective shoes	7	Corrects "toeing-in" or "toeing-out"
Total	16	

The 16 horseshoes identified that had some sort of corrective purpose represent approximately 12 percent of the entire assemblage of horseshoes recovered at the Blacksmith Shop. The variety of the "therapeutic" horseshoes illustrates some of the problems that work horses were having, and it indicates how proactive Sandpoint residents were in caring for their horses. The labor of work animals was crucial to many businesses and people were very engaged in protecting the economic investment of a horse.

We also point out that what is identified in Table 27 is a small subset of a larger assemblage of horseshoes. The 116 horseshoes recovered that were not explicitly therapeutic were also quite variable in their design. This variation was attributable to the customization of shoes for the particular kind of work the horse was going to be doing (e.g., working on a slope in mud and pulling logs down a hill versus pulling a wagon in town). The horseshoes also serve as an important reminder to scholars that treating a physical problem is not always limited to what kind of medicine can be produced and administered. The horseshoes provide direct evidence of the work of a blacksmith to care for and hopefully heal a series of problems that horses were having.

"Save-The-Horse" Spavin Cure

In addition to the horseshoes we found a single bottle of "Save-the-Horse" Spavin Cure. Spavin is a bony growth in the lower hock joint of horses and cattle. The bony growth causes pain in the animal and if left untreated will lead to lameness. "Save-The-Horse" Spavin Cure was trademarked by Michael W. Wilson and was first produced in 1887 by the Troy Chemical Company of Troy, NY (Fike 1987:105). Similar to many other patent medicines of the era, "Save-The Horse" also potentially cured other equine ailments such as ringbone, shoe ball, and capped hock. The embossed aqua fragments of "Save-The-Horse" Spavin Cure were found in association with Willa Herman's Bordello.

An advertisement for the product (Figure 107) presents an interesting addendum to the economies of Sandpoint. The \$5.00 per bottle price that is listed for the product is extremely steep. It is well above the price range for many, if not most, patent medicines. To put this price in perspective, a typical patent medicine for humans would go for something on the order of 50 cents to a dollar for a bottle at the time. As discussed above horses represented a significant economic investment and the \$5.00 bottle certainly illustrates someone's commitment to protect that investment. Interestingly, the location of the artifact also corroborates our understandings of the broader economies of Sandpoint. It is telling that this very expensive horse cure was found in association with Willa Herman's Bordello. As we have noted, Herman's Bordello was patronized by the more affluent men of the town. Whether the horse who took the medicine was owned by one of the patrons or by Herman and/or her workers is unknown, but what is known is that the owner had the wherewithal to take care of their animal with a particularly pricey medicine.

CONCLUSION

Archaeologists commonly focus their work on materials that present direct measures of how people lived, exploring how food studies can link to explorations of ethnicity or how ceramics tell complex stories about the relationship between wealth and social positioning. The decision to write on pets and work animals was made for two reasons. First, we did it because we had the opportunity to explore a topic that archaeologists have not generally focused on—the excavated pet burial is typically a paragraph or two in many reports or in a best case scenario a short side bar in a bigger chapter (typically the zooarchaeology chapter). In our case we had a collection of materials that allowed us to launch a more sustained discussion of pets and work animals in Sandpoint.

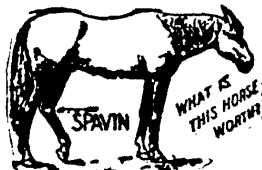
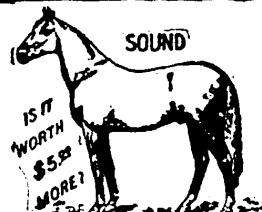
Our second point, however, is the more crucial one. Just like ceramics or glassware, pets, work animals, and their associated objects can present interesting stories about broader issues of life in the past. In this chapter we have explored how a bird cage can be an important symbolic touchstone of one's roots for a culturally isolated Chinese worker and we have argued how horse treatments can highlight some of the crucial economic issues in the town and even provide a bit of insight into the economic realities of the seedier side of the community. Put simply, a systematic exploration of pets in Sandpoint has provided us with the opportunity to move the discussion beyond an interesting footnote in a site report to a topic that can potentially make meaningful contributions to some of the broader questions that historical archaeologists so frequently focus on.

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"SAVE-THE-HORSE" SPAVIN CURE.

REG. TRADE MARK

No promise of results impossible to perform or false testimonials to mislead you. You cannot mistake the certainty of its unfailing and unequalled power or the security of our guarantee.

924 Farragut St., Pittsburg, Pa.

I used bottle of "Save-the-Horse," which I got through Mark Cross Co., New York, and our horse that was lame for a year with spavins is now sound. Kindly send two bottles by express C.O.D. soon as you can. Very respectfully, **JOHN CLANCY.**

ALLYN-HILL CO., Bonds and Insurance,
115 So. 12th Street, Tacoma, Wash., June 24th, 1909.

Troy Chemical Co., Binghamton, N. Y.: — I used your "Save-the-Horse" on my horse, a valuable driving animal, for a spavin of two years' standing and the horse now shows no signs of lameness and is perfectly sound even with hard work on paved streets. It is surely a great remedy and did great work for me. Very truly yours, **FRANK ALLYN, Jr.**

\$5.00 a bottle, with signed guarantee or contract. Send for copy, booklet and letters from business men and trainers. Permanently cures Spavin, Thoroughpin, Ring-bone (except low), Curb, Splint, Capped Hock, Windpuff, Shoe Boil, Injured Tendons and all Lameness. No scar or loss of hair. Horse works as usual. *Dealers or Express Paid.* Troy Chemical Co., 37 Commercial Ave., Binghamton, N. Y.

Figure 107. Spavin Cure advertisement (The Southern Planter 1909:1077).

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CHAPTER 9. AS THE SMOKE CLEARS: THE EXAMINATION OF TOBACCO AND OPIUM ARTIFACTS

Molly Swords and Breanne Kisling

SMOKING IN VICTORIAN AMERICA

Tobacco, a plant native to the Americas, has been cultivated and used in a variety of ways by Native peoples since 5000 to 3000 B.C. While smoking is widely associated with Europeans, tobacco only reached Europe shortly after Europeans' first encounters with Indians, spreading throughout the world from there. Tobacco was not just an early export; Americans' use of tobacco was widespread and cut across geographical, cultural, and class boundaries. By the nineteenth century, tobacco was deeply embedded in the nation's social experience—in its commerce, its labor, its leisure, and its social rituals.

Tobacco was an appealing hobby in the American West, as it was a portable leisure activity that happened to be a stress reliever: "The beauty of smoking [tobacco] is its adaptability to a variety of uses. It can act as a sedative, a stimulant, a soother of nerves, a relaxant, a retreat from the world and yet also a signifier of social cohesion" (Hilton 2004:128). Soldiers were given rations of tobacco from the U.S. Army, while miners and loggers bought tobacco from company stores (Vihlne 2008). Archaeological investigations at Sandpoint, Idaho, have yielded an array of artifacts associated with smoking tobacco (and other products) at the turn of the century (Figure 108).



Figure 108. A sampling of the tobacco pipe mouthpieces recovered from Sandpoint (left to right: LC#s 70491, 71122, 69298, 70470, 69867, 69862, 70606, 68670, and 70452).

Of course tobacco was not the only drug smoked in America at this time; Chinese workers brought the practice of smoking opium to America when they immigrated to work on the railroads and in the mines. When first used, opium was eaten dried or mixed with liquids and drunk. It was not until tobacco smoking was introduced in China that opium began to be smoked (Wylie and Fike 1993:256). Early opium smoking was first done by mixing small amounts of tobacco with the opium; later, specialized equipment was developed for smoking opium alone. It should be noted, however, that according to Wylie and Fike (1993), the "early practice of smoking opium and tobacco together never died out entirely" (Wylie and Fike 1993:256). Tobacco pipes were often used to smoke opium instead, and tobacco and opium mixtures were also still commonly smoked (Wylie and Fike 1993:256), a fact that is often overlooked in archaeological interpretations of tobacco pipes.

Large populations of Chinese men immigrated into the Western United States to work as miners and railroad workers. Like any immigrating group of people, they brought with them their culture and practices. One such practice for these Chinese immigrants was opium smoking. Although opium smoking

was brought to the United States by Chinese immigrants working as miners or on the railroad, it was not a practice that stayed within the Chinese: “By the early 1870s opium had spread to the Anglo-American demimonde, and within a few years to the elite and middle classes in the West who considered the drug a threat to the moral character of the nation” (Ahmad 2007:5). Of course, the vast majority of opium was consumed by non-Chinese in the form of patent medicines that contained laudanum—a mixture of opium, alcohol, and flavoring (Stedman 1916:901).

SMOKING IN SANDPOINT

While smoking-related objects were found in many different areas of our excavations, the focus of this study on tobacco and opium smoking is the Restricted District and Sandpoint’s “Chinatown.” The term “Restricted District” shows up in Sandpoint literature when an ordinance passed in 1908 made the “restricted area” of the town move away from the newer town to the older townsite area. This “restricted area” was an amalgamation of saloons and brothels (Figure 109). According to the 1909 Sanborn map (Sanborn Map Company 1909), the Restricted District businesses included the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon, Willa Herman’s Bordello, Marie Henderson’s Brothel, and Charlie’s Café and Saloon. “Chinatown” (as the locals called it) lies just south of the Restricted District and was essentially a single residence/business that was known to be the residence of at least three Chinese men, although more may have been living there. From the artifacts recovered, it seems it may have also served as an opium den, as a total of 2,588 pieces of opium paraphernalia are present in that assemblage.

During our cataloging of the Restricted District and Chinatown, the tobacco-related artifacts in the collection drew considerable attention from the laboratory staff because of the variety of objects recovered. In total there were 425 artifacts associated with tobacco, 341 of which were from Chinatown and 84 of which were from the Restricted District. These include pipes, spittoons, tobacco tins, and snuff bottle fragments, among other things. A total of 330 (out of 341) artifacts in Chinatown were clay earthenware pipe fragments. In the Restricted District the highest percentage of tobacco-related artifacts came from the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon.

Artifacts of Tobacco Use in the Restricted District

A total of 86 tobacco-related artifacts were recovered throughout the Restricted District. Several of the objects were items that were commonly found on many archaeological sites, yet several recovered objects merit highlighting, either because of their uniqueness or because of what their presence may imply about the people who either lived in the Restricted District or who may have been “just visiting the neighborhood” (Table 28). The following section briefly highlights some of the more distinctive tobacco-related items recovered in the Restricted District.

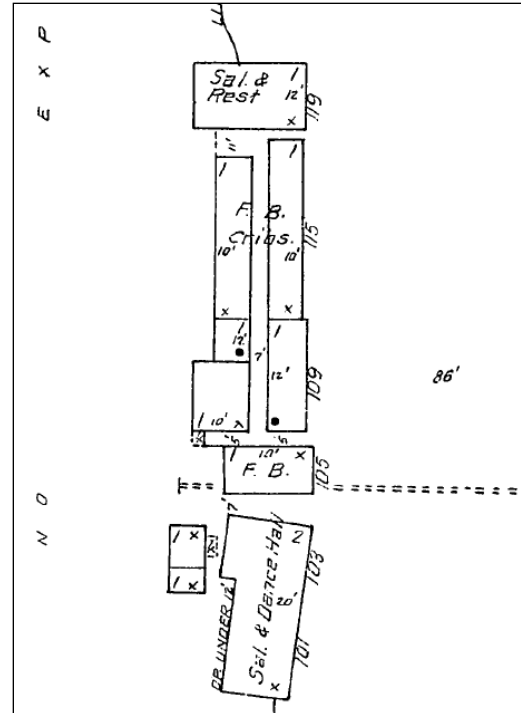


Figure 109. Sanborn map, 1909, showing the Restricted District.

Table 28. Restricted District Tobacco Artifacts

Object	Count
Ash tray	1
Cigar casing	1
Lighter	1
Mouthpiece	9
Pipe	60
Pipe connector	1
Snuff bottle	2
Spittoon	2
Tobacco tin	8
Tobacco tin tag	1
Total	86

Tobacco Pipes

Of the 86 tobacco-related artifacts, 47 are ceramic pipe fragments (Figure 110). The majority of these ceramic pipe fragments were found in association with Willa Herman's Bordello, the establishment that apparently catered to a somewhat well-off clientele. Other materials were also used in construction of tobacco pipes found throughout the Restricted District, including hard rubber, Bakelite, wood, and bone (Table 29).

Table 29. Tobacco Pipes by Material Type

Material Type	Count
Ceramic	47
Bakelite	1
Wood	4
Bone	1
Hard rubber	7
Total	60



Figure 110. Earthenware tobacco pipe fragments (LC #s 68063, 62613, 8005, 8006, 57937, 8004, and 64607).

Clay pipe smoking in turn-of-the-century America was associated with the working class and immigrants, particularly the Irish. In 1900, Sandpoint was home to immigrants from several different countries, Ireland being one of them. One pipe that points to being used by an Irish immigrant was recovered from Willa Herman's Bordello. A pipe with HOME RULE incised on the bowl dates from 1870 to 1890, and was used to promote Irish independence from England. A small number of pipes had identifiable manufacturers, with two being manufactured in New York and several being manufactured in Scotland (Table 30).

Table 30. Identified Pipe Manufacturers

Maker	Maker Location	Object	Count
Duncan McDougall & Co.	Glasgow, Scotland	Pipe	5
William Demuth & Co.	New York, New York, USA	Mouthpiece	1
William Demuth & Co.	New York, New York, USA	Pipe	2

Spittoons and Tobacco Tin Tags

Two large ceramic spittoon fragments were recovered in Marie Henderson's Brothel on the north end of the Restricted District (Figure 111). It was interesting that more spittoons were not unearthed; we were expecting to find more spittoon fragments. It was quite common in the American West for people to chew tobacco rather than to smoke it, as chewing tobacco cost less, was easier to obtain than pipe tobacco or cigars, and traveled better than pre-rolled cigars or cigarettes (Figure 112).



Figure 111. Spittoon, LC #67216, MVC #OE-15.

From a retail perspective, one of the challenges of chewing tobacco was quality control, an issue that led to the creation of tobacco tin tags. A common practice was for store owners to buy the name brand/high-end tobacco and then refill the packaging that it came in with inexpensive tobacco. To fight this practice tobacco companies made little decorative tags that would sit on the plugs of tobacco tins, thus assuring buyers that they were receiving the brand they intended to purchase. These tobacco tin tags became collectible and are found in many archaeological contexts. Only one of these tags was recovered in the Restricted District. This may be due to post-depositional environmental factors, as these artifacts are fragile and subject to deterioration, or it may be because the area has been heavily surveyed by collectors over the years.

Tobacco Tins

Tobacco tins would have contained tobacco—either plug tobacco for chewing or shredded tobacco for smoking. Six tobacco tins were recovered from the Restricted District. One is an Old English tin dated circa 1913 that was associated with Marie Henderson's Brothel. A second identifiable tin was Velvet brand tobacco manufactured in Durham, North Carolina (Figure 113). The tin was also associated with Henderson's Brothel.

Cigarettes

Although not widely popular around the turn of the century, it is important to note the possibility that there may have been cigarette smoking at Sandpoint. Cigarettes were looked down upon by a number of people because it took the "ritual" of smoking from the upper class and brought it to the masses. Cigarettes would not



Figure 112. An advertisement from the *Pend d'Oreille News* (*Pend d' Oreille News* 1892:6).

readily survive in the archaeological record as they are highly decomposable; however, we do have historical evidence of cigarettes in Sandpoint through local tobacco advertisements.

Tobacco Advertisements in Sandpoint

Advertisements are interesting artifacts in that are not by themselves an implement for using tobacco, but they do nonetheless help shed light on the culture of smoking in Sandpoint. As has been noted, cigarette advertisements were part of the transformation of American culture. As one scholar noted “one of the major industries that drove the rise of modern advertising in the late nineteenth century was tobacco” (Gilman and Xun 2004:356) and we have evidence of that. One of the many printing plates that were unearthed in our excavations was an advertisement for cigarette mouthpieces (Figures 114 and 115). The mouthpieces were manufactured by the John Bollman Company, based out of San Francisco, California. The company became part of the American Tobacco Company at the turn of the century and then finally part of Liggett and Myers Tobacco Company (Shaw 2011). The John Bollman Company dates from 1860 to 1953. This particular advertisement is similar to ones from the turn of the century.



Figure 113. A tobacco tin of the Velvet Pipe and Cigarette Tobacco brand (LC #60403).



Figure 114. LC #40260, printing plate.



Figure 115. LC #40260, printing plate with photo reversed in order to read.

The plate reads:

It is the little things in life
that make us happy
IMPERIALES
MOUTHPIECE
CIGARETTES
are created for pleasure—to
give a man a rich smoke and
a mild smoke, a pure smoke
and a good smoke—they fill
the bill always.
10 for 13c
The John Bollman Co. Branch
Manufacturers

In other national advertisements for Imperiales, the American West is specifically mentioned and used in the marketing. One advertisement touted, “The men of the West smoked over 125,000 Imperiales Cigarettes in 1907.” This advertisement then went on to state that: “Smoke them all day long if you want to—no after effects” (University of Washington 1916). What is interesting about this particular advertisement is how the Bollman Company positioned their advertising. By sending advertising plates out to a rural location such as Sandpoint they were clearly pushing links to the region, but they were simultaneously using that affiliation to market their product to easterners.

Status and Smoking

Three artifacts were recovered in the Restricted District that were relatively unique finds and symbolically rich. The first was a cigar casing recovered from Marie Henderson’s Brothel. It had BEARING HAVANA CIGAR printed on it; despite the “Havana” mention, the casing was manufactured in Tampa, Florida, and dated to circa 1905 (Figure 116). Cigars carried different social connotations from cigarettes. Generally speaking, they were smoked less frequently and in conjunction with events (meaning nice meals, at a party, and so on). In short, they were viewed as a status symbol of sorts (Rudman 2005:151).



Figure 116. An aluminum cigar casing (LC #69296).

Where this casing was recovered is also intriguing. Henderson's Brothel typically hosted more of a working-class clientele. On one hand it is more reasonable to think the cigar casing should be associated with the higher class bordello (Willa Herman's), but upon further reflection it is also possible to see logic for it being in Henderson's Brothel. As noted, Henderson's clientele was of more modest means. It was the place where the mill workers went to have sex, not the managers. Brothels such as Henderson's were widely recognized as being particularly popular on paydays. Our thinking is that the cigar in Henderson's Brothel represents something of an event. It is part of a modest splurge by a worker having a night on the town. As an aside, we also note that the 1905 date is almost exactly when cigar smoking reached its peak popularity. Cigar consumption peaked in the United States in 1907 (Rudman 2005:152).

The second item of note was a brass cigar/cigarette lighter called the "Magic Pocket Lamp" (Figure 117). The lighter was patented on October 29, 1889, and was recovered from the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon. The "Magic Pocket Lamp" was the first American-made lighter and proved to be immensely popular (Johnson 1994:151; van Weert et al. 1995:31). As one report of the times stated "the lamp caught on to public favor ... The lamp has lighted the way to the accumulation of a good-sized fortune and the story of its introduction and success shows how little things sometimes win big success" (Bacon 1896:246).



Figure 117. The Magic Pocket Lamp lighter (LC #40265).

The third item of note was a portion of a snuff bottle (Figure 118). Only a base was recovered and there was no distinguishing product information. The base had three embossed dots in a triangular configuration typical of snuff bottles, possibly indicating the strength of the snuff. Perhaps more than any form of tobacco, snuff was associated with aristocracy. While its peak in popularity was during the eighteenth century, it retained considerable currency into the nineteenth century, though its use was increasingly democratized over time (Hughes 2005:547–551). The snuff bottle was found in association with Willa Herman's Bordello, the bordello that hosted a more affluent clientele.

Taken together, the cigar, the lighter, and snuff bottle are all representative of “higher class” tobacco products. Although they may have been used by a “more respectable” resident or visitor to Sandpoint, they may also have been used by someone putting on airs of a higher class, as we suggest with the cigar case. As one scholar notes, “In the second half of the nineteenth century smoking was celebrated as the embodiment of the individuality of the bourgeois gentlemanly amateur” (Hilton 2004:126).

ARTIFACTS OF OPIUM USE IN SANDPOINT’S CHINATOWN

The census records of Sandpoint show that nine Chinese were residing in Sandpoint in 1900 (Weaver et al. 2006:2–54). South of the Restricted District, secluded from the town and relegated to the east side of the creek, is an area that was termed “Chinatown” by the

locals of the time. The term is somewhat of a misnomer as the area had one or two small domestic dwellings used by a few Chinese men. Other small structures may also have stood in this area, and could have functioned as a laundry or other business run by the Chinese who lived there. This area was extensively excavated and yielded 2,588 opium-related artifacts, far and away the largest assemblage of opium artifacts recovered in the Sandpoint excavations. These artifacts include opium can/tins, opium lamps, opium pipe bowls, and one opium pipe saddle (Table 31). The sheer number of these artifacts indicates that opium use was a regular occurrence at this dwelling, which may have doubled as an opium den.

Opium Can/Tins

The largest assemblage of opium-related artifacts is that of opium can/tins, which number 1,949 fragments. They are square containers made of brass and contained opium shipped from China to North America. These rectangular cans were made from five pieces of sheet metal (Wylie and Fike 1993:287). Figure 119 shows fragments of an opium can (LC #40305).

Opium can lids were stamped with the brand of opium they contained. Two of the brands recovered were *Fook Lung* (translated as “Abundant Luck”) and *Lai Yuen* (translated as “Source of Beauty”) (Sando and Felton 1993:168,170) (Figures 120 and 121). Overall, we recovered 88 opium can lid fragments that had some form of stamping on them.



Figure 118. Snuff bottle base recovered from Herman’s Bordello (LC #18957).

Table 31. Opium Artifacts from Chinatown

Object	Artifact Count
Opium can/tin	1,949
Opium lamp	28
Opium pipe bowl	610
Opium pipe saddle	1
Total	2,588



Figure 119. LC #40305, an opium can in pieces.



Figure 120. Opium can lid (LC #8363) with stamp of *Fook Lung* brand (translated as "abundant luck").



Figure 121. *Lai Yuen* brand, translated as "source of beauty" (LC #7711).

Prior to 1909, labels were attached to the lids and were cross-hatched once they entered the United States to signify that a tax had been paid for importing this opium. Figure 122 is an example of this cross-hatching that was recovered from Sandpoint.

Opium Lamps

Opium lamps were used to prepare the opium to be smoked. A small amount of opium would be held by a steel needle above the lamp's flame; after it was sufficiently cooked, it would be placed in the opium pipe bowl and then smoked (Wylie and Fike 1993:259–260). The glass lamp fragments recovered are colorless, with a slight yellow tinge to them. Glass opium lamps include four main parts: a circular base with four air intake ports, an oil reservoir, a circular wick holder, and a bell-shaped chimney (Wylie and Fike 1993:288). A total of 28 glass opium lamp fragments were recovered from the Chinese Occupied Area; individual numbers can be seen in Table 32.

Table 32. Glass Opium Lamp Parts

Opium Lamp Part	Count
Base	6
Chimney	14
Fuel reservoir	7
Wick holder	1
Total	28



Figure 122. Cross-hatched lid (LC #7613).

The following figures show the most complete glass opium lamp parts recovered (Figures 123 through 124).



Figure 123. Opium lamp parts. Lamp chimney (LC #37915), wick holder (LC #42132), glass base (LC #1784), and fuel reservoir (LC #37694).



Figure 124. Opium lamp.



Figure 125. Glass opium lamp assembled (minus the wick holder).

Opium Pipe Bowls

Opium pipe bowls are the most commonly recovered opium paraphernalia in Overseas Chinese sites (Wylie and Fike 1993:267). Almost every pipe bowl has one or more Chinese marks that consist of characters, symbols, or designs (Wylie and Fike 1993:270). Sandpoint was no exception—a total of 610 pipe bowl fragments were recovered from the excavation. Orange-bodied pipe bowls and grey-bodied pipe bowls make up the vast majority of paste types, yet a wide variety of styles and decorative motifs were present in the assemblage (Figure 126).



Figure 126. The most complete opium pipe bowls recovered. Top row, left to right: LC #s 40117, 44667, 40106, 2182; Bottom row: LC #s 40111, 43577 and 44556 (cross-mended), 44666.

A popular brand of opium pipe bowl, found in Chinese archaeological sites from British Columbia to California, is also present among the opium pipe bowls excavated at Sandpoint (Chinese in Northwest America Research Committee [CINARC] 2008). This is the Fu Ji (translated as “fortune shop”) brand, which typically produced gray to gray-brown circular pipe bowls, decorated with incised rings. Its trademark of several seals was pressed into the clay while it was still soft (CINARC 2008). Multiple variations of the mark are known and are represented in the four Fu Ji opium pipe bowls recovered in Sandpoint, ranging from simple to more complex and detailed (CINARC 2008). The mark in its most elaborate form is translated as coin symbols, Zheng (a surname, most likely of the company’s owner), a poetic line, Fu Ji, and characters translated as “voice voice” that may allude to the quality of the pipe bowl (CINARC 2008) (Figure 127).

Opium Pipe Saddle

Only one opium pipe saddle, made of copper, was found in the Chinese Occupied Area (Figure 128). The pipe saddle connected the opium pipe bowl to the body of the wooden pipe. As pipe bowls are delicate and could have broken easily, the actual opium pipe would have been far sturdier, having been made of wood and metal. Pipe bowls could have been replaced and used on more than one pipe, whereas the pipe itself would not have to be replaced as often. This is perhaps an explanation as to why there are so many pipe bowls but only one piece of an opium pipe, the pipe saddle, in the Sandpoint assemblage.



Figure 127. The most elaborate Fu Ji brand mark on left (LC #40106) and the simplest Fu Ji brand mark on the right (LC #44667).



Figure 128. Brass opium pipe saddle (LC #40304).

DELVING DEEPER INTO THE BIGGER PICTURE

While artifacts frequently help us understand what people in the past were doing on an everyday basis, they can also reveal clues about ethnicity, class, and gender—in other words, bigger questions about identity. There have been a host of archaeologists studying identity through the archaeological lens who have published a number of articles or books on the topic (cf. Battle-Baptiste 2011; Mullins 1999; Orser 2001; Shackel 2009; White 2009). The question we have is: what can artifacts associated with tobacco and opium reveal about identity? As we previously have highlighted, certain implements for tobacco use were seen as “higher” status such as cigars or using tobacco in the form of snuff. The numbers of these items are small but suggestive. Was the person using snuff consciously attempting to emulate the tobacco preferences and techniques of the earlier European aristocracy? Was the person (most likely a mill worker) splurging a bit on the “high life” by enjoying a nice cigar, even though he did not have the wherewithal to truly spend some money in the higher end bordello just a few doors away? Was somebody in the saloon subtly displaying his worldliness by flipping out his Magic Pocket Lamp while lighting up? Certainly these few items provide clues about these broader questions of identity—but what about those who were not as concerned about putting on airs or using smoking accoutrements to

demonstrate their relative social position? For some answers we look a bit more closely at the clay pipes.

Clay pipe smoking in turn-of-the-century America was somewhat on wane at this time, but was still common among many groups. In Sandpoint one pipe recovered has HOME RULE incised on the bowl and dates from 1870 to 1890. It was used to promote Irish independence from England (Figure 129). These pipes were extremely popular among Irish immigrants as they were a way to demonstrate their continued engagement with events back in Ireland.

Another tobacco bowl that was unearthed hinted at another immigrant group in Sandpoint. This tobacco bowl was made of metal and part of a Kiseru, which was a Japanese tobacco pipe (Figure 130). The bowl was found in the Chinese Occupied Area. A Kiseru contained three parts: “a bowl and mouthpiece of metal, and a bamboo stem to connect them” (Suzuki 2004:79). Although not as well documented as the Chinese in the American West, the Japanese were also part of the landscape. Smoking tobacco was a part of the Japanese culture and it was “believed that pipe smoking was first introduced to Japanese high society, for example, to the samurai (warriors), the Buddhist priest classes and some rich merchants” (Suzuki 2004:78). Historical evidence reveals that in the 1910 census, there was a resident of Japanese origin living at Herman’s Bordello. The Japanese man, Tsunata Watanabe, is listed as working as a porter at a dance hall. This dance hall may in fact be the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon, which is located next door to Herman’s Bordello.

Human Remains from the Old Cemetery

One of the most interesting aspects of tobacco use in Sandpoint lies with the human remains. There was a historic cemetery, north of the Restricted District, near the Humbird Mill that was moved in 1903, when the Humbird Lumber Mill wanted to expand. However, not all of the inhabitants of this cemetery were removed; some were “left behind” or “forgotten.” As part of this project, an excavation was conducted at the former cemetery, resulting in the recovery of four complete skeletons and three partial skeletons (Emmick et al. 2008).

In examining one of the individuals recovered, an interesting tobacco tale is told. Burial number 17 is a male Caucasian, who was between the ages of 40 to 60 years old at the time of death and between 5 feet 7 inches and 5 feet 10 inches in height. His teeth show wear and staining associated with extensive clay pipe smoking (Figure 131). Tooth loss on the opposite side of the mandible could also be attributed to clay pipe smoking.



Figure 129. Tobacco pipe incised with HOME RULE to promote Irish independence from England (LC #65428).



Figure 130. Bowl of a Japanese Kiseru (LC #46178).



Figure 131. Wear on the teeth of the remains of Burial 17 from use of clay tobacco pipes.

Although not buried together, the material culture of tobacco unearthed from the Restricted District of Sandpoint and the body recovered from the old cemetery are certainly linked by the behavior of tobacco smoking.

Opium Use by Sandpoint's Chinese

Many local newspaper articles around the turn of the century reported opium den raids and the associated arrests and confiscations in Sandpoint. On November 7, 1891, the *Kootenai Herald* reported a raid “down by the laundry houses one night” (*Kootenai Herald* 1891). As the law enforcement men came through the front entrance, three white men fled out the back, while an undisclosed number of Chinese men were caught and detained overnight (*Kootenai Herald* 1891). Fifteen years after this incident, another raid of an opium den was reported in the *Pend d'Oreille Review* on October 4, 1906:

Chinese Opium Joint is Raided: 3 given 30-day sentences. Sam Hing's Chinese dump on the lake flats has a 'chop suey' and 'noodle' sign but it has been known for some time that chop suey and noodles were not the only things that the wiley [sic] Sam sold. Marshall Wilcox raided the place Tuesday night. Trixie Winters, a prostitute, Chess Smith, J. Conliss and the heathen Chinese were bagged (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1906).

The next year the Sandpoint city council passed Ordinance No. 72 against “opium joints,” which took effect on May 22, 1907 (Bowden 1910:152). However, early the next month, one notable raid was reported in the *Pend d'Oreille Review* on June 6, 1907, in which the marshal “raided Sam Wing's [sic] opium joint on the lake front and confiscated fourteen [opium pipe] bowls, two pipes, two alcohol lamps, and a tin box half filled with opium” (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907a). The confiscated items gained a lot of attention after the raid when they were displayed in one of the Northern Mercantile's shop windows (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907a). Other raids and arrests took place in July of 1907 (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907b) and in September of 1908 (*Bonner County Democrat* 1908; *Spokesman-Review* 1908).

The historical and archaeological records concur that Sandpoint's small Chinese population was smoking opium; however, non-Chinese residents of Sandpoint were also indulging in this exotic practice. There were numerous reasons to smoke opium, including medicinal, recreational, social, personal, and cultural reasons. Although opium was a dangerous and addictive drug, Chinese opium smoking was not necessarily a "vice" (Wylie and Fike 1993:298). The positive social, physical, and psychological benefits most likely outweighed the disadvantages (Wylie and Fike 1993:298). The primary reasons for smoking opium included "relaxation, coping with emotional stress, enhancing work performance, and medication" (Wylie and Fike 1993:298). In addition, opium could provide "a temporary escape from feelings of alienation, loneliness, sexual abstinence and debt" (Wylie and Higgins 1987:362).

There was no question that racism toward the Chinese was present in the minds and deeds of many in Sandpoint, a sentiment that was relatively common throughout America at this time. Perhaps the most overt manifestation of anti-Chinese racism was an article in the *Pend d'Oreille Review* calling for the Chinese to leave Sandpoint, as had been done in nearby Bonner's Ferry (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1892). Faced with this racism on a daily basis, the Chinese men of Sandpoint found some sanctuary in their residences and through social practices—"Smoking opium was a very social activity, although its preparation and smoking was an elaborate, time-consuming process requiring special skill and equipment" (Wylie and Fike 1993:259). These men may also have been supplementing their incomes by operating an opium den and charging people for their service, if the number of whites fleeing or getting caught in similar establishments (as noted in the above articles) is any indication. Despite being a "community" of just nine individuals (at least in 1910), the Chinese of Sandpoint were still able to carry on some cultural practices, including opium smoking. It should be noted that the opium artifacts recovered are not the sole indication of Chinese presence in this area of Sandpoint; a huge number of Chinese ceramics, pharmaceutical bottles, buttons, coins, game pieces, and toothbrushes were also recovered from the Chinese Occupied Area.

Prostitutes and Smoking

It behooves us to remember that women were also smoking. Although in polite Victorian society it was considered unseemly for women to be indulging in this habit, research has revealed that tobacco use was common among both men and women of various social and economic classes. In Virginia City, Nevada, DNA analysis of clay tobacco pipes revealed that the user was female (Dixon 2006). In examining our tobacco assemblage from the Restricted District, the "cheaper" clay pipes were coming from the back of Willa Herman's Bordello. As we have mentioned, Herman's Bordello catered to a wealthier clientele. Although, the men frequenting this establishment may also have used the clay pipes, the location where they were found suggests it could have been the women who were using them. While there would have been few (if any) prohibitions on what or where men smoked, the clustering of the pipes near the back of the building suggests that it was the women who were responsible for the pipes. As smoking tobacco was seen as a social habit for men, why could this have not been the case for women as well? The key difference is that men could have readily smoked publicly, but working women may well have been constrained to the proverbial back porch. We did recover more expensive forms of tobacco-related smoking items in the collection. Perhaps the variety of the tobacco artifacts recovered from the Restricted District is indicative of both the working class and those of higher status frequenting this part of Sandpoint.

Finally we want to mention opium use and prostitution. Prostitutes in many Western towns often ventured into Chinatowns or the Chinese areas of smaller towns to smoke opium (Ahmad 2007:47). In the 1906 arrest report quoted above, we see one of the workers in Henderson's Brothel being among the arrestees. "Marshall Wilcox raided the place Tuesday night. *Trixie Winters, a prostitute* [emphasis added], Chess Smith, J. Conliss and the heathen Chinese were bagged" (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1906).

Trixie Winters is almost certainly the same “Trixie Edwards” who was listed in the 1910 census as living at Henderson’s “Boarding House.” This is a small, but tantalizing piece of evidence about behavior that appears to be corroborated by our archaeological findings.

Chinatown opium dens often bordered brothels, for the convenience of customers who frequented both businesses (Ahmad 2007:29). Often prostitutes, Chinese and Euroamerican alike, would own their own smoking pipes and paraphernalia, for both the convenience of their customers and themselves (Ahmad 2007:29). The evidence for opium smoking occurring inside the Herman’s Bordello is fairly conclusive, as a total of 18 opium-related artifacts were recovered from there (Table 33). Although nowhere near as large as the opium assemblage of Chinatown, totaling 2,588, this is nonetheless the second-largest opium assemblage in the Sandpoint excavations. We also remind the reader that the bordello was no more than a few yards from the Chinese residence/business that constituted Sandpoint’s “Chinatown.”

The women working in Willa Herman’s Bordello had more of an income to spend, and had a greater responsibility for socializing with their guests than the quick and dirty cribs of Henderson’s establishment. Either by offering opium to their customers or by personally using opium themselves, the presence of opium paraphernalia in the bordello does imply a somewhat different pattern of behavior than what occurred in Marie Henderson’s Brothel.

Table 33. Opium Artifacts from Willa Herman’s Bordello

Object	Artifact Count
Opium can/tin	11
Opium pipe bowl	7
Total	18

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Archaeologists are often only left with a few remnant artifacts with which to piece the past together. However, this is not the case with the Sandpoint collection. With a myriad of turn-of-the-twentieth-century artifacts associated with all aspects of living in this rough and tumble town, stories of Sandpoint’s past abound in the trash its residents threw out a century ago. How time and money was spent in the town’s Restricted District and Chinatown is one such story. Leisure items such as tobacco were readily available in a plethora of different forms to the residents and visitors of Sandpoint, Idaho. Tobacco products were being shipped into Sandpoint from not only the United States but also from all over the world. Opium products were a little harder to procure, although we unearthed large amounts of these during excavations. It is evident throughout the excavations of the Restricted District and Chinatown that vices tended to go hand in hand with one another, and Sandpoint had a captive audience with the lumber mill workers, miners, townspeople, prostitutes, and travelers on the railroad.

Today tobacco use has an undesirable stigma attached to it; however, during the late 1800s it was the types of tobacco products used that carried certain connotations and reputations for its users. A cheap or common tobacco brand indicated that the smoker did not put much money into their habit. Although cigars were more expensive, in the past and the present money is money, and if you had it, you could spend it on whatever you wanted. In fact we may see evidence of this with the cigar in Henderson’s Brothel, which may have been the modest splurge of a worker. Archaeologists need to be aware that the unearthing of one or a few costly items does not automatically indicate the presence of a higher class. Sandpoint’s archaeological record reflects the mixing of classes and leisure items within the town. These artifacts seem to indicate that smoking, be it tobacco or opium, spanned class, gender, and race, with the choice to partake or not to partake, and ultimately added another piece to the puzzle of shaping Sandpoint’s story.

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CHAPTER 10. FIREARMS IN SANDPOINT

Margaret Clark and Mark Warner

This chapter explores the array of firearms and ammunition artifacts recovered from excavations in Sandpoint. Specifically, it will address the behavior, in terms of firearm preference and use, of the people in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Sandpoint, Idaho. Excavations of Sandpoint's historic townsite from 2006 through 2008 resulted in the recovery of a large assemblage of ammunition artifacts. By analyzing this assemblage recovered from various locations in the town we can begin to understand some of the habits of everyday firearm use in Sandpoint. As with most western towns of the period, firearms played an important role in the early community of Sandpoint; not only were firearms employed in altercations, they were also used for a variety of tasks, activities, and recreation. Firearms were effectively a regular part of daily life in northern Idaho (Figure 132).



Figure 132. Photo of woman shooting in Sandpoint, Idaho (Courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Other archaeological excavations have produced studies on ammunition artifacts. Three reports in particular were useful for comparing with Sandpoint's ammunition assemblage: *Down by the Station* (Greenwood 1996); *Archaeological Excavations of Life within the Woolen Mills, San Jose* (Baxter and Allen 2002); and *Civilian and Military Accoutrements from the Hoff Store Site* (Delgado et al. 1990). These reports stood out for two reasons. First, there was some detail presented about the ammunition artifacts recovered (meaning more than just "bullet" was recorded). Second, rather than being treated as an ancillary topic there was some sustained discussion of the firearm artifacts found at the particular site. Many other excavations have yielded artifacts relating to munitions, but few venture beyond catalog identification. This is not to imply a critique of archaeologists; on the contrary, it is owed to the artifact class of ammunition itself. Not only is dating this class of artifact difficult, but no established

standard of ammunition analysis is available to help the archaeologist. The primary reference books for identifying historic ammunition are written by and for the collector and ammunition enthusiast, and more from a technical standpoint rather than a historical perspective. These two complications, difficulty in establishing dates and lack of standard analysis of ammunition, have led to the common practice on the part of archaeologists to simply identify “ammunition” in their database and then later choose to pursue an interpretation based on whether such an analysis would reveal additional and pertinent information about the site and whether the cost of gaining that information is worth the time. In most cases this does not happen outside of the context of battlefield sites. It is with these caveats that we attempt to make firearms and ammunition a focus of study.

A WORD OF CAUTION

Several things must be considered when interpreting an ammunition assemblage recovered from an archaeological site. First, archaeologists must understand the context of the ammunition. Without context in the form of stratigraphy, dates obtained through headstamp identification are insignificant. Headstamps are indicative of the manufacturer and usually of the year the firearm was manufactured. However, most headstamps were used over and over again, thus providing only a terminus post quem (T.P.Q.) at best—and T.P.Qs collected from headstamp data are irrelevant without context when one considers that ammunition can be stored under the right circumstances for many years before being used. In summation while ammunition may well provide a specific date of manufacture, factors such as re-use and/or long-term storage make ammunition a less than optimal source for dating archaeological sites. Ultimately, other artifacts are generally stronger dating sources.

Second, archaeologists must recognize the purpose of the site. While most ammunition was purchased for use in a specific firearm, there can be many circumstances that explain its presence at a site besides having been fired from a gun. Collectors, re-loaders, and retailers all would have had reason to have on hand a variety of ammunition and not necessarily a firearm with which to use the ammunition. Thus it is important to know the purpose and use of a site, before delving too far into an interpretation of the firearm and ammunition assemblage that was recovered there.

As will be discussed shortly, the largest assemblage of ammunition in Sandpoint came from its Chinatown area. Although excavations at other Chinese occupied sites have yielded firearm-related artifacts, an attempt to compare Sandpoint’s Chinatown firearm artifacts with those of other Chinese associated assemblages in the West proved inconclusive. The personal armaments in other assemblages were not analyzed within the context of the Chinese site, and were assumed to not be associated with the Chinese occupants of the site.

In exploring the issue of firearms on Chinese occupied sites it is interesting to note how hesitant archaeologists have been in actually attributing the recovered materials to the actions of the Chinese occupants. Many interpretations suggest that the Chinese inhabitants were not central to the accumulation of the artifacts. Interpretations presented include attributing the artifacts to a European presence or regarding them as evidence of post-Chinese occupation by others. In short, the significance of firearms and ammunition at an Overseas Chinese site was not fully realized. This may be explained by several reasons. As noted above, without intact stratigraphy, ammunition artifacts are difficult to place within a solid temporal setting because the headstamps are indicative of manufacturer dates only and are not always adequate when determining the date of occupation of a site. Additionally, as with coins and tokens, personal munitions do not distinguish between social, ethnic, and regional identities, making it difficult to draw conclusions about inhabitants’ socio-economic status and ethnic identity when examining ammunition artifacts. In general, when ammunition artifacts are recovered at a Chinese

associated site, archaeologists identify their use in association with their Euro-American manufacture rather than their Chinese utilization.

Many of the specifics of Sandpoint's large ammunition assemblage are presented in Volume 4 of the Sandpoint report. However, since this study does attempt an in-depth examination of Sandpoint's ammunition and since context plays a vital role in the interpretation of ammunition artifacts, a brief synopsis of where Sandpoint's ammunition was located is essential to this discussion.

CONTEXT OF SANDPOINT'S AMMUNITION

Firearm artifacts were recovered in most of the areas excavated during the Sandpoint project (Table 34). Yet there were two areas in particular where the vast majority of the artifacts were concentrated. Over 85 percent of the firearm-related artifacts were recovered in the Restricted District and Chinatown. Both of these terms were used by the community at the time to describe particular areas of town. The Restricted District consisted of Marie Henderson's Brothel (catering to the town's working men), Willa Herman's Bordello (catering to a somewhat more affluent clientele), and the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon. Immediately to the east of the Restricted District, closer to the railroad tracks, was the area that was called Chinatown. Chinatown actually consisted of a single known structure that housed only a few Chinese men. The structure was supposedly a combination residence and business; it was a laundry and there is evidence to indicate that it may also have been an opium den. Throughout the project area, most of the firearm artifacts were recovered from the first layer of excavation at a depth from zero to 10 centimeters.

Table 34. Firearm Artifacts in Sandpoint

Site Designations	Total Count	Percentage of Total
Humbird Blacksmith Shop	26	2.7%
Nineteenth Century Worker Housing	14	1.5%
Chinatown	523	55.0%
Humbird Privy	1	0.1%
Indian Island/Dog Beach	2	0.2%
Jail	3	0.3%
Restricted District	289	30.3%
Townsite	94	9.9%
Total	952	100.0%

It should be noted that the proximity of Sandpoint's Chinatown to the Restricted District was not coincidental. Chinese immigrants faced racial hostility on many levels, and curtailing their freedom to settle where they chose was a common form of discrimination. Red-light districts or restricted districts were often also confined to one part of the town, in an attempt to keep the interaction between the "undesirables" and the "moral citizens" to a minimum. As a result, marginalized Chinese neighborhoods were often home to the similarly stigmatized red-light districts in many frontier towns. San Jose's early Woolen Mills Chinatown (1887–1902) is just one example of a frontier Chinatown that featured opium, prostitution, and gambling houses (Baxter and Allen 2002:387). In Woolen Mills, stores may have served as fronts for the prostitution houses, while gambling persisted because officials choose to ignore it, making much publicized raids to mollify any critics (Baxter and Allen 2002:387). This tactic of publicizing raids was also used in Sandpoint. Newspapers and police gleefully reported that prostitutes were rounded up periodically and fined from 3 to 15 dollars apiece, or that Sam Sing's Laundry (possibly the dwelling that we excavated) was known to sell opium long before it was ever raided (Sandpoint City Police Court Records 1907–1911; *Pend d'Oreille Review* 1906:1).

Violence and crime were common place occurrences in Red-light districts; readily accessible firearms and availability of alcohol were elements that may have led to an increase in crime. Saloons and prostitution houses were common places for socializing, where class conflict and racial hostilities often went unchecked because of the limited law enforcement (McKanna 1997:61). By the 1880s, handguns were cheaply obtained and frequently carried on-person when visiting red-light districts (McKanna 1997:76). Illustrating the common presence of handguns in red-light districts, McKanna (1997) analyzed the homicide records for Omaha, Nebraska, from 1880 to 1920. She states that that “killings involving white victims occurred mainly ... in red light districts ... involved alcohol and usually took place in and around a saloon” (McKanna 1997:76). Even if the number of reported crimes involving guns in Sandpoint’s Restricted District was low, the fact that it was known to be of a “wild” and rambunctious character could potentially explain the large assemblage of ammunition.

FIREARMS IN THE WEST

The first firearms to traverse the West were the hand-made muskets, rifles, and personal armaments carried by the Lewis and Clark expedition from 1804 to 1806. Most firearms in the early 1800s were hand-crafted and often made to order for individual customers. In 1835, Samuel Colt patented his first Colt Revolver, which aside from being reliable and accurate was the first firearm to be mass produced. Gun production rapidly increased as other gunsmiths sought to improve their own firearms and manufacturing techniques. As gun production escalated, so too did cartridge development. The 20-year period between 1850 and 1870, in particular, witnessed the greatest number of advancements in ammunition and firearm technologies (Logan 1955:ii).

The manufacturing of firearms also intensified as mechanization was integrated into the workplace. Frankford Arsenal, a U.S. military armory in production from 1816 to 1976, contributed many technological advances in firearm production and cartridge development. In 1856, Major Peter Hagner was credited with the invention of a new rifling machine that could cut three barrels at a time; in 1868, Colonel S.V. Benet introduced an experimental solid-head cartridge with an inside cup anvil; and in 1905 Lieutenant Beverly Dunn created “dunnite,” a moisture-resistant and powerful explosive (Farley 1994:65,108; Logan 1955:8). Other inventions, such as the fully encased metallic cartridge created in 1859 by B. Tyler Henry and the breech-loaded 1860 Spencer rifle, increased the demand for mass-produced firearms and contributed to the expansion and integration of firearms into American culture. Some guns established widespread reputations, such as the .31 caliber Colt revolver nicknamed “the peacekeeper,” and the Winchester Repeating Rifle, which has been referred to as the “gun that won the West” (Delgado et al. 1990:56). U.S. government contracts with private industry also contributed to the expanding public use and ownership of guns, since surplus arms were sold to the public during post-war years. For example, in February 1849, the War Department announced it would sell surplus rifles, pistols, and ammunition to California, Oregon, and Texas-bound emigrants (Garavaglia and Worman 1984:235).

The motives for owning and shooting a gun are numerous but an inference of behavior can be reached if the type of gun is known. Particular guns were designed for specific purposes, and specific cartridges were designed for each gun. Since there is no control over a firearm’s use once it is sold, no exact pattern of behavior can be concluded. However, an examination of the recommended use of each ammunition type and its frequency in the assemblage can show general firearm preferences of the people living and visiting Sandpoint—and by implication why they may have had a particular type of gun.

TYPES OF AMMUNITION RECOVERED IN SANDPOINT

A variety of ammunition types were recovered throughout the Sandpoint project (Figure 133). The following section summarizes the kinds of ammunition recovered, their history, and their uses, demonstrating in particular a heavy reliance on handguns in town.

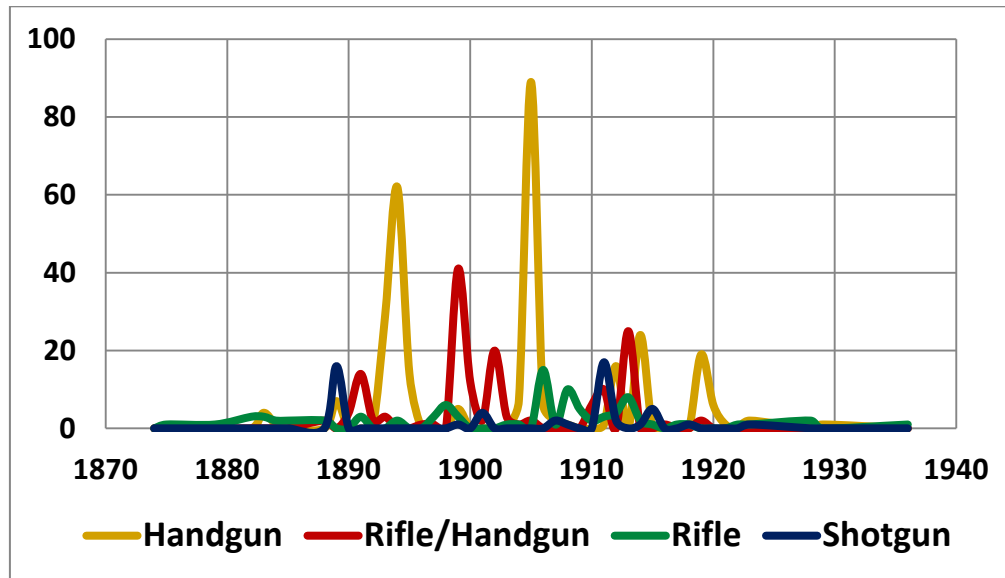


Figure 133. Total ammunition count by mean date.

Rifle Ammunition

In the book *American Ammunition and Ballistics* (1979), Edward Matunas discusses which cartridge or shell to use for each common firearm purpose. In a non-military setting, rifle ammunition is solely recommended for hunting small game, medium game, and/or large and “dangerous” game, depending on bullet weight and powder charge (Matunas 1979:25–43). A total of 97 datable rifle type cases and cartridges were recovered from Chinatown and the Restricted District. No one caliber dominated the rifle ammunition category; rifle cases with the highest percentages were: the 40-82 Winchester, constituting approximately 12 percent, the 38-55 Ballard/Winchester with 10 percent, the 30-06 Springfield and 45-70 Government with 8 percent each, the 45-60 Winchester Center Fire (WCF) with 7 percent, and the 45-75 Winchester Centennial constituting approximately 6 percent of the total rifle ammunition cases.

The 40-82 Winchester was introduced in 1885 for the Winchester single-shot rifle and was available for the Model 1886 lever-action repeater rifle as well. It was loaded by Winchester until 1935 and was a popular hunting cartridge for elk and other large game.

The 38-55 was originally a Ballard-developed target cartridge; then Winchester introduced the 38-55 Winchester in 1884 for the Ballard Perfection No. 4 rifle. Rifles available with this chambering were the Marlin Model 93; Winchester 94; Remington-Lee bolt-action; Colt’s New Lighting pump-action; Stevens’, Remington’s, and Winchester’s single-shot rifles; and the Savage Model 99. This cartridge was a popular hunting cartridge for deer, black bear, and medium game until it was discontinued in 1970.

Considered to be the most versatile cartridge, the 30-06 was adopted in 1906 by the U.S. military for the Model 1903 Springfield service rifle. Winchester added this cartridge to its line of sporting cartridges in 1908 for the adapted Winchester Model 1895 lever action rifle. Among many others, the Remington

bolt-action Model 30 introduced in 1921, the Winchester bolt-action Model 54 introduced in 1925, and the Savage bolt-action Models 40 and 45 introduced in 1928 were all offered in 30-06 chambering. According to Barnes and Skinner, “from varmint and small game to medium and large game, [the 30-06] with the right bullet and load can be used in any game or hunting situation” (Barnes and Skinner 2006:62,354).

The 45-70 Government cartridge was adopted by the U.S. military in 1873 for the Springfield “Trapdoor” single-shot rifle. It became a popular sporting cartridge as well and was used in many repeating and single-shot rifles for hunting medium to large game at short ranges. Most American companies discontinued rifles chambered for the 45-70 until recently (Barnes and Skinner 2006:97).

The 45-60 Winchester is one of many cartridges designed for the Winchester 1876 Centennial Model rifle. It was loaded from 1876 to 1935 and was considered an improvement over the .44 WCF when used to hunt medium game. The Kennedy lever-action repeating rifle and the Colt Lightning pump-action repeater were also made for the 45-60 cartridge.

The 45-75 Winchester Centennial cartridge was the original load for the Winchester Model 1876 Centennial rifle. Other rifles chambered for this cartridge included the Winchester Model 1886 and the Kennedy lever-action repeating rifles. It was known to be Theodore Roosevelt’s favorite hunting cartridge for grizzly bear; however, by today’s ballistic standards, it would be recommended for short-range deer or black bear only (Barnes and Skinner 2006:152).

Handgun Ammunition

Handgun ammunition is usually used for personal self-defense or anti-personnel military and police use, and thus is mainly evaluated on its ability to cause a penetrating ballistic injury to a human or “stopping power” (Matunas 1979:79). The .38 Smith and Wesson (S&W) cartridge constituted 50 percent of the total handgun ammunition, and another 10 percent of the assemblage was identified as 38 caliber and thus possible .38 S&W. The remaining 40 percent of the assemblage consisted of various other calibers in small amounts, the most notable being the 10.4 mm Italian cases, which constituted approximately 6 percent of the handgun cases.

The .38 S&W cartridge was widely adopted in North and South America and the British Commonwealth nations. It was designed by Smith and Wesson for the S&W 1877 hinged-frame revolver. It was also used in revolvers made by Colt, Hopkins & Allen, Iver Johnson, and Ruger. Webley & Scott made revolvers for the .38 S&W in Britain. This particular cartridge was also known as the 38 New Colt Police and was well suited for lightweight pocket guns typically used for self-defense (Barnes and Skinner 2006:301).

The 10.4 mm cartridge was developed for the Italian Model 1874 service revolver, and was also used in the Gilsenti Model 1889 revolver. This ammunition is still available today from the Italian ammunition company Fiocchi. In power it is similar to the 44 S&W Russian. It is known as an effective short-range self-defense cartridge (Barnes and Skinner 2006:304).

Rifle/Handgun Ammunition

The combined category of rifle/handgun was necessary for this artifact analysis since some ammunition was manufactured for handguns and rifles, and without the original guns for comparison, it is impossible to conclude which firearm each cartridge was discharged from. Out of the total of 152 handgun/rifle cases and cartridges recovered, approximately 29 percent were identified as .22 CB Cap cases. The .22 Long rimfire and the .44 Henry Flat each totaled 20 percent of the assemblage. In all, 22 caliber cases

accounted for 54 percent, while .44 caliber cases accounted for 24 percent of the handgun/rifle category.

The .22 CB Cap was a slightly more powerful version of the 22 BB Cap, being a cross between the .22 BB Cap and the .22 Short. It was introduced around 1888, and American companies loaded it up to 1942. A similar cartridge manufactured today is intended for target practice and pest control. Historically, the .22 CB Cap was used in numerous firearms, ranging from pocket pistols and revolvers developed for personal protection to rifles used for rodent and pest control. In 1897, Sears, Roebuck and Company offered a 22 caliber pocket revolver for a mere 68 cents (Israel 1997:572).

In 1871, the .22 Long rimfire cartridge was listed in the Great Western Gun Works catalog for the seven-shot Standard revolver; in 1887, it was also listed as a rifle cartridge. It was used in revolvers for self-defense and in rifles for varmint control.

Three fragments of the Hamilton Model No. 27 Rifle were recovered from the brothel area in Sandpoint (Figure 134). The fragments consisted of the inner bracket, which the breech-block would have fit; the outer bracket or frame, which would have been secured to the wooden stock; and the hammer and trigger, both of which are formed from the same part that fits, and extends through, the outer bracket. The No. 27 Hamilton Rifle, manufactured by C.J. Hamilton & Son from 1907 to 1930, was chambered to fire either the .22 Short or the .22 Long. Hamilton 27s could be produced so cheaply that they sold at retail for under \$3.00, while most sold for far less (Caceci 2008:514). The rifles were wholesaled to firms who then recruited children and youth to market their products door-to-door, holding a Hamilton No. 27 rifle as a prize or goal (Figure 135).



Figure 134. Hamilton Rifle Model No. 27 bracket, frame, hammer, and trigger pieces (LC #70207).

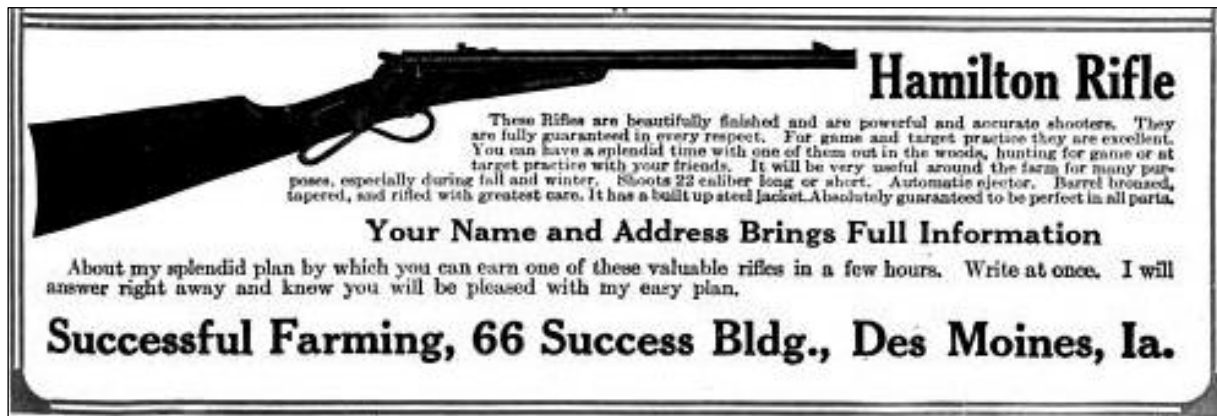


Figure 135. An advertisement recruiting young door-to-door salesmen and offering a Hamilton Rifle as reward (*Successful Farming* 1916:59).

The .44 Henry Flat was a rim-fire cartridge originally made for the Henry Model 1860 lever-action repeating rifle. The cartridge was manufactured from 1860 to 1934. Other well-known firearms offered in this chambering included the Winchester Model 1866 rifles and the 1873 Colt Single Action Army revolvers. It was not considered a powerful round since its arcing trajectory made hitting a target past 200 yards almost impossible, thus making it hardly adequate for deer hunting.

Shotgun Ammunition

Shotgun ammunition is mainly recommended for hunting fowl, rabbit, and occasionally fox, depending on the shot or pellet size and powder charge used (Matunas 1979:96–115). Since the use of shotgun ammunition hinges on the size of the shot or pellet used, and not necessarily on the gauge, only a general assumption of shotgun use for the site area can be obtained. Although usually recommended for hunting small animals, the shotgun has also developed a reputation for being an excellent self-defense firearm, due to its propensity to make a loud noise and leave minimal carnage, thereby effectively scaring any intruders and wounding, rather than killing, perpetrators within short range.

GUN VIOLENCE IN THE WEST

As firearms became more affordable, the custom of owning personal firearms steadily grew; and as the rate of gun crime rose, so too did the rate at which non-criminal civilians armed themselves, seeking protection from firearm crime (McKanna 1997). In the book *Homicide, Race, and Justice in the American West*, Clare McKanna argues that the affordability and availability of firearms contributed to violence (McKanna 1997). Citing the social and political instability in the work camps and boomtowns that was fueled by a transient, rising, and ethnically diverse population, McKanna argues that the West was more violent than the East during its early years of settlement (1997:4–5, 14, 42). The inconsistent presence of a police force or other organized civilian protection also made crimes easier to commit and more likely to go unpunished. An unstable, diverse, and predominantly male population, with access to alcohol and with little law enforcement, coupled with the individual practice of carrying concealed weapons, predisposed many late-nineteenth-century Western towns toward a high crime rate.

FIREARMS IN SANDPOINT

Violence

Sandpoint was frequently characterized as a wild and boisterous town; indeed, one of its perverse claims to fame was that the town was “the toughest place in the Union” in the 1880s (*Sandpoint News*

Bulletin 1964:6). A contractor, John Grimmer, who worked on the railroad, mentioned the lawlessness and Sandpoint in particular: “These early construction towns were tough places, with saloons, dance hall women and holdup men, who would kill a man for a few dollars. McClary was killed in John Myrtle’s saloon at Sandpoint. There were a number of real ‘bad men’ about” (Weaver et al. 2006:2–43). In a similar vein, Ella Farmin (wife of one of the town’s prominent citizens) mentions the lawlessness of the town when she arrived in Sandpoint in 1892, stating, “Over in this little town there were ... twenty three saloons, and several houses of ill fame, two stores, two hotels, and one restaurant ... Strangers were seen to enter the saloons and never come out ... Altogether the town bore anything but a savory reputation” (Weaver et al. 2006:2–51). In 1892 the *Pend d’Oreille News* reported the shooting of a man nicknamed “Steamboat Tommy” in the Seattle Mug, a Sandpoint dance hall. Pat Cunningham, who owned the establishment, had shot the victim with a “self cocker” in self-defense (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892a).

Stories of shootings were semi-regular appearances in the local newspapers, though it is important to note that in many instances these stories tended to diminish over time and were frequently accounts of people discharging guns to scare off people.

Guns in Daily Life

While it is easy to associate guns with violence between people in places such as Sandpoint, it is important to recognize that in many regards guns were merely another implement used by people. By this we mean that guns were a part of the daily fabric of life. Close reading of the local newspapers reveals that while the shootings obviously attracted a great deal of press, firearms helped with the more mundane aspects of life in the West. There are numerous accounts of hunting success (or failure) mentioned in Sandpoint newspapers, as noted in the *Pend d’Oreille News* article below (Figure 136).

Beyond the expected hunting narratives, there are accounts of guns being used to kill random animals in town. In 1905 for instance, “Dr. Slusser killed Wm. Hutchinson’s dog ... The doctor claimed it had bitten his little boy and he was afraid to have it around. However, he used his trusty shotgun to dispatch the dog and to discharge a gun inside the village limits is against the ordinance ... the doctor had to pay a \$5 fine and costs in Judge Norris’ court” (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1905b:5). Finally, guns were part of the recreational activities in the town. The front page of the *Pend d’Oreille Review* reported on the visit of Nellie Bennett, the women’s champion trap shot in 1905 (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1905a:1), and we also find images of men trap shooting in Sandpoint (Figure 137). The point to remember in studying the uses of guns in the past is that while there were many sensationalized accounts of people shooting each other, the practical reality was that guns were part of daily life and were used for many reasons, ranging from getting rid of pests to hunting and recreation.

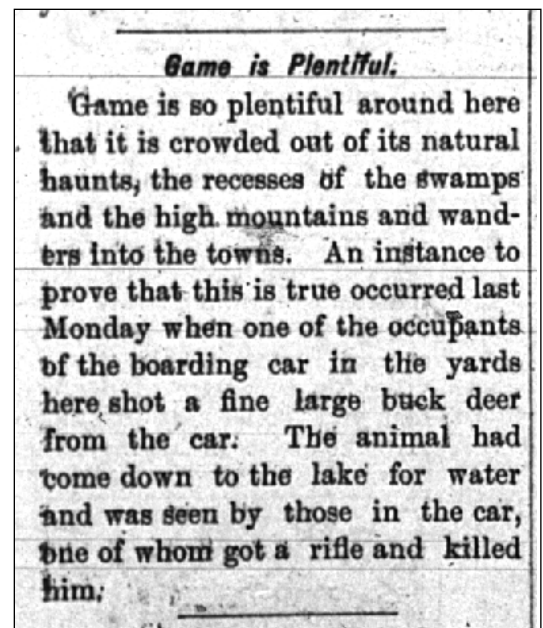


Figure 136. A hunting article (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892b:5).

Chinatown Materials

The largest single concentration of firearm-related artifacts was recovered in the excavations in Chinatown (Table 35). The volume of materials recovered is somewhat surprising and raises the prospect of several factors contributing to this assemblage. We believe that the firearms artifacts suggest three different actions in Chinatown, ranging from deliberate decisions about gun choices to some inadvertent activities.

Table 35. Chinatown Firearm-related Artifacts

Object Name	Description	Count
Bullets	Lead, cast	33
Pellets	Lead, cast	4
Cartridges	Center fire, rifle	1
Cartridges	Rim fire, non-rifle	1
Cartridges	Center fire, non-rifle	4
Cases	Center fire	364
Cases	Rim fire	97
Cases	Unknown	1
Gun parts		3
Clay pigeon fragments		2
Shot shell	12 gauge	13
Total		523



Figure 137. Trap shooting in Sandpoint (Courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

One of the first things to consider is how so many artifacts got to this location and the variety of firearms present. Table 36 summarizes the caliber of bullet cases recovered. In one sense it was expected that .38 caliber cases would be predominant, but beyond that there was a considerable diversity of materials present. The variation in caliber almost certainly implies that the materials present were not there solely because of the three Chinese men living in the nearby residence, but that at least some of them wound up there by accident. Indeed, the contrast with the Los Angeles Chinatown is quite striking. In that assemblage there was a much lower volume of materials recovered ($n = 60$), and there was much less variability in the caliber of ammunition present (Greenwood 1996:106). Clearly there was something different going on in Sandpoint compared with Los Angeles; the question is what?

As has been noted in Volume 1, this was the former location of a business, specifically a laundry. The Sanborn maps identified a Chinese laundry on-site and newspapers reported similar activity (among other things). The laundry business was at least partially corroborated through archaeology by the recovery of several hundred buttons on-site. Button loss is a common casualty of repeated laundering of clothes; loose buttons come off during the washing of garments

Table 36. Caliber of Identifiable Cases/Shells from Chinatown

Caliber/Gauge	Count
.22	32
.25	1
.30	2
.32	26
.38	128
.40	14
.41	2
.44	61
.45	16
12-gauge	5
16-gauge	1
20-gauge	1
Unidentified gauge	17
Unidentified caliber	37
Total	343

and are lost on a regular basis. But buttons are not the only things that are lost. Objects that are in people's pockets also frequently disappear in the wash. One partial explanation for both the volume and the variety of cases/shells in the assemblage is that some of them came from the pockets of people who had their laundry done there. People may have either picked up spent casings with the intent of reusing them or they may have been keeping a few rounds in their pockets.

A second point to note is that a nearly complete gun was recovered in this assemblage. The gun is an 1860 Colt Army Revolver (Figure 138). The recovery of this gun is intriguing because it appears to indicate a practice that has been identified on other Chinese occupied sites, namely that the Chinese frequently ended up with guns that were effectively antiques. The military frequently sold off stocks of out-of-date weapons. Many of these guns ended up being owned by Chinese residents.



Figure 138. 1860 Colt Army Revolver (LC #40382).

Finally, we note the caliber of the casings recovered (Table 36, above). The calibers of choice, .38 and .44 caliber, would have been used in firearms that would have packed a punch. Simply put, the users of these guns were likely not using those weapons to take pot shots at small rodents. It is likely that a number of the shell casings recovered were attributable to the Chinese residents. Some may have been the byproducts of washing activities, but certainly not all of them. Multiple archaeologists have noted that Chinese immigrants actively took steps to acquire weapons to defend themselves (Baxter 2008:33–34; Greenwood 1996:106). Given the waves of anti-Chinese racism they were exposed to, it is reasonable to expect that folks would have acquired weapons as a means of protection. As Merritt noted in his dissertation, it appears that such actions were fairly common on Chinese occupied sites (Merritt 2010:299).

Restricted District Materials

The second-largest concentration of ammunition-related materials was recovered in the Restricted District, the town's red-light district. The volume of materials was considerably less than in the nearby Chinatown but it was no less diverse. Materials were recovered in approximately equal amounts in Henderson's Brothel (which was the larger establishment, catering to the town's working class) (Tables 37 and 38) and Herman's establishment (catering to a more affluent clientele) (Tables 38 and 39). Despite the numerical similarities ($n = 100$ versus $n = 142$), the overall density of materials was greater at Herman's establishment since it was a much smaller place. This is consistent with what has been regularly identified with other classes of material culture associated with the two assemblages.

Table 37. Firearm-related Artifacts in Henderson's Brothel

Object Name	Description	Count
Bullets	Lead, cast	6
Cartridges	Center fire, rifle	1
Cartridges	Center fire, rifle	2
Cartridges	Rim fire, rifle	1
Cartridges	Rim fire, non-rifle	1
Cartridges	Unknown	1
Cases	Center fire	33
Cases	Rim fire	27
Cases	Unknown	1
Gun parts		1
Clay pigeon fragments		2
Clips	Stripper	1
Shot shells	12 gauge	21
Shot shells	16 gauge	1
Shot shells	410-12mm	1
Total		100

Table 39. Firearm-related Artifacts in Herman's Bordello

Object Name	Description	Count
Bullets	Lead, cast	5
Pellets	Lead, cast	2
Cartridges	Center fire, non- rifle	9
Cartridges	Center fire, unknown	25
Cartridges	Rim fire, unknown	1
Cartridges	Rim fire, non-rifle	6
Cases	Center fire	59
Cases	Rim fire	25
Shot shells	12 gauge	9
Shot shells	16 gauge	1
Total		142

Table 38 Caliber of Identifiable Cases/Shells from Henderson's Brothel

Caliber/Gauge	Count
.22	24
.30	3
.32	7
.38	18
.40	1
.41	1
.44	10
12-gauge	21
16-gauge	1
410-12 mm	1
Unidentified caliber	5
Total	92

Table 40. Caliber of Identifiable Cases/Shells from Herman's Bordello

Caliber/Gauge	Count
.22	15
.25	1
.30	3
.32	22
.38	24
.40	1
.41	16
.44	9
.45	11
11 mm (French)	1
12-gauge	11
16-gauge	3
Unidentified caliber	13
Total	130

Much like the Chinese establishment, it is somewhat reasonable to expect a moderate concentration of firearm-related materials in this locale; after all the Restricted District did have a reputation as a socially problematic part of town. One point of interest was the relatively large number of small caliber casings that were recovered in the Henderson assemblage. While .22 caliber shells accounted for 26 percent of what was recovered at Henderson's, they only represented 12 percent of Herman's assemblage and 9 percent of Chinatown's. It may be a bit of an interpretive reach, but we suggest that this finding is consistent with what one would expect. At a more genteel establishment such as Herman's Bordello, there would likely have been some mechanism in place for protecting the women of the house—such as possibly a bouncer. In Henderson's Brothel, the onus for protecting themselves almost certainly would have been on the women. The volume of small caliber shells hints at the presence of a larger number of small handguns—that is, guns that are easily concealed and would have been used for personal protection.

CONCLUSION

As the archaeology of Sandpoint has demonstrated, firearms and their related objects were pervasive in the town—they were literally everywhere. We have presented some details of two of the larger collections of objects in this chapter, ammunition from the restricted district and from Sandpoint's small Chinatown.. These items provide some insight into the use of firearms in Sandpoint's past, but there is clearly room for further work to be done. What might we learn from a site-wide comparison of caliber for instance? As we mentioned at the outset, one of the challenges we faced is the lack of detailed studies on items like shell casings from non-military contexts. We view this work as a starting point that we hope people can build on, both in the context of further explorations in Sandpoint and in the broader community of scholars in historical archaeology.

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CHAPTER 11. IF THERE IS ANYTHING LEFT TO WORK ON: DENTAL HEALTH IN HISTORIC SANDPOINT, IDAHO

Jamelon Emmick Brown

Human remains and isolated human teeth recovered from archaeological excavations at Sandpoint's early townsite suggest that dental health was poor among both children and adults. However, the artifacts and some isolated teeth recovered indicate that some people were regularly practicing oral hygiene and obtaining professional dental care. Comparison of these lines of evidence as well as historical documentation presents a unique opportunity to examine whether behavior is reflected in the physical remains of the town's inhabitants. The diverse nature of the sites from which isolated teeth and artifacts were recovered also offers a chance to compare the behavior of the groups represented by the assemblages to one another and to the general population. Popular assumptions of the time were that overall hygiene was practiced more assiduously by the native-born middle and upper classes, and other groups (particularly immigrants) were commonly perceived to be comparatively lax in their grooming. Results from Sandpoint indicate that some immigrant and working-class groups defied that stereotype, but because of their unique circumstances they may not be seen as representative of the general Sandpoint population.

DENTISTRY AND ORAL HYGIENE

Sandpoint was first settled in 1880 in anticipation of the Northern Pacific Railway, and the town was built along the railroad right-of-way on the east side of Sand Creek (State of Idaho 1903:792). Many of the businesses in the small town doubled as residences for their owners and as boarding houses for laborers and tradespeople. The area of the early townsite was occupied continuously through the 1920s, although businesses and occupants dwindled as the city moved to the west side of Sand Creek. The material evidence left behind and recovered archaeologically offers a basis for comparison of behavior between Sandpoint sites and with the rest of the country.

Dentistry

By the 1800s, the United States led the field of dentistry. Many of Europe's trained dentists came to the United States in search of new opportunities. American inventors pioneered new techniques and materials to advance the field, and public education created an audience for dentists seeking to educate people on hygiene and dentistry (Ring 1985:197). Professional dental services were generally available in large cities, and some dentists traveled periodically to smaller communities to offer care. However, residents of towns such as Sandpoint may have sought alternative care if they could not afford or wait for professional services.

A range of less favorable options included at-home methods. According to one Sears, Roebuck and Company advertisement (1907:644), the home tooth forceps "Can be used for extracting with ease all children's teeth and save all dentist's fees." Also, most local physicians had some experience with dental procedures such as extractions. Even local blacksmiths, barbers, or druggists may have offered dental services. Another option for unwitting customers was untrained dentists who traveled from town to town, "itinerants who extracted teeth, sold tooth powders and other nostrums, and occasionally filled carious teeth with questionable materials and questionable results" (Ring 1985:203).

At least one such "dentist" operated in Sandpoint in 1892, so residents had access to dental care if they could afford it and dared seek it. According to a newspaper article, "Sand Point is favored with a new dentist. Mr. J.H. Durfee has a fine kit of tools and offers \$50 reward for any tooth that he can't extract, if there is anything left to work on" (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892a:5). Durfee advertised in the same

newspaper that he was a jeweler, and several years later he was listed as a jeweler and optician in Northport, Washington (*The Jewelers' Circular* 1899:39). Small towns such as Sandpoint offered opportunities for unscrupulous individuals posing as professionals until as late as the 1890s, but after the turn of the century Sandpoint began to attract professionals. Two dentists, J.B. Buchanan and J.B. Page, were advertising in the Sandpoint newspaper in 1903 (*Kootenai County Republican* 1903:3).

Despite advances in dentistry, dental health remained poor among many Americans. In 1924, dentist Joseph Kauffmann discussed the history of preventative dentistry and oral hygiene, suggesting that the impacts of poor dental health had only recently been recognized: "Written chronicles, and archeological and paleontological discoveries prove that dental disease is nothing new. The only original thought surrounding its prevalence is that its influential significance as a serious disturbing factor in the life of man has but lately been accentuated" (Kauffmann 1924:300).

As late as World War II, dental health remained a problem. In the United States, one out of five men failed to meet the minimum standard that had been set for dental health (three pairs of matching incisors and three pairs of chewing teeth) in order to qualify for the armed forces, so "dental defects constituted the chief cause for physical rejection for active duty" (Ring 1985:294).

Oral Hygiene

Sandpoint's location on a major rail line meant that hygiene products were available through mail order or from local druggists. There were several druggists working in Sandpoint as early as 1892. For example, the *Pend d'Oreille News* carried a City Store advertisement that publicized an array of products and services that one would expect to have available from a drug store (Figure 139). By 1900 there was thriving competition among druggists in town, with the principal competitors being Allen Bros. and Charles R. Foss. Foss opened his business in the original townsite in 1900 and was advertising consistently in the town (*Northern Idaho News* 1905:17–18; *State of Idaho* 1903:794). A typical

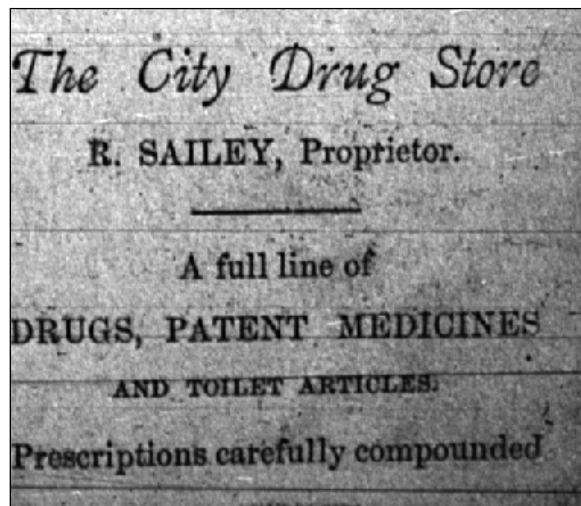


Figure 139. City Drug Store advertisement (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892b:3).

example of his marketing was: "Articles in Mr. Foss' stock of Druggists Sundries, such as perfumes, soaps, combs, brushes and all character of toilet articles are of standard manufacture and of the latest and most artistic designs" (*Northern Idaho News* 1905:17–18). The presence of multiple druggists and dentists in town by 1900 was a clear indicator that people had access to both dental products and some level of "professional" dental care fairly early in the town's history.

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, oral hygiene products included toothbrushes, mouthwashes, toothpastes, and tooth powders. By the late 1800s, mechanized manufacture allowed production of inexpensive toothbrushes, most of which were made of bone (Mattick 2010:4). Well into the next century, however, tooth brushing had still not caught on with most Americans. In 1929, Kauffmann (1929:133) used import and domestic manufacture figures to estimate that, if the average user consumed two toothbrushes per year, no more than 15 percent of Americans used toothbrushes. Even if a substantial number consumed only one per year, the total number of users still would not exceed 20 percent (Kauffmann 1929:133).

Despite the accessibility and relative affordability of hygiene products, ethnic affiliation and social class may have been factors in their use. During the late 1800s and early 1900s, regular hygiene was associated with the native-born middle and upper classes in America (Fitts 2002:11–12). According to Hoy (1995:125), “Most immigrant children had never used a toothbrush.” Social programs promoting hygiene targeted immigrant women and school children in larger cities (Hoy 1995). In smaller towns such as Sandpoint it is unlikely that these efforts would have had much of an impact. Indeed, it is doubtful that there would have even been any sort of hygiene education in the town, despite the fact that one-third of Sandpoint’s population was immigrants and more than half were men (Weaver et al. 2006:2-54).

In contrast, middle-class women would likely have received substantial advice on hygiene. One example was an 1870 decorum book that included instructions such as: “no matter how humble your room may be there are eight things it should contain: a mirror, washstand, soap, towel, comb, hair brush, nailbrush and *tooth-brush* (emphasis added) (Green 1983:135, quoting from Tome’s *The Bazar-Book of Decorum* [1870]). Such messages were apparently reaching the middle class of Sandpoint—and in some instances oral hygiene was the focus.

Two examples of a concern with oral hygiene reaching the local community were apparent in one of the local newspapers of the time. In the space of a few months we find two articles in the paper dealing with teeth, one providing advice on proper dental care (they were told to floss 120 years ago!) and one on what to do with rotten teeth (Figures 140 and 141). Yet historical sources provide part of the story. The Sandpoint excavation provided us with a relatively unique data set to explore dental care in Sandpoint in more detail. Much like the dentist telling people what they should do (and then people not following that advice), we have some indication of that sort of behavior in our archaeological evidence. We have a small sample of archaeologically recovered teeth and dental hygiene items that can provide some evidence of the actual state of a few Sandpointers’ teeth and how they did or did not take care of their teeth at the turn of the century.

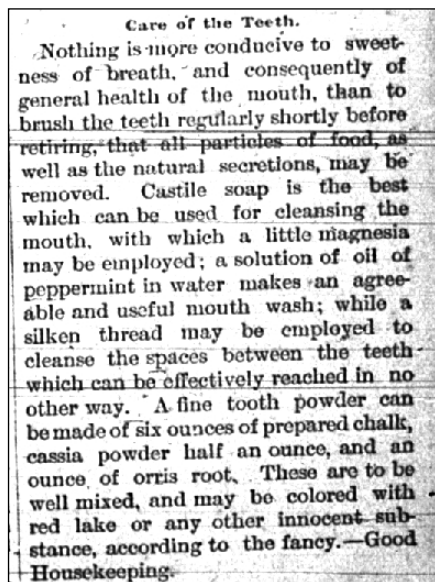


Figure 140. Article on tooth care (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892c:7).

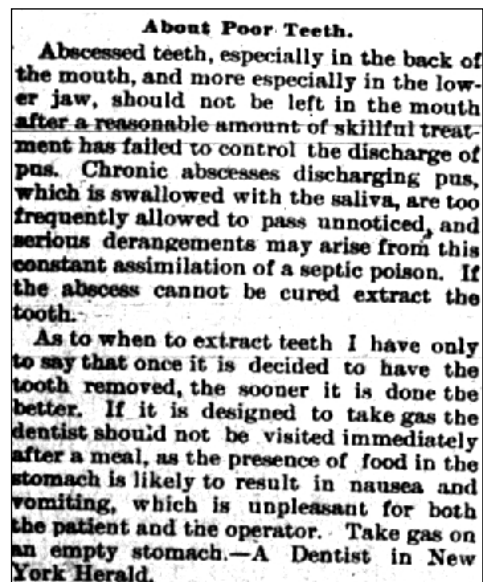


Figure 141. Newspaper article on tooth care (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892d:2).

METHODS

Analysis of Human Remains, Isolated Teeth, and Artifacts

Human remains, isolated teeth, and artifacts related to dental health and oral hygiene were recovered from four distinct areas representing early Sandpoint: the town's first cemetery (containing four complete burials and three partial burials), a commercial area, an area of saloons and brothels known as the Restricted District, and a "Chinatown," which was actually a single Chinese residence/laundry (Figure 142).

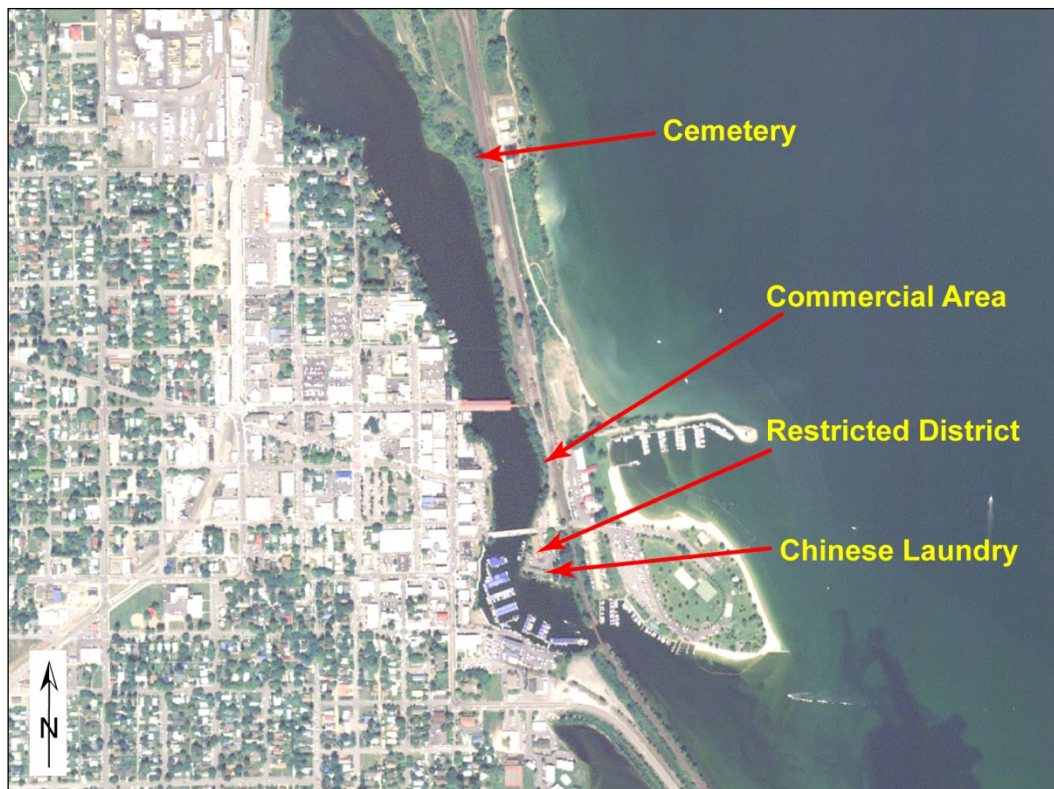


Figure 142. Sandpoint sites from which evidence for dental health was recovered.

This study employed methods of identification and quantification appropriate to each line of evidence. Analysis of human remains was conducted according to *Standards for Data Collection from Human Skeletal Remains* (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994). Attributes of the skull and pelvis were used to determine sex and age of each individual, and attributes of the skull were used to determine ancestry. A dental inventory was conducted for each individual, and for each tooth the following data were collected: development, wear, caries, abscesses, calculus, and the portion of the tooth affected by pathology. In addition, premortem dental modifications, such as pipe wear, were recorded. Isolated human teeth were classified using the identification procedure outlined in *Human Osteology* (White 1999:116–135).

Minimum vessel counts (MVCs) for embossed glass containers, such as Listerine and Lavis mouthwash bottles, were calculated as part of the overall analysis of the glass materials recovered. Where there were multiple database entries for the same product, the field denoting the embossed commercial mark was examined and duplicates were counted as additional vessels, taking into account the potential for identical embossing to appear on multiple sides of a container. In general, the minimum number of items (MNI) for other artifacts was obtained by assuming a minimum count of one for each type of

object identified. Where there were multiple database entries for the same type of object, the MNI was based on the number bottle bases that were more than 50 percent complete.

A more detailed inventory of toothbrushes was conducted. Toothbrushes were divided by ethnic affiliation, Chinese or Euro-American, and were further distinguished by style within each of those categories. Toothbrushes identified as Chinese in origin are distinguished by differences in toothbrush shape (see Volume 4). Where there were multiple toothbrushes of the same style, duplicate portions were counted as additional items as long as there was no potential for them to mend with artifacts that had already contributed to the MNI (Table 41).

Table 41. Sandpoint Toothbrush Summary

Object Name	MNI
Pend d'Oreille Hotel	3
Henderson brothel	9
Herman Bordello	5
Chinese Residence/laundry	11(9 Chinese manufacture)
Total	28

Characterization of Sites

Resources consulted for characterization of sites are detailed in the original research design for the project (Weaver et al. 2006). Resources for the cemetery include obituaries and newspaper articles. For the commercial area, Chinatown, and the Restricted District, they included Sanborn fire insurance maps (Sanborn Map Company 1904, 1909, 1915, 1921), U.S. Census records (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900, 1910), Northern Pacific Railroad plat map and lease records, and newspaper articles.

RESULTS

The three lines of evidence—human remains, isolated teeth, and artifacts—are examined below in the contexts in which they were found. The geographic areas and the artifacts recovered from them are associated with very different groups of people, and this is reflected in the results of the analysis.

Cemetery

Excavation at the location of Sandpoint's first cemetery uncovered the remains of four individuals with dentition. The cemetery was probably established in the 1880s and was used until 1903, when most of the graves were relocated, so the remains represent early residents of, or possibly visitors to, Sandpoint. A more detailed analysis of the remains is presented in the cemetery excavation report (Emmick et al. 2008).

The dental remains at the cemetery represent a child, a young adult, a middle adult, and an old adult (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994:36). The three adults, all male and probably all Caucasian, exhibit caries, or cavities resulting from dental decay: seven in the young adult, four in the middle adult, and 14 in the old adult (Figure 143). The three adults also have calculus, or tartar, adhering to their teeth. All four individuals exhibit abnormal bone loss surrounding their alveoli, or tooth sockets, which is consistent with periodontal disease. The child's teeth have opacities that were probably the result of ingestion of excessive amounts of fluoride, which occurred naturally in drinking water in many locations in the western United States (Brunt et al. 2004:6; Ring 1985:290). Fluoride reduces the incidence of caries, and this may explain the absence of caries in this individual. Overall, evidence suggests that these individuals did not practice regular oral hygiene.



Figure 143. Teeth of old adult showing caries, tooth loss, and staining.

Poor hygiene was most closely associated with the working class and immigrants during that time. Most Americans were not practicing oral hygiene regularly, so this alone cannot be the basis for assigning social or residency status to these individuals, but another behavior reflected in the remains provides support to the notion. The teeth of both the middle adult and old adult exhibited wear associated with clay tobacco pipe smoking, a practice most associated with working-class immigrants (Beaudry 1993:93; Reckner and Brighton 1999:68–69) (Figure 144). Regardless of their background, the state of dental health exhibited by these individuals is consistent with the absence of professional dentists in Sandpoint and with the lack of oral hygiene in America at the time.



Figure 144. Teeth of middle adult showing pipe wear, calculus, and bone loss.

Commercial Area

The commercial area lies about a third of a mile south of the cemetery. This stretch of land was occupied by a variety of businesses, including saloons, hotels, general stores, meat markets, a pharmacy, a jeweler, and storage facilities, as well as residences. By 1904, most of the buildings were gone, and the northern end of the area was occupied by the Hotel Pend d'Oreille, which operated from before 1909 to sometime after 1915. In 1910 the hotel was home to 10 people—the proprietor and his wife were immigrants and their four children were native-born, while two of the four roomers were immigrants. Two isolated teeth and a small assemblage of oral hygiene artifacts were recovered from this area.

Isolated human teeth are occasionally encountered at archaeological sites. Because teeth can be lost during life as a result of dental development, infection, or injury, they do not represent burials of deceased persons (Sutton and Arkush 2002:6). An isolated premolar found at the commercial area has a large caries that has destroyed much of the crown and contains a crude metal filling (Figure 144). Fillings were commonly made of gold, amalgam (mercury alloy), or cement. Chemical analysis of the filling's contents shows that this one is composed of zinc and calcium sulfate (gypsum). It also contained 2 percent barium. The relatively high percentage of calcium sulfate and barium raises two issues. First, it suggests that calcium sulfate mixed with zinc would not have been an ideal filling compound, implying that this may have been some form of temporary filling. Second, the barium level in the filling would have been a definite toxicity risk. Spinner et al. (2011:51) conclude that:

Two possible conclusions can be drawn from this evidence. Either the owner of the diseased tooth passed away before a permanent filling could be put in place, or dental complications set in, making extraction the best option. A third possibility, i.e., that the tooth was lost in a bar fight (making further restoration a moot point), cannot be entirely discounted.

Given that the tooth was found in isolation from any other human remains, the most plausible scenario is that it was an extraction that simply got thrown out after it was pulled.

Another tooth recovered from the commercial area is an isolated molar with a large caries that has destroyed much of the crown (Figure 145). The tooth exhibits damage to both its sides consistent with extraction forceps. While a filling is a good indicator of professional dental care, extraction is not necessarily an indicator that someone visited the dentist because extraction forceps were available through mail-order catalogs like Sears, Roebuck and Company's in the early 1900s. However it may be more than coincidence that J.B. Page's dental business was located in the commercial area around 1903 (*Kootenai County Republican* 1903:3).

A few artifacts recovered from the commercial area suggest that patrons or residents were practicing oral hygiene. Three bone toothbrushes and a bottle of Listerine mouthwash were recovered from the area of the Hotel Pend d'Oreille. One word of caution about the Listerine bottle—today Listerine is uniformly recognized



Figure 144. Side view of premolar with large caries and filling from the commercial area.



Figure 145. Side view of molar with large caries from the commercial area.

as a mouthwash, but historically it had many uses. Originally created as a surgical antiseptic, Listerine was also advertised as being able to treat gonorrhea, to prevent coughs and colds, and as a cure for “chronic halitosis”—among other things (Young 1967:147–148). More conclusive evidence of oral hygiene was the two bottles of Rubifoam, liquid dentifrice, that were recovered from the vicinity of a pharmacy and the dentist’s office. The relatively small number of oral hygiene artifacts could be a reflection of the commercial nature of the area, the early occupation of the site, the relative lack of interest in oral hygiene, or of the relatively small sample collected during excavation.

Chinese Residence/Laundry

South of the commercial area was a building that was used as a Chinese laundry and residence (and possible opium den). In 1900, three Chinese immigrants resided at this location, so the archaeological deposits have elements of both commercial and residential materials, including artifacts related to grooming. The laundry was gone by 1909, but it is possible that other activities took place at the site after that time. Oral hygiene artifacts, including many toothbrushes and a denture tooth, were recovered from the site.

Eleven toothbrushes were recovered from the Chinese residence/laundry. Nine toothbrushes were identified as Chinese styles (Figure 147) and two as Euro-American styles. The presence of Euro-American toothbrushes indicates that either the Chinese purchased goods from American suppliers or Euro-Americans were responsible for a portion of the materials deposited at the site. Other studies have documented both Chinese and Euro-American toothbrushes in Chinese contexts (Costello 2004:7.9; Douglas 2007; Greenwood 1996:115). In addition to the toothbrushes, other oral hygiene artifacts recovered from the Chinese laundry include one toothpaste tube and at least one Lavoris and three Listerine mouthwash bottles.



Figure 147. Chinese toothbrush with head missing.

The assemblage includes a porcelain denture tooth that would have been embedded in a base material such as vulcanized rubber (Figure 148). It is consistent with diatoric teeth produced by the S.S. White Dental Manufacturing Company beginning in 1902 (Hollingsworth 1902). Diatoric teeth have remained

in use over the past 100 years, but acrylic has become more popular than porcelain for their manufacture. Advances in denture technology made them affordable for the masses because the price was one-fifth that of dentures made of precious metals and ivory. While this could be evidence of professional dental care, dentures could also have been obtained inexpensively from traveling salesmen (Prioli 1991). There is at least one other account of dentures recovered from an Overseas Chinese site (Greenwood 1996:116).



Figure 148. Side view of porcelain denture tooth from the Chinese laundry.

The Chinese have a long history of dental care and oral hygiene. The modern form of the toothbrush was invented in China in the 1490s long before it was used in Europe (Ring 1985:83). The Chinese who eventually came to America, and those who lived in Sandpoint's "Chinatown," brought with them their traditional practices and goods. As a result, their oral hygiene habits differed from those of some European immigrants whose ancestors did not have such a tradition.

Restricted District

Adjacent to the Chinese laundry was the Restricted District. This area was home to saloons, bordellos, and brothels from the turn of the century to sometime after 1915. Many of the people who worked in these buildings also lived in them. In 1910, 15 women and three men resided at the brothel and bordello. Several of the women were immigrants. Many oral hygiene products and an isolated tooth make up the assemblage.

Fourteen toothbrushes were recovered from the area of the brothel and bordello (Figure 149). They are in a variety of shapes and most are engraved with brand names or other marks. They could have been obtained through mail-order catalogs or from local sources. One toothbrush came from Columbia Pharmacy in Spokane and another from Central Pharmacy in Sandpoint. Thirteen of the toothbrushes are bone and one is celluloid, which is consistent with the time period that the Restricted District was occupied; synthetic materials became more popular than bone for the manufacture of toothbrushes in



Figure 149. Bone toothbrush from the Restricted District.

the 1920s (Mattick 2010:4). A few of the toothbrushes appear to be French imports. One of the toothbrushes from Willa Herman's Bordello is engraved with LE BAL BLANC or "The White Ball." In a minor detail that may or may not be linked to the French toothbrushes, all three women listed as living in Herman's Bordello in 1910 had fathers who were French Canadians and Willa Herman herself was reported as having been born in French Canada.

Other artifacts recovered from the Restricted District include at least four tubes representing four different products: Rubifoam, Kolynos Dental Cream, Pebeco Tooth Paste, and Colgate Ribbon Dental Cream. One glass tooth powder bottle was also recovered. The assemblage also includes at least five Listerine and two Lavoris bottles. Again, it should be noted that although these products were popular as mouthwashes, they were considered general antiseptics and were used to treat wounds and for other matters of personal hygiene. According to a nineteenth-century medical journal, "Prostitutes who properly use Listerine impart no disease to their friends" (Howe 1882:433).

An isolated human tooth was recovered from the north end of the Restricted District in an area associated with Marie Henderson's Brothel and a restaurant/saloon (Figure 150). It appears to be a deciduous molar, which would have been lost at between 7.5 and 12.5 years of age after having been in the mouth for several years (Ubelaker 1989, cited by Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994:51), long enough to develop two caries. Such a find is intriguing. While there were no children listed as living at either of the brothels in the 1910 census, at least five of the women were recorded as having given birth to at least one child and three were listed as having living children. Further, as the discussion of children in Chapter 6 of this volume indicates, there were many children's toys recovered from contexts associated with the two brothels.



Figure 150. Top view of deciduous tooth from the Restricted District.

The working-class women of the Restricted District's bordellos and brothels had very different reasons for practicing oral hygiene than their Chinese neighbors. Other archaeological studies of prostitution have interpreted the presence of hygiene-related artifacts, and their high proportions at brothels as opposed to nearby residences, as an attempt by prostitutes to appeal to prospective clients and to cover up illness and disease (Ketz et al. 2005:86; Meyer et al. 2005:122). To quote the article *City of Angels, City of Sin*, "Grooming was, after all, part of the workingwoman's stock-in-trade, while the prostitute's life of indulgence and constant exposure to disease made health one of her primary concerns."

CONCLUSION

Human remains and isolated teeth provide direct evidence for the dental health of Sandpoint's residents at the turn of the century. They demonstrate that dental health was poor and suggest that the services of a professional dentist were sought only out of desperation. They also provide indirect evidence that residents did not practice oral hygiene regularly, but artifacts recovered from some Sandpoint sites seem to suggest otherwise. The relative abundance of oral hygiene artifacts recovered from Chinatown and the Restricted District must be considered in the contexts of the residents' heritage and profession. In this light, their behavior cannot be considered representative of the behavior of all working-class or immigrant Sandpoint residents of the time.

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CHAPTER 12. COINS AND TOKENS IN SANDPOINT: NUMISMATICS AND EXONUMIA

James C. Bard

By the time Sandpoint was settled by non-Indians, economic exchange in the United States was mostly money-based (though as shown later in this chapter, the [47] recovered tokens were an important element in the economic life of Sandpoint as they facilitated trade and exchange of goods and often functioned as money substitutes). Although no paper money was recovered from the Sandpoint sites, monetary metal coins from China (*wen*) (23) and Vietnam (*dong*) (16), British Hong Kong (1), Sweden (1), Canada (5), and the United States (76) were recovered from several different contexts. A total of 122 monetary metal coins were recovered. Most of the legal tender coins found in the Sandpoint sites were regular issues of the United States mint. Fewer Canadian coins were recovered, but these essentially circulated alongside U.S. coins and were accepted as equal in purchasing power.

Numismatics is the study of coins (Grierson 1975). The term “numismatics” derives from the French *numismatique* (which was derived from the Latin *numismatis* and the Greek *nomisma*). Exonumia is the study of tokens and related objects that were used from time to time as a means of payment for debts and to help in the exchange of goods and services. This chapter describes the recovered coins and tokens, and also attempts to provide possible behavioral interpretations germane to the specific archaeological contexts from which these coins and tokens were recovered. Broader historical contexts are also used to explore coin dating and to leverage the historically well-dated Sandpoint occupations to develop a coin circulation and wear model. Used as money in China and Vietnam, *wen* and *dong* were not legal tender in America. Behavioral models are used to help frame the non-monetary uses of the recovered Chinese and Vietnamese coins.

ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES

Today, few people would stop on the street to pick up a lost one cent coin. One cent is not worth much today, and some suggest the U.S. Mint should cease minting pennies that no one seems to want or need. In historic Sandpoint, lost money is best understood in the economic context of the time between 1882, when the Northern Pacific Railroad (NPRR) arrived in Sandpoint, and about 1914, when the Restricted District was in terminal decline. Before we consider the lowly penny, let’s consider the once almighty dollar. Setting the index value of a 2010 Federal Reserve Note at a dollar, we can determine its relative former purchasing power. Just 10 years ago, this Federal Reserve Note had a purchasing power of \$1.26. In 1914, a Morgan silver dollar was equivalent to \$21.65 in 2010. In 1882, a Morgan silver dollar was equivalent to \$22.47 in 2010. The 1897 silver dollar “lost” or “spent” at Herman’s Bordello would have likely dissipated a working man’s daily wage.

In the economic history of the United States, the 25 years just before World War I was a time that lacked strong and persistent rises in real wages. As shown by Rees (1961:3), real wages from 1890 to 1914 were essentially stationary. During this time, the frontier had closed and little good agricultural land was still available for original settlement (Rees 1961:3). More immigrants arrived in the United States than in any other period of equal length, and many came with little education or formal skills. Such forces and the violent suppression of unions restrained wage earner incomes. Rees (1961:4) constructed a new cost-of-living index for 1890–1914 using Paul H. Douglas’s (1930) estimates of changing food, liquor, and tobacco prices. Rees (1961:5) found that real earnings of manufacturing workers rose 37 percent from 1890 to 1914, at an annual compound rate of 1.3 percent. Even slowly rising wages in a period of relative price stability could have provided the economic fuel to keep Sandpoint mill workers and other

wage-earning men able to afford to slake their thirsts and partake in the pleasures of the Restricted District.

In 1890, a manufacturing worker earned about \$0.14 per hour, and this rose to \$0.22 by 1914 (Rees 1961:4). Before the modern 8-hour workday, workers labored 10-hour days and earned about \$1.40 per day in 1890 and as much as \$2.20 per day by 1914. A Morgan silver dollar, for example, represented nearly a half day's income. In 1882, when a dollar was worth \$22.47 in terms of today's purchasing power, a \$1.40 per day wage would be equivalent to about \$31.45 per day in modern purchasing power. The 1914 dollar (worth \$21.65 today) would have given a 1914 Sandpoint mill worker about \$47.63 per day in terms of modern purchasing power. In contrast, a woman working in a crib setting might earn a decent income based on volume alone. A client typically might be charged 50 cents for a short visit with a crib woman (Meyer et al. 2005:113). In contrast, at a brothel or parlor house in a large city (Los Angeles), fees ranged from \$1 to \$5, but madams retained a large percentage of the earnings to cover house services such as board, laundry, and medical treatment (Rosen 1982:76, 90–97).

As the years went by, Sandpoint's working men, both native-born and immigrants, probably made enough money to support themselves and have a little extra left to enjoy the finer things in life at Sandpoint's various saloons and restaurants. The slowly rising real wages (at least for the native-born) may have helped the economy in other ways. In later years, men patronizing prostitutes the downscale resorts of the Restricted District were strongly encouraged to purchase of splits of Mumm's Champagne. Liquor sales inside the bordellos and brothels were an important source of profit; dozens of Mumm's Champagne splits were found in the archaeological deposits.

Going back to the penny on the street, between 1882 and 1914, one cent represented about 21 to 22 cents in today's terms—not a great deal of money, but most people today would stop and pick up a couple of dimes lying on the ground. A Sandpoint mill worker earning \$1.40 per day would not have lost much sleep over a missing penny, or even a nickel. If he lost a silver dime, however, he would have lost the pay for an hour of hard work pushing logs through the Humbird Planing Mill. The good five-cent cigar of 1890–1914 took one-twentieth of a dollar to purchase—about \$1.08 to \$1.11 in today's terms. Similar calculations can be done for the price of a stein of beer, a shot glass of whiskey, or a split bottle glass of Mumm's Champagne at Willa Herman's Bordello.

Now we turn our attention to the coins in the pockets of Sandpoint residents and explore some aspects of their circulation.

COINS: THE WORKHORSES OF DAILY COMMERCE

Decades ago, small-denomination coins were worth much more in purchasing power than they are today. Coins circulated heavily and were exchanged frequently; they were the workhorses of daily commerce. As late as the 1950s, the occasional worn Indian head penny, Liberty (V-Cents) nickel, and Barber silver coin (dimes and quarters) from the early 1900s could still be found in circulation (Yeoman 1967). By the 1960s, especially after 1964 when silver was no longer used to mint circulating coins, older coins virtually disappeared from circulation and many fell victim to the great silver melts of the early 1980s when speculation in silver temporarily drove prices up.

Though the documentary record provides ample dating of the archaeological deposits at the various Sandpoint sites and use of coins as time-markers is not necessary, examining the relative wear of the lost coins can shed some light on when these coins were lost and thereby removed from further circulation within Sandpoint. Today, many numismatists use the 70-point Sheldon Scale (Sheldon 1958) to measure wear on U.S. coins (Table 42).

Table 42. Abbreviated Sheldon Scale Used to Create Wear Model for Sandpoint Coins

Sheldon Numbers	Description
Poor-1 or P-1 (Poor)	The type is barely discernible, but little else is known due to damage or wear.
Fair-2 or FR-2 (Fair)	Type and date are barely discernible, but some spots may be worn out. Some lettering should appear, but may not necessarily be readable.
AG-3 (About Good)	Type and date discernible, but some spots may be worn out. Some lettering should appear, but may not necessarily be readable.
G-4 (Good)	Major devices and features evident as outlines; coin overall is heavily worn.
G-6 (Good-plus)	Coin has full rim plus major devices and features clearly outlined; heavily worn.
VG-8 (Very Good)	Full rim with clearly discernible devices and features. Most legends readable clearly, but whole coin still significantly worn.
F-12 (Fine)	Distinct rim, all legends readable, clear devices showing some detail; whole coin is moderately but evenly worn.
VF-20 (Very Fine)	Clearly readable but lightly worn legends, devices show good detail, rims clean, but whole coin shows moderate wear on high points and a little wear below.
VF-30 (Very Good Fine)	Legends clear, devices show all detail with little wear; high points lightly worn.
EF-40 (Extremely Fine)	Legends sharp; devices clear with slight but obvious wear on high points.
XF-45 (Choice Extremely Fine)	Legends and devices clear and sharp, slight wear on high points.
AU-50 (About Uncirculated)	Sharp legends and devices show only a trace of wear on highest points. There must be some remaining mint luster.
AU-55 (Good About-Uncirculated)	Sharp legends and devices show only hint of wear on high points. Remaining mint luster must be at least half.
AU-58 (Choice About-Uncirculated)	Virtually uncirculated, except for minor wear marks on high points. Nearly all mint luster must be present.
MS-60 (Mint State Basal)	Coins in this grade may be dinged-up, bag-marked, ill-toned specimens, but they are in mint condition and free of any wear. Grades from MS-60 to MS-70 are all based primarily on eye appeal, quality of luster and/or toning, and the presence or absence of contact marks, hairlines, etc. All coins MS-60 and higher are mint state coins.

As the workhorses of daily commerce, mint state coins wore down quickly. Small rural communities like Sandpoint would have circulated the same coins time and time again and this would have increased their wear rates, whereas in larger urban areas that had a much greater quantity of coinage, coins would have circulated at much slower rates, with the exception of gambling halls or any other self-contained environments where attrition due to other circumstances was limited. During some periods of our history, such as during the Civil War, coin hoarding led to shortages of circulating currency and a concomitant increase in the production and circulation of alternative money such as store tokens and script. While the 1880s to 1914 was not a period known for extreme coin shortages, such as during the Civil War, Sandpoint did have its share of store tokens in circulation.

Modern coins are quite different from the coins that circulated in Sandpoint over a hundred years ago. Today, our dimes, quarters, and half dollars are made with a core of one metal coated (clad) with another, in contrast to 90 percent silver and 10 percent copper in 1964 and years prior. The metal composition of nickels remained unchanged (with the exception of a few years in World War II when some silver was added to the alloy). Modern pennies are copper-coated zinc, whereas the pennies recovered from Sandpoint were made from either bronze or copper.

Coins are worn by hand-to-hand exchange, bouncing against fabric in pockets or purses, coin-to-coin friction, contact with different materials when machine counted and sorted by coin-wrapping machines, and from use at toll booths and vending machines, change-makers, parking meters, and cash register dispensers. Wear may be abrasive, erosive, adhesive, corrosive, and oxidative. In addition to heavy circulation wear, many of the Sandpoint coins were deposited into highly corrosive deposits (Stachowiak and Batchelor 2005).

Today, it may take about 10 transactions to wear a clad copper-nickel quarter dollar out of mint state. Silver coins are much softer and heavier. Wear is largely dependent on weight, and weight is the force pushing them into whatever is causing their metal to slough off; as a result, silver wears much faster. Physical labor was more widespread in those days compared with today's sedentary office environments. With greater amounts of physical work came greater probability of coins being exposed to pocket wear. It probably only took a few transactions to wear mint state coins to AU grades. It might have taken a hundred transactions to wear a coin from XF to F+ but a thousand transactions to drop from VG- to AG+; thus, G is a much wider grade than VF.

Coins circulated at far higher velocity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and they were made of softer alloys than today. A coin could go straight to the till and be the lone coin in change to the very next customer, where it would go into a coin purse and be protected. It might sit in the purse for minutes or years. A laborer might buy a cup of coffee in the morning and the coin may go into a pocketful of other coins. After a hard day's work the coin could experience considerable pocket friction wear. It might be transferred to the owner's pockets each day for a while before it is finally spent. Today, there are fewer people with occupations that subject coins to as much pocket friction. Long ago, there were fewer coins sitting in vending machines and people could not afford to have a jar of coins sitting around at home; coins were simply too much wealth than most people could allow sitting idle in a jar. The average silver quarter dollar in 1900 might have made two or three transactions per day, while today a clad copper-nickel quarter dollar averages fewer than 10 transactions per month. As a workhorse of daily commerce, cents circulated even faster then, but today only about 20 percent of cents circulate at all and attrition is staggering. Consider the billions of pennies that are minted each year and how many end up in a jar.

Terminus Post Quem Wear Model

A *terminus post quem* (TPQ) wear model was developed for the U.S. and Canadian coinage. This model is highly subjective since the circulation history of a particular coin is undeterminable. The end result of wear, however, is easily and accurately measured by coin grading. Tools for visually grading circulated coins include available photo-grade books or software; Professional Coin Grading Service has a useful online tool for this purpose (available at <http://www.pcg.com/photograde/>). Because Sandpoint more closely resembled a rural or small urban environment, this model assumes coins circulated with high velocity in Sandpoint. As estimated in Table 43, an Indian Head cent would need to only circulate for one year to wear down from mint state to AU 50-58, and to circulate for 10 years to wear down to VG 8-10 grade.

Table 43. Terminus Post Quem Wear Model

Coin Type	Metal	Sheldon Scale Grading (Estimated Years of Circulation at Sandpoint)
Indian Head and Lincoln Cents	Bronze/copper	AU 50-58 (1); EF 40-45 (2); VF-20-30 (6); F 12-15 (7); VG 8-10 (10); G 4-6 (15)
V Nickels	Nickel	AU 50-58 (1); EF 40-45 (3); VF-20-30 (7); F 12-15 (10); VG 8-10 (15); G 4-6 (20)
Barber Dimes	Silver alloy	AU 50-58 (0.5); EF 40-45 (1); VF-20-30 (2.5); F 12-15 (3); VG 8-10 (3.5); G 4-6 (4)
Mercury Dimes	Silver alloy	AU 50-58 (0.5); EF 40-45 (1); VF-20-30 (2); F 12-15 (3); VG 8-10 (4); G 4-6 (5)
Seated Liberty and Barber Quarters	Silver alloy	AU 50-58 (0.5); EF 40-45 (1); VF-20-30 (2.5); F 12-15 (3); VG 8-10 (3.5); G 4-6 (4)
Seated Liberty and Barber Half dollars	Silver alloy	AU 50-58 (0.5); EF 40-45 (1); VF-20-30 (2); F 12-15 (3); VG 8-10 (4); G 4-6 (5)
Morgan Dollars	Silver alloy	AU 50-58 (0.5); EF 40-45 (1); VF-20-30 (2); F 12-15 (3); VG 8-10 (4); G 4-6 (5)

As compiled from the examination of the wear on the coins recovered from the Sandpoint sites, the TPQ wear model was used to estimate approximate TPQ wear dates for the coins. Similar to what historical archaeologists do with bottle glass when calculating the lag time between manufacture and deposition,

the TPQ wear dates (Table 44) can be used to independently confirm the historically known dates of occupation of the various Sandpoint sites.

Table 44. Estimated TPQ Wear Dates for Sandpoint Sites

Estimated TPQ Wear Dates	Chinatown	Henderson's Brothel	Herman's Bordello	Owl Dance Hall and Saloon and Other
1865	1 coin			
1876	1 coin			
1883+				1 coin
1890	2 coins			
1891	1 coin		2 coins	
1893			1 coin	
1894–1904			1 coin	
1895–1896			1 coin	
1898			1 coin	
1899			2 coins	
1900	1 coin		1 coin	
1900–1901		1 coin		
1901		1 coin	2 coins	
1902	1 coin			
1903	2 coins			
1903–1904			1 coin	
1904		1 coin	1 coin	
1904–1905		1 coin		
1905		1 coin	1 coin	
1905–1906		1 coin	1 coin	
1906		1 coin	2 coins	
1907	1 coin		2 coins	1 coin
1908		2 coins	1 coin	
1908–1909			1 coin	
1909	1 coin	1 coin	2 coins	1 coin
1910		1 coin	1 coin	
1910+	1 coin			
1911			1 coin	
1912			1 coin	
1913		1 coin	1 coin	
1915		2 coins	1 coin	
1916		1 coin	1 coin	1 coin
1917–1927			1 coin	
1924		1 coin		

The TPQ wear model is not perfect, and individual coins can be problematic. For example, a silver dime minted in 1872 recovered from the townsite (Table 45) was worn down to F-12, suggesting it might have left circulation in 1875. Euro-American settlement in the townsite area began one or two years prior to the arrival of the NPRR in 1882. A silver dime in 1875 was worth \$1.97 in 2010 dollars. This specimen may have escaped years of hard circulation if it was retained by its owner as savings. Once Sandpoint developed, commercial transactions in the townsite would have resulted in greatly increased velocity of coin exchange (and wear). Using this TPQ wear model, it appears that the V Cents nickel recovered from the Humbird Mill Blacksmith Shop and Club House (Table 45) was minted in 1898, but its heavy wear (VG-10) suggests it left circulation around 1913 (Table 45).

The Coins and What We Can Learn From Them

The coinage sample recovered from the townsite (10BR859) is quite limited considering that the townsite was the hub of commercial activity in Sandpoint before the arrival of the Great Northern Railroad in 1894 and the rapid settlement of Sandpoint on the west bank of Sand Creek that later eclipsed the importance of the townsite. Nine coins were recovered (Table 45), including five from the archaeological deposits associated with the Pend d'Oreille Hotel (Townsite OP-1), two from the area associated with the Butler Saloon (Townsite OP-5), and a single coin each from Townsite OP-4 and OP-6.

Table 45. Distribution of Canadian and American Coins at the Blacksmith Shop and Townsite

LC #	Provenience	Material	No.	Description and Comments
Humbird Mill Blacksmith Shop and Club Room 10BR977 (OP-2)				
34390	Trench E10 L-1	Nickel	1	V Cents. U.S. VG-10. TPQ 1898. TPQ wear date [TPQWD] 1913.
Townsite 10BR859				
7286	N385 E055 L1 (OP-6)	Silver	1	One Dime. U.S. AG-2. TPQ 1863. TPQWD 1867+++.
83268	N445 E045 L1 (OP-5) Butler Saloon	Nickel	1	V Cents. U.S. Corroded illegible coin; possibly 1883. TPQ 1883. TPQWD 1913.
40169	N445 E050 L1 (OP-5) Butler Saloon	Nickel	1	Five Cents. U.S. (Shield). F-15. TPQ 1882. TPQWD 1892.
40170	N190 E035 L2 (OP-4)	Silver	1	One Dime. U.S. F-12. TPQ 1872. TPQWD 1875.
Townsite 10BR859 (OP-1) Pend d'Oreille Hotel				
82782	N065 E050 L1	Silver	1	One Dime. U.S. VF-20. TPQ 1907. TPQWD 1910.
82781	N065 E050 L1	Silver	1	One Dime. U.S. G-4. TPQ 1900. TPQWD 1905+.
82567	N060 E045 L1	Nickel	1	5 Cents. Canada. F-12. TPQ 1911. TPQWD 1914.
82594	N060 E045 L2	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. Corroded, unreadable date. TPQ 1860–1909.
82514	N050 E050 L1	Nickel	1	V Cents. U.S. AG-3. TPQ 1883. TPQWD 1903+.

The small sample from the Pend d'Oreille Hotel yields TPQ dates consistent with the known dates of occupancy of the hotel. Taken as a whole, the nine coins recovered from all townsite contexts were: a single penny, four nickels and four dimes. Recovery of a Canadian 5 Cent coin is unremarkable given the close proximity of Sandpoint to Canada and because Canadian coins were mostly accepted in the northern United States and circulated alongside U.S. coins.

Chinatown and the Restricted District

Chinatown occupation began possibly as early as the arrival of the NPRR; however, it is believed that Sandpoint's earliest Chinese were not part of the Chinese work gang that moved along with the front during construction (Chapter 15 of this volume contains further information). The Chinese, like all immigrants to America in the late nineteenth century, found that the coins and paper currency of their native lands were not legal tender in America, with some exceptions made for Canadian coinage. Sandpoint's Chinese were paid in U.S. coinage, and they used U.S. coinage to transact their business with the Euro-American community. The Chinese monetary system was based on silver. Small-denomination (one cash, ten cash, etc.) bronze/copper-cast coins (*wen*) were the medium of exchange for small, daily transactions. In China, silver was used as a store of value and to pay taxes.

Americans living in Sandpoint were undoubtedly working hard and saving. Local bankers were loaning funds to entrepreneurs who were building up Sandpoint's businesses and industries. The denizens of the

Restricted District were also hard working—everything that is known about prostitution reveals little glamour and much health-debilitating labor and dissolution. The Restricted District, however, was focused on drinking and vice. In comparison to the “better side” of town, the Restricted District was where a looser set of morals held sway, and rapid exchange of money in return for women and liquor stood in stark contrast to the Chinese cooks and laundrymen who lived and worked in the adjacent Chinatown. Chinese men, who certainly indulged in their own vices of alcohol, opium, and gambling, were nevertheless focused on their eventual return to China as rich men and their goal of providing money to families still living in China. Making generalizations is always dangerous but the contrast between the coin assemblages of Chinatown and the Restricted District is striking.

No one, Chinese or American, wanted to lose money; even pennies were worth much more in purchasing power than these denominations are worth today. Though it cannot be known how the Sandpoint coins were lost (possibly through the floor boards), the assemblages could well reflect cultural differences. In Chinatown, the coins could have been lost as a result of their being hidden or cached with the intention of being retrieved at a later date, or they may have been lost as a result of laundry operations (Chapter 5 of this volume contains more information on the laundry). In the Restricted District, coins were lost by their falling between floor boards in the saloon, dance hall, restaurant, or cribs or bordello rooms, or during quick evacuation when fire struck the Restricted District. Some may simply have fallen out of the pockets of inebriated men who patronized the Restricted District’s businesses. Table 46 compares the Chinatown and Restricted District assemblages in terms of the metal contents of the lost coins.

Table 46. Comparison of Legal Tender Coin Metals at Chinatown and the Restricted District

Coin Metal	Chinatown		Marie Henderson’s Brothel		Willa Herman’s Bordello	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
Bronze/copper	3	25.0	11	52.4	19	59.4
Nickel	1	8.3	4	19.0	6	18.7
Silver	8	66.7	6	28.6	7	21.9
Total	12	100.0	21	100.0	32	100.0

The actual distribution of the various coins, their denominations, and metal content is shown in Table 47. The TPQ wear dates that are roughly consistent with what is known from NPRR lease records, Sanborn maps and local newspapers as to the time period of occupation of Chinatown (Chapter 15).

Table 47. Distribution of European, Canadian, and American Coins from Chinatown

LC #	Provenience	Material	No.	Description and Comments
40357	N100 E060 F10	Silver	1	One Dime. U.S. F-15. TPQ 1912 (D). TPQWD 1915.
49394	N085 E050 L2	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. EF-40. TPQ 1908. TPQWD 1910+.
40362	N080 E050 L2	Silver	1	10 Cents. Canada. G-6. TPQ 1905. TPQWD 1909.
40373	N075 E030 L1	Brass	1	One Mil. Hong Kong (Great Britain). Queen Victoria. TPQ 1865.
40353	N075 E025 L1	Silver	1	One Dime. U.S. F-15. TPQ 1887 (SF). TPQWD 1890.
40352	N070 E045 L1	Silver	1	One Dime. U.S. F-12. This is an old coin possibly curated by the Chinese at Sandpoint. TPQ 1873. TPQWD 1876+.
40359	N055 E045 L3, S3B, F3	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. F-12. TPQ 1896. TPQWD 1903.
49817	N055 E045 L3, S3B, F3	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. VF-30. TPQ 1901. TPQWD 1907.
40360	N050 E55 L2	Silver	1	Quarter Dollar. U.S. G-4 TPQ 1898 (SF). TPQWD 1902.
40355	N050 E045 L3, S3B, F3	Silver	1	One Dime. U.S. G-6. TPQ 1896 (SF). TPQWD 1900.
40354	N045 E035 L4, S3E, F3	Silver	1	One Dime. U.S. AG-3. TPQ 1886. TPQWD 1891
40356	N045 E035 L4, S3E, F3	Silver	1	One Dime. U.S. F-12. TPQ 1900 (O). TPQWD 1903.
40361	N045 E030 L1, F3	Nickel	1	V Cents. U.S. EF-40. TPQ 1887. TPQWD 1890.

D = Denver mint; SF = San Francisco mint; O = New Orleans mint. With the exception of the One Mil coin from Hong Kong, the time lag from coin minting to deposition averages 3.6 years.

Even after Chinatown was abandoned sometime around 1910, the Restricted District continued functioning through 1914, and the Chinatown area was part of the backyard area of the Restricted District, which was flanked on one side by Sand Creek. Table 48 shows TPQ wear dates for the Restricted District; these coins suggest wear dates roughly consistent with what is known from newspaper and other historical documentation about the occupation and closure of the red-light area (Volume 1 contains more information).

Table 48. Distribution of European, Canadian, and American Coins from the Restricted District

LC #	Provenience	Material	No.	Description and Comments
Restricted District (10BR978) – Marie Henderson's Brothel				
40285	N195 E055 L3	Silver	1	One Dime. U.S. VG-10. TPQ 1902 (O). TPQWD 1905–1906.
40272	N195 E055 L3	Silver	1	25 Cents. Canada. Burned, corroded. TPQ 1870–1901. TPQWD undetermined.
70596	N185 E055 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. EF-40. Unreadable date; wheatears. TPQ 1909.
70564	N170 E017.5 L1	Nickel	1	V Cents. U.S. EF-40. TPQ 1903. TPQWD 1906.
40269	N165 E045 L2	Silver	1	One Dollar. U.S. EF-40. TPQ 1899 (O). TPQWD 1900–1901.
71634	N165 E040 L1	Nickel	1	V Cents. U.S. F-12. TPQ 1903. TPQWD 1913.
71638	N165 E040 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. AG-3. Wheatears. TPQ 1909. TPQWD 1924.
40284	N165 E040 L2	Silver	1	One Dime. U.S. VG-8. TPQ 1901 (SF). TPQWD 1904–1905.
71622	N165 E040 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. EF-40. TPQ 1902. TPQWD 1904.
40281	N165 E035 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. Canada. Queen Victoria head. G 4-6. TPQ 1876–1901. TPQWD 1916.
70487	N165 E035 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. Not gradable. Wheatears. TPQ 1909.
71909	N165 E015 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. EF-40. TPQ 1906. TPQWD 1908.
40240	N160 E045 L2	Silver	1	Half Dollar. U.S. VG-8. TPQ 1901 (O). TPQWD 1905.
40278	N155 E045 L2	Silver	1	One Dime. U.S. EF-40. TPQ 1914 (D). TPQWD 1915.
69617	N155 E045 L2	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. Badly corroded, wheatears. TPQ 1909.
40277	N155 E015 L1	Nickel	1	Five Cents. U.S. F-12. TPQ 1916 (SF). TPQWD 1926.
40279	N155 E015 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. EF-40. TPQ 1908. TPQWD 1910.
40280	N155 E015 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. EF-45. TPQ 1899. TPQWD 1901.
69375	N135 E045 L3	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. EF-40. TPQ 1906. TPQWD 1908.
69391	N135 E035 L1	Nickel	1	V Cents. U.S. EF-40. TPQ 1912. TPQWD 1915.
69332	N135 E015 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. EF-45. TPQ 1907. TPQWD 1909.
Restricted District (10BR978) – Willa Herman's Bordello				
40274	N060 E040 L1	Silver	1	One Dime. U.S. EF-45. TPQ 1912 (D). TPQWD 1913.
69261	N055 E045 L1	Copper	2	One Cent. U.S. VG-8 and AG-3. TPQ 1881. TPQWD 1891.
69230	N055 E040 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. VG-10. TPQ 1897. TPQWD 1917–1927.
69231	N055 E040 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. VG-8. TPQ 1860?
69165	N050 E060 L2	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. Corroded, date unreadable. TPQ 1860?
69166	N050 E060 L2	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. Corroded, date unreadable. TPQ 1860?
40276	N050 E055 L2	Nickel	1	V Cents. U.S. F-12. TPQ 1901. TPQWD 1911.
71054	N050 E050 L1	Nickel	1	V Cents. U.S. F-15. TPQ 1902. TPQWD 1909.
71055	N050 E050 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. VF-20. TPQ 1900. TPQWD 1906.
71056	N050 E050 L1	Silver	1	Half Dollar. U.S. G-4. TPQ 1893 (SF). TPQWD 1898.
69124	N050 E045 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. VG-8. TPQ 1902. TPQWD 1912.
71472	N050 E040 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. AU-50. TPQ 1906. TPQWD 1907.
40270	N045 E060 L2	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. F-12. TPQ 1899. TPQWD 1906.
40271	N045 E060 L2	Silver	1	10 Cents. Canada. VF-20. TPQ 1906. TPQWD 1908–1909.
71500	N040 E060 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. EF-45. TPQ 1897. TPQWD 1899.
69094	N030 E065 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. F-12. TPQ 1901. TPQWD 1908.
69927	N030 E050 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. VF-20. TPQ 1901. TPQWD 1907.
69926	N030 E050 L1	Copper	1	2 ORE. Sweden. TPQ 1874. TPQWD 1894–1904.
68957	N030 E040 L1	Nickel	1	V Cents. U.S. F-12. TPQ 1900. TPQWD 1910.
68825	N025 E045 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. EF-40. TPQ 1899. TPQWD 1901.

Table 48. Distribution of European, Canadian, and American Coins from the Restricted District

LC #	Provenience	Material	No.	Description and Comments
68826	N025 E045 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. F-12. TPQ 1897. TPQWD 1904.
68827	N025 E045 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. EF-40. TPQ 1891? TPQWD 1893?
68828	N025 E045 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. VG-8. TPQ 1895. TPQWD 1905.
70165	N020 E050 L1	Nickel	1	V Cents. U.S. F-15. TPQ 1890. TPQWD 1900.
70164	N020 E050 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. VG-8. TPQ 1881. TPQWD 1891.
68704	N020 E045 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. U.S. F-12. TPQ 1892. TPQWD 1899.
68706	N020 E045 L1	Copper	1	Possible one cent. Illegible coin.
71800	N020 E040 L1	Silver	1	One Dime. U.S. VG-8. TPQ 1900 (SF). TPQWD 1903–1904.
69579	N020 E035 L1	Silver	1	One Dime. U.S. VF-30. TPQ 1903 (SF). TPQWD 1905–1906.
68628	N015 E040 L1	Nickel	2	V Cents. U.S. Both VF-30. TPQ 1902. TPQWD 1909.
68629	N015 E040 L1	Nickel	1	V Cents. U.S. F-15. TPQ 1906. TPQWD 1916.
68698	N015 E040 L1	Silver	1	Quarter Dollar. U.S. VG-8. TPQ 1892. TPQWD 1895–1896.
68534	N010 E040 L1	Silver	1	One Dollar. U.S. F-12. TPQ 1897 (O). TPQWD 1901. Lag 7.7
Restricted District (10BR978) – Owl Dance Hall and Saloon				
6800	S005 E050 L1	Silver	1	Half Dollar. US. AG-3. TPQ 1877. TPQWD 1883+.
6870	S010 E055 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. US. F-12. TPQ 1902. TPQWD 1909.
6872	S010 E055 L1	Nickel	1	V Cents. US. G-4, 6. TPQ 1896. TPQWD 1916.
8012	S015 E055 L1	Nickel	1	V Cents. US. VF-30. TPQ 1900. TPQWD 1907.
Restricted District (10BR978) – Other locations				
71113	TU 2006-003 L1	Copper	1	One Cent. US. EF-45. TPQ 1902. TPQWD 1904.

D = Denver mint; SF = San Francisco mint; O = New Orleans mint. The time lag from coin minting to deposition averages 4.2 years for Henderson's Brothel, 7.7 years for Herman's Bordello, and 6.0 years for the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon and other locations in the Restricted District.

An interesting Asian coin recovered from Chinatown is an 1865 Hong Kong One Mil (or One Cash) coin from British Hong Kong. Hong Kong did not mint its own coins until 1864. Before Hong Kong had its own coinage, Hong Kong currency followed the British sterling system with an official gold standard. The Chinese used a system of weighed silver as money; to facilitate a better trading relationship with the Chinese in Guangdong Province, the Hong Kong monetary authority changed its currency standard from gold to silver. The first Hong Kong coinage was in three denominations— a silver 10 cents, a copper cent, and a copper mil. All three types were minted in England but were designed for use in Hong Kong; the value of each coin was denoted in Chinese and English. Figure 151 is a photograph of a museum quality example of the same coin recovered from Sandpoint's Chinatown.



Figure 151. Hong Kong one mil cash coin. The four Chinese characters on the reverse mean "Hong Kong One Cash." (Leung 2011).

The highest denomination silver coin recovered from Chinatown was a quarter dollar. As shown in Table 48, four larger denominations were recovered from the Restricted District, including a half dollar and a dollar from both Marie Henderson's Brothel and Willa Herman's Bordello. The half dollar recovered from the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon likely resulted from a floor board loss, either on the part of a customer or the saloon proprietor. The quarter dollars, half dollars, and dollars recovered from the brothel and bordello were the property and savings of the madams and the ladies rather than accidentally lost money of male customers. If few large-denomination silver coins were being saved by the madams and their employees, their purses were, in comparison, overflowing with low-denomination coins (pennies and nickels). Just over 71 percent of coins recovered from Henderson's Brothel and over 78 percent of Herman's Bordello coins were pennies and nickels (Table 48). These workhorse coins circulated quickly and their dominating presence in the Restricted District assemblages reflects their economic importance. The single 2 ORE coin from Sweden might have been a lost memento of an immigrant Swede, either a male working man or a working woman who plied her trade at Herman's Bordello.

There were other workhorses of Sandpoint's economy besides U.S. and Canadian coins. Though their velocity of exchange is unknown, trade tokens played an important role in Sandpoint's economic development. Not quite money, tokens (*exonumia*) functioned as a form of money, and several examples were recovered from Sandpoint.

EXONUMIA

The word "*exonumia*" was coined, so to speak, by Russ Rulau in 1960 when he founded the Token and Medal Society (TAMS; see www.tokenandmedal.org). *Exonumia* (*exo* meaning "out of" in Greek and *nummus* meaning "coin" in Latin) is anything that is not a government-issued coin. This includes coin-like objects such as tokens, medals, or scrip. "Good For" tokens, badges, counter-stamped coins, elongated coins, encased coins, souvenir medallions, tags, wooden nickels, and other similar items are *exonumia*. In some cases, good luck tokens can be considered a small bric-a-brac item that might have had importance and meaning to its owner. *Exonumia* generally falls into three groupings: having a "value" to facilitate commerce such as Good For tokens; commemoration, remembrance, or dedication for a person, place, idea, or event; and items of a personal nature.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the need for tokens grew out of the need for currency; some tokens legally circulated alongside or instead of currency until fairly recently. The so-called Hard Times Tokens and Civil War Tokens were equal in size to the then-current large cents or the small cents (which began minting in 1856 with the introduction of the Flying Eagle cent). Toward the end of the nineteenth century, value-based tokens such as Good For (amount of money), Good For (one quart of milk), Good For (one beer), and so on were specifically linked to store commerce or a place of issue. The trade check or Good For tokens became increasingly common in the 1866 to 1889 period, but the 1890 to 1900 period saw the use of trade checks increase dramatically (Rulau 1987). As explained by Mowery (2002:80), business proprietors used nickel-sized tokens to pay slot winnings, especially when the winning combination indicated 5, 10, 20, or more "free" cigars or drinks. Cigar smokers and nickel beers were very common in those days. The proprietors expected the tokens would be replayed—for obvious reasons.

The use of slot machines and Good For tokens as trade stimulators spread rapidly; Sandpoint was no exception. As noted by Bueschel (1997), a large number of cigar makers actually manufactured machines that they gave away as free premiums. Some of these cigar makers ended up becoming solely coin machine makers after dropping their cigar lines. One of the most common materials used to manufacture these tokens was aluminum. This was made possible by the introduction of the electrolytic

process for refining aluminum in late 1888. By 1891 to 1894, aluminum came into extensive use in token manufacture (Rulau 1987). Fourteen (30 percent) of the 47 Sandpoint tokens were made of aluminum.

The economic depression of 1893 increased the use of trade stimulators. As small merchants struggled to compete or survive, they often paid out as much or more by marking their tokens “good for” 5¢, 6¼¢, and 12½¢ in trade or merchandise. Ownership and operation of slot machines was common at the end of the 1800s and into the twentieth century (Mowery 2002:82). In 1898, San Francisco passed an ordinance decreeing that slot machines were prohibited from paying out in money. Operators circumvented this law by substituting payouts in tokens redeemable only in merchandise (Fey 1994). Nevertheless, cash exchange was common but the controversy stimulated the spread of gaming tokens. Early on, some manufacturers rented machines or served as slot route operators by maintaining their own machines on a profit-sharing basis (Mowery 2002:82).

Some of the Sandpoint tokens have holes or cut-outs/punch-outs. Originally, a small hole was punched in trade checks for storage on a vertical pin inside a slot machine. By enlarging the stacking hole, it was possible to insert a detecting pin to pass through the token, allowing it to remain in the coin chute leading to the payout tube. A U.S. or Canadian nickel, having no center hole, would be pushed into the cash can. The first application of this method was in 1898 (Fey 1994). The large number of nickel-sized tokens with center holes attests to their widespread use over the decades. Sandpoint yielded 47 tokens. The tokens were recovered in the following areas: the Humbird Privy 10BR977 (one), the townsite 10BR859 (three), Chinatown 10BR978 (four), and the Restricted District (39) (Table 49). In addition, some State of Washington tax tokens were recovered, but these date from the mid-1930s and are not described here.

Table 49. Summary Distribution of Exonumia from Sandpoint Sites

LC #	Provenience	Material	No.	Description and Comments
Humbird Privy				
102052	10BR977 <i>Humbird Privy</i>	Lead	1	Fragmentary token, melted. [stamped:] ...ADE...
Townsite 10BR859 (OP-1–OP-3)				
73109	N100 E050 L1	Copper	1	Northern Pacific Railroad baggage claim tag. [obv:] CLAIM/ BAGGAGE/AT N. P. BAGGAGE/ROOM/23/MISSOULA MONT. TPQ 1880–1881.
83104	N360 E035 L2	Rubber?	1	Poker chip fragment. Flat rubber (?) disk with bicycle engraved.
82660	N350 E045 E 1/2 L1	Copper	1	Possible product of the Free Coinage of Silver political movement. [obv:] FREE SILVER COINAGE/ONE/16.
82595	N060 E045 L2 <i>Pend d'Oreille Hotel</i>	Aluminum	1	Trade token, badly corroded, aluminum “GOOD FOR 5” for 5 cents survives. [obv:] ...GOOD FOR.../5[cent mark]
Chinatown 10BR978 (OP-2)				
40349	N085 E060 L1	Copper	1	Cochran's Smokehouse trade token (5 cents). [obv:] COCHRAN'S SMOKEHOUSE/SAND/POINT [REV:] GOOD FOR 5¢/IN TRADE.
50356	N080 E070 L1	Brass	1	C.A. Carter trade token (5 cents). [obv:] GOOD FOR/5¢/IN TRADE [REV:] C.A. CARTER/2805 HEWITT AVE/EVERETT.
40351	N080 E070 L1	Brass	1	Arnet & Peterson Stockholm Bar trade token (12½ cents). [obv:] BARNET & PETERSON/STOCKHOLM/BAR [rev:] GOOD FOR 12½/ IN TRADE. Appears on the 1909 Sanborn map on First Avenue south of Bridge Street, Sandpoint. In 1905, the Stockholm Bar was owned by Chris Peterson and Leonard Arnet.
40350	N055 E040 L3, S3B, F3	Brass	1	Junction Fruit Stand trade token (5 cents). [obv:] GOOD FOR/5¢/IN TRADE [REV:] JUNCTION/FRUIT STAND/1105 K ST. Probably a variant of a known token: JUNCTION FRUIT CO. / TACOMA / 1105 K. ST. (Greever 2012).
Restricted District 10BR978 (OP-1)				
71627	N165 E040 L1. <i>Henderson's Brothel</i>	Copper	1	Trade token (12½ cents). [obv:] GOOD FOR/12½/ [IN TRADE]

Table 49. Summary Distribution of Exonumia from Sandpoint Sites

LC #	Provenience	Material	No.	Description and Comments
40282	N165 E035 L1. <i>Henderson's Brothel</i>	Aluminum	1	R.N.D's Bakery trade token (5 cent loaf of bread). [obv:] ...R[N]..D'S/BAKERY [rev:] C.../5C/LOAF BREAD. Possibly J.E. Randall Bakery located on Church Street just west of First Avenue near Bridge Street in Sandpoint. See 1904 Sanborn map.
40283	N165 E035 L1. <i>Henderson's Brothel</i>	Aluminum	1	O.F. Finley trade token (5 cents).[obv:] GOOD FOR/5C/IN TRADE [rev:] O.F. FINLEY. Location unknown.
40253	N165 E015 L1. <i>Henderson's Brothel</i>	Copper	1	Trade token (5 cents) with half moon hole in the center. [obv:] GOOD FOR 5C IN TRADE/173. Location unknown.
7130	N155 E035 L1. <i>Henderson's Brothel</i>	Brass	1	Coin or token; heavily corroded with faint numbers and letters.
7131	N155 E035 L1. <i>Henderson's Brothel</i>	Aluminum	1	DeMar's & Oliver trade token (5 cents). Sandpoint.
7139	N155 E025 L1. <i>Henderson's Brothel</i>	Aluminum	1	Cain Brothers trade token (5 cents). [obv:] GOOD FOR/5 CENTS/IN TRADE [rev:] CAIN BROS./SANDPOINT/IDAHO
71649	N145 E035 L1. <i>Henderson's Brothel</i>	Brass	1	Arnet & Peterson Stockholm Bar trade token (5 cents). [obv:] [B]ARNET & PETERSON/STOCKHOLM/BAR [rev:] GOOD FOR/5¢/IN TRADE. Sandpoint.
40273	N140 E040 L1. <i>Henderson's Brothel</i>	Brass	1	Arnet & Peterson Stockholm Bar trade token (5 cents). [obv:] GOOD FOR/5/IN TRADE [rev:] [B]ARNET & PETERSON/ STOCKHOLM/BAR. Sandpoint.
71051	N050 E050 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Copper	1	A. Hanson, The Mint, trade token (5 cents pool). [obv:] GOOD FOR/5¢/POOL IN TRADE [rev:] A.HANSON/THE/MINT. The Mint saloon was located at the corner of First Avenue and Pine Street (101 North First Avenue); it appears on both the 1904 and 1909 Sanborn maps.
71052	N050 E050 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Aluminum	1	J.A. Mezerall trade token (5 cents). [obv:] GOOD FOR/5¢/IN TRADE [rev:] J.A. MEZERALL/915 /TACOMA AVE. From Mezerall's Cigar Store in Old Town, Pierce County (Tacoma).
71053	N050 E050 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Aluminum	1	C. Buckle Pool Room trade token (2½ cents). [obv:] GOOD FOR/2½¢/IN TRADE [rev:] C. BUCKLE /...OO.../ROOM/3291 HEWITT AVE. Location unknown.
71479	N050 E040 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Aluminum	1	Trade token [obv:] YALE WO... /IN TRADE.../[indeterminate]. Location unknown.
70698	N040 E060 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Copper	1	The Spoke Saloon trade token (5 cents). [obv:] THE SPOKE/900 1ST AVE/SALOON [rev:] GOOD FOR/5¢/IN TRADE. The Spoke also had a street address of 909 1st Avenue, Spokane.
70651	N035 E045 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Copper	1	The Oxford trade token (6 1/4 cents). [obv:] GOOD FOR/6 1/4¢/ IN TRADE [rev:] THE OXFORD/111/HOWARD ST. Spokane.
69821	N025 E050 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Copper	1	Exchange Saloon trade token (5 cents). [obv:] EXCHANGE SALOON/SAND POINT [rev:] GOOD FOR/5¢/IN TRADE. The Exchange Saloon was located at the corner of Bridge Street and First Avenue, Sandpoint.
69822	N025 E050 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Copper	1	J.R. Candish's Cigars & Candy trade token (5 cents). [obv:] [GOO]D [F]OR/5¢/IN TRADE [rev:] (S)AND(POINT)/CA.../S... J.R. Candish's Cigars & Candy appears on First Avenue across Bridge Street from the Restricted District on 1904 Sanborn map.
68822	N025 E045 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Copper	1	Royal Novelty Co. slot machine token. [obv:] ROYAL NOVELTY CO./S.F./209 BATTERY ST. [rev:] SLOT MACHINE/DEALERS. TPQ 1902. San Francisco.
68824	N025 E045 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Aluminum	1	Good luck token. [obv:] LUCKY POCKET PIECE/[four leaf clover]/DECATUR, ILL/THE BEALL IMPROVEMENT CO. [rev:] I'LL BE YOUR MASCOT/ WHEAT(ST)EAMERS/ (S)COURERS/ (GL)EANERS/ ...ORS/...ERS/DON'T LOSE ME. Decatur, Illinois. TPQ 1901.
68823	N025 E045 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Brass	1	Washington Novelty Company trade token. [obv:] WASHIN[GTON]/ S/NOVELTY CO. [rev:] GOOD FOR 5¢/S/IN TRADE. The s appears to be stamped later. Washington Novelty Co. distributed coin-operated machines and was incorporated in Tacoma in 1916 (Howell 1918:60).
70866	N025 E030 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Aluminum	1	Hogback & Ames trade token (5 cents). [obv:] HOBACK & AMES/ INDE[X]/ WAS[H.] [rev:] GOO[D] FOR/[5¢]/IN TRADE. Index, Washington. Index is a small town in Snohomish County; no further information available; possibly The Sunset H Hoback.
70163	N020 E050 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Copper	5	J.R. Candish's Cigars & Candy Store, Sandpoint. [obv:] J.R. CANDISH/CIGAR/ STORE/ SANDPOINT [rev:] GOOD FOR/5¢/IN TRADE. J.R. Candish's Cigars & Candy appears on First Avenue across Bridge Street from the Restricted District on the 1904 (but not 1909) Sanborn map.

Table 49. Summary Distribution of Exonumia from Sandpoint Sites

LC #	Provenience	Material	No.	Description and Comments
68708	N020 E045 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Aluminum	1	John Schmidt Marine Exchange trade token (2½ cents). [obv:] MARINE EXCHANGE/[possible bow]/JOHN SCHM(IDT) [rev:] 2 ½ [cent sign]. Location unknown.
68707	N020 E045 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Copper	1	L.H. Moise Telephone token. [obv:] TELEPHONE TOKEN/MADE BY/L.H. MOISE/320/SANSOME/ST. San Francisco (Gilbert 1995). The Interstate Phone Company was located near the corner of Second Avenue and Cedar Street on the 1909 Sanborn map and may have used Moise-manufactured telephone tokens.
40230	N020 E045 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Copper	5	J.R. Candish's Cigars & Candy trade token (5 cents). [obv:] GOOD FOR/5¢/IN TRADE [rev:] J.R.CANDISH/CIGAR/ STORE/ SANDPOINT.
68711	N020 E045 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Copper	1	Royal Novelty Co. slot machine token. [obv:] ROYAL NOVELTY CO./209 BATTERY ST./S.F. [rev:] [star] GOOD FOR 5¢ IN TRADE. TPQ 1902.
71801	N020 E040 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Copper	1	J.R. Candish's Cigars & Candy trade token (5 cents). [obv:] GOOD FOR/5¢/IN TRADE [rev:] (J.)R.CANDISH/CIGAR/ STORE/SANDPOINT.
71802	N020 E040 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Aluminum	1	The Pearl trade token (2½ cents). [obv:] THE PEARL/GOOD FOR/2½/128 MIL... ST. Location unknown.
68533	N010 E040 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Aluminum	1	DeMar's & Oliver trade token (5 cents). [obv:] (G)OOD FOR 5¢ (I)N (TRADE) [rev:] DEMARS' & OLIVER/SAND POINT/...IDA
68620	N010 E040 L1. <i>Herman's Bordello</i>	Aluminum	1	Billiard hall trade token? Hexagon shape and badly corroded. [obv:] BIL(LIAR)D/...M. Location unknown.

Sandpoint was more connected to the rest of the Pacific Northwest and the United States in general than might otherwise be commonly assumed. Sandpoint tokens, like ceramic and glass bric-a-brac, have points of origin that help us better know the early residents and their world.

A GOOD LUCK TOKEN AT HERMAN'S BORDELLO

As the Sandpoint Archaeology Project moved into the data recovery phase, many wished us “good luck” on our big dig. Was it sheer good luck that we found only one good luck token out of 47 time-period associated tokens? How and why did this good luck token end up in the archaeological deposits associated with Herman's Bordello?

This good luck token includes the following information on its obverse and reverse sides: LUCKY POCKET PIECE, DECATUR, ILL. THE BEALL IMPROVEMENT CO. In the middle of the obverse side is a depiction of a four-leaf clover. On the reverse side is written I'LL BE YOUR MASCOT, WHEAT (ST)EAMERS, (S)COURERS, (CL)EANERS, some indecipherable text, and DON'T LOSE ME.

The Beall Improvement Company still survives today (as part of another company—the Union Iron Works [Union Iron Works 2012]). Beall Improvement Company had its roots in the aftermath of the Civil War, and Decatur, Illinois, was where Abraham Lincoln launched his presidential bid. The Union Iron Works was first known as the Central Iron Works, which began in 1864. It started as a machinery repair shop and then began manufacturing steam engines and mill machinery. John Beall, a millwright, invented a corn milling machine and several other useful inventions. Union Iron Works absorbed The Beall Improvement Company and has been a leading Decatur industry ever since (Wick 2008:263). Beall prided itself on manufacturing cost-effective milling machinery—the cheapest because they were the best.

But Sandpoint and the Inland Northwest was wheat country, not corn country. The Beall Improvement Company had an array of products to support the milling industry, and Beall may have had more than good luck selling wheat steamers (Figure 2.11.2). There was little doubt that Beall's wheat steamers were the best—some 5,000 of them were in use (*The Operative Miller* 1908:455). Who needed good luck when these machines literally sold themselves “...because they soon pay for themselves.”

**Pulverized Bran
on Cold Frosty Mornings**



will *not* annoy you
if you use a

**Beall Wheat
Steamer**

It will make the bran tough so
it will be left broad and flaky by
first break rolls. It pays for itself
quicker in cold weather than
any other machine in the mill.

Sent on Thirty Days Trial

Send for samples of the work of our Complete Rolling Mill. With it
ahead of your meal rolls you can make meal free from black specks.

THE BEALL IMPROVEMENTS CO.
DECATUR, ILL.



Figure 152. Beall Improvement Company advertisement for a wheat steamer (*The Operative Miller* 1908a:507).

In the 1900 census, only 15 Sandpoint residents (5.5 percent; average age of 30.1 years) came from the U.S. Midwest, and most of those came from Iowa. Perhaps one of Willa Herman's clients was a Midwest gentleman who expressed his appreciation for an evening's entertainment by gifting his four-leaf clover good luck token to his favorite prostitute. Was this gentleman somehow associated with The Beall Improvement Company? Was he a sales representative helping install milling machinery in Spokane or San Francisco (Figure 153)? Did he pass through Sandpoint during his rail journey from Decatur to Spokane?

We know that Beall sold equipment in Spokane and in other cities and likely used these items as a form of advertising. Was it possible that a local Sandpoint bakery or two were Beall customers? Did this gentleman hand out these good luck tokens to prospective customers in Sandpoint while he was enroute to Spokane and San Francisco? With thousands of Beall machines in use throughout the United States, Beall salesmen were plying their trade across the nation. Perhaps our peripatetic salesman from Decatur spent the night at the Pend Oreille Hotel, and far away from home and family, took some momentary pleasure in Sandpoint's saloons and a little female companionship at Herman's Bordello.

BEALL IMPROVEMENTS CO. SALES

The following are sales recently reported
by the Beall Improvements Co. of Decatur,
Ill.:

Another Beall degerminator and corn steam-
er has been installed in the Firth Roller Mills,
Firth, Neb. Five more No. 3 Beall wheat
steamers have been ordered by the Sperry
Flour Co., San Francisco, through the Bar-
nard Mfg. Co., Spokane, Wash. The Del
Monte Milling Co., San Francisco, has recently
installed a Beall wheat steamer. The Russell
Milling Co. of Russell, Kan., has recently in-
stalled a Beall wheat steamer. A Beall wheat
polisher and debranner, together with a Beall
horizontal steamer, is being installed by the
Sun Milling Co., Oakland, Cal. One of the
largest receiving separators installed of late
is a No. 10 Beall rotating receiving separator,
capacity of 3,000 bushels per hour, which H.
A. Klyce Co., Dyersburg, Tenn., is installing
in its new transfer elevator. This machine is
about 14 feet long and nearly 10 feet wide.

Figure 153. Beall Improvement Company sales report (*The Operative Miller* 1908b:94).

A GOOD SMOKE

The Restricted District yielded a number of cigar tokens from Herman's Bordello but none from Henderson's Brothel. With the caveat that some of the tokens found throughout the Restricted District did not reveal the nature of the businesses that issued them, it is possible that one or more of the tokens found at Henderson's Brothel could have been redeemed for cigars if such were sold by the issuing merchants. Smoking after a meal was common during this time period. We believe the higher end establishment, Herman's Bordello, served meals to its customers. Perhaps this uneven distribution of cigar tokens is supporting archaeological evidence of this practice. Perhaps only in the more upscale and less hurried atmosphere of Herman's Bordello could customers enjoy a meal with the madam and working ladies. Henderson's Brothel was a volume-based business and did not serve meals; presumably, there was no time for customers to be smoking cigars.

If what was found in the dirt is any indication, Sandpoint's J.R. Candish's Cigar and Candy Store provided the majority of the cigars smoked in the Restricted District. At first, Candish operated a bowling alley on the east side of Railroad Avenue just south of the Baldwin Hotel. It opened on September 12, 1903. Bowling became quite popular in Sandpoint, but Candish had other plans; he sold the building to Harry Baldwin in February 1904. The Candish store, which issued the tokens, was located at 115 North First Avenue. Candish rented this store, which was where Allen Brothers had their drug store before they moved into a new building. Candish sold tobacco, candy, popcorn, peanuts, flowers, and other goods.

Candish had previously had the same kind of store on the east side of Railroad Avenue just north of the Trader's Bank building, which he sold to Lewis and Keller in December 1903.

All 12 of the Candish five-cent trade tokens were recovered from the area of the earlier Bradley Saloon and Cribs and the later Herman's Bordello. Candish sold both cigars and candy. Perhaps some Bradley Saloon or Herman's Bordello women made it over to Candish's from time to time to spend Candish tokens on something toothsome or to indulge themselves with some fresh flowers. These tokens suggest lively commercial intercourse between some First Avenue and Restricted District business establishments.

A GOOD DRINK

Mark Twain was quoted as saying "Water, taken in moderation, cannot hurt anybody." "Candy is dandy but liquor is quicker" came much later and has been attributed to Ogden Nash. The archaeological deposits of the Restricted District were overflowing with alcoholic beverage bottles, including Mumm's Champagne, various types of wine bottles and crocks, whiskey bottles, and beer/ale bottles. The recovery of saloon tokens is not surprising given the high profile of drinking as one of the amusements of the Restricted District; additionally, when visiting the brothels liquor was regularly a part of the evening.

The Chris Peterson and Leonard Arnet-owned Stockholm Bar was noted in a *Pend d'Oreille Review* (1905:5) article about a fire in the Hugh McGuire-owned cribs; the Stockholm was located at 108 First Avenue, south of Bridge Street. A single Stockholm Bar token (Good For 12½ ¢) was found in the Chinatown deposits, along with a single cigar token (Good for 5¢ in trade at Cochran's Smokehouse in Sandpoint), a 5¢ trade token from C.A. Carter of Everett, Washington, and a 5¢ trade token from Junction Fruit Stand in Tacoma. In contrast, at least four saloon tokens were recovered from the Restricted District, and some of the tokens good for a five-cent game of pool or billiards may also have been issued by drinking establishments that provided customers an opportunity to sharpen their cues.

Two Stockholm Bar tokens were recovered from Henderson's Brothel, both good for 5¢. At Herman's Bordello, a 5¢ bar token from The Spoke Saloon in Spokane was recovered, as well as a 5¢ bar token from the Exchange Saloon (corner of Bridge Street and First Avenue on 1909 Sanborn map) in Sandpoint and a token from The Mint Saloon, which was located at 102 North First Avenue. John Bode purchased the building in February 1904 and converted it into a German-style saloon with a beer garden in the back; John Bode also had a wholesale liquor business and could have been heavily involved in supplying liquor to the saloons and houses of ill repute in the Restricted District. The Stockholm's bar tokens evidently were plentifully minted and distributed as these often appear on eBay (Figure 154).



Figure 154. Stockholm Bar token from Sandpoint, Idaho, mint-state (eBay).

A CLEANSING FIRE

In the *Northern Idaho News* of Tuesday October 28, 1924, the following appeared:

FIRE DESTROYS AN OLD LANDMARK. Last of the Old Notorious Resorts of Early Days of Sandpoint is Gone. Early Thursday morning fire broke out in the old building on the east side of the creek at the end of the bridge on Bridge street and destroyed the building formerly known as "119". The place had been occupied by the Willard Salyars family for some years until last week when they moved out, leaving Dan Mahoney occupying a part of the building. Mr. Mahoney was in the woods at the time of the fire but some of his furnishing were saved. The alarm was turned in at 5:55 a.m. but the building was then a mass of flames and beyond hope of saving. The origin of the fire is unknown. One of the old landmarks of the wild and wooly days of Sandpoint, the last of a row of notorious places, was destroyed when "119" went up in flames. Formerly the main building was a saloon with a string of cribs extending southward ending in another saloon. Ten years or so ago fire wiped out the saloon at the south end and part of the cribs. Later, the rest was destroyed. Unsavory was the reputation of the buildings until almost the last. Salyars, the last tenant of the destroyed building, is now serving a sentence in the penitentiary, on a bootlegging charge. In the early days the place was the rendezvous of all the notorious characters of northern Idaho – and considerable of the criminal history of this part of the state was identified with this row of buildings.

On a 1909 Sanborn map, the building occupied by Salyars was the one marked Sal. & Rest (Figure 155). Sometime in 1914, a fire destroyed part of the cribs and the saloon on the southern end. The saloon and restaurant in 1909 was by 1915 a Chinese-occupied dwelling adjacent to a much smaller female boarding house; the cribs were vacant at that time. Sometime after 1915 but prior to 1924, William Salyars took over occupancy from a Chinese person.

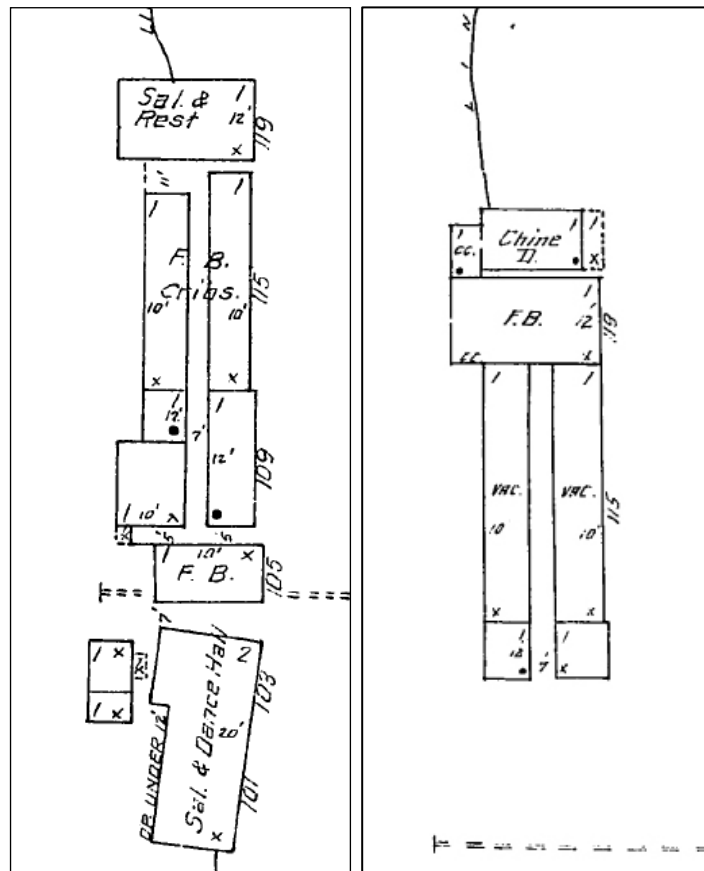


Figure 155. Sanborn map depictions of the Restricted District, Sandpoint, Idaho. Left: The 1909 Sanborn map shows the Restricted District in its heyday. Right: 1915 Sanborn.

What is surprising is that so few saloon tokens were recovered. It is intriguing to think about the economics of drinking and prostitution in the Restricted District. By the time the Restricted District closed down, sometime after the 1914 fire, which removed some but not all of the building, perhaps all available saloon tokens good for trade in the local saloons had been redeemed and the few examples recovered reflect accidental loss or discard (assuming the tokens were not redeemed prior to the closure of the issuing saloons). This could apply to the cigar store tokens as well. Since there were no brass checks recovered from either the brothel or bordello and so few saloon tokens recovered from these establishments, it seems that the Restricted District businesses plied their wares and sold their services for cold hard cash. Alcoholic beverages served in Sandpoint's tenderloin saloons and bawdy houses were paid for in U.S. legal tender coin or paper.

The coins recovered from the Restricted District establishments shows a pattern typical of today—the lowest denomination coins are those most frequently lost, while higher denomination silver coins were more infrequently lost. Even a silver dime was worth a lot of money in relative purchasing power in the opening years of the twentieth century. When we reflect on the primary use of trade tokens as trade stimulators, the goods being sold in the Restricted District pretty much sold themselves and customers needed few artificial incentives to encourage their patronage. A good smoke, a good drink, and a good time with one of the prostitutes could be had for money; the patrons used their merchants' tokens across the creek in the better part of town where several smoke shops, pool halls, and saloons competed for business.

NEITHER MONEY NOR TOKENS—CHINESE AND VIETNAMESE COINS

Chinese and Vietnamese coins brought to the Americas were not legal tender in the nineteenth century American economy (Kareofelas 1972) or elsewhere outside China (see Park 1980, 2009 and Ritchie and Park 1987). Nevertheless, these coins maintained cultural value to the Overseas Chinese. These coins mostly functioned in several non-monetary ways that helped the Chinese maintain aspects of their culture in Sandpoint. Sandpoint's Chinese migrated to the American West from southern China. Lured by the California gold fields and other Western gold strikes as well as railroad and other work opportunities, emigration to America seemed far better than staying in China to eke out a marginal living. Filial piety to family sent many abroad to earn and send money home.

Years before Euro-Americans settled Sandpoint, the Chinese men who eventually set up their laundry business next to the NPRR tracks were on the move. Though Sandpoint was not their first stop in America, a few Chinese settled for a time in a relatively remote corner of northern Idaho just after NPRR construction. It was here (Figure 156) that a couple of Chinese men made their home and living doing laundry for the Euro-Americans along the banks of Sand Creek overlooking Lake Pend d'Oreille. It was here that some Chinese and Vietnamese coins (*wen* and *dong*, respectively) were left behind after their long journey from Asia.



Figure 156. South end of Sandpoint in 1887, with the Chinese laundry building visible on the right hand side of the Northern Pacific Railroad tracks (Courtesy of Bonner County Historical society; original in Montana Historical Society, Helena).

Speaking of Money...

China paid tens of millions of silver dollars as Opium War damage reparations to the West. Making matters worse, inflation of the silver currency against the recently adopted gold standard of the Western powers affected the poor through inflation. More bronze *wen* were needed to equal a fixed weight of silver, and silver was how taxes were paid. At first, 1,000 bronze *wen* to an ounce of silver was maintained. From time to time the weight of the bronze coins was raised or lowered to match changes in the market exchange price of silver (see Berger 1976; Gronewold 2009; Schjoth 1965).

Knowing their bronze “cash” coins had little value in China, why did the Chinese bring some of these *wen* to America? Were these coins passionate possessions (Aiken 1995)? Didn’t they know that their coins were not legal tender outside of China? Were there non-monetary reasons for bringing Asian coins to America? As shown earlier, Sandpoint’s Chinese appeared to be preferentially saving American and Canadian silver coins in comparison to their neighbors in the Restricted District. Given their experiences in China, it should not be surprising that silver coins would be saved. Day-to-day transactions with the Euro-American community had to be conducted in U.S. (or Canadian) bronze/copper pennies and five-cent nickel coins. The value of silver money to Sandpoint’s Chinese cannot be underestimated. Asian coins are a special case and to understand the role of Asian coins in Sandpoint’s Chinatown, it is important to understand money, currency, and the difference between them.

Asian Currency

Asian coins help us connect with the Chinese men in whose pockets or boxes of precious talismans these coins were kept. In comparison to the modest collections of Asian coins found in other Overseas Chinese archaeological sites, the Sandpoint coin assemblage is more diverse and older. As discussed in Chapter 15 of this volume, census data indicate the presence of several older Chinese men living in Sandpoint during the 1890s. In telling the story of these older Chinese men, seemingly isolated from larger Western Chinatown communities, we “follow the money” back to China to link the Sandpoint cooks and laundrymen to one of the earlier waves of emigrants—individuals who would have borne first-hand the brunt of the chaos and economic devastation of the end of the Taiping Rebellion.

To serve its function money must be issued by an authority that guarantees its utility for exchange and users must recognize the authority of the issuing body. That authority can be the inscription of a government, like a ruling sovereign (Casey 1986:12), or in the case of Chinese coins, the reigning emperor. Some money, especially money based on its intrinsic value, gains its legitimacy through common consent of the users, which was often the case in China where the intrinsic value of copper gave *wen* their value (Akin 1992a:58). When money has intrinsic value due to its metal content, it can circulate more or less widely in areas outside the territory of the issuing authority (Canadian silver coins were accepted as money in Sandpoint).

Over the centuries, Chinese *wen* maintained a close relationship to the value of other fabricated copper-alloy commodities. The *wen* had an intrinsic metal value close to its circulation value (Akin 1992a:60), and it was used as currency for over 2,500 years. As *wen* became scarce in some localities, similar foreign coins such as the Japanese *mon* and Vietnamese *dong* became acceptable in commerce. Each traded on the basis of intrinsic value. Large coins were worth more than small coins, copper coins more than iron or zinc coins, and silver coins more than any of these. Zinc coins also had value for medicinal purposes.

The vast majority of *wen* recovered in the Americas are coins of the Qing Dynasty⁴, ranging in diameter from about 18 to 28 millimeters. Qing *wen* all carry four Chinese characters on the obverse; the right and bottom characters give the *nien hao* or reign name (Figure 157). Each emperor, in consultation with historians, astrologers, and political advisors, chose the *nien hao* for his reign, and the emperor was officially known by his *nien hao* until his reign was over. An American equivalent might be a reference to the “New Deal” or the “Great Society” president (Akin 1992b:65). *Wen* were composed of brass or other copper alloys (Wang et al. 2005), and until 1889, all *wen* were cast in molds. They were produced in large numbers, with some years having produced one billion coins (see Jen 2000; Kann 1939). It was not until near the end of the Qing dynasty that machinery was imported from Britain to mint new-style

⁴ Coins from the Qing Dynasty also predominate in Native American sites where Asian coins are recovered (Beals 1980).



Figure 157. Obverse and reverse of a typical Chinese *wen*. Obverse [Left]: the top character is Shun, the bottom is Zhi, the right is tong, and the left is bao. It is read Shun Zhi tong bao, “current coin” of Shùnzhi (1644–1661). The reverse [Right] gives the mint name in Manchu, reading left to right, and top to bottom: boo ciowan. This corresponds to the Board of Revenue Mint in Beijing.

copper coins and copper dollars (Peng 1958, 1965:636). Very few coins were minted during the Tóngzhì period (1861–1875), and minting of small coins had been halted during the subsequent Xiánfēng period.

In the Guāngxù period (1875–1908), small coins were once again minted and in great numbers (Peng 1965:642), but the later coins were machine struck.

During the Guāngxù period, modern minting methods were introduced to China at the new Canton Mint in Guangdong Province in 1889. The advanced coin minting technology of the West proved very successful during the late Qing era (Liuliang and Hong 2004:5). Machine-struck coins were the rule by 1900, and the last official cast coins were made shortly after the 1911 revolution (Krause and Mishler 1985:329, 345).

Coins tended to stay in circulation, or return to circulation, over very long time periods. It was the socially recognized value of the copper content of the coins that determined their currency value rather than the inscriptions (or imperial edicts regarding the coins); as a result, coins stayed in circulation for centuries. The big event that influenced the mix of Asian coins exported to America during the initial period of Chinese immigration was the Taiping Rebellion. From 1850 to 1864 this rebellion in the southern provinces removed most of the empire’s copper-producing capacity from central control. The coin shortage resulted in acceptance of smaller, unofficial issues of *wen* from a host of small mints, along with foreign coins. Japanese coins, for example, principally circulated in port areas along the coast (Coole 1963:50). These coins were mixed with the general circulating currency that eventually made its way to the New World together with the Chinese coins. Korean coins came into circulation in northern China (Coole 1963:50), and the complete absence of Korean coins in the archaeological record in Western North America confirms that virtually all trade between China and the West Coast came through central and southern Chinese ports (Akin 1992b:70).

Some Vietnamese coins were used in southern China at this time, but only brass coins from Vietnam have been found in American sites from this period. Zinc Vietnamese coins, which were common in Vietnam before 1820, do not seem to have circulated in China in any number before a later coin shortage of the 1880s. After the French conquest of Vietnam, machine-struck colonial coins gradually replaced the cast Vietnamese coins, particularly the lowest-value zinc coins. Chinese bankers were active in Vietnam at the time, and many zinc *dong* were taken to Guangdong Province and placed in circulation during the mid-1880s. They circulated at a lower value than brass coins, just as they had in Vietnam (Akin 1992b:71). All of the Sandpoint Vietnamese *dong* are made of zinc (Appendix I).

The low point of the Chinese currency was reached around 1860 when plans were made to issue coins at Hong Kong by the British authorities. They planned their *wen*/mil coins to circulate at 1,000 to the dollar and made them only 15.5 millimeters in diameter. One of these was found in Sandpoint (Appendix I).

Sandpoint's Asian Coins

Chinese *wen* recovered from Sandpoint include issues from Shùnzhì (one), Kāngxī (eight), Yōngzhèng (one), Qiánlong (eight), Jiāqīng (two), Dàoguāng (one), and Guāngxù (one). Vietnamese *dong* include issues from Gia Long (five), Minh Mạng (three), Tự Đức (six), and unidentified *dong* (three). Taken together, a total of 41 Asian coins were recovered from Sandpoint sites, primarily Sandpoint's Chinatown (Appendix I). Some of these coins show evidence of once having been part of coin swords or string-of-coin talismanic charms.⁵

Site Dating

Wen and *dong* pose special site dating problems. Dating a coin is easy when its date of manufacture (minting) is inscribed on the coin. Not only did virtually all pre-twentieth-century *wen* and *dong* only display reign dates, but many coins found in America (including in Sandpoint) happen to be from very long reigns. Kāngxī's reign lasted 60 years (1661–1722) and Qiánlóng's almost as long (1736–1795). In China, coins remained in circulation as money for centuries and were exported long after they were minted. A dated list of reign names can be used to date a coin but dating an archaeological site using such long circulating coins is more problematic (Akin 1992b:271).

With American and Canadian coins, once the mint date is known, it may be possible to determine when the coin entered the archaeological record and use it as an aid to site dating, as was attempted earlier with the TPQ wear model. In the case of Chinese coins with their long reign dates and long circulation periods, the larger the assemblage the more accurate any attempted site dating would be. Larger assemblages can be useful as a comparative dating tool only for comparing different areas of a complex site (such as at the Los Angeles Chinatown). In principle, if the minting date of a coin is known and the coin is found in an excavated feature, then the feature can only be as early as the date on the coin. The principle of dating a deposition on the basis of the newest artifact is known as *terminus post quem*. A *terminus ante quem* date would be the date before the artifact entered the ground.

Akin (1992b:274–283) used a behavioral systems approach to overcome problems associated with site dating Overseas Chinese assemblages. As Akin explained, though sites can be dated on the basis of the production dates of imported artifacts found in them, when adequate information is available, the date of importation can also provide excellent dating information. By examining the ways in which coins were associated with different cultural behavioral systems and then examining how coin imports changed in different historic periods, it is possible to build profiles of coin assemblages at different periods of time (Akin 1992b:274).

During the century after 1850, coins used in gaming had certain desired attributes, such as a similar look and sturdiness. When Chinese immigration to America began, coins used for gambling were mainly brass

⁵ As explained by Akin (1992:258), some Chinese coins exhibit a pattern of patination that can be used to identify talismanic use. Talismans such as coin swords and string-of-coin charms were made so that some coins partially overlapped each other; protected from exposure to air and moisture, a difference in patina developed. Two types of stains are found: an arc on one side or sometimes both sides, enclosing about one-quarter of the coin's surface in a crescent-shaped area of lighter color. Coins from coin swords may also exhibit iron-oxide stains resulting from contact with the central iron shaft of the sword. These stains are located on the outer rim of the coin on the opposite side from the bright crescent.

wen of the Qiánlóng period with some earlier and slightly later coins. Some brass Japanese *mon* would have been included but the thin Vietnamese brass *dong* of the period before 1802 were too flimsy to last very long on the gaming tables (Akin 1992b:276). The larger coins of reigns prior to 1736 were used for gambling only when other coins were unavailable, since they had a larger diameter than the standard Qiánlóng pieces and would not fit the uniformity requirements of the game pieces.

By the late 1880s, zinc *dong* became available in large numbers and were imported specifically to use as gaming counters (Culin 1891:6). Archaeological evidence from the Riverside Chinatown indicates that Chinese and Vietnamese coins were kept on separate strings, which confirmed their separate roles in the game of *fan tan* (Akin 1992b:276). Vietnamese *dong* became unavailable in Guangdong during the 1890s as they fell out of circulation. Although they were replaced by the struck *wen* of the Canton mint, these struck *wen* were not known to have been used in gambling.

If Not Money, What Were Asian Coins Used For?

Foreshadowing work by Akin (1992b) a decade later, Olsen (1983:53) described the inherent difficulties in substantiating, archaeologically, the possible specific non-monetary functions of Asian coins in the Americas. In the Confucian divinatory text, *Yijing* (Book of Changes), milfoil (*Achillea* spp.) stalks or cash coins were used to help communicate with the oracle. If such coins are recovered in groups or multiples of three, this may indicate their use in this context. Gaming pieces such as inscribed tiles used in *majiang* (Mah-Jongg) were recovered in Tucson, suggesting another possible function for Chinese cash currency. Olsen (1983:53) suggested a variety of events took place in the late 1800s and early 1900s that led to the gradual loss of interest in cash coins as money in North America. The continued presence of these coins in archaeological sites suggests demonetization of Asian coins did not prevent them from being used for talismanic, divinatory, or gaming purposes.

Olsen (1983:53) suggested that it should be possible for investigators to detect the changing role of Asian coins in American immigrant communities throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as these factors began to manifest themselves in daily commerce. He further suggested that one could witness a gradual shift in emphasis from one of token or monetary worth to that of talismanic value. Six of the 10 positively identifiable struck Chinese coins dating to Guāngxù (1875–1908) were found (at Tucson's Chinatown) bound together with red string in an intricate pattern, suggesting they were intended as a wedding, birthday, or New Year gift.

Chinese Coins as Gaming Tools

The game most associated with Chinese *wen* and Vietnamese *dong* was *fan tan*; these coins also played a role as game pieces (markers) in dominos and *sick*. Coins were used in these games solely as markers, never as currency (Akin 1992b; Culin 1891) and were imported for this purpose by game operators (Culin 1891:6). Bets were made using American money (Culin 1891:4,10). This is an important point because “betting money” coins and “game pieces” coins shared the same space but their functions were quite different (Akin 1992b:148). Similarly, in the game of *sick*, large sums of money changed hands on the cast of the dice; a gaming table would be piled up with paper checks and brass *wen* game counters (Akin 1992b:149). In playing dominos, at the end of each game, Chinese coins were given out and represented a certain amount of American money. Bets were later settled outside the club room (Akin 1992b:149).

As gaming tools, players preferred the smaller, thicker coins of mostly uniform size. Ping Lee, in a personal communication to Margie Akin (Akin 1992b:152), reported that thicker, sturdier coins of the Qiánlóng reign were preferred because they lasted longer. Research confirms that a large percentage, over 60 percent, of the Chinese component of a gaming assemblage will be *wen* from the Qiánlóng

(1736–1795) and the Jiāqìng (1796–1830) reigns (Akin 1992b:152). Vietnamese *dong* were part of the gaming behavioral system; they were generally darker and a duller color (oxidized zinc) and easily distinguished from *wen*. As Culin (1891:6) observed:

The brass cash are not used as counters upon the board, leaden pieces from Annam, called *nai ts'in*, “dirt cash,” being substituted to prevent confusion.

At Sandpoint’s Chinatown, 17 of 41 (41 percent) of the Asian coins are *dong*. Their discovery came as a surprise during the archaeological excavations; as Akin (1992b:153) explains, the presence of these coins in the American West was puzzling when they were first encountered because there was no direct trade between Vietnam and North America. The story of the *dong* helps explain their presence at Sandpoint. The best explanation is provided by Akin (1992b:153–154):

During the 1880s, zinc Vietnamese coins came into circulation in Guangdong (Akin 1990). It was during this period that Chinese bankers became increasingly active in Vietnam. As French colonial officials minted modern colonial coins during the 1880s for circulation in Vietnamese (Barry 1943:805), Chinese bankers were buying up the zinc *dong* (which resemble Chinese *wen*) and transporting the zinc *dong* to Guangdong. There was a shortage of small change in Guangdong at the time, so the zinc *dong* were tolerated in circulation. In 1889 the Chinese government in Canton began production of high-quality machine-struck brass *wen* (Krause 1985:398), and within a few years the market for Vietnamese coins disappeared. It was only for a short, tightly defined period of time that large quantities of zinc Vietnamese *dong* circulated in Guangdong Province, the center of trade and emigration to the American West.

With respect to their probable use in gaming at Sandpoint, Akin’s (1992b:154) comments are pertinent:

They [*dong*] were very soon put to use in the United States and Canada in the game of fan tan in which different coins represented different game functions. Gaming assemblages from the late 1880s and the 1890s will have a high percentage of Vietnamese *dong* as a result. The overall assemblages from this period can have as much as 86 percent *dong*...Although the actual percentage of *dong* in any given gaming assemblage may vary, the characteristic combination of the *wen* and *dong* has not been noted for any other behavioral system. As the less-favorably viewed and fragile *dong* were gradually lost, broken, or taken out of use, and replaced with *wen*, the assemblages would change character again.

In reflecting on the analysis of the Los Angeles Chinatown (Akin and Akin 1987), Akin (1992b:161) found no reports of *dong* being used for decorative or talismanic purposes in the American West. Their use was limited to gambling and medicine. While a few Vietnamese coins may have been used to prepare medicines requiring zinc (see below), the overwhelming majority of them were used in the game of *fan tan*, and possibly other games.

Chinese Wen as Talismans or Divination Tools

Coins of Kāngxī (1662–1722) were considered particularly powerful charms. Bushell (1880:211) reported that 20 Kāngxī *wen* strung together so that the names of the mints could be read as a verse of four pentameter lines protected against disaster at sea or land while traveling. Some Kāngxī *wen* were sought after for fabrication into finger rings, due to their supposed intrinsic value as charms (Wylie 1858:62).

Modern research on this topic by Akin (1992b:117–144) reveals that large numbers of Asian coins were imported by merchants or carried over by individuals for talismanic and religious purposes, for instance as part of the Asian Folk Religion behavioral system (Akin 1992b:117). Good luck charms were dispersed through family and temple organizations, and at festivals. Some individual coins (see above) had

significant talismanic importance while others had no special significance and were used in roles for which any *wen* was acceptable to use. As Akin (1992b:117–118) explained:

The magical power of coin charms was attributed to two major sources. First, the written name of the monarch was believed to contain the power of the monarch himself (Morrison 1845:230). For this reason coins of the powerful or learned emperors were often sought. The preference for coins of the older emperors, especially the coins of the Song dynasty (960-1279), for charms may also be an example of what Eliade referred to as drawing power from the “powerful time of the beginning” (Eliade 1971:73–92). This would explain why coins that were minted during the reign of powerful or beloved emperors of the past were particularly desired. Emperor Kang Xi certainly falls into this category, and his coins were particularly favored for talismanic use. Song coins, being particularly ancient, and removed from the present world, can have even more talismanic power. The second source of power for talismanic charms helps explain their popularity with itinerant laborers. According to Taoist belief, charms are permanently inhabited by spirits, so that people were able to communicate directly with spirits through the use of talismans without the intervention of a medium, the talisman itself acting as the medium (Legeza 1975:18). This belief must have been comforting to men working in isolated communities and labor camps where they had little access to any formal religious practice or full-time priests.

Coin swords and string-of-coins charms are the main way in which Chinese *wen* were used as talismans. No coin swords or strings of coins were recovered from Sandpoint. Individual loose coins were recovered from various locations within the Chinatown archaeological deposits. As noted by Akin (1992b:120–121), protective charms consisting of several *wen* tied together were carried by many Chinese people or were kept in the home or place of business. If some of the Sandpoint coins were at one time tied together, their recovery from the area where there once stood Sam Sing’s laundry building and residence suggests just such a talismanic use. An interesting consideration is whether the *wen* recovered from Sandpoint’s Chinatown might have been coins tied together as parting gifts. As explained by Akin (1992b:123):

This use of coins as parting gifts seems an example of what van Gennep described as markers of territorial passage (1960:15-25). Van Gennep recognized that many types of symbols and symbolic activities are what he called “rites of passage,” markers or indicators of a change in social status of the participants. Among the varieties of passage that he discussed are territorial passages:... *not so long ago the passage from one country to another, from one province to another within each country, and still earlier, even from one manorial domain to another was accompanied by various formalities* [van Gennep 1960:15]. Travel across the Pacific, to an entirely new life, far from relatives and familiar ways of life, marked an important passage for Chinese emigrants. This seems a classic case of a “formality,” or rite of separation, marking a territorial passage. Because we have evidence that the coins were used in this way, any investigation of their presence in America would be incomplete without mention of their symbolic meaning as a token of this rite of passage.

Coins used in the Asian Folk Religion behavioral system have certain temporal, geographic attributes, and internal site distribution and contextual associations (Akin 1992b:132–133). The only coins having talismanic value are Chinese, and therefore Asian coins associated with this behavioral system should be closely correlated with the arrival of Overseas Chinese immigrants. These coins are found only at sites occupied by Chinese immigrants; any material that contains a high level of symbolic or religious meaning is less likely to be lost or abandoned. Careful preservation of this type of assemblage would be expected; hence, in spite of the fact that the coins were very often used for talismanic purposes, they might not be recovered from all such sites. Major multicomponent sites including residences should show some evidence of this use; significant finds might represent a sudden and forced abandonment of a site (Akin 1992b:132). Larger and earlier coins have long been preferred for most talismanic and religious uses, and many such coins date from the reign of Kāngxī (1644–1735). Finally, these coins can be expected to be found in association with other objects of religious importance, in pockets and purses, in groups

associated with remnants of red cord or thread, or tied onto swords. Strings of coins might be associated with door frames or other structural openings.

Figure 158 shows the spatial distribution of the eight Kāngxī *wen* recovered at Sandpoint's Chinatown; these eight (of 23 Chinese coins) constitute 34.8 percent of all Chinese coins found. Aside from being spatially dispersed throughout the Chinatown deposits, the Kāngxī are seemingly strongly non-correlated with the Vietnamese *dong*. Even with the small sample of Asian coins (41), an apparent spatial separation of Kāngxī *wen* with *dong* suggests archaeological confirmation of two of the important behavioral systems at Sandpoint: gaming and folk religion.

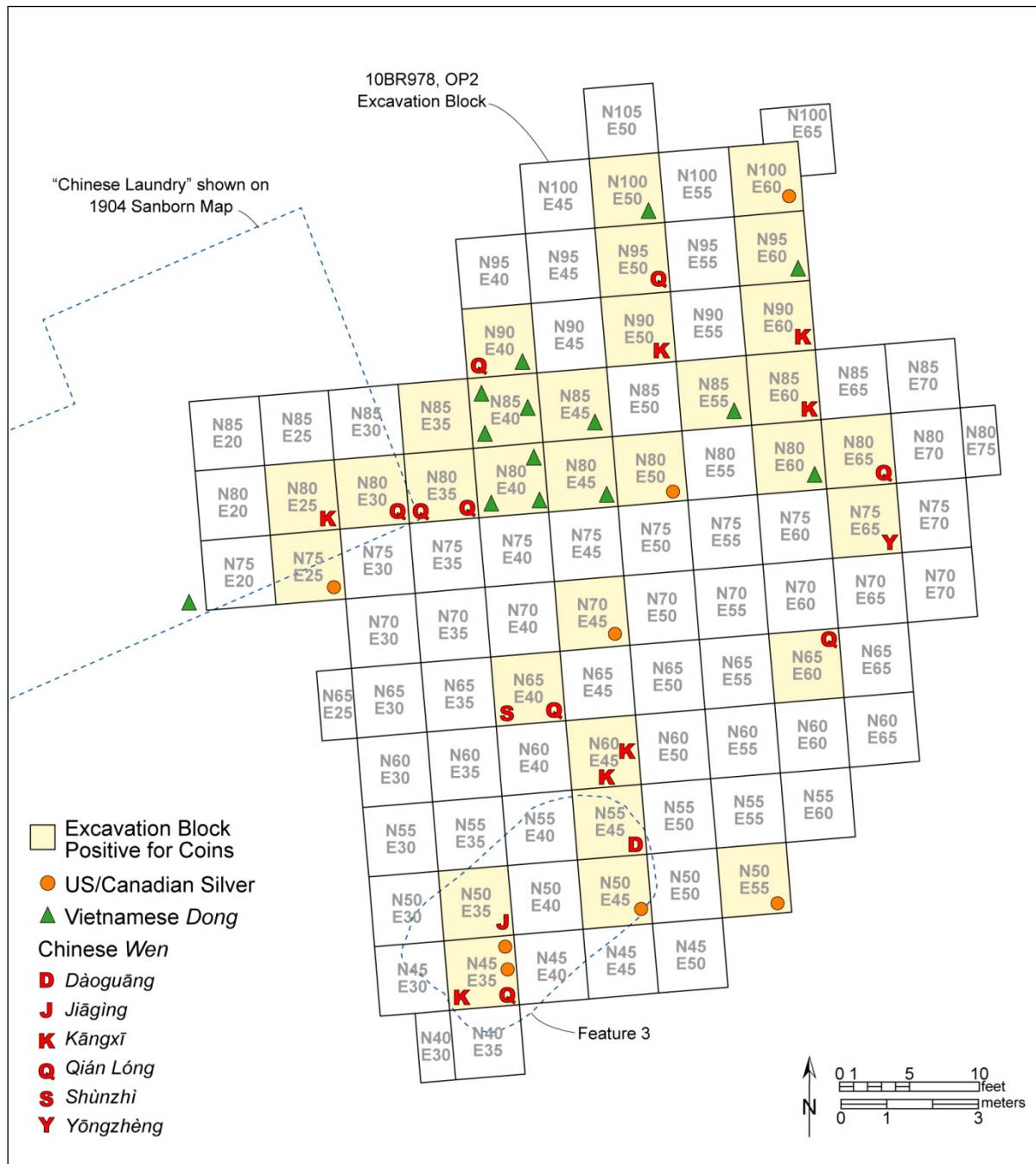


Figure 158. Distribution of coins in Sandpoint's Chinatown.

Chinese Wen in Traditional Chinese Medicine

Living in relative isolation from other Chinese communities such as Hope, Idaho, the few Chinese in Sandpoint likely had no easy access to traditional Chinese doctors. Perhaps one of the reasons the Sandpoint Chinese kept some old cash coins was for their supposed curative powers. Chinese cash coins historically played a role in traditional Chinese medicine.

Li Shizhen completed the first draft of a monumental study of traditional Chinese medicine in 1578. For this and many other achievements, Li Shizhen has been compared to the Shennong, a mythological God in Chinese mythology who taught the Chinese about agriculture and herbal medicine. Li Shizhen's work, commonly known as the *Materia Medica* was recently translated and published (Xiwin 2003). According to this work, old Chinese copper and bronze coins could be used in medications to treat heart and stomach pain, bladder diseases, corneal opacity, fever, and other maladies.

Chinese coins of the Han, Tang, Song, Ming, and Qing dynasties are mainly composed of copper, tin, lead, and zinc along with traces of barium, calcium, silver, and gold. Since the human body requires very small amounts of trace elements, it is possible that the trace elements in the cash coins provided these missing elements, or provided them in necessary quantities to cure or improve the health of individuals who were suffering from mineral deficiencies. For example, the health benefits of zinc are well known; it helps with proper functioning of the immune system, digestion, diabetes control, metabolism, and the healing of wounds. A normal human body has 2 to 3 grams of zinc. Boiling water for tea and adding an old Chinese *wen* (or Vietnamese zinc *dong*) would leach some metallic ions into the water, which could be ingested orally. In addition, the water and its dissolved trace metals could be applied directly to the skin. As explained by Akin (1992b:173–174), coins played an important role in medicinal teas:

In China, several medicinal teas incorporate coins as ingredients. Brass coins were thoroughly washed and boiled in water to produce a “tea” which was consumed by the patient. The zinc in the coin, which had been leached into the slightly acidic liquid, was expected to promote healing and enhance the immune system. Bronze coins, with their high lead and tin content, were boiled to produce a solution for the treatment of the external parts of the ear. The Vietnamese coins, with the highest levels of zinc, were ground up and the powder was mixed into an aqueous solution or ointment for topical use for eyes, ears, and hemorrhoids (Ching 1987:24). It does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the Chinese laborers, who had to rely on self-treatment for most medical problems, would have kept a few coins around for such purposes.

While any old Chinese bronze coin could be used for medicinal purposes, there were a few specific coins that tended to be favored by Chinese doctors such as the *Kai Yuan Tong Bao* coin that was cast in the year 621 AD during the reign of Emperor Gao Zu of the Tang Dynasty. Use of particular coins by Chinese doctors during the later dynasties followed the general recommendations that cash coins “at least 500 years old” be used in medical procedures. The oldest cash coin in the Sandpoint collection is the *Hong Taiji Tung Pao* specimen that dates from 1636 to 1643. Its relatively young age of 250 to 260 years at the date of its loss or discard in the Sandpoint Chinese area did not preclude its use for medicinal purposes—it might have been the oldest coin that could be found and taken from China to America by its owner. The zinc content of the coins was the source of their beneficial effects, and some of the older *wen* have higher zinc contents. Practitioners of Chinese medicine could not know the exact zinc content, but they knew which reign dates (or possibly mints) worked best.

Old Chinese cash coins were also used as a medical tool or instrument in a traditional Chinese medical treatment called *gua sha* (coin rubbing)—a medical technique used to reduce fever in patients suffering from cholera, sun stroke, asthma, bronchitis, headaches, and digestive disorders. Oil was placed on the skin and then the edge of an old cash coin was used to scrape the skin along acupuncture meridians.

This helped release the disease, which was stagnant under the patient's skin. Though it left some skin bruises, which faded away after a few days, many Chinese believed in *gua sha* and found it to be very effective; it continues to be used by many people in America whose families are from Southeast Asia.

Unfortunately, there is no way to determine if the older coins in the Sandpoint collection were used in either of these procedures. Nevertheless, it is important to consider these possibilities given the age of these coins and lack of immediate or convenient access to Chinese traditional doctors. These old coins likely provided great comfort in times of illness.

Chinese immigrants who brought cast cash coins with them during their voyage to Golden Mountain brought with them something culturally "precious" (particularly older coins with talismanic associations or medicinal value). The Sandpoint laundrymen might also have had opportunities to obtain Chinese coins through trade with later sojourners or as imported by Chinese businesses established in American coastal ports.

THE ASIAN COINS OF SANDPOINT, IDAHO

Sandpoint's Chinese settlement adjacent to the NPRR tracks may have started as early as 1882 or 1883, but was certainly well established by 1885. The first available national census for Sandpoint was taken in 1900 and was followed by the 1910 census (Table 50 combines both). A special census of the Chinese in Idaho and Montana lacks year of birth information; it is not incorporated into Table 50. A comprehensive review of the 1900, 1905 and 1910 census data is provided in Chapter 15 of this volume. Though Chinese were known to move about to pursue work, it is possible that work opportunities were sufficiently favorable that some or all of the original Chinese who came to Sandpoint as early as 1882 or 1883 were captured in the 1900 census. At least in the case of Sam Sing, his first five-year (\$12.00/year) lease of NPRR land began on April 1, 1891.

Table 50. The Sandpoint Chinese Community in the 1900 and 1910 U.S. Censuses

Name	Census	Sex	Date of Birth	U.S. Arrival Date/Age	Marital Status	Sandpoint Occupation	Possible Self-Imported Coins
Lung Sing	1900	Male	1838	1860/22	Single	Cook	<i>wen</i>
Yack Yung	1900	Male	1841	1862/21	Single	Cook	<i>wen</i>
Jim Carr	1900	Male	1843	1875/32	Single	Laundryman	<i>wen</i>
Sam Sing	1900	Male	1848	1874/26	Married	Laundryman	<i>wen</i>
Susie Lee	1900	Female	1852	1879/27	Married	Servant	<i>wen</i>
Ham Hing	1900	Male	1859	1879/20	Married	Cook	<i>wen</i>
Ling Hoy	1900	Male	1864	1879/15	Single	Cook	<i>wen</i>
Tong Hoi	1900	Male	1868	1885/17	Married	Cook	<i>wen</i> and/or <i>dong</i> *
Joe Lee	1900	Male	1869	1882/13	Single	Cook	<i>wen</i>
Chung Ah	1910	Male	1854	1881/27	Single	Cook hotel	<i>wen</i>
Sick Gee	1910	Male	1852	1881/29	Married	Vegetable peddler	<i>wen</i>
Chung Bo	1910	Male	1854	1881/27	Married	Cook railroad	<i>wen</i>
Jim See	1910	Male	1868	Unknown	Married	Laundryman	<i>wen</i>
Jim Young	1910	Male	1867	1887/20	Single	Servant - Hotel	
Charlie Hong	1910	Male	1868	Unknown	Married	Dishwasher dancehall	<i>wen</i>

* "If Chinese *wen* and Vietnamese *dong* are found mixed together in an assemblage from a California site, there is a fair certainty that they were imported between about 1885 and the late 1890s" (Akin 1992b).

As reported in the March 1, 1907, edition of the *Northern Idaho News*, the NPRR ordered all parties having buildings on the west side of Railroad Avenue to remove them so that the west side of the street could be cleared. Sam Sing's Chinese Laundry appeared on the 1904 Sanborn map but was missing on the 1909 Sanborn map; it was probably a victim of this order to clear properties on the west side of the tracks. Coincidentally, his last land lease at \$12/year (NPRR Lease No. 2202) began on April 1, 1902, and was to expire on March 31, 1907.

The presence of Vietnamese *dong* in the Sandpoint assemblage certainly correlates well with what is known about the timing of the introduction of *dong* into California and presumably other ports of entry for immigrating Chinese or Chinese imported goods (Table 2.11.10). With the exception of Tong Hoi, the Chinese who settled onto NPRR land in Sandpoint arrived in America well before 1885, and the *wen* recovered from Sandpoint's Chinatown were coins carried with them from China; the assemblage seems consistent with an earlier arrival. Later and younger Chinese immigrants to Sandpoint, could have introduced Vietnamese *dong* into the Sandpoint Chinatown (i.e., Hoi Tong – Table 2.11.10). It is likely, however, that the introduction of *dong* into the Sandpoint Chinatown reflects later import by Chinese companies (see below).

The possibility of later import of *wen* and *dong* cannot be discounted for Sandpoint. Grant Keddie (1978, 1982, and 1990) and other informants provided examples of Asian coins being shipped to established Chinese businesses. The Asian coins found in an Overseas Chinese archaeological site may not necessarily be coins individually carried from China during the emigration to America. The older Chinese already established in Sandpoint by 1883 to 1885 had access to imported goods from China via the NPRR and Great Northern Railroad, which connected to Oregon and Washington port cities. A branch store of the Twin Wo Company (labor contractor and merchant) in nearby Hope, Idaho, might also have been a local source of access to (after 1885) Vietnamese *dong* as gaming equipment for *fan tan* and other games.

The distribution of the *wen* and *dong* in the Sandpoint Chinatown area is different, and the location where the *dong* were found was several yards away from the former laundry and dwelling building leased by Sam Sing (Figure 158).

Though no structure was known to have been present in the area where the *dong* were clustered, their relative proportion in the overall coin assemblage provides archaeological evidence of the importance of gaming to the residents of Sandpoint's Chinatown. Because *wen* and *dong* were used in illegal gambling, and were therefore evidence admissible in court of illegal activities, they were often hidden. The Dixon hoard is good example of hiding gambling equipment. At Riverside, a string of 67 *dong*, held together by a piece of baling wire, was recovered in sterile soil in an area slightly removed from the buildings (Akin 1992b:260–261). In Tucson, gaming equipment was found stuffed in the eaves of an outhouse between utes (Marjorie Akin 2011, pers. comm.). The spatial separation of gaming equipment by hiding it away from living areas may also to be the case in Sandpoint.

A few of the Sandpoint *wen* show either faint patinated arcs and/or faint red iron stains or red pigmented "string" residues (Appendix I), but none of the Sandpoint *wen* were found together as a cache or hoard. Chinese coins that exhibit a crescent-shaped patination pattern can be used to identify talismanic use. Talismans such as coin swords and string-of-coins charms were fashioned so that some of the coins partially overlapped each other. Portions of the coins were protected from exposure to air and moisture, and differences in patination can develop. Two types of stains are found on coins once part of a sword or string-of-coins charm. Coins from both forms of talismans often have an arc on one side and sometimes both sides, enclosing about one-quarter of the surface in a crescent-shaped area of lighter color. This brighter surface was protected from discoloration. Coins from coin swords may exhibit

iron-oxide stains resulting from contact with the central iron shaft of the sword. These stains are on the outer rim of the coin on the opposite side from the bright crescent (Akin 1992b:258). Coin swords were sometimes taken apart (or were broken) and the coins were re-used in another activity.

COMPARING OTHER SITES WITH SANDPOINT

A few archaeological sites in Western North America have yielded substantial numbers of Asian coins while many other sites have yielded just an occasional, single Asian coin. In this section the larger assemblages are compared and contrasted, and where available behavioral interpretations are provided.

Tucson, Arizona

Tucson's Chinatown was first occupied in the 1870s, and it grew in the 1880s and declined in the 1890s. Between the years of the Taiping Rebellion and passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act (1850–1882), large numbers of Chinese entered the Western states but Arizona did not attract large Asian populations in spite of abundant employment opportunities in agriculture, mining, and railroad construction. The 1880 census recorded only 1,630 Chinese in Arizona, and all but 100 lived in Tucson and Pima County (Fong 1978:5). By 1890, Tucson's Chinese population had dropped to only 215; the remaining 1,300 Chinese were apparently induced to emigrate to Canada and Mexico or simply to return to China. Tucson's Chinese population might have been more numerous because only legal residents were included in the census figures. A total of 91 Asian coins were recovered between 1967 and 1973 during investigations conducted by the Arizona State Museum as part of the Tucson Urban Renewal project. Seventy-three legible coins dating to the Qing Dynasty and Republican Era could be accurately dated (Table 51).

Dixon, California

When the Dixon coin hoard was buried is unknown (Akin 1992b:279), but the composition of the coins suggests a time frame for when the hoard was assembled. It is uncertain if the hoard represents a dismantled coin sword or a cache of gaming equipment, but it is likely that the hoard was assembled within a few years of the time it was buried. Twelve of the coins were Kāngxī (1662–1722), one was from Dàoguāng (1821–1851), and the remaining 60 coins were all Qiánlóng (1736–1795). No machine-struck *wen* of the Guangdong mint was included (Table 51). Shiny and uniform Guangdong coins were adopted preferentially for certain parts of the coin sword almost as soon as they were easily available beginning in 1889. If the *wen* were from a coin sword, they likely were from one made prior to 1890. If they were gambling equipment, they were from a time before the importation of zinc *dong* and would have been used before about 1886, when zinc coins came to California from Guangdong.

Dixon was a farming area during the period when mass Chinese agricultural labor began in the 1870s. If the *wen* were used in gambling, they were very likely assembled between about 1870 and 1886. If they were part of a coin sword, they were imported between 1850 and about 1890 and would have been taken apart sometime afterward, roughly between 1870 and 1910. Interestingly, the hoard owner, perhaps thinking he was enhancing the value of his find, polished them until all traces of patina were gone. In doing so, he destroyed the only way to distinguish between a gambling assemblage from before 1886 and a coin sword assemblage of before 1890. If the *wen* were from a coin sword, some would have had at least a trace of the distinctive arcs of less-patinated surface, with iron stains on the other side. The lack of such markings would have indicated a gaming assemblage of even earlier date (Akin 1992b:280).

Table 51. Comparison of Sandpoint's Asian Coins with Other Western Sites

Dynasty Reign Title/Date	Sandpoint Idaho	Old Sacramento (Farris 1980)	San Luis Obispo (Akin 1987)	Yreka (Farris 1980)	Dixon Hoard (Akin 1987)	Los Angeles Union Station (Akin 1990)	Los Angeles Union Station (Greenwood 1996)	Riverside (Akin 1992a)	San Bernardino (Akin 2010)	San Jose (Akin 1987)	Tucson (Akin 1989)	Tucson (Olsen 1983)	Lovelock 26-PE-356 (Hattori 1979)	Yakutat (Akin 1988)	Diyagan'et (Akin 1988)
Japan															
Kanei Tsuho 1626–1769											2	2			1
Bunyo Eiho 1863–1867											1	1			
Mutsuhito 1866–1912													1		
China: Qing								98							
Wànlì 1573–1619							1								
Shùnzhi 1643–1661	1	1		3		1	1			1					
Kāngxī 1661–1722	8	5	4	17	12	2	7		2	1	9	21	10	4	7
Yǒngzhèng 1722–1735	1			1										1	
Qiánlóng 1736–1796	8	8	5	31	60	8	15		4		6	14	9	1	
Jiāqīng 1796–1820	2	2	3	4		2	4				7	15	2		
Dàoguāng 1820–1850	2	1		2	1		2		1	1	5	6	1		
Xiánfēng 1851–1861				2							1	2			
Guāngxù 1875–1908	1					2	8				9	11	1		
Vietnam: Nguyễn								146							
Cahn Hung 1740–1787							1								
Gia Long 1802–1819	5					21	54		101				1		
Minh Mạng 1820–1840	3		2			59	121		724				1		
Thiệu Trị 1841–1847						2	3		9						
Tự Đức 1848–1883	6					42	93		384		1				
Unknown	3					4			112						
British Empire: Queen Victoria	1														
China Republic											1	1			
Total	41	17	14	60	73	143	310	244	1339	3	41	73	26	6	8

* Kāngxī coins are highly associated with talismanic uses (Marjorie Akin 2011, pers. comm.). ** These Vietnamese *dong* circulated in southern Chinese ports.

Los Angeles, California

Vietnamese *dong* (280 specimens) dominated the Asian coin assemblage, making up 85 percent of the total (Table 50). Los Angeles Chinatown yielded the highest percentage of *dong* found thus far in a controlled archaeological excavation at any site in the Western United States (Akin 1992b:281). The oldest *dong* at Los Angeles was a specimen from the reign of Cahn Hung (1740–1787), and the most recent are from Tự Đức (1848–1883). The ratio of *dong* to *wen* at Los Angeles (almost 9:1) would indicate that a large number of the Asian coins recovered were imported into the Los Angeles area from Guangdong between 1885 and the late 1890s as part of the general circulating currency of that period. Therefore, the coins were in use and the site was occupied no earlier than 1885. Historical documents indicated Los Angeles was occupied for a period centering on an approximate date of 1900, and numismatic data support this suggestion (Akin 1992b:283).

Riverside, California

Riverside's Chinatown excavations yielded 244 Asian coins (Table 51). Most were recovered from areas that were exactly dated (January 1886 to July 1893) using stratigraphic evidence and historic documents. The assemblage was more than half Vietnamese; coins dating between 1802 and 1883 were found throughout the site. Coins of Minh Mang (1820–1841) and Tự Đức made up the majority of the *dong* recovered (Akin 1992b:281).

Riverside's Chinese were agricultural workers employed before and shortly after the 1893 Exclusion Act (and almost all were from Guangdong Province). Riverside's 1886 Chinatown was first occupied at the same time Vietnamese *dong* were becoming very common in Guangdong. Within six years, *dong* was ubiquitous at Riverside's Chinatown, suggesting close ties between it and Guangdong ports (Akin 1992b:278). The California Asian Numismatic Survey indicates that Chinese sites with known occupations before the 1880s had no zinc Vietnamese *dong* present. At that time, *dong* only circulated in Vietnam and there was no commerce between Vietnam and California. It was a short, compressed time period when large quantities of zinc *dong* circulated in Guangdong—a center of trade and emigration to California. If *wen* and *dong* are found mixed together in an assemblage from a California archaeological site, their date of import can be securely determined to be between about 1885 and the late 1890s.

San Bernardino, California

The largest hoard of Asian coins (1,320 specimens) yet recovered in the American West came from Privy 1035 in San Bernardino's Chinatown. Coins from other features brought the site total to 1,337 coins. Most of the Privy 1035 coins were found still strung together in the traditional method of storage and transport and most were Vietnamese *dong* (Table 51). Dominoes, an ivory die, and hundreds of (black and white) glass disks (*go* or *fān tǎn* markers) were found in association; the circumstantial evidence suggested the coins were used in gaming (Akin 2010:6.107).

Sacramento, California

Excavations in Old Sacramento from 1966 to 1978 recovered 24 Chinese coins from the city's downtown commercial area that dated between 1848 and the 1920s (Farris 1980:23) but only 17 could be positively identified. The seven unidentified coins could well have been Vietnamese *dong* because research about the circulation of *dong* in China had not yet been conducted at that time (1980) (Marjorie Akin 2011, pers. comm.).

Yreka, California

The Yreka, California, Chinatown was occupied from 1875 to about 1930 (Helvey n.d.). Excavations conducted in 1969 yielded 60 Chinese and Vietnamese coins (Farris 1979:48).

Summary

As shown in Table 2.11.10, Sandpoint's assemblage is 41 percent *dong* (17 of 41 total coins). Some other sites yielded few or no *dong* whatsoever (Tucson, Lovelock, Dixon, Yreka) while others yielded large numbers in caches associated with gaming practices (Los Angeles, San Bernardino). Timing of immigration might be indicated at some sites (Los Angeles, Tucson) based on the presence of very late Chinese *wen* minted in the Guāngxù period (1875–1908). Unlike *dong*, which were either imported into the United States by Chinese merchants as gaming tokens or arrived with later-arriving immigrants due to the co-circulation of *dong* and *wen* in later years, Chinese *wen* minted in later Qing times could not have been carried to America by earlier waves of Chinese immigrants. Overall, the *wen* minted in the early Shùnzhì period (1643–1661) are relatively scarce but three specimens were recovered from Yreka. Yreka had one of the earlier Chinese occupations in the West. Yreka also yielded Kāngxī period (1661–1722) *wen* (17 of 60, or 28 percent) in high proportions, just slightly fewer than Tucson (21 of 72, or 29 percent). In the lower 48 states, Japanese *mon* have only been recovered from Tucson and Lovelock. Sandpoint yielded a Shùnzhì specimen and eight examples of Kāngxī *wen*. With the exception of a single Guāngxù specimen, which was found well away from Sandpoint's Chinatown (Appendix I), the Chinese *wen* from the Sandpoint Chinatown deposits seem to indicate coins associated with earlier immigrants.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter illustrates the information and interpretive potential of coins and tokens using the Sandpoint assemblages recovered from the various sites. The coins and tokens can tell a story and help us better understand aspects of human behavior in Sandpoint's Chinatown and Restricted District. These artifacts, aside from their sometimes useful and sometimes non-useful site dating tools, are productive avenues of numismatic study that allow interpretation of past behavior. The potential of Sandpoint's coins and tokens has not been exhausted; hopefully this chapter has demonstrated fruitful avenues of further investigation.

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CHAPTER 12, APPENDIX I. SUMMARY DISTRIBUTION OF SANDPOINT'S ASIAN COINS

Table 52. Summary Distribution of Sandpoint's Asian Coins.

Dynasty	Reign Title/Date	Coin/Mint	Coin Date	Provenience and Coin and Hole Diameters (mm)
Qing	Shùnzhi 1643–1661	Obv: SHUN ZHI TONG BAO Rev: LINQING MINT, SHANDONG PROVINCE Type E. Hartill (2003: Plate 100, Coin 20.24). Red stain on 2 spots on reverse. Talisman coin?	1660–1661	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 65 E 40, L-1. LC #40363. Coin 27.5; hole 5.7.
Qing	Kāngxī 1661–1722	Obv: KANG XI TONG BAO Rev: BOO CHIWAN BOARD OF REVENUE Type A1.1. Hartill (2003: Plate 20, Coin 5.26). Seven stroke bei, two dot tong. Rim abrasion at top, side, and bottom of each observe character, possible oxidation residue? Talisman coin?	1662–1683	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 45 E 35, L-4/F-3. LC #40374. Coin 27.0; hole 5.3.
Qing	Kāngxī 1661–1722	Obv: KANG XI TONG BAO Rev: BOO CHIWAN BOARD-REVENUE Type A1.1. Hartill (2003: Plate 20, Coin 5.26). Seven stroke bei, two dot tong.	1662–1683	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 90 E 60, L-1. LC #38305. Coin 27.5; hole 5.5.
Qing	Kāngxī 1661–1722	Obv: KANG XI TONG BAO Rev: Surviving fragment lacks mint-mark area Type A1.1. Hartill (2003). Fragmentary; contains only the Xi.	1662–1683	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 90 E 50, L-1. LC #38304. Fragmentary.
Qing	Kāngxī 1661–1722	Obv: KANG XI TONG BAO Rev: YUWAN, TAIYUAN MINT, SHANXI PROVINCE Type 1.2. Hartill (2003: Plate 102, Coin 21.15). Closed head, two dot tong.	1667–1670	10-BR-859, Townsite, Jewelry Store N 385 E 55, L-1. LC #40180. E. wall of unit. Kāngxī Poem Coin 原 Yuan ? Coin 27.8; hole 4.9.
Qing	Kāngxī 1661–1722	Obv: KANG XI TONG BAO Rev: ZHEJIANG MINT Type 1. Hartill (2003: Plate 122, Coin 26.6). Two dot tong. Large well made coin. Red oxidation stain on a spot on reverse rim. Talisman coin?	1667–1674	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 85 E 60, L-1. LC #40377. Kāngxī Poem Coin 浙 Zhe ? Coin 27.0; hole 5.3.
Qing	Kāngxī 1661–1722	Obv: KANG XI TONG BAO Rev: SUZHOU MINT, JIANGSU PROVINCE Type 1. Hartill (2003: Plate 85, Coin 17.50). Two dot tong. Large well made coin. Crescent moon-shaped lighter zone on reverse side rim. Possibly element of coin sword.	1668–1670	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 80 E 25, L-1. LC #40367. Kāngxī Poem Coin 苏 Su ? Coin 26.8; hole 5.6.
Qing	Kāngxī 1661–1722	Obv: KANG XI TONG BAO Rev: BOO CHIWAN BOARD-REVENUE Type A1.2. Hartill (2003: Plate 20, Coin 5.28).	1680 decade	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 60 E 45, L-1. LC #40380. Coin 28.8; hole 5.7.
Qing	Kāngxī 1661–1722	Obv: KANG XI TONG BAO Rev: BOO CHIWAN BOARD OF REVENUE Type A1.1. Hartill (2003: Plate 20, Coin 5.25). Seven stroke bei, two dot tong.	1662–1683	10-BR-859, OP-1, Townsite N 60 E 45, L-2. LC #82597. Coin 27.8; hole 5.9.
Qing	Yǒngzhèng 1722–1735	Obv: YONG ZHENG TONG BAO Rev: BOO YUN MINT, YUNNAN-FU Type B1. Hartill (2003: Plate 113, Coin 25.23). Wide head on tong, closed bei. Slight red oxidation/pigment stain on obverse next to Bao on rim. Talisman coin?	1728–1734	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 75 E 65, L-1. LC #40373. Coin 15.2; hole 4.0.
Qing	Qiánlóng 1736–1796	Obv: QIAN LONG TONG BAO Rev: BOO CHIWAN BOARD-REVENUE EAST BRANCH Type F2.BRE. Hartill (2003: Plate 22, Coin 5.102). Six stroke bei. Pronounced oxidation staining on obverse rim next to the Bao that extends over the rim onto the adjoining reverse rim. Caused by string? Talisman coin?	1775–1781	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 90 E 40, L-1. LC #40369. Coin 22.5; hole 5.0.
Qing	Qiánlóng 1736–1796	Obv: QIAN LONG TONG BAO Rev: BOO YUWAN BOARD-WORKS OLD BRANCH Type F2.BWO. Hartill (2003: Plate 40, Coin 6.70). Square head, two dot tong.	1775–1794	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 95 E 50, L-1. LC #40364. Coin 22.0; hole 5.4.
Qing	Qiánlóng 1736–1796	Obv: QIAN LONG TONG BAO Rev: BOO YUWAN BOARD-WORKS NEW BRANCH Type F2. BWN. Hartill (2003: Plate 40, Coin 6.69). Closed head tong, protruding head boo.	1775–1794	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N45 E35, L-4/F-3. LC #40375. Coin 22.8; hole 5.2.
Qing	Qiánlóng 1736–1796	Obv: QIAN LONG TONG BAO Rev: BOO JYI BAODING MINT ZHILI PROVINCE Type 3.2. Hartill (2003: Plate 128, Coin 27.6). Square head tong, small jyi, hook yi.	1788–1796	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 80 E 65, L-1. LC #38306. Coin 21.6; hole 5.7.

Table 52. Summary Distribution of Sandpoint's Asian Coins.

Dynasty	Reign Title/Date	Coin/Mint	Coin Date	Provenience and Coin and Hole Diameters (mm)
Qing	Qiánlóng 1736–1796	Obv: QIAN LONG TONG BAO Rev: BOO CHIWAN BOARD-REVENUE NORTH BRANCH Type G1.BRN. Hartill (2003: Plate 23, Coin 5.110). Protruding fu.	1795	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 65 E 60, L-1. LC #40370. Coin 22.5; hole 4.9.
Qing	Qiánlóng 1736–1796	Obv: QIAN LONG TONG BAO Rev: BOO CHIWAN BOARD-REVENUE Type G2.BRE. Hartill (2003: Plate 23, Coin 5.111). Six stroke bei, poor workmanship.	1795	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 65 E 40, L-1. LC #38313. Coin 22.0; hole 7.1.
Qing	Qiánlóng 1736–1796	Obv: SHAN LONG TONG BAO Rev: BOO CHIWAN BOARD-REVENUE EAST BRANCH Type G1.BRE. Hartill (2003: Plate 23, Coin 5.106). Six stroke bei, small rim, protruding head boo. Commemorative issue: abdication 1795 to death 1799.	1795–1799	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 80 E 35, L-1. LC #40366. Coin 22.0; hole 5.9.
Qing	Qiánlóng 1736–1796	Obv: SHAN LONG TONG BAO Rev: BOO CHIWAN BOARD-REVENUE SOUTH BRANCH Type H1.BRS. Hartill (2003: Plate 24, Coin 5.116). Straight gan, square head tong. Commemorative issue: abdication 1795 to death 1799.	1795–1799	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 80 E 30, L-1. LC #40365. Coin 23.0; hole 5.6.
Qing	Jiǎqīng 1796–1820	Obv: JIA QING TONG BAO Rev: BOO CHIWAN BOARD-REVENUE SOUTH BRANCH Type B2.BRS. Hartill (2003: Plate 25, Coin 5.158). Square head, two dot tong. Small red oxidation stain on observes rim above the Jia. Talisman coin?	1810–1815	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N50 E35, Strats 3d & lower e. LC # 40381. Coin 23.9; hole 5.7.
Qing	Jiǎqīng 1796–1820	Obv: JIA QING TONG BAO Rev: BOO CHIWAN BOARD-REVENUE EAST BRANCH Type C2.BRE. Hartill (2003: Plate 25, Coin 5.165). Six stroke bei, closed head tong.	1816–1820	10-BR-978 OP-1, Restrict. Dist. Cribbs N50 E55, L-2. LC #40275. Coin 22.8; hole 5.7.
Qing	Dàoguāng 1820–1850	Obv: DAO GUANG TONG BAO Rev: BOO YUWAN BOARD-WORKS OLD BRANCH. Type A2.BWO. Hartill (2003: Plate 42, Coin 6.109). Square head, two dot tong.	1821–1823	West bank of Sand Creek immediately north of Bridge Street Bridge. Gary Weisz Collection, Sandpoint.
Qing	Dàoguāng 1820–1850	Obv: DAO GUANG TONG BAO Rev: BOO CHIWAN BOARD-REVENUE WEST BRANCH. Type B1.BRW. Hartill (2003: Plate 27, Coin 5.195). Closed head, one dot tong.	1823–1850	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N55 E45, L-3/ST-3. LC #40371. Coin 22.8; hole 5.0.
Qing	Guāngxù 1875–1908	Obv: GUANG XU TONG BAO Rev: BOO YUWAN BOARD-WORKS Type 2.2. (Hartill 2003: Plate 66, Coin 11.20). Nominal weight 3.2 fen. Fou bao. Struck coin. Has crescent moon- shaped light area on obverse and reverse. Possibly once mounted on a coin sword or an 8-coin Feng Shui talisman?	1906–1908	East bank of Sand Creek beneath old Cedar Street Bridge. Found on silver or nickel-plated hinged brass ring with identical struck coin and 2 or 3 cast coins. Gary Weisz Collection, Sandpoint.
Nguyễn Vietnam	Gia Long 1802–1819	Obv: GIA LONG THÔNG BẢO Rev: THẤT PÁNH (7 Páhn or 7 cents). Type 99.11. Zinc (Barker 2004:227)	1802–1819	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N75E15, L-1. LC #38303. Coin 24.3; hole 5.7.
Nguyễn	Gia Long 1802–1819	Obv: GIA LONG THÔNG BẢO Rev: THẤT PÁNH (7 Páhn or 7 cents). Type 99.11. Zinc (Barker 2004:227)	1802–1819	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N80E35, L-1. LC #38309. Coin 24.1; hole 5.3.
Nguyễn	Gia Long 1802–1819	Obv: GIA LONG THÔNG BẢO Rev: THẤT PÁNH (7 Páhn or 7 cents). Type 99.11. Zinc (Barker 2004:227)	1802–1819	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N80 E45, L-2. LC #40378. Fragmentary.
Nguyễn	Gia Long 1802–1819	Obv: GIA LONG THÔNG BẢO Rev: THẤT PÁNH (7 Páhn or 7 cents). Type 99.11. Zinc (Barker 2004:227)	1802–1819	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N85 E40, L-2. LC #38311. Fragmentary.
Nguyễn	Gia Long 1802–1819	Obv: GIA LONG THÔNG BẢO Rev: THẤT PÁNH (7 Páhn or 7 cents). Type 99.11. Zinc (Barker 2004:227)	1802–1819	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N90 E40, L-1. LC #40368. Fragmentary.
Nguyễn	Minh Mạng 1820–1840	Obv: MINH MẠNG THÔNG BẢO Rev: Plain Type 101.26. Zinc (Barker 2004:233). Closed, small Minh fragment.	1820–1840	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N80 E40, L-2. LC #38308. Fragmentary.

Table 52. Summary Distribution of Sandpoint's Asian Coins.

Dynasty	Reign Title/Date	Coin/Mint	Coin Date	Provenience and Coin and Hole Diameters (mm)
Nguyễn	Minh Mạng 1820–1840	Obv: MINH MẠNG THÔNG BẢO Rev: Plain Type 101. Zinc (Barker 2004:229). Thông fragment.	1820–1840	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 80 E 40, L-2. LC #38312. Fragmentary.
Nguyễn	Minh Mạng 1820–1840	Obv: MINH MẠNG THÔNG BẢO Rev: Plain Type: 101.11. Zinc (Barker 2004:229). Small flan, open Minh, large Thông fragment.	1820–1840	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 95 E 60, L-1. LC #38302. Coin 23.5; hole fragmentary.
Nguyễn	Tự Đức 1848–1883	Obv: TỰ ĐỨC THÔNG BẢO Rev: Plain Type: 103.11. Zinc (Barker 2004:238).	1848–1883	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 75 E 30, L-1. LC #40379 Coin 22.5; hole 4.5.
Nguyễn	Tự Đức 1848–1883	Obv: TỰ ĐỨC THÔNG BẢO Rev: Plain Type 103.11. Zinc (Barker 2004:238). Đức fragment.	1848–1883	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N80 E40, L-2. LC #38314. Coin fragmentary.
Nguyễn	Tự Đức 1848–1883	Obv: TỰ ĐỨC THÔNG BẢO Rev: Plain Type: 103.11. Zinc (Barker 2004:238).	1848–1883	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 80 E 60, L-1. LC #38307 Coin 22.4; hole 4.2.
Nguyễn	Tự Đức 1848–1883	Obv: TỰ ĐỨC THÔNG BẢO Rev: Plain Type 103.11. Zinc (Barker 2004:238). Đức fragment.	1848–1883	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N85 E40, L-2. LC #38300 fragmentary
Nguyễn	Tự Đức 1848–1883	Obv: TỰ ĐỨC THÔNG BẢO Rev: Plain Type: 103.11. Zinc (Barker 2004:238).	1848–1883	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N85 E55, L-2. LC #49340 fragmentary
Nguyễn	Tự Đức 1848–1883	Obv: TỰ ĐỨC THÔNG BẢO Rev: Plain Type: 103.11. Zinc (Barker 2004:238).	1848–1883	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 100 E 50, L-1. LC #40376. Fragmentary
Nguyễn	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N85 E45, L-2. LC #38301. Two badly corroded fragments.
Nguyễn	Unknown	Unknown Tong fragment.	Unknown	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N85 E40, L-2. LC #38310.
British Empire	Queen Victoria	Hong Kong One Cash Hong Kong, 1865, VR, One Mil.	1865	10-BR-978 OP-2, Chinatown N 75 E 30.

CHAPTER 13. FROM THE “BLOOM OF YOUTH” TO “DYE FOR THE WHISKERS”: GROOMING THE WOMEN AND MEN OF SANDPOINT

Breanne Kisling and Mark Warner

A great deal of archaeological discussion focuses on functional questions, such as what people ate or bought. Occasionally, artifacts from archaeological projects provide us with insight into the more privately constructed aspects of historical identities. The Sandpoint excavations resulted in the recovery of hundreds of objects associated with how people took care of themselves. Grooming-related artifacts offer a glimpse into the personal regimens of a cross-section of Sandpoint’s residents: Humbird Mill workers, prostitutes, Chinese residents, and the boarders of the Pend d’Oreille Hotel. These objects show us not only what these people used and the appearances they may have constructed, but also what their consumer choices were from the available products that made their way to northern Idaho, whether in local shops and pharmacies, through mail order catalogs, or by way of traveling salesmen.

In the Victorian Era (1837–1901), a woman’s appearance was tied closely with ideas of her morality. A natural look for both face and hair was preferred, and was representative of the idea that women were supposed to embody modesty and propriety. Most American women did not wear visible face makeup; instead, they focused on improving their complexions and achieving a white skin tone. If they did wear makeup, what they often used were skin whiteners (Black 2004:16). Bleached hair was associated with vanity or immorality, and women were supposed to exhibit modesty and virtuous conduct as they filled stereotypical roles as wives and mothers (Sherrow 2006:155). If women wore noticeable hair dyes or cosmetics, they would have to face social disapproval (Sherrow 2006:155). A healthy look and the cleanliness of the hair and body became the emphasis in Victorian society, especially after the 1860s (Sherrow 2006:385).

After World War I, a growing social acceptance of beautification led to the growth of a mass market for cosmetics (Peiss 1998:97). A range of products that spanned every level of consumers’ economic means was available, from the cheap cosmetics found in any drug store to the expensive imported French products available in big city department stores (Peiss 1998:97). Peiss (1998) states that “between 1909 and 1929 the number of American perfume and cosmetics manufacturers nearly doubled, and the factory value of their products rose tenfold, from \$14.2 million to nearly \$141 million” (Peiss 1998:97). A nationwide system of mass production, distribution, marketing, and advertising of cosmetics folded the local patterns of buying and selling into the burgeoning national culture of consumption (Peiss 1998:97–98).

Advertisements are one medium where grooming and identity norms are readily apparent. The first serious advertising of commercial cosmetics and personal grooming products appeared in the 1880s (Sherrow 2001:1). Cosmetic and other grooming product advertisement claims resembled those promoting patent medicines and cure-alls of the day; in some instances, the lines between these two categories are blurred. Advertisements and claims of products were not regulated until the passage of the Food and Drug Act of 1906. Previously, manufacturers could list all of the uses for and results of their products without proof of actual effects. While most cosmetics and grooming products were excluded from regulation, the Act still prohibited mislabeling of cosmetics, banned the use of harmful ingredients, and required proof of products’ claims (Peiss 1998:99). Cosmetic companies had to adapt their products and advertising to these new stipulations or go out of business (Peiss 1998:99).

One of the larger questions we have been interested in throughout this project is the relationship between Sandpoint and the world. In many ways Sandpoint was like many small Western towns where people were conscious of the style and society of the eastern United States. As one scholar noted, the

people in the late nineteenth century who followed the railroad westward wanted to “re-create in the West the familiar trappings of antebellum commerce and society that they had known in the East” (Jackson 2005:85). This is not to imply that replicating eastern style was the only objective, but it certainly was a significant factor in encouraging the consumption of cosmetics and related products in the West (see Volume I for a more extensive discussion of the economics of Sandpoint and the American West).

Sandpoint’s link was the railroad; the town was connected to the rest of the nation by the goods and ideas that the Northern Pacific railroad brought and which the people eagerly consumed. The grooming products recovered from excavations of historic Sandpoint were manufactured thousands of miles away and shipped to many areas; thus, Sandpoint was part of a web that stretched across the country, dropping off goods and passengers and bringing hopes and ideas. A stock of the latest fashion styles and high-grade toiletries was predominant in advertisements for Sandpoint businesses, such as the Northern Mercantile Company and Charles Foss’ Pharmacy. As stated in the *Northern Idaho News Industrial Souvenir Edition*, Charles R. Foss carried “perfumes, soaps, combs, brushes and all character of toilet articles” in his pharmacy that were “of standard manufacture and of the latest and most artistic designs” (*Northern Idaho News* 1905:17–18). Not to be outdone of course a rival pharmacy, Allen Brothers, offered a free bottle of skin lotion as an enticement for female shoppers in the same year as the Foss Pharmacy feature (Figure 159).



Figure 159. Advertisement for free skin lotion (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1905:5).

Grooming-related items are those artifacts that pertain to the cleansing and maintenance of one’s personal hygiene and appearance, and include items associated with dental, hair, and skin care, as well as perfumes, mirrors, and cosmetics. Collectively, these artifacts provide insights into the ways in which the people of Sandpoint groomed themselves and cared for their appearance; they also provide insight on the types of products available or preferred in this small Western town, and to some degree how people viewed themselves. Grooming often reflects other areas of personal maintenance, most notably

the maintenance of dental and sexual hygiene, and that was certainly the case in Sandpoint. These topics will not be covered in this chapter; for more discussion of these issues please see Chapters 3 (The Archaeology of Sex) and 11 (Dental Hygiene) in this volume.

WOMEN

Victorian Ideals and Appearance

Victorian thought dictated that internal values of virtue, modesty, and innocence produced the external ideals of feminine beauty (Peiss 1998:25). Peiss (1998) states that for the Victorian woman, “the facial ideal was fair and white skin, blushing cheeks, ruby lips, expressive eyes, and a ‘bloom’ of youth” (Peiss 1998:24). The white face of Victorian women was a reflection of class and ethnic identity manifested as beauty. A woman who could maintain this fair complexion with a natural ease would have to be a member of the upper class as well as of Northern European descent. Women who were of working classes and of ethnic heritage other than Northern European found it more difficult to achieve this beauty standard naturally.

Flushed cheeks and lips have frequently been associated with youth and vitality in many cultures (Sherrow 200:11). Yet red lips can also be read as a signal of sexual interest and fertility. This “bloom of youth” is similar to natural cues for fertility, which in turn leads into another important role for Victorian woman—motherhood. For many middle-class women, beauty and motherhood were thoroughly intertwined. As one columnist in 1887 wrote: “... bearing children tends to keep beauty of form and feature—other things being equal—even increasing it sometimes and putting old age a long way off” (Green 1983:29).

Although Victorians wanted a woman’s beauty to arise naturally from living a good, womanly life, not every woman’s natural appearance and features fit this ideal; thus, when goodness and virtue failed to garner results, some women turned to home-made remedies and a growing market of commercial products to achieve this model. However, just as a naturally beautiful face reflected the ideal of Victorian womanhood, a painted one embodied all that was false, vain, and immoral in women’s character. Thus the means of achieving a beautiful face were a risk to the woman and her reputation, and this stigma attached to cosmetics served as a powerful social deterrent from using them. The dilemma women faced was to try to find the amount of painting that looked natural and could fool the rest of society—their goal was to escape being seen as unattractive or immoral.

Prostitution and Grooming

In Victorian America, a painted face not only stood for immorality, but also implied a woman’s occupation: “To most Americans, the painted woman was simply a prostitute who brazenly advertised her immoral profession through rouge and kohl” (Peiss 1998:27). Prostitutes relied heavily upon their appearance to attract clients, and wore makeup as a means of advertising: “Prostitutes not only knew how to make themselves attractive, they knew how to put on class, to manipulate their image to appeal to the men of means they wanted to attract” (Yamin 2005:16).

Grooming practices and the processes of beautification, the occupational necessities for prostitutes, are evidenced by the recovery of a particularly large number of grooming artifacts in the material culture of Sandpoint’s red-light district compared to the excavated historical mixed commercial and residential assemblages of the town. This echoes what has been identified in other archaeological excavations of brothels; the excavations in Los Angeles in particular resulted in the recovery of large numbers of personal grooming artifacts (Costello 2003).

The Ladies of the Bordello and Brothel

Sandpoint had a portion of the town that the locals called the “Restricted District.” The Restricted District was a complex of buildings that housed two saloons, a dance hall, and two houses of prostitution (Figure 160). The two brothels apparently catered to somewhat different clienteles. Willa Herman’s Bordello was the smaller of the two structures, but it catered to a more affluent clientele. Herman’s Bordello had a larger assemblage of grooming and toiletry items ($n = 163$) compared to Henderson’s Brothel or, in fact, any other assemblage in Sandpoint. Creams, lotions, and other skin care products made up the largest category of grooming products, with a minimum number of products determined at 45. Marie Henderson’s Brothel was the larger of the two structures; her clientele would likely have drawn from the workers of the Humbird Mill, miners, and so on. It was a long building, consisting of a number of cribs, or small single rooms that were sparsely furnished other than a bed. This brothel had the second-largest assemblage of grooming items in our excavations, with items totaling 83.

Most people are not generally aware of this but the reality of prostitution at the time was that it “was a highly stratified occupation. Each woman’s status was determined by a combination of race, ethnicity, education, sociability, and sexual skill and was reflected in the place in which she worked” (Murphy 1987:194). The skin, hair, and fragrance products illustrate the class distinction between the ladies of Sandpoint’s Restricted District. Although Willa Herman’s Bordello employed fewer women, it catered to a higher class clientele, was more elaborately furnished, and created a more refined atmosphere than its neighboring establishment.

The disparity between the assemblages from Willa Herman’s Bordello, which contained more expensive and a wider variety of products, and Marie Henderson’s Brothel was quite substantial. Although the houses did share some of the same products, notably Vaseline, Crème Simon, and Ed. Pinaud, the bordello’s larger and more diverse assemblage was deposited by a smaller group of women. The disparity in the materials from the two assemblages indicates that Herman’s Bordello employees had more resources than the ladies of the cribs. Additionally, the volume of beauty aids implies that the Herman’s Bordello women also had more time. In a business where time clearly equaled money, the volume of cosmetics represents an indirect measure of Herman’s wherewithal. Put simply, the women of Herman’s Bordello had the resources to acquire these goods and they had the time to use them regularly as well. All of the creams, dyes, and cosmetics that helped women appear more youthful and desirable in turn boosted their business; thus, spending their hard-earned money on expensive miracle creams and sweet smelling perfumes was an important business investment, and it was a business investment that Willa Herman’s employees were more readily able to make than the women of Marie Henderson’s Brothel. The next question, however, is what exactly were these women investing in?

Skin Whiteners

Before the Food and Drug Act of 1906 regulated the way manufacturers marketed their claims, many products were advertised to cure a wide array of skin ailments. One of the most impressive of these was Madame Yale’s Almond Blossom Complexion Cream (Bordello; $n = 1$), which was a “thoroughly cleansing, purifying, cooling, soothing and healing, refining, refreshing, nourishing, whitening,

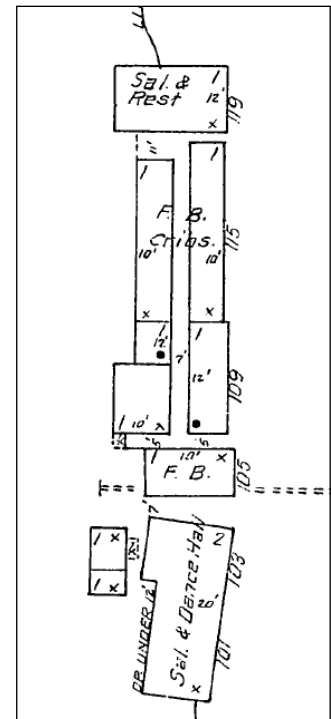



Figure 160. Sanborn map, 1909, of the Restricted District. “F.B. Cribs” was Henderson’s Brothel while “F.B.” was Herman’s Bordello.

beautifying and preserving” preparation that “cures and prevents chapping, chafing, itching and all skin irritation; abnormal redness of the nose and face” (*Pittsburg Press* 1908:8). Madame Yale’s, while having a multitude of advertised uses, was present in the notable assemblage of creams that were marketed to lighten a woman’s complexion.

In the bordello assemblage, 51 percent ($n = 23$) of the total skin products recovered were advertised as products for skin whitening, or removing redness or tan. In the brothel, whiteners accounted for 47 percent ($n = 8$) of skin products recovered. Digging into the types of whiteners recovered, the assemblage was dominated by two products: Crème Simon and Ingram’s Milkweed Cream. Crème Simon was a very popular skin cream manufactured in France that was supposed to give its customers a white complexion. In the brothel, Crème Simon (Figures 161 and 162) was the most popular skin whitener ($n = 4$), while in the bordello, Crème Simon ($n = 6$) was second in popularity to Ingram’s Milkweed Cream ($n = 11$) of the products that promised a fair face void of freckles, sunburn, tan, or redness.



Figure 161. Crème Simon bottle from the Restricted District.



CRÈME SIMON

An unrivalled article to whiten and soften the skin. Chaps, redness, roughness, etc., disappear as if by magic. The **Crème Simon Soap** is particularly recommended to Fashionable Ladies.

J. SIMON, 13, Rue Grange Batelière, PARIS

Figure 162. Advertisement for Crème Simon, 1901 (*Scribner's Magazine* 1901).

Overall, we found 31 bottles of skin whitener in the brothel and bordello assemblages, findings that demonstrate the women were exploiting the Victorian feminine ideal of whiteness for business purposes. It also indirectly demonstrates the heightened awareness of the ideals of style that at least some women of Sandpoint had. What is unfortunate about our excavations is the unanswered question of whether these products were in fact an attempt to follow styles of the time or rather were some sort of parody of the ideal of whiteness. In an archaeologically ideal situation we would have been able to compare the two assemblages with those of residences in town, thus comparing density and variety of products with those used by women in a residential context. Such a comparison would have enabled us to identify whether the prostitutes of Sandpoint were attempting to follow stylistic ideals of the time or whether they were parodying it (Agnew 2008:52).

Anti-aging Products

Youth, or the appearance of youth, was important for prostitutes' business; once a woman showed signs of aging, it was hard for her to charge customers the same rate as a younger prostitute. Indeed, historians of prostitution have noted that aging was in many regards the scourge of prostitutes: as women aged, their earning potential decreased. In 1910 the demimonde of Sandpoint ranged in age from 16 to 32, with an average age of 25 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910:174). This demographic is exactly in line with other accounts of prostitutes' age ranges in the West (Agnew 2008:42–43). In our assemblage we see evidence of this 20-year age range and the sense of competition it embodied through the products we recovered that were related to “reversing” aging or to covering it up.

A number of skin products were marketed at least in part to erase wrinkles or return skin to its former youthfulness. (As a side note, many products were advertised for a variety of uses, for instance as a skin whitener and as an anti-wrinkle cream; when appropriate, these products are noted in multiple sections.) Thirty-three percent ($n = 15$) of the bordello's skin creams were advertised as producing a youthful effect on the skin and complexion. These included Ingram's Milkweed Cream ($n = 11$), Pompeian Massage Cream ($n = 2$), Madame Yale's Almond Blossom Complexion Cream ($n = 1$), and Wakelee's Camelline ($n = 1$). Only one youthful skin product, a bottle of Pompeian Massage Cream, was found to be associated with the brothel, representing 5.8 percent ($n = 1$) of the brothel's skin creams (Figure 163).



Figure 163. Pompeian Massage Cream Bottle from the Restricted District.

In addition to prostitutes having concerns about wrinkles, there were also considerable concerns about hair. Seventy-seven percent ($n = 7$) of hair products recovered from the bordello were concerned with covering up gray, aged hair or promised to return hair to its youthful color and condition. Such products recovered included C. Damschinsky Liquid Hair Dye, La Goutte-a-Goutte, Mrs. Potter's Walnut Juice Hair Stain, Parker's Hair Balsam, Walnut Oil, and Walnutta. All hair care products recovered from the brothel were bottles of hair stain—two bottles of Mrs. Potter's Walnut Juice Hair Stain (Figure 164) and one bottle of La Goutte-a-Goutte.



Figure 164. Mrs. Potter's Walnut Juice Hair Stain bottle.

In advertisements, the popular Mrs. Potter's Walnut Juice Hair Stain stated that "a woman is as old as she looks" (Figure 165). This seems to imply that a woman could actually become younger if she looked younger. Altogether, 16 percent ($n = 25$) of all grooming products of the bordello and brothel were aimed specifically at reversing the effects of aging or covering up the signs of it. Sandpoint's prostitutes were using these products to hold on to their youth, as a hard world was doing its best to age them. What is particularly interesting about these products is the relatively more extensive use of them in Herman's Bordello, the more pricy establishment. The ages given in the 1910 census indicated that the women working in Henderson's establishment were slightly younger (average age 24.7 years) than in Herman's (28.5 years) (Ages of the women working in the brothels are presented in Volume 1, Chapter 5) (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910). To be certain, any age data for prostitutes should be viewed with some caution. Women in the profession frequently lied about their names, or had various aliases, so it should not be surprising that in order to cover up their identities, they may have also reported false ages (Agnew 2008:49). Yet the anti-aging products associated with Herman's business do suggest that the women working for Herman were using anti-wrinkle products as a preventative measure. While we do not have specific evidence of this behavior being part of women's mindset in the past, we do note that this is commonly the case in cosmetic use today.



Figure 165. Advertisement, 1903, for Mrs. Potter's Walnut Juice Hair Stain (*Pearson's Magazine* 1903).

Cosmetics

After age was covered up or reversed, the canvas was prepared for its "paint." Cosmetics such as face powders, lip and cheek rouges, and eye makeup were used to enhance certain facial features by adding color and definition, and covering up blemishes or imperfections. According to Sherrow, "along with face powder and lip salve, rouge was one of the three best-selling color cosmetics" at the turn of the century (Sherrow 2001:111). One compact of rouge from Willa Herman's Bordello was manufactured by the Elizabeth Post cosmetic company of New York. The excavations at Henderson's Brothel recovered one compact of Richard Hudnut's Three Flowers scented face powder and rouge.

Richard Hudnut was a successful American perfumer and cosmetic manufacturer at the turn of the century (Lightyears, Inc. 2005). He introduced his scent *Three Flowers* in 1915, which included both perfumes and scented cosmetics, often packaged together (Lightyears, Inc. 2005). This particular compact, patented in 1922, held both rouge and face powder in separate compartments on both sides of the compact's center (Figures 166 and 167).



Figure 166. Richard Hudnut's compact from Henderson's Brothel.

In comparison with the numbers of facial creams and skin whiteners, the cosmetic assemblage is actually very small. This may show that cosmetics were not as readily attainable as the creams and other beauty products, or it may simply represent the different rate of use of creams versus cosmetics. One thing it does show us is that both houses of ill repute were equal when it comes to the cosmetics recovered. While prostitutes may have been known as "painted ladies," the actual volume of cosmetics identified at the two establishments was minimal.

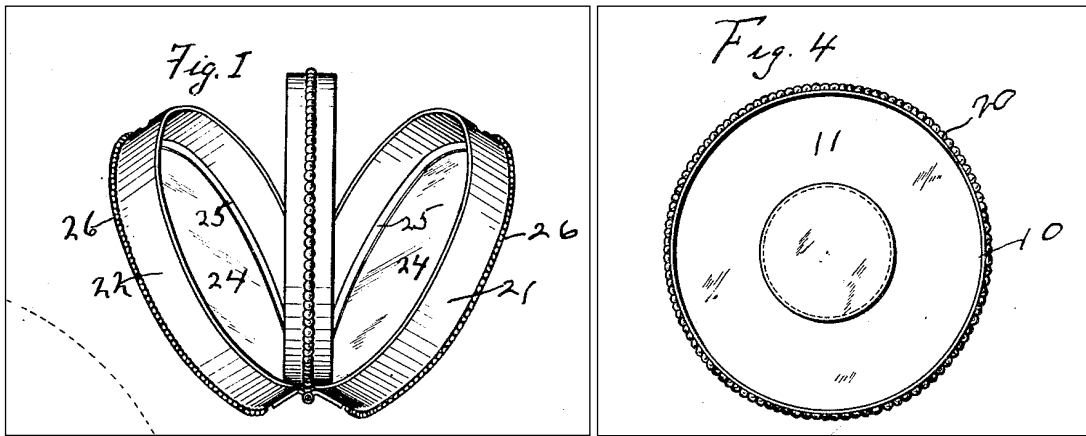


Figure 167. Technical drawings from the patent for the compact (Wilson 1922).

Fragrances

Departing from the heavily visual aesthetic that the aforementioned creams, dyes, and cosmetics produced, bottles of perfumes and colognes were also sitting on these women's dressing tables. Fragrances are mixtures of oils made from the essences of flowers or other plants with the addition of alcohol to dilute the scent. The fragrances recovered from Sandpoint include perfumes, colognes, and toilet water. Perfume is the most concentrated form of fragrance, containing the least amount of alcohol compared to cologne and toilet water (Sherrow 2001:213). The bordello ($n = 31$) had considerably more perfumes and colognes than the brothel ($n = 18$). A range of brands and manufacturers is present in these establishments and is outlined in Tables 53 and 54. The presence of a large number of fragrance bottles in the Restricted District raises a few issues. First, we know that smell is a critical sense that evokes memories and plays an important role in attraction and sexuality, with fragrances used to enhance personal attractiveness and powerfully affect emotions (Sherrow 2001:124). In a brothel, it was certainly an objective to be as attractive as possible to a client, but these fragrances would have served other functions as well.

Table 53. Perfumes from Willa Herman's Bordello

Product	Product Manufacturer	Manufacturer Location	Artifact Count	Minimum Number of Items (MNI)
Unknown product	Adolph Spiehler	Rochester, New York, USA	2	1
Unknown product	Alfred Wright Perfumer	Rochester, New York, USA	7	1
Unknown product	Allan Perfume Co.	St. Louis, Missouri, USA	3	1
Unknown product	Colgate & Co.	New York, New York, USA	1	0
Hoyt's German Cologne	E.W. Hoyt & Co.	Lowell, Massachusetts, USA	3	2
Unknown product	Ed. Pinaud	Paris, France	26	8
Guerlain	House of Guerlain	Paris, France	1	1
Unknown product	John Blocki & Son	Chicago, Illinois, USA	1	1
Dabrook's Perfumes	Michigan Drug Co. or Williams, Davis & Brooks Co.	Detroit, Michigan, USA	4	1
Florida Water	Murray & Lanman Druggists	New York, New York, USA	12	6
Unknown product	Richard Hudnut Co.	New York, New York, USA	1	1
Unknown product	Roger & Gallett	Paris, France	2	2
Unknown product	Solon Palmer	New York, New York, USA	28	5
Unknown product	T. Ricksecker Perfumer	New York, New York, USA	2	1
Total			93	31

Table 54. Perfumes from Marie Henderson's Brothel

Product	Product Manufacturer	Manufacturer Location	Artifact Count	Product MNI
Unknown product	Alfred Wright Perfumer	Rochester, New York, USA	2	1
Hoyt's German Cologne	E.W. Hoyt & Co.	Lowell, Massachusetts, USA	1	1
Unknown product	Ed. Pinaud	Paris, France	33	5
Unknown product	Johnson & Johnson	New Brunswick, New Jersey, USA	4	4
Florida Water	Murray & Lanman Druggists	New York, New York, USA	2	1
Unknown product	Richard Hudnut	New York, New York, USA	1	1
Unknown product	Solon Palmer	New York, New York, USA	27	5
Unknown product	Unknown	Unknown	1	0
Total			71	18

Perfumes and colognes would also have covered up body odor in a time when bathing was not always emphasized. Further, brothels were generally not bastions of fresh air and clean scents. As one scholar described, "Windows were rarely opened in the bedroom of some parlor houses, and, as a result, the interior often had a distinctive smell. The air was usually full of a heady aroma that was a combination of liquor, stale tobacco smoke, perfume, and sweat" (Agnew 2008:61). The volume of fragrance bottles recovered from the two sites is probably attributable to a combination of their intended purpose—to enhance attractiveness—and a secondary purpose, which was to mask some of the less desirable aromas of the bordello.

In at least one instance, we recovered a product that was actually marketed in part to mask odors: a bottle of Hoyt's Genuine German Cologne (Figure 168). Hoyt's Genuine German Cologne was marketed heavily in the late nineteenth century. A quick search of these advertisements on the Internet indicated that the Hoyt Company took a variety of tacks with their advertising, with most of the advertisements emphasizing that Hoyt's was "fragrant and lasting." One trade card for Hoyt's, however, was fairly explicit in stressing its efficacy at eliminating odors. This card noted that "HOYT'S GERMAN COLOGNE overcomes any disagreeable odors about the clothes" and that "HOYT'S GERMAN COLOGNE used in the sick room is very refreshing. Invalids find it an invigorating and restoring influence" (Figure 169). It is clear that masking odors was an important secondary use for Hoyt's Cologne, and perhaps a reason it was acquired by the women of the Restricted District.

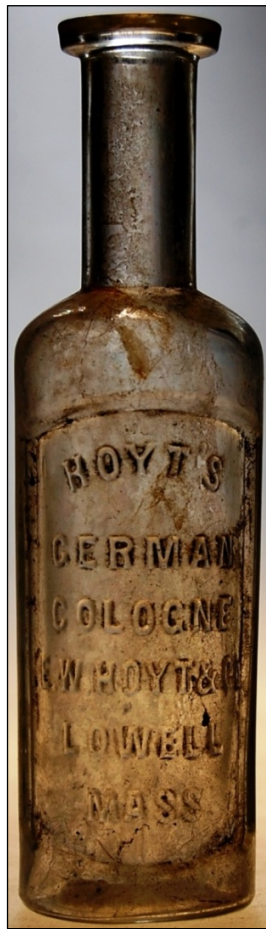


Figure 168. Hoyt's German Cologne bottle from the Restricted District.

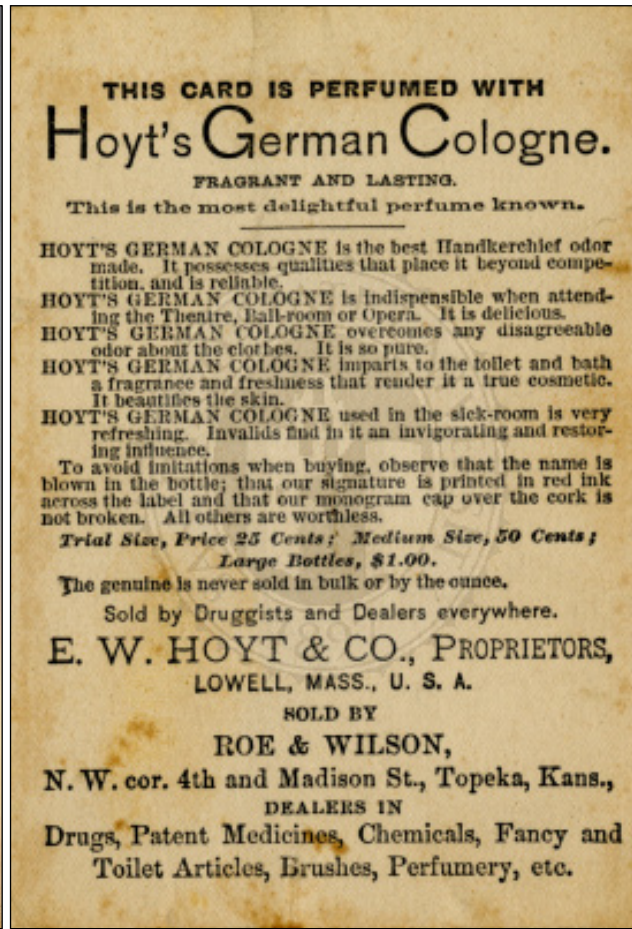


Figure 169. Hoyt's trade card (Hoyt's German Cologne n.d.).

Changing Perceptions of Cosmetics

At the end of the Victorian era, cosmetics were becoming much more accepted in American society. In the 1890s or early 1900s, women who appeared in public with heavily made up faces were at best viewed with suspicion and at worse openly ridiculed (Agnew 2008:52; Black 2004:16), though perceptions clearly changed during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Indeed, by 1920, the use of cosmetics and other appearance enhancers had become so widespread throughout all social classes that it was no longer possible to determine a woman's social status based on her use of makeup and hair dyes (Riordan 2004:44). These changing perceptions of cosmetics and other similar products coincided with growing mass production and marketing, as well as an emerging feminism that sought to create a female identity, partly as consumers. This combination of factors ultimately broke down the stigma of cosmetics and paved the way for face powder and lipstick to be necessary items in women's purses.

MEN

In the eighteenth century, both men and women of the aristocracy used powdered wigs, makeup, and flamboyant clothing as tangible indicators of the separation of their wealth from the lower classes (Peiss

1998:23). A change in men's grooming habits and standards of appearance occurred in the United States around the American Revolution (Peiss 1998:23). The American Revolution saw a rejection of many of these aristocratic ideals of appearance for both men and women by the colonists. This dismissal of the trappings of English aristocracy could be seen by the changing standards of appearance, specifically among men. As time went on men no longer relied on ostentatious examples of their position through such items as powdered wigs and makeup. As Peiss states: "republican ideals of manly citizenship reinforced the idea: men need not display their authority, since their virtue was inherent" (Peiss 1998:23). The combination of men's worth in the public realms of society, along with the denunciation of the grooming practices and appearance standards of the English aristocracy, meant that by the Victorian era, men's appearance was not held to quite the same social scrutiny as women's.

Although not as scrutinized or publicized as women's grooming implements and habits, men were nonetheless still engaging in personal grooming and hygiene practices that involved the regular purchase of products. A number of the contexts that we excavated were primarily occupied by men, and as such, we are in the interesting position of being able to shed some light on the grooming habits of the men of Sandpoint. During the nineteenth century, common men's toiletry articles included items associated with shaving, hair care items, colognes, and face washes (Peiss 1998:23–24). Barbershops also played a role in men's grooming as men could go there to "take care" of their grooming needs and not have to think about it until their next visit. Barber shops and services remained available to men throughout the nineteenth century. Over time, popular advertisements indicated an increase in the variety of products available for men to use in the home, signaling a shift from seeking out professional services to maintaining appearance through private grooming practices. This can be seen in the plethora of advertisements that appeared in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that specifically targeted men and their grooming needs.

Men's Grooming in the American West

Fashion trends have been important to people for many years, and personal grooming has been a key component. In the American West, goods were not always readily available. People migrated west before towns and cities were established; both settlers and opportunists depended on news from the east via word of mouth, mail, and newspapers, most of which depended on the train. Railways and trains were akin to a neurological system in the United States, transporting goods, people, and news from east to west, and also vice versa.

Newspapers gave people insight into the fashions of the times. It is through the expanding world of advertisements and mass consumer society in general that economies flourished and new ideas and ideals were displayed for all to buy. We have been able to trace through product names and advertisements what many of these products were and what they were used for. In the case of men's grooming items, there were a number of stereotypical and unusual items recovered from an array of housing and commercial areas in Sandpoint.

As barbershops in urban neighborhoods and rural towns throughout America quickly became centers for male socializing and gossip (Sherrow 2001:31), men frequently elected to pay a barber rather than stay at home and shave. Although we did not excavate a barbershop, there were of course barbershops in town. Six barbers located in Sandpoint are listed in R.L. Polk and Company's *Classified Business Directory of Bonner County for the Years 1910-1911* (Polk 1910). The men of the Humbird Mill and railroad workers could have easily crossed the bridge to frequent these facilities or there could have been makeshift barbershops set up in other locations. A letter written by a Baptist minister from a town in Colorado highlights the unique grooming situation in the American West:

"A Baptist Barber."

I will not name the town, further than to say that it is one of our newest cities in Colorado. Nine months ago two families camped alone on the present town site. To-day it has a population of 1,000, men, women and children, herded together in shacks and tents. I had three days' growth of hair upon my face, and seeing no sign of a barber, I inquired of a small boy where I could get a shave. He pointed across the street to a saloon. After some hesitation I found the only barber in town, with his shop divided from the saloon by a small board partition.

As I took my seat in the chair I opened up the conversation on the subject of religion; it is always wise in a barber shop in the west to open up the subject of conversation yourself. The casual mention that I was a Baptist preacher brought forth a hearty greeting, unusually cordial, and with a "put it there, pard," he reached out his hand to me, "I'm one of y'er." In reply to my question, "Are you a Baptist?" "You bet I am," he replied. But when he leaned over to shave me the foul smell on his breath of stale liquor all too clearly told its story, and the reckless manner in which he handled the razor convinced me that he had been drinking. I asking him when, where and by whom he had been baptized, I think he said at Lexington by Elder Scott, and he added that he would be glad to hear some good preaching in this town. When I rebuked him for swearing and coupled the rebuke with a warning against whisky, he drew back from me, making exceedingly interesting but to me highly dangerous evolutions with his razor just above my face, emphasizing his regret and sorrow almost with tears. He said that his father was Scotch-Irish, but that I must not think there was any Irish in him. With a sigh of relief I got out of the chair, partially shaved and disfigured in three places where he had drawn blood by different cuts upon my face and throat.

It is such incidents as these that will make one's heart sick. Think—1,000 or 1,200 people here in this town as I write. I look out of the hotel in which I am writing and there are not ten professing Christians in the place. Saloons on every corner and a pile of beer kegs shipped into the town every day. Occasionally religious services are held, but not a resident preacher in the town. When back in my room, free from the smell of whisky and the dangers of a razor in the hands of a drunken Baptist barber, my heart cried out to God that he would send forth more laborers into this great harvest field.... (The Standard 1900)

Male Spaces in Sandpoint

As mentioned above, there are a few distinct areas in our excavations that we have identified as being mainly inhabited by men. These areas include the Humbird Blacksmith/Machine Shop and Club House, the Humbird Privy, and the Worker Housing units. These are generally thought of as areas that are occupied and used solely by men, either as work environments such as the Humbird Blacksmith Shop and Club House or as living environments, such as the Humbird Privy and the Worker Housing area.

The Humbird Blacksmith Shop was built by the Humbird Lumber Company sometime after 1901. This building transitioned from a blacksmith shop to a machine shop and had associated sections such as an electrical battery storage area and a club house. The artifacts recovered show the typical metal assemblage associated with these occupations: metal scrap, tools, and slag. However, a small percentage of artifacts reveal that workers likely practiced daily grooming regimens. These artifacts include washbasin fragments, mirror fragments, a tube of Palmolive shaving cream, and a jar that could have contained cream or lotion.

The Humbird Privy is associated with the Humbird Boarding House, which was built to house single men who worked at the Humbird Mill. Privies have often been the subject of archaeological investigations as they are time capsules of trash and provide a glimpse into the lives of people. However, privies have also been used to conceal immoral or unpopular acts and privately discard items (Volume 4 contains more

information on what was recovered from the Humbird Privy). We may have recovered one instance of covert disposal. Nine bottles of Carl Damschinsky's Liquid Hair Dye were discarded into the privy, as well as one perfume bottle. The nine bottles of hair dye represent 2.15 percent of the entire glass assemblage in the privy, and although it is a small percentage, it is nevertheless large in comparison with the hair care products found throughout the rest of Sandpoint's excavations.

Damschinsky's Liquid Hair Dye was a dye for the hair and beard that was available in three colors: blonde, brown, and black, differentiated by a paper label (Figures 170) (Fadely 2010; Palmer 1892:23). The large number of these bottles indicated that at least one man, and perhaps more, was concerned with cultivating a youthful image, either through dyeing his hair or his beard. This is an intriguing find, given that there is a very large body of work on women and their grooming practices (cf Black 2004; Peiss 1998; Riordan 2004; Sherrow 2001, 2006), but not much is available on men and the implications of their grooming habits. What we have is evidence that the hair dye was being acquired and used by laborers in Sandpoint—not the middle class or the wealthy. This indicates that men of the working class were still concerned with their looks and were actively striving to make themselves look more youthful.

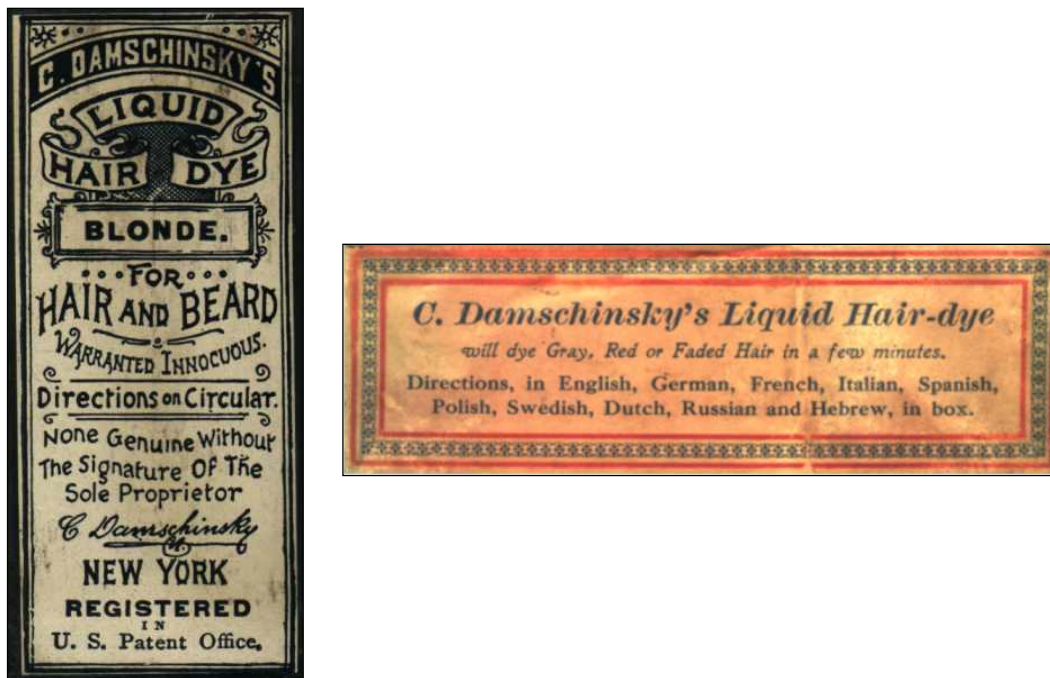


Figure 170. Examples of Damschinsky's Liquid Hair Dye labels (Fadely 2010).

Chinatown

Chinatown is a final area worth highlighting with regard to men. Although called "Chinatown" by the locals, the area effectively included one structure that served as a residence for a few Chinese men and as a possible laundry business (Weaver et al. 2006:3–20). The assemblage of grooming items was quite small but, like with Euro-American men discussed above, there is little written about the grooming habits of Chinese men in the United States. The materials we recovered present us with some suggestive insights into the lives of Overseas Chinese in Sandpoint. The small collection of hair care items found was particularly intriguing. Objects found include a shaving mug, a razor, a comb, a brush, and one hair care product—a bottle of Buckingham's Whisker Dye. In an 1883 advertisement for the dye, which was "sold by all druggists," it was touted as being "one of the most important popular toilet articles for gentlemen's use" (Figure 171) (Tourgée 1883:840).



Figure 171. Trade card for Buckingham's Whisker Dye.

One Florida Water bottle manufactured by Murray and Lanman Druggists of New York was recovered from Sandpoint's Chinatown. Florida Water is often recovered from other Overseas Chinese sites—it was apparently used by Overseas Chinese in many locales (Wegars 1993:246). Although Chinese toothbrushes were found solely in this area (see Chapter 11 of this volume), no other grooming items of Chinese origin, such as wooden Chinese hair combs like those identified in Los Angeles (Greenwood 1996:91) or Chinese cosmetic containers, were recovered. Instead we see combs, shaving mugs, and hair dyes that were marketed and produced for an Anglo audience.

The presence of numerous shaving items in Chinatown as compared to the other areas of male habitation could suggest that the Chinese men living here were more likely not to go to a barbershop for these services. A strong anti-Chinese sentiment was present throughout the American West that was also very present in north Idaho (see Chapter 15 of this volume). The boycott of Chinese labor as cooks and for laundry services most likely carried over to other businesses actively discouraging the patronage of their establishment by Chinese residents. It is our suggestion that the larger number of shaving items in Chinatown is attributable, at least in part, to the fact that local barbershops would not have been welcoming environments for the Chinese of Sandpoint.

Based on the grooming assemblage of Chinatown, two intriguing points emerge. First, these findings again show that the Chinese residents were using materials and products that were marketed toward Euro-Americans. A second point relates to the self-image of the Overseas Chinese in Sandpoint. As we have noted, the number of Chinese residents in Sandpoint was extremely small. Furthermore, the men living in Sandpoint were both long-term residents of the United States and were somewhat older; these isolated items demonstrate that these middle-aged men were clearly concerned about their

appearances to the point where they felt compelled to dye away the gray of their beard and/or hair. We acknowledge that these data are not extensive, but they do shed light on instances of everyday life that usually go unreported. Who would expect that we would be in a position to at least raise questions about the grooming practices of middle-aged Chinese men—and by implication their self-image? Perhaps the quest for youth was becoming a more universally American idea, and one that was affecting not only Euro-Americans, but also immigrants participating in an overarching culture of turn-of-the-century America.

CONCLUSION

In looking at the high number of products associated with looking youthful, it seems both the men and women of Sandpoint were primarily concerned with the appearance of aging. For the prostitutes of the bordello and brothel, it meant maintaining a competitive edge against their younger colleagues. For male workers living in the Humbird Boarding House, it may have meant covertly dying their gray hair in the boarding house and then disposing of the evidence in the privy, while later getting a shave and socializing at the barbershop.

Prostitutes were known to use cosmetics and dress elaborately and provocatively to attract customers and compete with fellow prostitutes to keep their customers coming back. The excavations of Sandpoint's Restricted District not only corroborate the high concentrations of grooming products identified in other excavated brothels, but illuminated more evidence of a class distinction between Sandpoint's two places of prostitution.

Our hope is to add to a growing understanding of grooming habits and the social, economic, and cultural implications those habits reflected and contributed to. Our assemblages, as situated in the early stages of this growing mass market, led to a beauty and youth-entranced culture we are a part of today.

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CHAPTER 14. CHEMISTRY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Mark Warner, Ray von Wandruszka, Mike Spinner, Adeline Lustig, Alicia Freeman, and Joe Mitchell

When one excavates almost 600,000 artifacts, there are bound to be objects recovered that either require a different set of tools from what is generally available in an archaeology laboratory and/or that provide a unique opportunity to investigate materials that are not commonly found by archaeologists. With the Sandpoint excavations, there were several groups of materials that fit this description. Of immediate interest to the project archaeologists were the numerous bottles recovered that appeared to still hold some of their contents. These bottles prompted project archaeologists to contact the Chemistry Department at the University of Idaho and collaborate with the department in analyzing the contents of the bottles. In addition to the initial bottle analysis, several other research topics were generated from some of the other materials that were recovered during the excavations. This chapter summarizes four streams of research conducted by chemists; the materials studied were the collection of bottles that apparently held their original contents, gunpowder recovered from several bullets, the composition of slag recovered from the Humbird Blacksmith Shop, and a study of the composition of materials used for filling a large cavity in an isolated human tooth. A detailed account of the methodologies and of the results of the testing has been reported by Spinner et al. (2011) and Freeman et al. (2012).

BOTTLE AND JAR ANALYSIS

Excavations in Sandpoint recovered 52 bottles or jars that appeared to have some product in them (Table 55). Once the bottles were in the laboratory and opened, it was clear that several of them did not contain any original materials but merely water. These products were obviously not tested. However, a number of bottles and jars did still have their original contents and those materials were identifiable to varying degrees. Some of the testing was able to identify specific products about which general information was already known (e.g., a poison bottle); some testing confirmed what was presumed (e.g., a jar that contained a lip balm/skin ointment); and in some cases, the testing provided information about the product that otherwise would have been totally unknown. What follows are a few of the “highlights” of the bottle analysis.

Table 55. Summary of Bottle Totals

Location	Count
Townsite	1
Blacksmith Shop	1
Owl Dance Hall and Saloon	1
Chinese Occupied Area	2
Worker Housing	2
Herman's Bordello	38
Henderson's Brothel	7
Total	52

COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS

Several products were identified that were in embossed bottles, meaning that we had a general sense of what the product was marketed for, but the specific products remained somewhat unknown. While there are texts available that do provide us with information on the chemical composition of many products, most notably the three volumes of *Nostrums and Quackery* (Cramp 1912, 1921, 1936), in many instances the actual contents remained unknown. One example of this was a bottle of T. HILL MANSFIELD'S CAPILLARIS. The bottle was recovered in association with Willa Herman's Bordello in the Restricted District.

As excavated, the Capillaris bottle (Figure 172) was described as containing a “yellow creamy solid, covered with a layer of debris.” The bottle was not capped but rather was effectively plugged by soil. Documentary research identified the product as being for the “hair, scalp and toilet,” with a particular emphasis on taking care of dandruff and restoring hair (Figure 173). The advertising also suggested that the contents may have been plant derived. The term “Capillaris” is generally associated with several species of plants, leading to the thought that the material could be a plant extract. Delving further, the foliage of *Artemisia capillaris*, a common type of wormwood, was identified as a common product used in folk medicines for centuries. Capillaris is identified as having a variety of uses, including as an antibacterial and antiviral agent, a diuretic, a hepatic, and a vasodilator. Analysis of the material indicated that the organic component had, surprisingly, not degraded over the past century, but that it was almost certainly plant based. Its distinctive aromatic properties indicated that it likely contained *A. capillaris*. In this light, some of the advertised claims of Mansfield’s Capillaris may in fact have contained a grain of truth—it actually contained materials the advertising claimed it did, and given its properties as a vasodilator, it may have been slightly beneficial for treating hair and skin issues (Spinner et al. 2011:32–34).



Figure 172. T. Mansfield's Capillaris bottle (LC #15974).

CAPILLARIS.

The many persons recommending it, after trying and receiving no benefit from similar compounds, *proves it has no equal.* See 96 strong, reliable testimonials, gratuitously given, on other cards and circulars.

The only article now, or ever on the market, that does all that is claimed for it.

Its use will give you an abundance of Luxuriant Hair.

CAPILLARIS.

PORTLAND, ME., May 29, 1882.

I have examined Mr. Mansfield's formula for CAPILLARIS, and freely state that in regard to it as a very valuable compound, and know of nothing now before the public surpassing it. *It contains nothing injurious*; I use it myself, and recommend it to my patients and the public.

E. C. NEAL, M. D.

(Dr. Neal has had a life-long experience in hospitals.)

MR. T. HILL MANSFIELD, BOSTON, Aug. 6, 1883.

Dear Sir:—Upon the recommendation of a friend, I was induced to try your CAPILLARIS to prevent the falling out of the hair. I have found it a sure cure for the same; also causing a thicker growth of hair. A most excellent preparation for the toilet.

Yours truly, MISS M. L. WHITTEN,
248 Princeton St., East Boston.

I most cheerfully recommend T. Hill Mansfield's CAPILLARIS, it having cured me of all scalp difficulties and eruptions on my face, wherein the many other compounds and prescriptions tried, utterly failed.

CHARLES K. RAYNSFORD, Druggist,
Cor. Lexington and Marion Sts., East Boston.

ALBANY, N. Y., Jan. 1, 1883.

MR. T. HILL MANSFIELD, Portland, Me.

Up to three months ago, for ten years, I have had a very bad *Scalp Disease*, broken out a part of the time, my head feeling hot and uncomfortable all the time. I have doctored, and tried everything and had come to the conclusion that nothing would cure me. I procured a bottle of CAPILLARIS, and it cured me in six weeks.

WILLARD FOLINSBEE, Salesman, P. K. Dedrick & Co.,
Albany Agricultural and Machine Works, Office, 121 Colome St.

Stray Bottles on land or sea, bring back good tidings to thee and me.

T. HILL MANSFIELD, Proprietor, Portland, Me.

Sold by all Dealers in Medicines and Medicinal Articles. Price, 65 Cts. per Bottle.

Figure 173. T. Mansfield's Capillaris trade card, ca. 1883 (East Carolina University 2012).

IDENTIFICATION OF LOCAL PRODUCTS

On one level everyone knows what pharmacies do—they make and/or fill prescriptions for medicines, and their byproducts are quite common on archaeological sites. Bottles that advertise local pharmacies are regularly recovered in excavations, but it is not often that archaeologists are able to identify what those pharmacies may have actually produced. In Sandpoint we were fortunate enough to recover two bottles that retained some of their original contents. The bottles were labeled somewhat differently: “THE SAND POINT PHARMACY, CHARLES R. FOSS, PROP. SAND POINT, IDAHO” and “SANDPOINT DRUG CO, LTD., PRESCRIPTION DRUGGISTS, SANDPOINT, IDAHO” (Figures 174 and 175). Although the embossing suggests the bottles came from different stores, both bottles were from a pharmacy owned by Charles Foss, one of the prominent businessmen of the town.



Figure 174. Sand Point Pharmacy bottle (LC #15982).



Figure 175. Sandpoint Drug Co. bottle (LC #15985).

Both bottles were recovered in the Restricted District, in association with Willa Herman’s Bordello. The first bottle had the remains of a decomposing cork still in place; it appeared to be filled with water and soil. However, a number of small iridescent flakes were noted as being suspended in the solution (Figure 176). Testing indicated that the materials were likely an iron phosphate, meaning the product was almost certainly a hematinic, or in layman’s terms, a product to get more iron in the blood. Such products were commonly known at the time as “iron tonics” or “blood builders” (Spinner et al. 2011:34–36). It is interesting that only a very small number of commercially marketed pharmaceuticals were identified in our pharmaceutical bottle assemblage that served the same purpose (Chapter 7 of this volume contains more information). Problems that were perceived as stemming from weak blood were

quite common, yet the commercially identified pharmaceuticals did not convey this. It may just be chance that one of the bottles with identifiable contents was a hematinic, but it may also suggest a possibility that for some problems people in Sandpoint would have turned to their local pharmacist for treatment rather than the commercial products.

The second product identified from a Sandpoint pharmacy also raises interesting questions about the consumer choices Sandpoint residents made. The Sandpoint Drug Co., Ltd bottle (Figure 175) was also closed with a decaying cork. Contents were described as a dark brown aqueous liquid with a solid black residue having a strong smell, reminiscent of wood or coal tar. Testing confirmed that the residue was a wood tar, although comparison with other known products produced some puzzling results. Specifically, the results indicated a better match with oak wood or bamboo tar than pine, the product that is the most readily available in the region.



Figure 176. Flake recovered from Sandpoint Drug Co. bottle, size approximately 3 mm.

Beyond the puzzle of the kind of wood tar used by Foss, the other interesting feature about the bottle contents is that they echo what Foss was apparently advertising and suggest that Foss was actively marketing a local alternative to national products. Figure 177 is a Charles Foss advertisement for white pine and tar. This advertisement may be a partial explanation for the oak/bamboo tar that was identified. It explicitly notes “White pine and tar,” suggesting that the concoction included both white pine (presumably pitch) *and* some unidentified tar, such as oak/bamboo tar. Additionally, the advertisement is a clear indicator that, like any good businessman, Foss was actively creating alternatives to nationally marketed products. Figure 178 is an advertisement from the *Pend d'Oreille Review* for Foley's Honey and Tar Compound. Foley's was produced in Chicago and was nationally marketed; that it was being advertised in Sandpoint newspapers indicates the product was almost certainly available in Sandpoint. The Foss advertisement for white pine and tar and the results of our tests on the bottle indicate that Foss was clearly marketing a local alternative to a national product.

THE POPULAR PHARMACY THE POPULAR PHARMACY THE POPULAR PHARMACY THE POPULAR PHARMACY THE POPULAR PHARMACY THE POPULAR PHARMACY

WHY EXPERIMENT?

Foss' Syrup of White Pine and Tar Will Cure Your Cold

When all other remedies fail. Take no other. It is positively a sure shot for coughs and colds and is pleasant to take. Try it and be cured. You will then thank us for calling your attention to it. We sell it for 50c per bottle. If you have a cough or cold it is worth much more to you. You can buy it at one place only.

The Popular Pharmacy, Opposite Postoffice Chas. R. Foss, Prop.

THE POPULAR PHARMACY THE POPULAR PHARMACY THE POPULAR PHARMACY THE POPULAR PHARMACY THE POPULAR PHARMACY THE POPULAR PHARMACY

Figure 177. Foss' syrup advertisement (*Northern Idaho News* 1904:7).

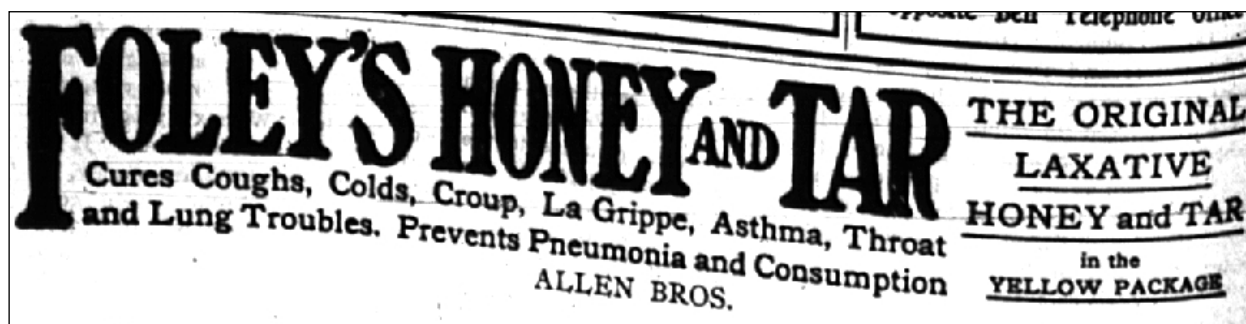


Figure 178. Foley's honey and tar advertisement (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907:2).

CONFIRMATIONAL STUDIES

Another contribution of the bottle testing was that the analysis was able to either verify what was suspected to be the contents, or provide additional information about the specifics of the product in question.

The first example is a small, opaque white glass jar (LC #15976) (Figure 179). The jar originally had a screw-on lid. The contents, which still filled about three-fourths of the jar, were a dark yellow creamy solid of somewhat lumpy consistency, covered with a crust of debris. The material had no distinctive smell. Testing the jar's contents revealed zinc, paraffins, and a petrolatum were the likely ingredients. Based on the jar's form and contents, the logical inference is that the jar contained some form of ointment/balm used for the skin or lips (Spinner et al. 2011:37–38).



Figure 179. Zinc jar (LC #15976).

The second example was a Gouraud's Oriental cream bottle recovered from Willa Herman's Bordello in the Restricted District (Figures 180 and 181). Gouraud's was a facial cream that was manufactured in New York during late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The bottle was uncapped and filled with what appeared to be water, with a small amount of a light gray, claylike sediment on the bottom. It was the sediment that was tested. Historically, many early facial creams were based on natural products such as tallow and beeswax, but testing of the contents showed that the material in this bottle was inorganic. Ultimately, testing indicated that the bottle sediment contained mercurous chloride, also known as calomel, a product known to have been used in cosmetics at the time. In 1916, the New Haven Department of Health published a bulletin (Street 1916:2) identifying the hazards of many patent medicines and grooming products, stating that:

Practically all of the preparations on the list fall into three general classes; those composed of simple, well-known drugs of more or less therapeutic value but sold at greatly increased prices because of their fancy and mysterious names; those which have little or no therapeutic value, but for which the most extravagant and unreasonable curative powers are claimed; and third, various toilet preparations containing such dangerous poisons as corrosive sublimate, ammoniated mercury, lead acetate or silver nitrate.



Figure 180. Gouraud's Oriental Cream bottle, side view.



Figure 181. Gouraud's Oriental Cream bottle (LC #15997).

Gouraud's Oriental Cream was on the list, and reported to consist of "Simply 13 gms. of calomel suspended in 8 oz. of water." While calomel is itself not particularly toxic, it does decompose into mercuric chloride and elemental mercury when exposed to light. One could speculate that the "pearly glow" described in advertisements for the product could actually be attributable to traces of mercury generated on the skin (Spinner et al. 2011:41–43).

The third product we want to highlight is the small amber bottle with the word POISON embossed on it (Figure 182). The bottle was recovered from the Restricted District. On one hand, the analysis was not extraordinarily revealing; testing identified the poison as being arsenic (Spinner et al. 2011:48). However, 44 poison bottles of exactly this type were identified in the Restricted District (and nowhere else in the excavations)—an extraordinary concentration of poison bottles. Arsenic was commonly used as a rat poison at the turn of the century.



Figure 182. Poison bottle recovered from the Restricted District.

SLAG FROM THE HUMBIRD BLACKSMITH SHOP

A third area of chemical exploration was a portion of the slag recovered during the excavation of the Humbird Blacksmith Shop. Despite the presence of a large amount of ash, a huge amount of slag was not recovered during the excavation. Slag is a byproduct of smelting ore and it is porous and hard, with portions of the material appearing glassy.

Slag samples were tested from unit N105E55, the unit that had stratigraphic variability as well as a reasonable amount of slag in each level. Inductively coupled plasma (ICP) mass spectrometry (MS) analysis of the samples was carried out at the University of Idaho's Analytical Sciences Laboratory using an Agilent 7500 ICP-MS system. Results of the testing are presented in Table 56. Much of the information provided from the analysis confirmed what was suspected based on artifacts and historical sources.

Table 56. Inductively Coupled Plasma Analysis of Slag Samples from Blacksmith Shop (Parts Per Million in Sample)

Metal	Level 1 #26177	Level 1 #33902	Level 2 #26329	Level 2 #33907	Level 2 #33909	Level 4 #33926	Level 5 #33934	Level 6 #33954
Antimony	60	4.4	2,320	26.4	3.25	4.4	0.76	15.6
Arsenic	80	16	80	8	26	7.6	2.48	48
Barium	220	192	800	48	212	44	44	240
Cadmium	0.64	0	28	0	1.12	0	0	1.4
Chromium	10,000	480	1,400	480	2,040	4,400	2,040	1,000
Cobalt	296	72	1,040	72	80	88	8.8	1,000
Copper	880	640	10,800	720	312	104	8,400	10,000
Iron	400	3520	10,800	4,400	120	72	23	6,400
Lead	720	300	80,000	1,320	232	64	1,160	1,920
Molybdenum	1,000	480	24,400	30,400	960	216	84	19,600
Manganese	288	6.4	10.8	2.76	52	124	48	0
Nickel	1,200	100	1,400	144	280	240	56	2,440
Selenium	0.92	0	0	0	12	0.76	0	0
Silver	0	0	7.2	0	14,000	0	0.52	7.2
Thallium	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vanadium	108	210	1,200	156	8,400	22	16	0
Zinc	600	640	26,400	520	288	92	2,400	920
Total ppm	15,854	6,661	160,686	38,297	27,018	5,479	14,284	43,592

Three points stand out from the analysis. First, it appears that the bulk of the material being used on the site was mild carbon steel. Mild carbon steel is sort of the jack-of-all-trades steel. It is inexpensive, has a wide variety of applications, and is relatively easy to work from. Its widespread presence was determined in part by testing some recovered samples of scrap metal for their carbon content. Its presence indicates that the people in the blacksmith's shop were working materials that would have been typical of the era, a finding that contradicts pre-excavation hypotheses that they would have been working more extensively with wrought iron. Almost all of the metals present in the samples are present in levels that would be consistent with working mild carbon steel, with the exception of Level 2 Sample #26329, which had relatively higher frequencies of lead and zinc. This sample suggests that there was some variation in the quality of the steel people were using or had access to. The variation in the metals present, while generally within the range of what is normally found in steel, indicates subtle variation in the product being worked.

Second, the consistently small amount of iron in the slag samples corroborated project archaeologists' suspicion that the bulk of the work in the Blacksmith Shop was repair work rather than actual metal

production (smelting). If they were smelting on-site, higher concentrations of iron would have been expected in the samples. As it stands, most of what is identified in the samples is attributable to the impurities in the metals that come out as they are heated to be worked, implying that the bulk of on-site work involved repair on a variety of steel objects—a finding that could be reasonably expected given the scrap pieces that were recovered during excavations.

Finally, the materials indicate some variability in what was being worked. Clearly the bulk of the material being used was mild carbon steel and the majority of the work being done was likely repair work (shoeing horses, spot welding fixes on machinery, and so on), but it does appear that workers in the Blacksmith Shop were doing a variety of jobs as well. One sample that stood out was the Level 2 sample that had higher concentrations of zinc and lead. While these are quite commonly available metals, the levels in which they are present in the particular sample indicate some other activity besides the likely shop work routine of shoeing horses and fixing machinery—though at this point, we do not have a plausible hypothesis on what those other activities may have been.

GUNPOWDER ANALYSIS

Twenty-nine bullets were recovered from Sandpoint that had not been fired. Discussions with Doug Scott of the National Park Service were initially conducted regarding the stability of the bullets and how they could and should be stored. A side bar in that discussion led to pulling the bullets from their casing and extracting the powder for testing. This was undertaken for several reasons. First, the testing of archaeologically recovered gunpowder is almost unique, having only been previously undertaken on materials excavated at Little Bighorn (Orr 2009). Second, the bulk of the intact bullets with potential gunpowder samples were recovered from Chinatown. The significance of this is that gunpowder manufactured in China was quite distinct from the gunpowder manufactured in the United States. If the samples had not been compromised it was hypothetically possible to identify an Asian origin for some of the ammunition in Sandpoint (Freeman et al. 2012).

Ultimately 10 black powder samples were deemed to be viable for testing. Of those 10 samples, only three contained sulfur, the primary element in black powder. Of the three samples, one may have had a different origin from the other two samples, but this cannot be interpreted any further. It was clear in the analysis that the prolonged exposure to moisture while in the ground led to either the leaching or modification of the sulfur originally present in the black powder. The end result is simply a preponderance of carbon in the sample (Freeman et al. 2012:3).

Finally, it should be noted that the four samples of smokeless powder were also tested. Smokeless powder came into more common use after around 1890. The primary chemical difference is that instead of sulfur the primary component of smokeless powder is nitrocellulose. It was hoped that testing the smokeless powders would make it possible to identify the additives that were used. Such additives theoretically could be used as markers to differentiate smokeless powders. Unfortunately, there were no conclusive results. This is most likely because prolonged exposure to moisture/minerals led to the decomposition of the original materials (Freeman et al. 2012:4).

THE CHEMISTRY OF A CAVITY

One of the minor peculiarities of the Sandpoint excavations was that over the course of the project, four human teeth were recovered. These teeth were isolates; there were no other human remains identified in association with these teeth. Further, they were dispersed throughout the project area, meaning that as a group, their presence is not attributable to a single action, such as a bar fight or the byproducts of a dental practice. It is more likely each of these teeth had a distinct story about how they ended up in the

ground. How these individual teeth got separated from their owners is a story we will not learn, but even isolated teeth can tell some unexpected stories.

One tooth, a premolar, had a large cavity that had been filled (Figure 183).

The most common material for filling teeth was amalgam, a product used for tooth fillings in the United States since the mid-nineteenth century. The composition of dental amalgams has changed over the decades, but generally consists of a mercury alloy. Other common materials used for tooth fillings were gold or cement (see Chapter 11 of this volume). The filling from this tooth was tested and actually proved not to be an amalgam. The filling contained a variety of metals, of which zinc appeared to be the most abundant. Zinc oxide has been used as a temporary filling material in dentistry since the 1890s. It was frequently mixed with clove oil and rosin to form an antiseptic cement with good sealing properties. In the present case, however, it was found that the quantities of metal oxide fell far short of the total size of the filling sample. Further analysis of the filling contents revealed that the main ingredient of the filling was calcium sulfate—almost certainly in the form of gypsum. Gypsum is widely used for dental casts, but not as a filling material. Its presence in this tooth suggests that it was used as part of a temporary filling (on a “make-do” basis?), mixed with a small amount of zinc oxide (Spinner et al. 2011:51).



Figure 183. Human premolar with filling from townsite excavation.

Also present in the amalgam were relatively high concentrations of barium and lead. Both elements are toxic to humans, but the barium in particular was noted as being present at a high enough level to have been a toxicity risk (Spinner et al. 2011:51). We obviously do not know what happened to the former owner of this tooth, but the filling contents paint an interesting narrative of the state of dentistry at the time. The cavity itself would undoubtedly have been painful but the “cure” (meaning the filling) was also far less than optimal. With an amalgam whose primary ingredient was likely gypsum mixed with metals such as lead and barium, the filling would possibly have been toxic due to the metals; it also would not have been particularly durable—which may have been fortunate for that anonymous individual.

CONCLUSION

In 2006, Julie Schlablitsky edited a thematic issue of *Historical Archaeology* that focused on the application of forensic science methodologies to historical archaeology. In a small way, what was done in Sandpoint built off of that. The Sandpoint project generated data (principally in the form of several sealed bottles) that made it imperative to partner with analytical chemists. The skills of the chemists provided answers that archaeologists could not get otherwise. That partnership led in other, unexpected directions as well. In the context of this study, it led to the testing of the cavity filling and some unexpected insight into local dental practices. Outside of this project it led to a chemistry master’s student attempting to identify chemical signatures for a particular type of glass—though that project was not particularly successful (Nance 2012). Most importantly, it was a project that has helped identify avenues for further collaboration between archaeologists and chemists.

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CHAPTER 15. THE CHINESE IN SANDPOINT

Priscilla Wegars

By the early 1850s, news of the California Gold Rush had reached China, during an era when that country was suffering from overpopulation, a land shortage, rebellions, and natural disasters. At the same time, there was a great demand for laborers in the newly discovered mining regions of California. Many Chinese, particularly ones from Guangdong province in the south, were recruited to go abroad to work. Most of the emigrants were from around the city of Canton, now known as Guangzhou (Figure 184).



Figure 184. Map of China. The Guangdong province is indicated in orange.

The term “coolie” has often been used to describe these Chinese laborers who came to the western United States to work. However, because that term has come to have the connotation of “slave laborer,” it is inaccurate; the Chinese who came to this country were not slave laborers. Instead, they were more like indentured servants. Although a few paid for their own passage, most came on a “credit ticket” system, where their passage money was advanced to them. Once they arrived and were working, the advance was gradually deducted from their wages.

Upon reaching San Francisco, they were taken in hand by representatives from their district association or company. Many were sent out to various California mining districts. At first, most of the Chinese who took up mining worked as laborers for companies run by Euro-Americans. In newly discovered mining regions, the Caucasians did not allow them to work mining ground on their own.

Not all of the Chinese became miners. Employment agencies supplied Chinese workers singly or in groups, as they were needed. The Pacific Chinese Employment Company, a branch of a Euro-American-owned firm in San Francisco included “railroad hands” in a list of numerous types of Chinese workers that they could provide (Figure 185) (*Mountain Sentinel* 1876).



Figure 185. Advertisement from Euro-American-owned employment agency in San Francisco, offering to provide Chinese workers in 1876 (*Mountain Sentinel* 1876).

The railroads first attempted to hire Chinese workers from California cities, but needed more men than those places could provide. Consequently, many of Northern Pacific Railroad's (NPRR's) workers came directly from China, and the NPRR also recruited workers in Hong Kong (Tsai 1986:18). Ernest Ingersoll, reporting on Chinese railway laborers between 1880 and 1884, commented:

There was [a] great lack of laborers, and resort was had to the Chinese, without whom, indeed, those [rail]roads could never have been completed in the time and with the cheapness that they were built. Not only were coolies picked up all along the coast, but they came in immense shiploads from Canton, being hurried into Portland in anticipation of a prohibition by Congress of their further coming.

They were not hired, man by man, by their real employers, but through agents of their own race, generally prosperous merchants in the seaports. These merchants would agree to furnish a railway-builder with[,] say[,] five hundred men, at so much a day for a certain number of months. The men were paid by the agent the whole wages offered, about twenty-six dollars a month, in 1882, about one-half the wages white men of the same grade were getting. This agent made his profit in the transaction wholly out of the supplies his clients were compelled to buy of him alone.

This system divided the coolies into gangs of forty, to each of which were attached two cooks and one English-speaking Chinese as spokesman and leader. (Ingersoll 1897:26–27)

The Chinese who came to the West called it, in Cantonese, "Gum San," or "Gold Mountain," and many of them had wives and children back home in China. They hoped, by hard work and long hours, to make enough money to send some home to their families, and to provide for their eventual retirement in China. Besides supporting themselves here, and their families at home, the Chinese also contributed to local and territorial government by paying discriminatory taxes of \$4 to \$5 per month. In 1870, the total

population of Idaho Territory was about 15,000. Of that number, some 4,200 were Chinese, over 28 percent, but none of them were as far north as Sandpoint at that time. In fact, the community of Sandpoint did not even exist until 1880, although a Native American settlement was once located there, likely at the mouth of Sand Creek (Weaver et al. 2006:2-30). According to Lalia Boone, who did extensive research on Idaho place names, Sandpoint is named after a point of sand that explorer and mapmaker David Thompson mentioned in his journal in 1809 (Boone 1988:330).

THE RAILROAD, AND THE CHINESE, REACH SANDPOINT

Not counting Chinese miners who may have passed nearby on their way to gold mining opportunities in Canada and Montana (Weaver et al. 2005:2-35), the first Chinese people to arrive in Sandpoint were undoubtedly workers for the NPRR, whose construction crews reached there in 1881. Their endeavors began in eastern Washington in 1879; details on the line's progress toward Sandpoint are available elsewhere (Wegars 1991:184–188). The main construction force, both Caucasian and Chinese, set up camp at Ventner, near Fry Creek in the Sandpoint vicinity, from June to November 1881 (Weaver et al. 2005:2-39, 2-43). A report compiled by NPRR employee James Robertson listing the number of workers doing various tasks stated that there were 636 "China Men on Grade," meaning that these were the men who constructed the roadbed. For comparison, there were only 104 "White Men on Grade." There were also 21 foremen, presumably Chinese, for the "China Gangs" and just seven for the "White Gangs" (Robertson 1881). Another observer noted that graders on the entire line numbered 1,491 "Chinamen" (a disparaging term for Chinese men) and 675 Caucasians (Maynard 1881).

At the time NPRR construction arrived, the place that became the town of Sandpoint consisted only of a store, hotel, bar, and sawmill, established in 1880 by Robert L. Weeks and his son, Barton, in anticipation of the railroad's arrival (Boone 1988:330; Weaver et al. 2005:2-38). When the community boomed with railroad construction, other businesses in the "entertainment" field soon arrived, including dance halls and probably brothels. Attracted by the hundreds of Caucasian railroad laborers with money to spend, lawless elements, even killers and holdup men, also moved in, giving rise to Sandpoint's reputation for a "somewhat wild character" (Weaver et al. 2005:2-25, 2-42). By late December of 1881, the grading crews had advanced 6 miles past Sandpoint (Weaver et al. 2005:2-39), but other railroad-related groups with different specialties remained in the Sandpoint area until March 1882 (Weaver et al. 2005:2-43).

The line, and its enormous labor force, progressed along the northern boundary of Lake Pend d'Oreille (now Lake Pend Oreille), and in 1882 the NPRR established the next large construction campsite at Cabinet Landing, west of the present-day Montana border, where the crews lived for several months. Much of what we know about living and working conditions for the NPRR's Chinese laborers comes from contemporary accounts of the Cabinet Landing camp. This site reportedly held 2,600 Chinese and 1,400 Caucasians (Holstine 1985:25,9–29). At Cabinet Landing, later known as just Cabinet, the Chinese and Caucasians had separate quarters. William Costello was the assistant superintendent of the Pend d'Oreille and Clark's Fork (also Clark Fork) division construction (Lewis 1926:213–214). The Pend d'Oreille Division, 240 miles long, ran from Wallula, Washington, to the north shore of Lake Pend d'Oreille, in Idaho; the Clark's Fork Division went from Lake Pend d'Oreille to Clark Fork, Idaho, a distance of 150 miles (NPRR 1882:7). Costello's wife, Caroline, recalled that the Chinese:

had their own camps, their Chinese stores, their Chinese restaurants, their Chinese gambling tents, their Chinese doctors and most of the life of a Chinese settlement. They had gardens and kept pigs and chickens, and so far as conditions permitted, lived their regular Chinese mode of life ... Most of their food—rice, dried fish, sweetmeats and ginger—was imported from China. (Lewis 1926:215–216)

THE CHINESE AND OTHER SUPPLIERS TO THE NPRR

At the Cabinet Landing site there was “a big store for the Chinese ... run by Hawkins & Co.” (Renz 1973:39, 1980:84). W.J. Hawkins & Company is listed among other suppliers to the NPRR from late September to mid-November of 1882. Many of these suppliers were Chinese (Table 57).

Table 57. Chinese and Euro-American Firms or Individuals Having Accounts with the NPRR Related to Chinese Employees, Goods, or Services.

Name of Supplier	Number of Mentions in NPRR Documents
Coon An/Coo Nan	11
Ding Fong	6
Hop Chong (151 Second St., Portland)	9
Lai Fong	3
Lam Ping	1
Lam Sing	1
Long You Chong	1
N.W. Gow (probably Euro-American)	2
On Chong Wo (140 Second St., Portland)/On Chung Wo	1/2
Sing Lee	1
Twin Wo (44 Yamhill, Portland)	3
Wah Hung Chung	1
Wing Sing (55 Washington St., Portland)	6
W.B. King	1
W.J. Hawkins	3
Wo Chang or Wo Chong	1
Wo Chung (128 Second St., Portland)	1
Wo Hung Chung	1

Notes: Table adapted from Weaver et al. 2005:2-42. Numbers indicate how many times each firm is listed in *The Northern Pacific Railroad* (NPRR 1882b). Some firms had “Co.,” “& Co.,” or “Company” following their names, but inconsistently, so those designations are omitted here. Locations of many of these firms are not known; the addresses given here are all from Portland (Wells Fargo and Company 1882:126,128,130).

A column “For What” in *The Northern Pacific Railroad* describes each individual transaction. Some just specified “Freight,” whereas others were more specific; for example, entries for pork included “Dressed Hogs,” “Live Hogs,” “45 Hogs,” and just “Hogs”; alcoholic beverages included “Wine,” “3 bbls [barrels] Liquor,” and “Whiskey.” Other categories were unspecified “merchandise,” often “[for] Chinese Contractors”; specific examples include “Dry Goods,” “Hard Ware,” “Flour,” “Supplies,” “Trunk,” “gum boots,” and just “boots.” The NPRR paid both Lam Sing and W.B. King once each for “Watching [Chinese]men,” and received 86 cents from Sing Lee for “Rents from China Men” (NPRR 1882).

Except for the addresses given for Chinese firms based in Portland, the locations of the other Chinese businesses are elusive. For example, Quon Wo On, a Portland business, even advertised in English-language newspapers (Figure 186). Besides “Sugar, Rice and Chinese Goods,” their other declared specialty was “Chinese Labor Furnished for Contractors” (Lavallée 1974:209). Although this company is not listed as a supplier to the NPRR and does not appear in Wells Fargo & Company’s 1882 directory of Chinese businesses in Portland and elsewhere, it is possibly the unidentified “Coon An/Coo Nan” firm listed first in Table 57.



Figure 186. Advertisement for a Chinese labor contractor, Portland, Oregon, 1880s (Lavallée 1974:209).

Coon An (also written Coo Nan) may have been a Spokane business. This firm had the most (11) separate accounts with the NPRR in less than two months. A Chinese merchant from that city “reportedly grubstaked” some Chinese miners from Canada on the Pend Oreille River near Metaline Falls in the 1870s (Boreson 1982:23; Stratton and Lindeman 1976:77). This merchant may have been the man known to Spokane’s Caucasian community as Ah Yen. He came to Spokane in 1878 (Nelson 1994:21), or possibly as early as 1870 (*Spokane Daily Chronicle* 1918). Although the name of his business is unknown, perhaps it was Coon An at one time. In the fall of 1918, Ah Yen was about to leave for a visit to China. The newspaper article about him stated, “Ah Yen held large contracts with the railways in [the] early days, furnishing Chinese labor, levying a tax of 10 cents a day each on the laborers for the job. In recent years he has been a dealer in [O]riental goods, and has had stores at numerous places in the downtown district” (*Spokane Daily Chronicle* 1918).

Chinese business owners usually called their companies by a Chinese name that had auspicious connotations relating to profit or quality. Because Caucasian businesses often had the owner’s name as part of the business’ name, Euro-Americans assumed, incorrectly, that Chinese business owners did likewise. This led to Chinese men being called by the name of their business rather than by their personal names. In addition, transliteration errors, made when trying to reproduce the sounds of Chinese characters using English words, also make it difficult to accurately identify the names of early Chinese businesses and their owners.

THE CHINESE RAILROAD CAMP AT CABINET LANDING

Contemporary observer E.V. Smalley visited the Cabinet Landing camp one Sunday, which would have been the workers’ day off. The conditions he described were probably similar to those that prevailed when the camp was previously at Sandpoint. According to Smalley, the complex was home to:

three thousand Chinese laborers. The canvas town swarmed with men. Some were having their heads shaved, others were combing and winding their pig-tails; others, stripped to their waist, were enjoying a sponge bath. One man was on his knees going through some religious ceremony over a chicken before dissecting it for the pot. There were Chinese stores, Chinese restaurants, and Chinese gaming tents. For fifteen miles the woods were literally full of Mongolians [another

disparaging word for the Chinese]. Not a feature of their Asiatic life do they abandon, save that, from the necessity of working in mud and dust, they wear American boots. Their basket hats, blue blouses, and loose trousers are supplied by Chinese merchants, and a large portion of their food ... comes across the Pacific. The road was lined with [Chinese men] driving fat hogs to the camps to be slaughtered for the Sunday dinner, or carrying bundles and boxes, and boards for tent-flooring, suspended to [sic] bamboo poles, balanced on the shoulders (Smalley 1882:867–868)

The “canvas town” referred to above implies a tent camp, which is confirmed by a newspaper article dated August 9, 1882, stating that the Chinese lived in tents (Holstine 1985:21). That would not be remarkable except that Chinese laborers disliked living in tents, because the flapping of the canvas on windy nights reminded them of ghosts. Here, employment triumphed over fear.

Another source observed that “opium dives” (a pejorative term for opium-smoking establishments) were also a feature of Chinese railroad construction camps (Beal and Wells 1959:544). At the time of NPRR construction, opium smoking was legal in Idaho. Archaeologists who excavated a portion of the Cabinet Landing Chinese camp in 1984 found only a few items related to opium smoking. These included a fragment from an opium can, part of an opium pipe bowl, and a complete metal fitting for attaching an opium pipe bowl to a bamboo opium pipe (Condon et al. 1985:118,121). These few examples indicate that the Chinese railroad workers’ opium smoking activity was minimal. Chapter 9 in this volume presents a more detailed discussion of opium smoking in Sandpoint.

Several newspaper articles specifically mentioned the work performed by Cabinet Landing’s Chinese labor force (Figure 187).



Figure 187. Chinese and other workers constructing the Northern Pacific Railway near Cabinet Landing in 1882. The photo shows a 600-foot long rock-cut; the Chinese were often assigned to dangerous work such as blasting rock. (Oregon Historical Society, Portland, OrHi 35550; Photograph by I.G. Davidson).

One from October 28, 1882, was especially descriptive:

At places, for instance, a point near Cabinet Landing, ... the mountain towers ... to the sky, and from the water's edge it rises like a wall, presenting no break or crevice for a foothold. Discouraged, the men make a halt and word goes back ... that Nature has raised an insurmountable barrier ... By and by, cable ropes holding a plank staging go down the precipitous sides of the mountain. Down rope ladders, to this staging clamber [Chinese men] armed with drills, and soon the rock sides are filled with Giant powder [a brand of dynamite]. Then they clamber up, the blast is fired, and the foothold made by the explosive soon swarms with Celestials [another derogatory term for the Chinese] (Holstine 1985:20)

Caroline Costello described some of her husband's responsibilities and his work force. At first he had charge of a "Mormon gang" of men who had come overland from Utah; many were accompanied by their wives. They "proved unsatisfactory," so William Costello sent them east to the Rocky Mountain Division and replaced them with Chinese. Some 3,000 to 4,000 Chinese laborers worked under Costello (Lewis 1926:215–216). His wife recalled that:

Most of the work on the Clark's Fork roadway was done by Chinese. Mr. Costello had charge of them ...

These Chinese laborers ... were of the coolie class, with a sprinkling of the more refined, intelligent[,] and educated Chinese as overseers and representatives of the Six Companies [colloquial name for the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, CCBA]. The laborers wore picturesque basket hats, blue blouses[,] and loose trousers. They all had long queues or pigtails, carefully braided, hanging down their backs when at leisure or carefully wound around their shaved heads when at work to keep them out of the way.

In efficiency, three Chinese were considered equal to two white men ... Many of the railroad men, including William Costello, preferred these Chinese laborers to white men as they were easier to handle.

Their principal defect was their superstition. They were looked down upon and detested by the white laborers and foremen. (Lewis 1926:215–216)

Divided into gangs of about 40 men each, they were spread out along a 15- to 20-mile stretch of the Clark's Fork Division (Lewis 1926:216). The size of the work gang may have varied depending upon the task (Figure 188). A newspaper article dated August 9, 1882, reported that they worked in gangs of 50 to 100 (Holstine 1985:21).

In Idaho, the wages for the Chinese workers were about \$1.10 per day in 1882; that was the amount given to their "native boss or foreman" for them (Lewis 1926:216). In comparison, based on an article in the *Palouse Gazette* dated February 27, 1880, Euro-American laborers received about \$2 per day (Oliphant 1926:Vol. 2,160). Contemporary observer E.V. Smalley (1882:868) reported that the Chinese earned \$1.16 per day, an amount that is confirmed by NPRR records for late December 1882 (Holstine 1985:23). Because it was customary for individual Chinese to be paid by their Chinese supervisor or timekeeper (Lewis 1926:216), that person may have kept some of the laborers' money for himself.



Figure 188. Chinese and other workers grading the line for the Northern Pacific Railway just east of the Idaho-Montana line in 1882 (Oregon Historical Society, Portland, OrHi 73190, Photo No. 99: “Big Grade Above Herron Rapids, Montana”; photograph by I.G. Davidson).

The father of long-time Clark Fork resident Compton White Jr. described to his son how there was a Chinese “book boy” (timekeeper) who communicated instructions to the workers. This man spoke both Chinese and English, and kept the work time for about 100 laborers (White 1985a:8). William Costello’s timekeeper was “a well-educated and competent young Chinese named Goon Dip” (Lewis 1926:215). In later years, Goon Dip was a business associate of Hope businessman and property owner Moy Back Hin (also May Back Hin, Moy Bok Hin), associated with the Twin Wo Company of Hope and Portland, one of the suppliers to the NPRR (Figures 189 and 190).

Besides his mercantile interests, Moy Back Hin was also a labor contractor and the Chinese Consul in Portland. Goon Dip himself subsequently became a very prominent businessman and labor contractor, first in Portland and then in Seattle, where he also served as the Chinese Consul, with jurisdiction over Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, and the Dakotas (Jue and Jue 1984:43–48).

The NPRR’s Chinese laborers mainly did clearing and grading for the line; various subcontractors employed others for additional tasks. One job was to build a 60-mile-long wagon road from Cabinet Landing to Thompson Falls, Montana, along the line of the railroad; the Chinese workers did the “grading, grubbing, and ‘Rock Work’” (Holstine 1985:23). Additionally, heavy snowfalls during the winter of 1881–1882 required that large numbers of Chinese be “stationed along the right of way doing nothing but shoveling off the snow as it fell” in order for construction to proceed (Holstine 1985:17; Lewis 1926:217).



Figure 189. Interior of Twin Wo Company, Portland, Oregon (Wong (2004:177), Oregon Historical Society, OrHi 66936, no. 1662).



Figure 190. Moy Back Hin, 1906 (left); Goon Dip (right) (Left: Wong (2004:177), Oregon Historical Society, CN 012842; Right: The Wing Luke Museum of the Asian Pacific American Experience, Seattle).

On July 25, 1882, the *Spokane Falls Chronicle* reported that the Cabinet Landing construction camp was dismantled, and the Northern Pacific buildings were shipped to the “front,” this time Thompson Falls, where 2,000 Caucasians and 5,000 Chinese were reported to be working (Holstine 1985:28). The Clark’s Fork and Rocky Mountain divisions met and joined on August 23, 1883, 55 miles west of Helena, Montana (Lewty 1987:100; Oliphant 1927:203). An article in *The Oregonian* on November 21, 1883, reported that the discharged Chinese employees were “returned to Portland ... consigned in carload lots” (Lewty 1987:96).

THE CHINESE RETURN TO SANDPOINT AND ITS VICINITY

Unleashing thousands of unemployed Chinese on the Portland area surely meant that most could not find work. Consequently, they headed out in all directions, including back to Sandpoint, Hope, Clark Fork, Cabinet, and other towns that they had passed through during their railroad construction days. Until early February 1892, when Sandpoint got its first local newspaper, very little is known about the town and its Chinese inhabitants.

1882 to 1889

There was a Chinese laundry in Sandpoint even as early as February 1882. That month, the *Spokane Times* reported that a suspected murderer at “Sandy Point” ... “hid in a Chinese washhouse where he was afterward found and arrested” (*Spokane Times* 1882:3). Whether that laundryman remained in town, or moved on with the railroad’s advance, is unknown.

Sometime between 1882 and 1886 one man apparently rode the Northern Pacific to “Pend d’Oreille Station ... others call the place Sand Point” on a hunting trip. He described the town as having a population of about 100, and sketched a few houses and businesses on both sides of the railroad tracks. He observed that there were no streets and, especially, that there were many dogs in Sandpoint, including “Indian curs and Chinese dogs” and also refers to “Sam Wing, the cook” (Daly 1886:44–48). Daly’s comments would indicate that Sandpoint had a Chinese population at the time of this visit.

The next indication of Chinese in Sandpoint in the mid- to late 1880s is found in an illustration of the south end of Sandpoint in 1887 showing a small building just west of the railroad tracks (Figure 191). The first available Sanborn map for the area was published in 1904; it depicts a Chinese laundry very close to the location of this small building. Laundry-related artifacts were recovered during excavation of the area of the Chinese laundry (Figure 192).



Figure 191. Chinese building at the south end of Sandpoint, adjacent to the NPRR tracks, 1887 (Courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society, original in Montana Historical Society, Helena).



Figure 192. Laundry-related artifacts from Sandpoint's Chinatown. Photo by Molly Swords.

1890 to 1899

The U.S. Census was taken in 1890, but the manuscript census, with information on most of the people in the United States, burned in a fire in Washington, DC, in 1921. Therefore, there is no information available on the Chinese individuals who lived in Sandpoint at that time. Although county totals are available from compilations, there is now no way to determine which communities had Chinese residents. For example, Kootenai County, which included present-day Bonner and Boundary Counties in 1890, had 144 Chinese residents. However, besides Sandpoint, they could have been living in Athol, Bonners Ferry, Cabinet, Clark Fork, Cocolalla, Coeur d'Alene, Hope, Kootenai, Ponderay, Rathdrum, and perhaps elsewhere (Wegars 1991:47).

In the spring of 1891, Sam Sing (the name Sam Lee is crossed out) received a "Lease of Land for site of Laundry & dwelling at Sand Point." The lease was for five years at \$12 per year (NPRR 1882:Lease 2202).

Sam Sing is an enigmatic figure in Sandpoint's history. His name on the NPRR lease is the first time he appears in the historical documentation for his adopted town. Although that name occurs as a laundryman in several western U.S. cities, showing that the name itself was not uncommon, research by Jim Bard has established that Sandpoint's Sam Sing could be the same person as the Sam Sing who was a laundryman at 64 Second Street in Portland, Oregon, in 1880 (McCormick 1879-1881). Although Sam Sing's name is not in the 1881 or 1882 directories, the 1883 directory has a listing for "Sam Sing, laundry, 60 N. Third," showing that his business had moved (McCormick 1879-1881; James C. Bard 2010, elec. comm.). Bard theorizes that Sam Sing left Portland because there was too much competition in the laundry business and looked for a likely location in one of the new towns established on the NPRR mainline (James C. Bard 2010, elec. comm.). During the 1890s, "north of the main town on the east side," Sandpoint had "a residential complex extending from Cedar Street"; several houses here "were used by Chinese section workers stationed at Sandpoint" (Weaver et al. 2005:2-57). For railroad maintenance, the NPRR line was divided into sections, each about 6 miles long, with a "section gang" of some 12 men, plus a foreman, assigned to each section of the "road" (U.S. Supreme Court 1896:162).

Mel Nesbitt, son of Amanda Nesbitt who ran the boarding house for the Humbird Mill, moved to Sandpoint in 1893 when he was about six years old. He remembered that “the old Chinie [Chinese] [s]ection house was right up across from Mrs. Bopp’s [in 1973], there on the other side. There[’]s old Chinie jugs and everything else there” (Nesbitt 1973:3).

Maynard McDuffie, born near Hope in 1890, recalled that the Nesbitt House:

was a combination of home, boarding house, office. It had a porch that ran around three quarters of it[,] all enclosed with a railing[;] it was wonderful to us, and [had] a view across the lake and southeast down the lake. The road from Kootenai to Sandpoint ran west of the Northern Pacific tracks and ... between the cemetery and railroad ... in front of the China house Those roads were not graded[; they] were just narrow lanes through the forest, weaving in and out avoiding the large trees and stumps, [and] straddling the small ones (McDuffie 1974:4)

Further north, the first city cemetery, dating from the time of the NPRR’s arrival, is reported to have contained burials of Chinese people as well as those of Caucasians and Native Americans (Weaver et al. 2005:2-59). Because there was apparently never a separate Chinese cemetery in Sandpoint, Chinese burials in the city cemetery may have been in a separate section, similar to those for Catholics, Masons, Odd Fellows, and so on. At the time, after several years had passed, Chinese burials were often exhumed, and the bones were cleaned and returned to China in accordance with Chinese custom (Abraham and Wegars 2005:153–155).

Maynard McDuffie remembered that near where “Humbird built his burner,” there were:

two graves[,] one of a [Chinese]man and of a man who was killed accidentally while constructing the long trestle across the lake when the Northern Pacific was built. [The c]onstruction worker was still in his grave, but the [Chinese]man had been dug up and removed[,] without telling anybody[,] sometime before. (McDuffie 1974:4)

In 1892 the Great Northern Railroad (GNRR) reached Sandpoint, and from then on, Sandpoint boomed, replacing Hope and Kootenai as the region’s most prominent communities. Because the GNRR station was across town from the NPRR depot, the town expanded to fill the gap between the two stations (Weaver et al. 2005:2-25). In mid-April 1892, Sandpoint’s Ignatz Weil sold a building to Ah Lee for \$45 in gold. The property was “one house 14 feet wide & 20 feet long situated in said town of Sand Pont and formerly used by J.H. Potterson as a lodging house.” The sale price also included a lot measuring 14 by 100 feet (Bonner County Bills of Sale [1892–1902]:20).

The first newspaper published in Sandpoint was the *Pend d’Oreille News*, issued from February 6, 1892, through April 29, 1893, by “Faust and Miniely, Publishers” (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892a:4). All issues but the first are available on microfilm. Most do mention Chinese people, but usually in the stock “boilerplate” articles, referring to Chinese in other parts of the United States.

These newspapers provide some clues as to how Sandpoint residents felt about the Chinese in general, and about specific Chinese people there and in surrounding communities. Local attitudes of individual Caucasian residents toward the Chinese are reflected in items such as this newspaper announcement, but not yet a display advertisement, for Sandpoint’s Minneapolis Restaurant, stating, “Nothing but white help employed” (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892d:5). A later section of this report will examine such anti-Chinese advertisements in more detail.

In early June of 1892, the citizens of Bonners Ferry drove out that town’s Chinese residents (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892e:4), possibly in response to Clark Fork’s having done the same thing in December

1891 (Wegars 1991:193,195). The Sandpoint newspaper editorialized, “Bonner’s [sic] Ferry has gotten rid of its detested Chinese element. Will Sand Point, too?” (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892e:4). The same issue reprinted an editorial diatribe from the Bonners Ferry *Kootenai Herald* on “The Heathen Chinees” under the headline,

THE CHINESE MUST GO.

The Leprous Heathen, if Undisturbed, Will Sap the Country’s Life Blood

It then editorialized, “Bonner’s [sic] Ferry ... has set an example by getting rid of these parasites, and [is] an example which Sand Point should emulate. We should follow it even as to mode and procedure ... to buy any property the [Chinese]men had and couldn’t take with them and tell them to go” (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892h:5).

In mid-June of 1892, “Sand Point” residents were in an uproar because a young Caucasian woman began working for a Chinese-owned restaurant, the Central. The article was headlined, “No Love for Chinese. Sand Point Will Emulate Bonner’s [sic] Ferry. The Meek-Mannered Heathen Outrage the Eternal Fitness of Things by Hiring a White Girl to Wait on a Table at a Restaurant Run By Them.”

Sand Point, June 14. - [Special.] - The people of this place were considerably surprised and not a few are working themselves and others into a dangerous temperament over the report that spread rapidly Saturday morning, that a white girl had been employed by the Chinese to wait on the table in the Central restaurant. On investigation it was found to be true, and when the young lady in question was asked for an explanation, she replied that it was no one’s business and that if she wanted to work for [Chinese]men she had a perfect [right] to do so. Miss Babe Ebell is the young lady’s name. Her mother is a dressmaker here and has been doing well. Miss Ebell has a sister who also resides here. They are both very attractive girls, and have received a great deal of attention from anyone whom they would chance to meet. The one employed in the restaurant is about 17 years old, is of a retiring disposition[,] and apparently her feelings can be worked upon. It is openly discussed that the [Chinese]men have played a bold game in employing her, as a great many [non-Chinese] are of the opinion that there are other motives besides her services as a waitress which have been taken into consideration.

There has always been a latent bitter feeling toward the Chinese in this place, and that feeling made itself known perceptibly the day of the recent fire as [Chinese]men were employed in the kitchen of the hotel where the fire started, and instead of giving the alarm immediately they left the place without rendering the least possible service in saving any of the contents. Then a few days later came the report from Bonner’s [sic] Ferry that the citizens of that place had driven the Chinese out. Soon after the news was received it was decided to hold a meeting to raise money for purchasing what property they have and tell them to go. This meeting will be held at an early date.

Considering this bitter feeling against them it is not only possible but decidedly probable that the Chinese will not last much longer in Sand Point now that they have employed a young and susceptible white girl to work among them. Several [Chinese]men have already been grossly insulted, and it only wants a spark to kindle the smouldering [sic] fire that will start a big blaze. (*Spokesman* 1892a:6)

Despite such calls for ousting Sandpoint’s Chinese, it never happened. Perhaps the instigators could not raise sufficient money to buy their property, or perhaps they needed the services that the Chinese provided to the community. The “recent fire” referred to in the article happened in early June 1892 at the Spink Hotel, or Hotel Spinks (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892g:5; *Spokane Review* 1892:7). If the Chinese left without raising the alarm, they were probably afraid that they would be blamed for causing the fire.

In July 1892, the *Kootenai Herald* newspaper of Bonners Ferry reported an incident that had happened in Sandpoint in mid-June, where a “slant-eyed celestial” was caught stealing in “Sand Point.” He was arrested, and was kept at the post office, watched over by a Dr. Hicks, until he could be put on the 2 am train. About midnight, Dr. Hicks was overpowered by some masked men and the Chinese man was taken away. Reportedly, he was put on a boat and taken out into the lake, where he was presumably drowned; his abductors left no clues to their identity (*Kootenai Herald* 1892:5). Curiously, Sandpoint’s *Pend d’Oreille News* does not mention this incident, but the *Spokesman* from Spokane, Washington, had an earlier, lengthy account of the tragedy, with a few differing facts:

Sand Point, Idaho, June 18. - [Special.] - This place is in a state of excitement over the mysterious disappearance of a Chinaman. Foul play is feared.

Yesterday afternoon about 4 o’clock a Chinaman was found in A. P. Cannon’s room packing up all the clothes about the place. He had rented a couple of trunks and was about to make [a]way with them when he was discovered by some of the employe[e]s of the Cannon & Gray mill. The men brought the Chinaman down town and had him arrested. He was taken before Judge Cusack who found him guilty and sentenced him to ninety days in the county jail. There not being a jail here [in Sandpoint], it having been burned in the first fire this spring, it was decided to appoint a guard over the prisoner. Accordingly Dr. Ricks [sic] was engaged to take him home and watch him till the west bound train arrived. About 11 o’clock the doctor was summoned to the door by a knock. He asked who was there.

“The train is coming and I want to take the Chinaman,” was the reply.

The doctor[,] thinking it [was] the deputy sheriff[,] immediately opened the door. No sooner had he done so than he was grabbed by both arms and bodily drawn out the door, while another man first punched his hat over his eyes and then threw a blanket over his head so he could not see. He was then marched around his house[,] placed face to the wall[,] and told that it meant death if he made an outcry. Some others of the party[,] as soon as the door was cleared[,] immediately went in after the Chinaman and brought him out. He made a great cry and said he did not want to go, but his visitors, by way of argument, thrust a gag in his mouth and dragged him out.

After the Chinaman was secured the two men holding Ricks marched him into the house and told him to stay there on pain of being filled with lead if he disobeyed. The men were all masked.

After waiting quite a long time he again looked out, but found the watchman had gone. He immediately lit his lantern and came up town to notify the deputy sheriff. That officer got up and carefully searched the town, but so cleverly had the marauders done their work that not a trace of them could be found. This morning the footprints were traced from the door of Dr. Ricks’ house and were found to lead to the water’s edge, where two of them turned and went away, and there being five in the party three must have got into a boat with the Chinaman and taken him far into the lake and in some way disposed of him, probably by tying a string to his neck, with a heavy rock at the other end, and then throwing him out of the boat. This appears to be the only solution of his mysterious disappearance and is believed by almost every one.

It is considered by the best citizens of the place to be the most high handed and cowardly act ever committed, not that there is any love felt here for Chinamen, but because of the awfulness [sic] of the crime. Excitement has run high. The officers are in the possession of clews [sic] which may bring the guilty ones to light, and in their search they have the hearty support of the best people of the place. The deed has undoubtedly been committed by a rowdy element who have no interest in the place and only blight it with their presence. (*Spokesman* 1892b:1)

That September, the Sandpoint paper referred obliquely to the same, or perhaps another, occurrence involving the probable murder of a Chinese man. In an otherwise unrelated editorial, mention was made of “where the boys hung the [C]hinaman” (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892i:4). Because no story about this outrage occurred in earlier issues of the *Pend d’Oreille News*, it may not be possible to learn more about this heinous crime.

In late April 1893, the *Pend d’Oreille News* ceased publication. As far as can be determined, there was no Sandpoint newspaper from May 1893 until mid-1901, so information about the Chinese in Sandpoint during those years is minimal. This was remedied somewhat when the *Kootenai County Republican*, formerly in Rathdrum, moved to Sandpoint and began publication there on July 12, 1901.

Nevertheless, a few sources have tidbits of information on the Chinese in Sandpoint during the years for which there was no local newspaper. For example, in May 1894 a man whose name approximates Song Guey (it is not completely legible) received a certificate of registration at “Sand Point” (U.S. Bureau of Immigration 1905:146–147, No. 97). When Sam Sing’s laundry lease expired at the end of March 1896, he renewed it for another year, at \$12. The following year he renewed it for five years, until 1902, still at \$12 per year (NPRR 1896:Lease 2202). Beginning at least by the spring of 1898, Sam Sing had a competitor. Quang Sang also leased land in “Sand Point” for a laundry. His lease was for just three years, but also at \$12 per year (NPRR 1898:Lease 5516). He must then have built, or had someone construct, a building on the land that he leased.

Maynard McDuffie recalled, “There was a short vacant space south of that [Baldwin’s] horse barn and stage terminal; the stage ran to and from the Great Northern Depot on the other side of town ... there on the curve of Sand Creek, there was the China house. A colony of Chinese lived there, had a big flock of dogs enclosed in a high board fence and they operated a Chinese laundry and ran a flock of white Peking ducks on Sand Creek” (McDuffie 1974:3). McDuffie thought the railroad had built the house and that it, like others in the vicinity, was oblong, “a story and half clapboard, rough lumber.” One of these was “across the tracks just below the cemetery”; another, about 200 feet away, “was occupied by the Chinese section hands that worked on the section” (McDuffie 1974:4).

1900 to 1904

In 1900, a census year, Sandpoint had five households with Chinese members. There were nine Chinese residents altogether, including one woman (Table 58).

Table 58. Chinese in the 1900 Census for Sandpoint

Name	Relationship to Head of Household	Sex	Year of Birth	Age	Occupation
Ling Hoy	Cook	M	1864	35	Cook (for this household)
Carr Jim	Head	M	1843	56	Laundryman
Lung Sing	Lodger	M	1838	61	Cook
Yack Yung	Lodger	M	1841	58	Cook
Tong Hoi	Cook	M	1868	32	Cook (for this household)
Sam Sing	Head	M	1848	51	Laundryman
Lee Susie	Servant	F	1852	48	Servant
Ham Hing	Lodger	M	1859	40	Cook
Lee Joe	Boarder	M	1869	31	Cook (for this household)

Notes: From U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900:Kootenai County, Sandpoint, 105B, 106A, 106B, 109B. Sandpoint was part of Kootenai County until 1907.

Because the census enumerator was not necessarily consistent in listing Chinese people with their surname first, the census order will be used in the following discussion. Occasional brackets reverse the names to their more logical order, where those are known from other sources or surmised. Of those people listed as married, none had spouses living with them.

Of the five Sandpoint households with Chinese residents in 1900, the first contained Ling Hoy, the cook for Amanda Nesbitt's boarding house, where he also lived. He was single; had been in the United States for 21 years; and could read, write, and speak English (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900:Kootenai County, Sandpoint, 105B). Mel Nesbitt, Amanda's son, recalled that the boarding house "always had a Chinie [Chinese] cook" because "you never had a white cook at all, you couldn't get one, there was no such a thing ... They was all Chinie [c]ook[s]" (Nesbitt 1973:18–19).

Carr Jim (Jim Carr), a laundryman who owned his own house, headed the second household. He had two Chinese lodgers, both cooks, named Lung Sing and Yack Yung. All three men were single, ranged in age from 56 to 61 years, and had been in the United States for 25 to 40 years. They could speak English, and Lung Sing, who had been here the longest, could also read and write it (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900:Kootenai County, Sandpoint, 106A). In an unusual circumstance, two Caucasian men were also listed with this household. They were Jay Perkins, a day laborer, and William Benton, a sawmill engineer. They were evidently not listed here by mistake, because the space for their "Relationship ... to the head of the family" is left blank (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900:Kootenai County, Sandpoint, 106A); the census taker was obviously at a loss in describing any possible relationship of Caucasians to Chinese.

The third household contained a Chinese man who was the cook for five Caucasian men. Tong Hoi, aged 32, had been married for 12 years. Because his wife was not with him, she probably remained in China. He arrived in the United States in 1885 and could speak English (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900:Kootenai County, Sandpoint, 106B).

Sam Sing, a 51-year-old laundryman, headed the fourth household. He had been in this country for 26 years. His success can be measured by the fact that he owned his house, and it was unmortgaged. Also living with him was Lee Susie (Susie Lee), listed as a 48-year-old servant, and Ham Hing, a 40-year-old lodger who worked as a cook. This household is particularly interesting because all three people are described as married, but for different lengths of time. Susie Lee, who reported having had one child, no longer living, was therefore not the wife of either man. She did, however, come to the United States in the same year as Sam Sing, in 1874. Ham Hing arrived five years later. Both of the men could speak English (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900:Kootenai County, Sandpoint, 106B). Susie Lee is especially intriguing because married Chinese women were uncommon in the United States at this time; for one to be here without her husband was certainly rare, if not unique. Chinese custom, and later U.S. laws, meant that Chinese women remained in China even if they were married to men who had emigrated.

The fifth household, containing 44 Japanese railroad laborers and two Caucasian day laborers, also included a Chinese man, Lee Joe (Joe Lee), aged 31. Although his relationship to the head of household was "boarder," his occupation was "cook," meaning that he was the cook for the entire group. He was single; had been in the United States for 18 years; and could read, write, and speak English (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900:Kootenai County, Sandpoint, 106B).

Curiously, laundryman Quang Sang was not listed in the 1900 census for Sandpoint. As mentioned earlier, he had leased a building for a laundry from the NPRR for three years, from 1898 to 1901. Perhaps he was out of town when the census was taken, so was skipped. He was back by 1901 because on April 1 he renewed the lease for his laundry site until the end of March 1904, still at \$12 per year (NPRR 1901:Lease 5516). A year later, in April 1902, Sam Sing renewed the lease on his Sandpoint

“Laundry and dwelling” with the NPRR for another five years, until March 31, 1907, also still at \$12 per year (NPRR 1902:Lease 2202).

Anti-Chinese Immigration Activities in Sandpoint

Previously, in 1882, the U.S. Congress had passed a law, the Chinese Exclusion Act, that prohibited Chinese laborers from immigrating to this country. The 1888 Scott Act extended it, and in May 1892 Congress passed the Geary Act. This measure forbade the immigration of Chinese laborers for a further 10 years. In addition, all Chinese in the United States were required to register and obtain a certificate containing a photograph and other information. The CCBA, as well as the Chinese Embassy, strenuously protested these discriminatory laws that targeted only the Chinese. These two groups encouraged Chinese residents not to comply with the registration requirements.

Because Chinese who did not register risked deportation, some chose to defy the CCBA and comply with the new law; consequently, the registration controversy was a frequent item of news during late 1892. The Sandpoint newspaper reported that Idaho’s Chinese “propose to defy the Six Companies and will register,” although Chinese in eastern cities were said to be organizing a resistance to the new law (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892j:1).

In mid-July 1901, Rathdrum’s *Kootenai County Republican* moved to Sandpoint and began publication there, with John F. Yost as “Editor and Proprietor” (*Kootenai County Republican* 1901a). Editor Yost frequently acquainted his readers with smuggling of both Chinese people and opium. Most of this smuggling activity took place in the Bonners Ferry vicinity, but occasionally Sandpoint was involved. In August, local officials “Bagged Five Chinamen”; these “Celestials Who Had Eluded Boundary Officials [were] Captured in Sandpoint.” An additional man “produced proper credentials” and so was released; the others were taken to Bonners Ferry for hearings and, presumably, for subsequent deportation. This same story mentioned Sandpoint’s Chinatown; the Chinese fled “across the bridge in the direction of Chinatown”; a local citizen helped the town marshal capture them at the east end of the bridge (*Kootenai County Republican* 1901b:8). This probably refers to Bridge Street; south of it, on the west side of the NPRR tracks, was where Sandpoint’s Chinatown was located, along with a saloon and two houses of prostitution (Weaver et al. 2006:2-50,2-56,2-61,2-62).

By late 1901 the Chinese were organizing to fight any extension of the Geary Act. The CCBA announced, in a proclamation to be distributed all over the country, that every Chinese in this country was required to contribute \$10 toward its defeat; if individuals did not contribute within one week the amount would be doubled. Any Chinese who left for China would first be required to show a receipt for the amount or be fined \$10 (*Kootenai County Republican*:1901c:6).

The Chinese employed various subterfuges in attempts to evade the discriminatory exclusion laws. Because merchants had traditionally been allowed entry, word was received from China that stock companies were being organized there to provide emigrating Chinese with \$500 capital so they could satisfy the port of entry customs officials that they belonged to the merchant class (*Kootenai County Republican* 1901e:6).

Editor Yost occasionally let his opinion of the Chinese be known, thus helping to influence local public opinion against them. In a December 1901 editorial he commented,

The staid old city of Boston, or the inhabitants thereof, have done a good many queer things which are usually overlooked by a magnanimous people, but the passing of a resolution favoring the admission of Chinese into this country ... is not calculated to endear the Bostonian to the average westerner. (*Kootenai County Republican* 1901d:4)

Despite the efforts of the Chinese in protesting the exclusion laws, a new one was passed on April 29, 1902 (Tsai 1983:113). Editor Yost then favored his readers with his views on the subject, commenting:

Westerners are glad to note that [C]ongress regards some of our demands respecting the Chinese question as being just; they are glad that the Mongolian is generally regarded as a menace to labor, and an element that the laboringmen should not be forced to compete with. And while the existing law does not meet the requirements of the case from a westerner's point of view, yet he prefers it to no law at all along that line ...

For years the [W]est has been fighting the Chinese octopus [*sic*], and in that fight they need the support of all sections of the country. Our laboringmen can not compete with the Mongolian and it is unjust to expect them to. (*Kootenai County Republican* 1902c:2)

Occasionally a customs officer from Bonners Ferry or Porthill ("Port Hill") would come to Sandpoint on business, usually "looking for contraband [Chinese]men" (*Kootenai County Republican* 1902d:1, 1903h:7, 1903i:7). In July 1902, William Thews, "the well known deputy custom inspector at Port Hill," spent a day in Sandpoint "on the usual mission"—looking for a dozen Chinese who had recently crossed over from Canada into the United States (*Kootenai County Republican* 1902e:1). In August 1903, four Chinese men "who were strangers in these parts" were arrested in Sandpoint; the immigration officer at Porthill was notified, but when he did not arrive within 24 hours the Chinese were released, "as the marshal was not certain that they were not in possession of proper credentials" (*Kootenai County Republican* 1903e:1).

Anti-Chinese Advertisements in Sandpoint

As mentioned previously, in 1892 the local newspaper reported that the Minneapolis Restaurant had the policy of "Nothing but white help employed" (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892d:5). At the time, that terminology meant, "No Chinese." Such deplorably racist language is nevertheless useful because it implies that there were Chinese in Sandpoint and that other Sandpoint restaurants employed them.

Other Sandpoint restaurant owners also discriminated against Chinese employees. W.J. Davis, proprietor of the Bon Ton Restaurant, announced earlier, in February 1902, that he would employ only "white" cooks in his establishment (*Kootenai County Republican* 1902a:5). An advertisement appeared in that and subsequent issues, and ran through September (Figure 193). It read, "Get your meals at the Bon Ton Short Order Restaurant. W. J. Davis, Proprietor. WHITE COOKS Only Employed. Open Day and Night. Back of Postoffice Sandpoint Idaho" (*Kootenai County Republican* 1902b:5). Davis subsequently sold the Bon Ton to William Hanna, but the date of that transaction is not known.

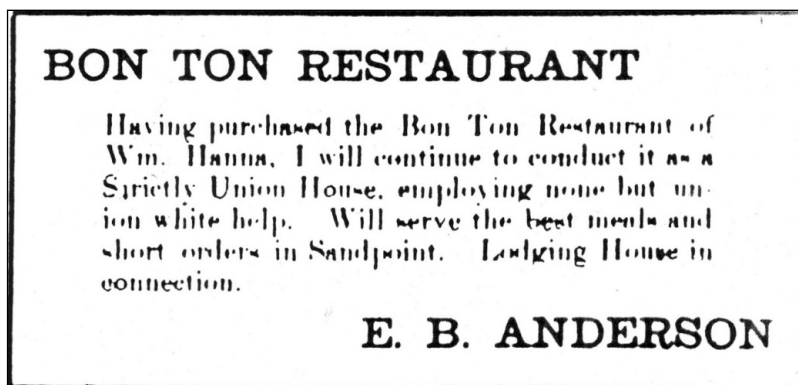


Figure 193. Anti-Chinese advertisement for Sandpoint's Bon Ton Restaurant, 1903 (*Northern Idaho News* 1903:3).

Hanna may have changed the name of the restaurant to "Lumber Jacks' Eating House," because advertisements for it mention his name, and the location seems to be the same as the Bon Ton's. Beginning in November 1902, he advertised that he provided "Lunches 10¢ and Up, Meals at All Hours," and that it was "First Class, Back of Postoffice, Rooms in Connection 25¢ and 50¢." Hanna also boasted, "Nothing but White Help Employed" (Figure 194) (*Kootenai County Republican* 1902h:2).

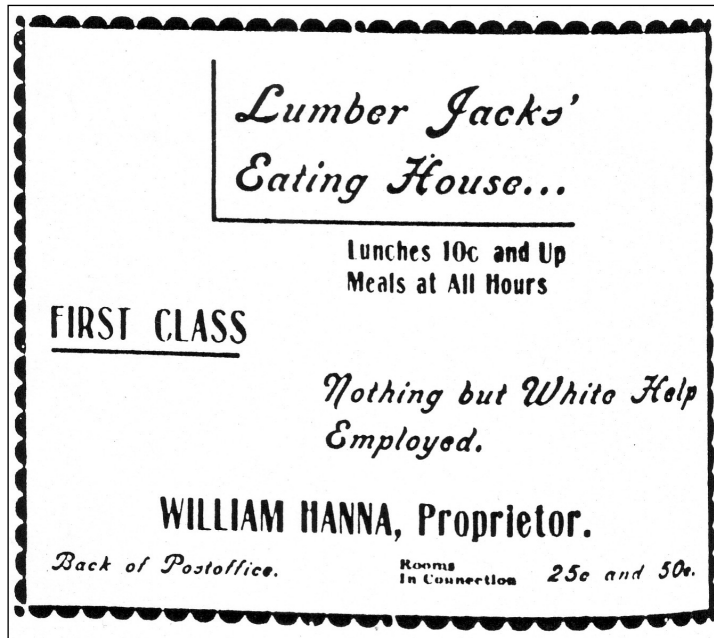


Figure 194. Anti-Chinese advertisement for Lumber Jacks' Eating House, 1902 (*Kootenai County Republican* 1902h:2).

The following year Hanna appealed to union members with his April 1903 advertisement; remaining otherwise the same, it announced, "Nothing but Union Help Employed" (*Kootenai County Republican* 1903c:3). Besides running the Lumber Jacks' Eating House, Hanna also operated the Bon Ton. In May 1903 Yost editorialized on the difficulty faced by hotel and restaurant businesses in obtaining competent help:

Unreliable Help

One of the most serious problems which confront the hotel and restaurant men of this western country is that of male help, both in the kitchen and dining room. There can be no question that any business is seriously handicapped by having to deal with employes [*sic*] who are unreliable. A striking illustration is furnished right here in Sandpoint. Mr. Wm. Hanna, proprietor of the Bon Ton, has been engaged in the restaurant business here for nearly nine months and during that time he has employed sixty-one different cooks in his kitchen. The longest period any one of them remained with him was four months, while the shortest was just fifteen minutes ... Were they more reliable it might not be long ere John and his pigtail would be a very uncommon sight in this western country. (*Kootenai County Republican* 1903d:3)

By December 1903, Hanna had sold his restaurant. The new owner, E.B. Anderson, renamed it the Bon Ton and advertised that he would "continue to conduct it as a Strictly Union House, employing none but union white help" (*Northern Idaho News* 1903:3). In early 1903, another Sandpoint restaurant, the Baldwin Hotel & Cafe, advertised itself as the "Finest Equipped Hostlery [*sic*] in Northern Idaho." Its service was "First Class and Up to Date in Every Respect." And, naturally, it boasted "Nothing But White Help Employed" (*Kootenai County Republican* 1903b:3). The "dining department" was later closed

temporarily. When it reopened in October 1903, Harry Baldwin announced that “Regular meals and merchants’ lunch will be served for 25 cents” and that “none but white help” was employed (Figure 195) (*Kootenai County Republican* 1903j:3).



Figure 195. Anti-Chinese advertisements for The Baldwin Hotel and the Thompson Hotel and Café (*Kootenai County Republican* 1903j:3; *Northern Idaho News* 1905:7).

By late November 1905, The Baldwin Hotel & Cafe on Railroad Avenue had become “The Thompson Hotel & Cafe.” A.R. Thompson, the proprietor, continued the racist tone of the advertisements, still announcing “Nothing But White Help Employed” (Figure 195) (*Northern Idaho News* 1905:7).

In contrast, other businesses did employ Chinese, so naturally their advertisements lacked anti-Chinese language. For example, the Palace Hotel, \$5.75 per week, meals 25 cents, was owned by Nellie (Mrs. J.) Maloney at least as early as 1903 (*Kootenai County Republican* 1903f:3.). In late 1906 it was “Sandpoint’s Old Reliable Hotel” and its “Bar in Connection” served “None but Bonded Whiskey [sic] (Figure 196) (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1906b:5). The 1910 census lists a Jim Young, Chinese, who lived at the hotel and was a servant there. This may or may not be the same person as Moy Young, a cook at the Palace Hotel, who assisted with the funeral of a Chinese man in April 1911 (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1911b:3).

Besides Chinese laundries, Sandpoint also had a Caucasian-owned laundry. In August 1903, the Sandpoint Steam Laundry



Figure 196. Advertisement for the Palace Hotel, which did employ Chinese people, 1903 (*Kootenai County Republican* 1903f:3).

opened, advertising, "We do Work, and do it right, Patronize White Labor" (Figure 197) (*Kootenai County Republican* 1903g:3; *Northern Idaho News* 1904b:3).

During the first decade of the twentieth century, the Sandpoint Chinese were occasionally in the news, as when "Hop Lee, formerly of Bonners Ferry, has purchased the laundry of Jim Carr at this place [Sandpoint]. Hop desires the *Republican* [newspaper] to announce that he will conduct a first-class laundry. Jim Carr will soon leave for a visit to old China" (*Kootenai County Republican* 1902f:1). Confirmation of this account comes from a Bonner County (then Kootenai County) public record stating that Hop Lee of Sandpoint purchased from Jim Carr "one[-]story frame building now used as a laundry and all the furniture and fixtures contained in the same ... also all the vegetables in [the] garden." One of the conditions of sale was that Jim Carr agreed "not to engage in the laundry business at Sandpoint, Idaho[,] before August 1, 1903" (Bonner County 1892–1902:178–179).

In Sandpoint's earlier days, according to Maynard McDuffie, grocery stores "hardly carried" fresh fruits and vegetables, or "not at all." Before the Sandpoint Chinese began to grow vegetables for sale, a Chinese man had a garden across the lake from Hope. "He would come once a week with his carrying pole and his two baskets [coolie] style with his little weighing scale ... and that was about the only source of fresh vegetables out of season" (McDuffie 1974:8).

January 29, 1903, was the first day of the Year of the Rabbit in the Chinese zodiacal calendar. Sandpoint's *Kootenai County Republican* reported that "The Chinese New Year began Wednesday and the celestials here celebrated the event with fire crackers, etc." (*Kootenai County Republican* 1903a:1).

On November 6, 1903, the name of Sandpoint's *Kootenai County Republican* changed to the *Northern Idaho News* when Al Filson and George R. Barker became the new editors. The volume and issue numbers continued in sequence. These editors may have been somewhat more sympathetic toward the Chinese than their predecessors. In an article dated January 8, 1904, about a Bonners Ferry laundryman who was robbed at gunpoint by two Caucasians, the paper headlined, "Masked Men Perpetrate Outrage on Chinaman" (*Northern Idaho News* 1904a:1). Although Chinese people considered "Chinaman" to be a derogatory term even then, it would be many years before Caucasian people arrived at a similar understanding. Later that month, the name of a Chinese man, Gee Do Gee, appeared in Sandpoint's *Northern Idaho News* when the postmaster printed a list of people for whom he was holding unclaimed letters, including one "China'm" and six Japanese (*Northern Idaho News* 1904c:6).

The first Sanborn fire insurance map that exists for Sandpoint is dated 1904, and a "Chine laundry" appears on it (Figure 198). It was located on Railroad Avenue, west of the NPRR tracks, east of Sand Creek, and southeast of a wooden bridge crossing Sand Creek to Church Street (Sanborn Map Company 1904:5). Because of its proximity to the NPRR tracks, it was most likely Sam Sing's laundry. Although he and Quang Sang both held leases in 1904 with the NPRR for their laundries, Quang Sang's lease expired on March 31 of that year and he did not renew it.



Figure 197. Anti-Chinese advertisement for the Sandpoint Steam Laundry, 1904 (*Northern Idaho News* 1904b:3).

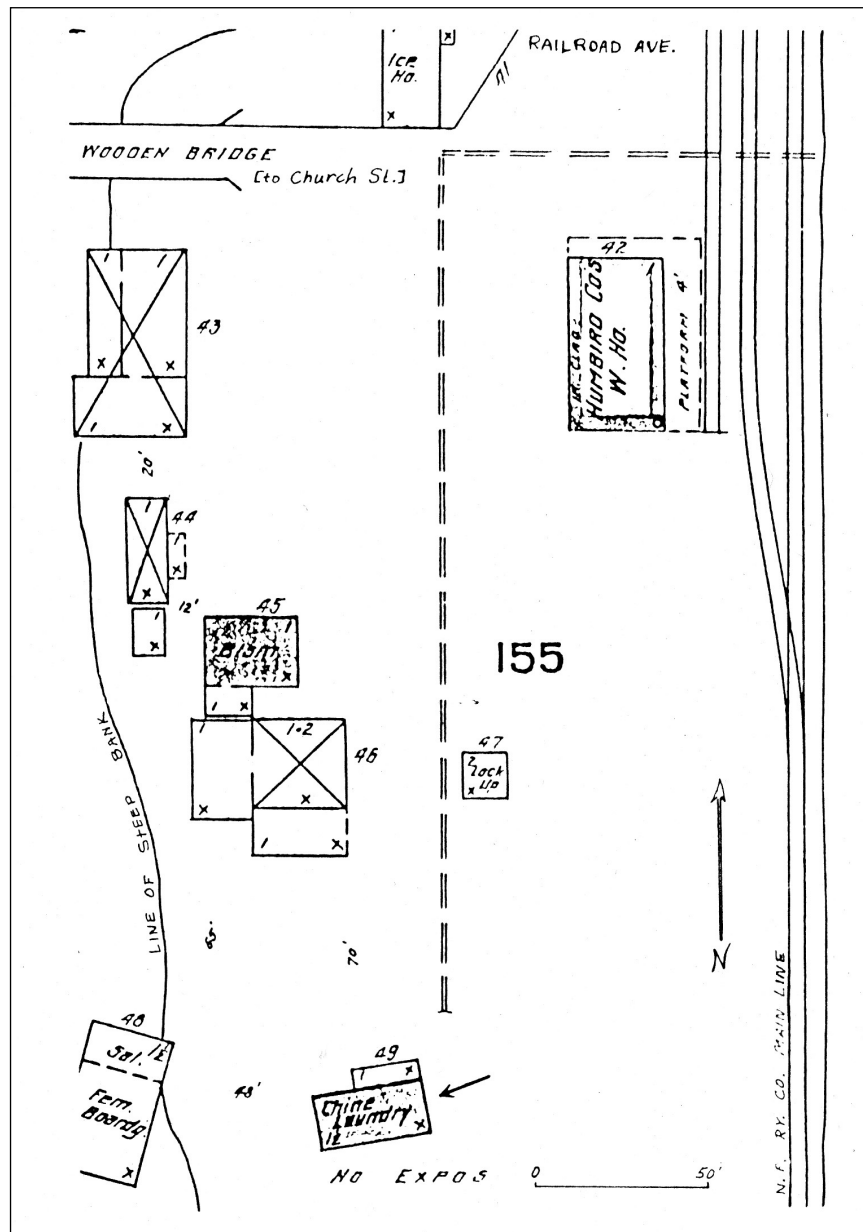


Figure 198. Sanborn fire insurance map, 1904, of Sandpoint, page 2, showing a Chinese laundry (Sanborn Map Company 1904:5).

1905 to 1909

A 1905 special census of the Chinese in Idaho and Montana listed 11 Chinese men who lived in Sandpoint at that time (Table 59). Unfortunately, neither their ages nor their dates of birth were provided.

Table 59. List of Chinese Living in Sandpoint on June 30, 1905

Name	Where Certificate of Residence Was Issued	Occupation	Page Number, Location on Page
Do Yee	Hope, ID	Cook	38–39, No. 11
Gee Sam Hong	Missoula, MT	Restaurant employee	52–53, No. 19
Gee Wah	Colfax, WA	Cook	52–53, No. 20
Jim Sue	Thompson Falls, MT	Laundryman	78–79, No. 19
Lung Sing	Folsom, CA	Laundryman	94–95, No. 70
Long Ting (?)	Chicago, IL	Laundryman	94–95, No. 71
Louis Ah Yen	Hope, ID	Cook	94–95, No. 72
Moy Chung	New Bedford, MA	Peddler	120–121, No. 25
Lee Sick	Evato, Missoula County, MT	Laborer	156–157, No. 63
Wong On	Helena, MT	Cook	176–177, No. 90
Young Cow	Ellensburg, WA	Cook	194–195, No. 65

Note: From U.S. Bureau of Immigration 1905.

What is most striking about Table 65 is how far away from Sandpoint some of these men once lived. The 1892 Geary Law, an extension of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, further discriminated against Chinese immigrants by requiring all of them, and only them, to obtain certificates of registration. Most of the Chinese names in the 1905 census do not correlate with names in either the 1900 or the 1910 census. This indicates that Sandpoint's Chinese community was still quite mobile, and it may also indicate inconsistencies with transliteration of Chinese names into English.

The column naming the city where certificates were issued also had the date of issuance. For Sandpoint, only one person, Song Guey, received a certificate of registration at "Sand Point," in 1894. In 1905 he was living in Bonners Ferry (U.S. Bureau of Immigration 1905:146–147, No. 97).

In 1905, three of the Sandpoint Chinese residents were laundrymen, but there is no way to know if they had their own businesses or worked for someone else. Curiously, Sam Sing was not living in Sandpoint when the 1905 census was taken, although his lease with the NPRR for a laundry and dwelling would run for another two years, until March 31, 1907 (NPRR 1902:Lease 2202).

December 1906 saw the sale of the Gem Restaurant by a Caucasian person "to Charles Ling, Jim Chong, and Nye Tip, three [C]elestials. It will be the first restaurant in Sandpoint ever conducted exclusively by Chinese (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1906d:5). The *Northern Idaho News* also had a text mention of this event, but the buyers were "a couple of Chinamen" (*Northern Idaho News* 1906b:3).

In early 1907, a Sandpoint judge had to rule on "whether or not a Celestial knows the nature of an oath and can testify." Charley Ling, owner of the Gem Restaurant, earlier had Billy Bonner arrested for battery. Bonner was "a colored [African American] youth who has been conducting a shoe polishing emporium at the Simpson barber shop." The newspaper article continued:

It seems that Bonner went to the restaurant Friday to look after some rugs and other property he had stored in a place behind the restaurant. He and the Celestial had a quarrel over what the Celestial claimed the [N]egro owed him for rent and in the melee the darkey [disparaging term for an African American] hit the [Chinese]man over the forehead with a bottle of catsup. Bonner was arrested ... [In court,] Mrs. Ella Taylor, a waitress in the Chinese joint, testified that the [N]egro hit Charley with a bottle of catsup and after her testimony was taken the prosecution wanted to put Ling on the stand. Ling placed his right hand in the air and the oath was about to be administered when R. B. Norris, the attorney for the defense, asked Charley if he understood what an oath was. (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907a:1)

The judge decided that Charley Ling did not know enough about the Christian religion to understand what an oath meant. Although Charley felt he understood an oath, the judge questioned him about heaven, and who was in it; “Charley answered very blandly that Santa Claus was.” Two ministers, however, “allowed the [C]hink [a derogatory term for Chinese people] knew about as much about Christianity as did the general run of lawyers” (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1907a:1).

Bonner’s “version of the scrap” was “that he went into the restaurant to ask about some rugs that had been left in the place behind the restaurant by some other colored folk.” He and Ling “had some words and Bonner claimed the Celestial grabbed the bottle of catsup and that he got it away from him and hit Charley over the head with it. Other testimony was produced bearing out Bonner’s testimony that the two [Chinese]men came out on the street, one with a stick, and continued the races [*sic*] war on the sidewalk.” Bonner was found not guilty (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1907a:1).

By this time, 1907, having a Caucasian waitress in a Chinese restaurant seems to have been an accepted fact in contrast to Babe Ebell’s experience in 1892, discussed earlier. Caucasian waitresses in Chinese restaurants would have made the Euro-American clientele feel more at ease.

On the next Sanborn fire insurance map, issued in 1909, the 1904 laundry was gone, but another laundry with a “Drying Plfm” (platform) was located behind saloons on the east side of First Avenue on the edge of a steep bank overlooking Sand Creek (Figure 199) (Sanborn Map Company 1909:8). This laundry may have belonged to Jim See who is the only laundryman listed in the 1910 census. Whether he is the same person as Jim Sue, a laundryman in the 1905 census, is unknown.

Another page of the 1909 Sanborn map depicts a building labeled “Chine,” on the north side of Cedar Street between 3rd and 4th avenues (Figure 200) (Sanborn Map Company 1909:7). Because it is next door to a restaurant, it was once thought to be the location of a Chinese restaurant (Wegars 1991:431). Closer examination of the map, however, shows that the two buildings are separate. It was not a laundry, because laundries were identified as such, so perhaps it was a dwelling.

For some time researchers have speculated on the reasons for identifying Chinese businesses as such, when establishments run by other ethnic groups, particularly African Americans, are not so described. The answer may lie in a brief editorial item that appeared in the Sandpoint newspaper in 1892: “Those who carry insurance should remember the fact that if [Chinese]men are employed either in your building or any adjoining you, it raises the rate of insurance” (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892f:4). It was a common anti-Chinese stereotype that Chinese were more careless about fire than Euro-Americans were.

Sandpoint had Chinese gardeners who peddled produce door-to-door. Moy Chung was a peddler in 1905 (U.S. Bureau of Immigration 1905:120–121, No. 25), and Gee Sick was a peddler and gardener in 1910 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910:Bonner County, Sandpoint, 2A). In 1907 the Caucasian community’s “Retail Dealers” became concerned about competition. At a city council meeting in May, they “brought up the matter of Chinese peddling of garden truck, claiming that local Chinese peddle from wagon [*sic*] from supplies shipped in from Washington.” Nothing could be done because the then-current peddling ordinance did “not apply to persons peddling farm products.” The council instructed the city attorney “to remedy the ordinances ... and make it so that local dealers will be protected” (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1907c:1).



Figure 199. Sanborn fire insurance map, 1909, of Sandpoint, page 8, showing a Chinese laundry with a drying platform (Sanborn Map Company 1909:8).

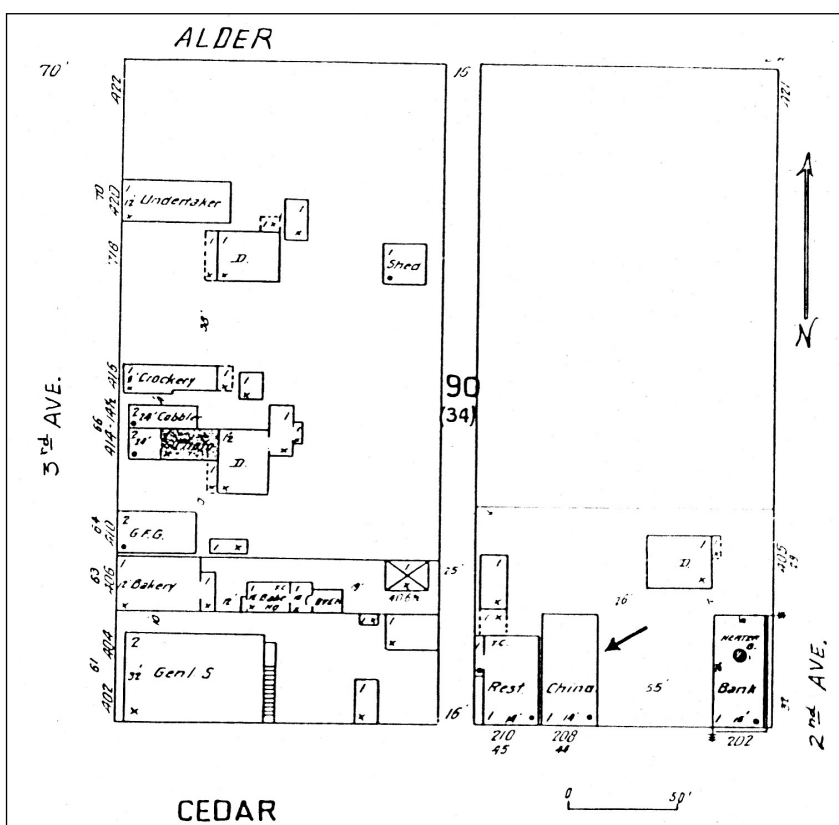


Figure 200. Sanborn fire insurance map, 1909, of Sandpoint, page 7, showing a Chinese-occupied building, perhaps a restaurant or a dwelling (Sanborn Map Company 1909:7).

As alluded to earlier, Sandpoint was part of Kootenai County until 1907. That year, Bonner County was formed from Kootenai County, and Sandpoint became the county seat for the new county. In 1915, Boundary County was formed from Bonner County. Between 1907 and 1915, therefore, people living in Bonners Ferry had to come to Sandpoint to conduct county business. For example, in October 1909 a Chinese couple from Bonners Ferry obtained a marriage license in Sandpoint (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1909e:1).

1910 to 1919

The 1910 census for Sandpoint listed six Chinese, all men, living in four households (Table 60). None of them had exactly the same names as the nine Chinese men who lived in Sandpoint during the 1905 census of Chinese in Idaho and Montana.

Table 60. Chinese in the 1910 U.S. Census for Sandpoint

Name	Relationship to Head of Household	Sex	Year of Birth	Age	Occupation
Sick Gee	Head	M	1851	50	Vegetable peddler [and gardener]
Chung Ah	Roomer	M	1854	56	Cook in hotel
Chung Bo	Roomer	M	1854	56	Cook for railroad camp
Hong Charlie	Roomer	M	1859	42	Dishwasher in dance hall
Young Jim	Servant	M	1857	44	Servant in hotel
See Jim	Head	M	1859	42	Laundry owner

Notes: From U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910:Bonner County, Sandpoint, 2A, 6A, 11. All lived on Railroad Avenue.

In the first household, Gee Sick, who headed it, could read, write, and speak English. Because he was a vegetable peddler, these skills were necessary for his work. He had been married for 18 years, and came to the United States in 1881. Ah Chung was single and arrived in the United States in 1881. He spoke only Chinese, and could not read or write. Bo Chung had been married for 15 years and came to the United States in 1888. He spoke English but could not read or write it. The three men lived together at "220 Rear RR Ave." (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910:Bonner County, Sandpoint, 2A).

The second household contained Charlie Hong, living with four Caucasian women for whom no occupations were listed and one Japanese man, Tsunata Watanabe, who was a dance hall porter, probably for the same business where Charlie Hong was a dishwasher. Charlie Hong was married, but it is not known for how long, nor is it known when he came to the United States. He could speak English, but could not read or write it (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910:Bonner County, Sandpoint, 2A). Of the four Caucasian women, "Willa" Herman, listed as head of household, frequently appears as Willow Herman in Sandpoint arrest records between 1907 and 1910. Because of her involvement in prostitution, this residence was probably a brothel, for which she was the madam. Although the other three women, Lulu Watson, Lillian Earl, and Nellie Archer, all "roomers," do not appear in the earlier arrest records, they are likely to have been prostitutes who had either changed their names or were later arrivals to Sandpoint.

The third household was a hotel, headed by Nellie Maloney, the "Proprietress"; Jim Young, a Chinese man, was a servant there. Other occupants of the household were Maloney's husband, John, a Caucasian lumberman; two Caucasian saloon bartenders, probably for the hotel; a female servant for the hotel; and the hotel porter, a Japanese man named Jim Bek. Jim Young was single and came to the United States in 1887. He could read, write, and speak English (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910:Bonner County, Sandpoint, 6A). Earlier advertisements for the Palace Hotel include the line, "Mrs. J. Maloney, Prop" (*Kootenai County Republican* 1903f:3).

Jim See, who lived alone in the fourth household, came to the United States in 1884. He was married, but the number of years for which he was married is not known. Although the census states that he spoke only Chinese and could not read and write, he owned a laundry (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910:Bonner County, Sandpoint, 6A), probably where he lived, so he could well have had enough English-speaking ability to conduct business with Caucasian customers.

Fang Kee joined the Sandpoint Chinese community in about 1910 and opened a restaurant there (Idaho State Business Directory 1910:570), but his arrival was most likely after that year's census was taken because he is not listed in it. Over time, Fang Kee's restaurant operated in several different places. His first location was "in the building on the Northern Pacific right-of-way vacated by the old Traders bank when it moved across the creek" (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1920:5). This may or may not have been the same "'noodle joint' [that was] in one of Mr. Whitaker's shacks across the Northern Pacific track" (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1920:5). In May 1910, Lon Montague, formerly on Sandpoint's police force, who had been appointed a special officer for a traveling show, "was charged with disturbing the peace by an assault upon an inoffensive [Chinese]man, Van [sic, for Fang] Kee." A newspaper article reported that "Montague and Frank Murray went to Van [sic] Kee's place last Friday night and ... after eating their orders of noodles Montague refused to pay for them, and when the [Chinese]man insisted upon payment[,] struck him four or five times in the face and choked him." At his trial, Montague said that Fang Kee tried to assault him with a poker. "After the scrimmage at the noodle joint Montague and another officer took Van [sic] Kee and Jim Sue, his assistant, to the city lock-up and kept them locked up all night" (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1910:10):

It is claimed that [Fang Kee] was in a desperate condition with blood flowing from his wounds in the face and that the officer did not give him an opportunity to wash his face and dress his injuries and threw him into the squalid city lock-up with his face covered with blood. Next day the [Chinese]men were taken before Justice Costello, who, after hearing their story, dismissed them upon the complaint made by Montague charging them with disturbing the peace. Senator Whitaker then swore to a complaint calling for Montague's arrest on the same charge that he had lodged against the [Chinese]men.

When the case came up for trial Wednesday afternoon the defendant called for a jury trial and it was held in [the] Star Market hall to accommodate the spectators who had become interested in the progress of the case. Van [sic] Kee, with two black eyes and a face smeared with ointment, went first upon the stand. (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1910:10)

Fang Kee testified about the non-payment and about the attack on him, and Jim Sue corroborated his testimony, both of them speaking "pidgeon [pidgin] English" (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1910:10). Whitaker described Fang Kee as "a good, straightforward fellow" (*Northern Idaho News* 1910:1), and the judge found Montague guilty of "exceed[ing] his authority as an officer" (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1910:10). "Vang" Kee, Jim Sue, and Lon Montague's names are all in the Sandpoint police court records on May 7, 1910, for violation of Ordinance No. 70, against disorderly conduct. Both Chinese men were discharged, and Montague filed an appeal (Sandpoint City Police Court Records 1907–1911:572–573).

Montague ultimately forfeited his \$75 bond when he failed to appear in court (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1911c:8). As a result, he blamed Fang Kee and was determined to get even. One night in April 1911, he saw five young men enjoying noodles in Fang Kee's establishment, each with a bottle of beer. He "rushed to the sheriff's office, got the sheriff out of bed[,] and proceeded to have Fang Kee arrested as a 'nuisance.'" During the subsequent court hearing, Fang Kee said the Chief of Police had informed him he could not sell beer or give it away, but if people brought it with them, they could drink it. However, when the law changed, the police chief neglected to tell him. "Chief Traue bore out the [Chinese]man's story and said that Fang Kee was the 'whitest' Chinaman in town." County Attorney McDuffie suggested that the court discharge Fang Kee on the grounds that "while ignorance of the law was no excuse, it was evident the [Chinese]man had depended on the officers to post him concerning the law and it was evident that Fang Kee was not a 'malicious' offender." The newspaper article continued, "Fang Kee is known as a law abiding [Chinese]man and is an old resident of the town." The court dismissed his case, calling Montague's actions "a farce in the name of local option" (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1911c:8).

In early May 1911, Sandpoint police intervened in a disagreement between a Chinese man and a Caucasian woman. The man told the police chief that "there was a bad woman in one of the boat houses off the city dock. The woman owed him \$5 and [he] was getting even with her." The police visited the houseboat that night:

when they rapped the woman was very quiet at first and then when she saw the officers knew she was inside tried to evade their questions. She denied anyone was about the place. The officers searched the premises and who do you suppose they found? That miserable [Chinese man] himself under the bed bound up in the bedclothes. (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1911d:3)

In comparing this event with the available Sandpoint arrest records, it is apparent that the woman in question was Dixie Colton, and that the newspaper did not report the event until three weeks after it happened. Colton was fined \$20 on May 2, 1911, for violating Ordinance No. 70 against "disorderly persons" (Sandpoint City Police Court Records 1907–1911:688).

In mid-April 1911, Sandpoint saw its "First Chinese Funeral." The deceased was "Young Shea, aged 76" who "died of pneumonia Satur[d]ay evening near Kootenai" (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1911b:3). According

to the newspaper article about his death, he had resided in the vicinity of Sandpoint for 25 years. Death came as he rode a streetcar near Kootenai:

Shea [Young may actually have been his surname] had no relatives here and the arrangements for his burial were made by Moy Young, a [cook] at the Palace [H]otel, and Gwe Sich [Gee Sick], a gardener. All of the clothes and belongings of the dead [Chinese]man were gathered together and taken to the cemetery, where they were piled close to his grave and burned. Moy Young explained that the clothes and belongings of the deceased one were burned in order that he might use them on his journey to the Chinese heaven. Large quantities of cigarette papers were also burned for the use of the [Chinese]man.

Moy Young and his companions told that in China, it has been the custom for years to place rice and other food stuffs by the graves of departed friends ... in order that his soul might make the journey to heaven with ease. Another custom that still prevails is to burn long strips of paper, various colored, covered with printed prayers and punched with innumerable holes, the ashes of which are scattered to the four winds. It is believed by the [Chinese]men that the devils that haunt the souls of the dead must gather all these pieces of paper together and place them in their proper order and crawl through the holes before they can get to harass the souls of the departed.

No food was provided for poor Shea and no care was taken to protect him from the wiles of the devils supposed to exist, in fact[,] his countrymen displayed no concern over his welfare in the other world, other than to explain as they left the grave and the pile of burning clothes, "Goodbye, ol' fella." (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1911b:3)

Although Young Shea does not appear in the 1910 Sandpoint census, a person with that name is in the 1910 census for Bonners Ferry, 33 miles north of Sandpoint. Shea Young, a restaurant cook, was a lodger in a three-man household headed by a Chinese laundryman. He was 67 years old (either this age or the one in the newspaper article was transposed); had been married for 32 years; and could read, write, and speak English (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910:Bonner County, Sandpoint, 2A). Because Sandpoint did not have a separate Chinese cemetery, as far as is known, Young Shea was probably buried in the city cemetery. A few years later, his remains may have been removed and shipped back to China, in accordance with Chinese custom (Abraham and Wegars 2005:153–155).

A Chinese man named Wong Sing was charged on June 10, 1911, with fishing without a license. Apparently he could not pay the fine, because he was jailed for nine days, until June 19 (Bonner County [Prisoner Register] 1906–1915). A search of the local newspapers around the time of his sentencing date did not locate a related article.

On December 1, 1912, Gee Sick, a vegetable peddler and gardener according to the 1910 census, leased "land for Dwelling Etc." from the NPRR. His lease, at \$10 per year, was for nearly seven years, until March 31, 1919 (NPRR 1912:Lease 22917-25943). The "etc." may have included land for his garden.

In late July 1919, Fang Neu was charged with being an unspecified "nuisance," a violation of Ordinance No. 80 listing multiple offenses involving animals, garbage, and noxious odors. His fine was \$5 with \$5 costs (Sandpoint City Police Court Records 1918–1941:42). A search of local newspapers around that time period did not locate a relevant article.

Unfortunately, both time and financial constraints prevented more exhaustive research into the Sandpoint newspapers from 1911 through 1919. Therefore, information on the Chinese in Sandpoint is mostly lacking for that time period.

Chinese Women in Sandpoint

Besides Susie Lee, listed as a 48-year-old servant in the 1900 census, the only other Chinese woman known to have lived in Sandpoint was a woman called “China Mary.” Mel Nesbitt remembered that “she was an old girl when she died” In describing Sandpoint around the turn of the twentieth century, he stated, “that was all buildings in there. Her house was first and then the dance hall and then the livery barn, an[d] then Harry White’s blacksmith shop, an[d] then the Cribs and then Harry Baldwin’s barn, right next to where the bridge is. That was the most important part of town.” Nesbitt had an intriguing story about how “China Mary” arrived in Sandpoint:

[she] floated down here from Hope, right in her ol[d] shack and she stayed right in it ... till she died They b[r]ought it in there through the draw and put it right in there just below Harry White[s] blacksmith shop an[d] Dick Trupine[']s Livery Barn. Set it in there on the point, on Sand Creek, an[d] Mary was there until she died. (Nesbitt 1973:6–7)

“China Mary” may have been Mary Foy, who is listed in the 1910 census for Hope as a boarder in a household headed by a merchant. She was 51 years old and came to the United States in 1890 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910:Hope, 2B).

1920 to 1929

During the third decade of the 1900s, the number of Chinese in Sandpoint dropped by one, to five (Table 61). All men, they were not the same individuals as those in the 1910 census. Three of them lived alone, and one household contained two people.

Table 61. Chinese in the 1920 U.S. Census for Sandpoint

Name	Relationship to Head of Household	Sex	Age	Year of Immigration	Occupation
Not given	Head [lived alone]	M	Unknown	Unknown	Proprietor [of] restaurant
Kee, Fang	Head [lived alone]	M	66	Unknown	Cook [in] restaurant
Yuen, Jam	Head [lived alone]	M	27	1909	Manager [of] cafe
Kong, Lee	Head	M	32	1908	Cook [in] restaurant
Lee, Mey	Lodger	M	32	1911	Cook [in] restaurant

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920:Bonner County, Sandpoint, 7B, 9B, 10B.

The census unfortunately does not record one Chinese man’s name, and much of the information about him, and about the other four men, is also lacking. Fang Kee and Lee Kong were both single, and Jam Yuen and Mey Lee were both married. Fang Kee, Jam Yuen, and the unidentified man could all read and write, but Lee Kong and Mey Lee could not. The 1920 census asked for information on the street the respondent lived on, and the enumerator, Gladys O’Meara, recorded that information. The unidentified man lived on Main Street; Fang Kee and Jam Yuen lived on First Avenue; and Lee Kong and Mey Lee lived on Main Street. Although Mey Lee was in the same household as Lee Kong, he is listed further down on the same page, with a note in the margin, “See P. 10 L[ine] 54,” the line for Lee Kong (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1920:Bonner County, Sandpoint, 7B, 9B, 10B).

Even though Fang Kee died in late January 1920, he still appears in that year’s census. Normally, the census is taken in the spring or summer of the census year, but in 1920 the census for Sandpoint was taken in early January, just a couple of weeks before Fang Kee died.

Upon his death, restaurateur Fang Kee was prominent enough to earn an obituary in the *Pend d’Oreille Review*. He came to Sandpoint in about 1910 and operated his restaurant in several different places. His restaurant was first near the NPRR tracks. In later years he moved it “across to ‘this side’” and finally to South First Street (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1920:5). This may be the same location as the First Avenue

where he was living at the time of the 1920 census; it was common for Chinese merchants, restaurant owners, and laundrymen to live above or behind their business premises.

From his obituary, it is obvious that Fang Kee was well respected in the Sandpoint Caucasian community:

Kee was a kindly old Celestial, the soul of business honor and well known to many of the older citizens who always had [a] warm spot for Kee. Louis Den of Hope and Judge Whitaker made arrangements for Kee to be buried here with a mark of identification for his grave so that if ever his countrymen want to send his ashes back to China they will be able to find all that is left of old Kee. So far as [is] known his only relative is a cousin in Spokane. Judge Whitaker, who knew Kee well, thinks he was about 60 years of age. (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1920:5)

CHINESE IMMIGRATION AND OPIUM INFRACTIONS IN SANDPOINT

During the first decade of the twentieth century, immigration violations and opium smoking infractions were the two transgressions most likely to get the Chinese in Sandpoint into trouble with the law and into the documentary record. Immigration issues were more likely to affect transient Chinese just passing through, or trying to, whereas Chinese who lived in Sandpoint were more often arrested for violating the local ordinance against opium smoking.

Continuing Immigration Concerns

When Bonner County's Sheriff Merritt retired in early 1911, he summed up the number of prisoners held in the county jail during the previous two years, 1909 and 1910, and what happened to them. Six Chinese were "deported as being unlawfully in the country" (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1911a:1). Those were probably the same six Chinese who were arrested in 1909 but first taken to Rathdrum "in the old dismantled jail ... which is not a fit place to hold prisoners" because "the quarters were cramped and unsanitary" (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1909d:1). It developed that the men were taken to Rathdrum, rather than to the Bonner County jail, because of a grievance nursed by a deputy U.S. marshal. Earlier, he had wanted to convict a Chinese man of being in the country illegally, but the man had the necessary papers and was discharged by a Bonner County official.

The six Chinese were subsequently removed from Rathdrum to the Kootenai County jail at Coeur d'Alene and were brought to the Bonner County jail before their deportation (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1909d:1). The register of prisoners in the Bonner County jail lists six Chinese men who were there from September 2, 1909, until September 27, 1909, when they were "Taken to Rathdrum." Their names were Nan Duey, Ah Fing, Lee Young, Li Way, Li Saur, and Long Gong (Bonner County [Prisoner Register] 1906–1915).

On October 27, 1914, Chun Yin Yen and Chun Hong were held in the Bonner County jail on unspecified violations related to immigration. They were released on November 22 with the notations "To Federal" and "Held for Immigration" (Bonner County [Prisoner Register] 1906–1915). Further research located no related newspaper stories mentioning these two men.

Opium Smoking Issues

Opium smuggling, not always involving Chinese, was occasionally a "hot topic" in Sandpoint. Although the import of opium into the United States was legal until 1909, certain states forbade its use, and various communities outlawed it by local ordinance. Curiously, the 1887 Idaho state law that prohibited opium smoking only applied to "white" persons (Wegars 1991:606), and Sandpoint itself did not prohibit it until late May 1907 as Ordinance No. 72 (Bowden 1910:150–152). Because opium was heavily taxed,

customs stamps were affixed to cans of opium to show that the taxes on it had been paid. Opium-related offenses most often involved seizures made at or near the Canadian border. In November 1892, for example, a search of the steamer *Spokane* on the Kootenai River turned up 50 pounds of unstamped opium in the stateroom of a Mrs. McTaggart. She and two male companions were arrested, brought to Sandpoint, and taken by train to the county seat at Rathdrum (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892k:4). Because it is a common stereotype that only Chinese used opium, it is worth noting that no Chinese were involved in this particular incident.

A subsequent article detailed how the smugglers had once considered Sandpoint for their headquarters. They tried to involve a “well-known Priest Lake prospector” in their scheme for bringing the opium to town through the Priest Lake country, but he refused their offer of employment and wisely remained silent until the recent arrests. Had Sandpoint been part of the route, the contraband was to have been cached in a place:

on Mill creek, back of the postoffice and Mr. Butler's residence and about [midway] between the two ...

How to have gotten rid of the article after it was here would seem quite difficult, but when it is said that there is a [Chinese]man in this town who can command \$10,000 on twenty-four hour's notice with which to buy smuggled opium, it will be seen that that part of the program would have been very easy. (*Pend d'Oreille News* 1892l:4)

Beginning in 1906, Sandpoint's Chinese were sometimes in the news for opium infractions. In October of that year, the paper contained the headline “Chinese Opium Joint is Raided”; the article reported, “Sam Hing's Chinese dump on the lake flats has a ‘chop suey and noodle’ sign but it has been known for some time that chop suey and noodles were not the only things that the wiley [*sic*] Sam sold.” Besides Sam, the marshal arrested Trixie Winters, a prostitute; Chess Smith; and J. Conliss, “a youth.” Officers found an “opium layout” in Smith's room. Three of the four arrested were sentenced to 30 days in jail, but the story does not name them. Trixie Winters said that “[s]he saw the opium layout but claimed she did not indulge,” so perhaps she is the person who was exonerated (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1906a:1).

In May 1907 the city council passed an ordinance against “opium joints” (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907c:1) and had the new ordinance printed in the newspaper (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907d:4). The next month “Marshal Moran ... raided Sam Wing's [*sic*] opium joint on the lake front and confiscated fourteen [opium pipe] bowls, two [opium] pipes, two alcohol lamps[,] and a tin box half filled with opium and took Sam off to the coop [jail].” Wing [*sic*] pleaded ignorance of the law and was fined \$10, including costs. The “joint” had been running for some time but Moran waited until the ordinance was passed to raid it. He put the “opium outfit” on display in a window at the Northern Mercantile, where it “attracted a great deal of attention.” What happened to the paraphernalia afterward is unknown; perhaps Marshal Moran later burned it as the *Pend d'Oreille Review* suggested he would (1907e:1). Sam “Wing” is actually Sam Ling, whose name appears in the Sandpoint police records on June 3, 1907. He was fined \$5 plus \$5 costs for violating Ordinance No. 72, prohibiting the use of opium (Sandpoint City Police Court Records 1907–1911:44).

A story about the same event in the *Northern Idaho News* had different details. There, it was “the Chinese den across the Northern Pacific railroad and south of the water tank. The sign attached to the establishment would lead one to think that the place was a noodle joint, but it was in fact an opium joint.” Here, “a couple of the dope fiends were captured and jailed till the next day when they were ... fined \$25 and costs.” The newspaper article described the seized “paraphernalia” [*sic*] and “a handsome lay out” and mentions “pipes, vials, and various utensils for cooking and smoking the dope together with some of the genuine stuff” (*Northern Idaho News* 1907a:10).

In late June 1907, another opium raid was conducted. Tom Poll, “a [Chinese] man who lives in back of the old bowling alley on Railroad Avenue” was arrested and fined \$20, and Sam Ling was arrested again. Ling said that he was only spending the night with Poll “and had nothing to do with the opium outfit. The house in which Ling recently lived and where he was arrested [previously] had been torn down and its contents burned” (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1907g:5). Sandpoint police court records for June 29, 1907, show that only Sam Ling was fined for this offense. He paid \$1 plus \$5 costs, for violating Ordinance No. 72, prohibiting opium smoking (Sandpoint City Police Court Records 1907–1911:44).

In another police raid in mid-September, the officers “captured opium dope and pipes sufficient to give the almond-eyed celestials happy dreams for months to come” (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1907h:1). The *Northern Idaho News* added that “the police force now has utensils enough ... to start up in business for themselves” (*Northern Idaho News* 1907b:8). Then, in October 1907, “another ‘hop joint’ was raided and the [Chinese] relieved of several bamboo pipes and other necessities for their pipe dreams. The utensils were taken from them and confiscated, and they were fined for violation of the city ordinances” (*Northern Idaho News* 1907c:3).

The anti-opium axe fell equally on Euro-Americans from time to time. In January 1908, officers “went to an old shanty near the Northern Pacific track on the lake where, upon forcing an entrance, they found a couple of bunks with a man in each. The occupants of the shack had evidently made all preparations for ‘hitting the pipe’ as they had their paraphernalia strewn out on a chair which was sitting in front of the bunk.” The two men, Harry Sinclair and George Newton, were kept in the city jail over the weekend. On Monday, Police Judge Costello assessed fines, but as they were unable to pay, they were taken to the county jail (*Northern Idaho News* 1908a:1).

In March 1908, police apprehended another group of opium smokers. The three men, two Caucasians and one Chinese, were arrested at “Wung [*sic*] Sue’s Chinese dump across the Northern Pacific track from the [water tank].” The officers “seized two opium pipes but found no opium.” Bert Yocum and Frank King “claimed they had not been ‘hitting the pipe’; instead, they claimed that Sue [his surname may be Wong] had invited them into his place to partake of some China whiskey” (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1908:1). Wong Sue, fined \$41, “said he would work his fine out which he will be given an opportunity to do on the streets” (*Northern Idaho News* 1908b:1). Both the *Review* and the *News* managed to malign Wong Sue’s character, the first by stating, “The judge was of the opinion that they [Yocum and King] should be fined for association with the Chink if for nothing else” (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1908:1). The *News* declared, “It is claimed Sue has been discovered recently giving candy to school children” (Chinese bachelors often gave treats to children, who remembered them fondly in later years; in those days, this was a perfectly innocent act) (*Northern Idaho News* 1908b:1). Wong Sue was in the county jail from March 26, 1908, until April 15, 1908 (Bonner County [Prisoner Register] 1906–1915).

Another raid that month netted three Chinese men, Sing Ling, Jim Chang, and Sam Ling. The officers’ “suspicions had been aroused and a watch was kept for a time over an old shack down back of the Northern Pacific depot by the lake.” The three spent the night in the city jail. Fined \$40 apiece the following morning, they could not pay so they were taken to the county jail (*Northern Idaho News* 1908c:9). Only Sam Ling appears in the Sandpoint police court records dated March 26, 1908. He was fined \$35 plus \$5 costs for violating Ordinance No. 72, prohibiting opium smoking (Sandpoint City Police Court Records 1907–1911:267). The three men appeared in the Bonner County Register of Prisoners as Sing Ling, Jim Shan, and Sam Sing. They were in the county jail from March 26, 1908, until April 15, 1908 (Bonner County [Prisoner Register] 1906–1915).

Sandpoint’s Chinese were once again in the news for opium infractions in September 1908. The *Bonner County Democrat* reported that two men:

bearing the euphonious names of Wong Kong and Young Chang were pinched by the police for conducting an opium joint in an old shack on the lake front just back of the Pacific [H]otel. The officers making the arrest found the usual outfit in the den with quite a quantity of the dreamland drug. (*Bonner County Democrat* 1908:1)

Headlined “Police Nab Opium Outfit,” Spokane’s *Spokesman-Review* reported similar details, with different spellings of the men’s names: “Arrested in a shack north of the Northern Pacific tracks with an opium outfit in their possession, [were] two [Chinese]men, Won Cong and Yun Suag.” The arresting officer declared “that the shack was being frequented by many white opium smokers, but [he] was not fortunate enough to catch any of the white men.” The two Chinese were fined \$35 and costs each: “Police Magistrate Costello ordered the opium outfit confiscated and the two [C]elestials were remanded to jail in default of payment” (*Spokesman-Review* 1908:2). Only Wong Cong’s name is in the Bonner County register of prisoners. He was in the county jail from September 18, 1908, until October 5, 1908 (Bonner County [Prisoner Register] 1906–1915).

CHINESE IN OTHER NORTHERN IDAHO COMMUNITIES

Although both space and financial limitations did not allow for an in-depth examination of the Chinese presence in other Bonner County, Boundary County, and Kootenai County towns, the following brief overview hints at the interrelationships that likely existed among and between the Chinese in Sandpoint and those in nearby communities.

Athol

Because Athol, in Kootenai County, was a station on the NPRR only 30 miles south of Sandpoint, there could have been considerable interaction between the Chinese in Athol and those in Sandpoint and/or Hope. The 1900 U.S. census lists eight Chinese railroad laborers living in two Athol households, five in one and three in the other. These men, who would have been section gang workers, ranged in age from 40 to 53 years. Each was married, but their wives remained in China. All but one could read and write, and two could speak English. They had been in the United States from 18 to 25 years (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900:Kootenai County, Athol, 12B). Earlier, a Rathdrum newspaper observed that they had “celebrated China New Year” in early February 1900 (*Silver Blade* 1900:2); the Year of the Rat actually began on January 31. Athol had no Chinese residents in the 1910 census.

Bonnors Ferry

Bonnors Ferry, now in Boundary County, is some 33 miles north of Sandpoint. Although it is not on the NPRR, Chinese residents of Bonners Ferry and Sandpoint began to have more interaction when the GNRR arrived in both places in 1892. That same year, the citizens of Bonners Ferry drove out the town’s Chinese residents (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892e:4), possibly in response to Clark Fork’s having done the same thing in December 1891 (Wegars 1991:193,195). Gradually, however, the Chinese filtered back to both places; smaller numbers of them led to more tolerance for them. Census records for 1900 show that Bonners Ferry had four households with 11 Chinese residents, all men (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900:Kootenai County, Bonners Ferry, 30A, 33A). In 1910 there were seven households with Chinese residents, totaling 13 people, including one woman (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910:Bonner County, Bonners Ferry, 2A, 2B, 3A, 4A, 10B, 19B).

Bonnors Ferry, the county seat of Boundary County, was in Kootenai County until 1907. That year, it became part of Bonner County where it remained until Boundary County was formed in 1915. Therefore, from 1907 until 1915, residents of Bonners Ferry had to visit Sandpoint, the county seat for Bonner County, to transact county business. For example, in late October 1909, when a Bonner County

official issued the first marriage license to Chinese people in Bonner County, it was front-page news in Sandpoint's *Pend d'Oreille Review*. Soo Kee "smilingly requested that a license be granted him to make Miss Moy Shee his lawful wedded wife." The applicant was described as a "Mongolian who runs a laundry at Bonners Ferry and is reputed to be possessed of considerable means. Soo Kee speaks English fluently and is a bright and intelligent [C]elestial." The couple married in Bonners Ferry and continued to live there (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1909e:1). Bonners Ferry still had five Chinese residents in 1920 (Robert M. Weaver 2011, elec. comm.).

Cabinet (Formerly Cabinet Landing)

Cabinet, in Bonner County, is some 31 miles southeast of Sandpoint, about 15 miles southeast of Hope, and only about 1.5 miles west of the Idaho-Montana border. After serving as a staging point for NPRR construction, it became a stop on the NPRR line. This proximity would have facilitated interactions between the Chinese in Cabinet and those in Hope and Sandpoint.

Some Chinese men who worked for the NPRR's Clark Fork Division as section hands were stationed in various towns along the line, including Cabinet, but they do not appear in the census for Cabinet until 1910. That year, Cabinet had one household containing seven Chinese men, all railroad workers and all members of a section crew. Their ages ranged from 48 to 70 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910:Bonner County, Cabinet, 8B). Cabinet still had three Chinese residents in 1920 (Robert M. Weaver 2011, elec. comm.).

Housing in nearby Noxon, Montana, may have been representative of Chinese section gang housing in Cabinet and other North Idaho communities. In Noxon, an L-shaped "Chinese section house" measuring 15 by 18 feet and 12 by 12 feet and costing \$525 was constructed by the NPRR in 1882, and a 1915 map of Noxon shows four "boxcar homes" for Chinese section gang workers (Vanek 1986:19). Cap Berray, who moved to Noxon in 1887, was interviewed at age 100 and recalled that "The Chinese laborers on the trackline were paid \$7.00 a day, and rice, plus fruit and nuts issued on their Chinese holidays," especially New Year's (Figure 201). According to Berray, "the Chinese were plentiful in those days" (Malouf 1982:27).

Clark Fork (Formerly Clark's Fork)

Clark Fork, some 25 miles southeast of Sandpoint and 9 miles southeast of Hope, arose in the 1880s as a stop on the NPRR line; Chinese who wished to, and could afford it, could easily travel to Sandpoint and to Hope. Although Clark Fork never had a large Chinese population, there were enough there in December 1891 to compel the local racists to drive out the 22 Chinese who lived there (*Coeur d'Alene Miner* 1891:2; Wegars 1991:193,195). One newspaper noted, "Wood chopping has ceased since the Chinese left" (*Hope Prospector* 1891:2); that was one of the small jobs that they did to earn extra money.

Over time, they returned, but in smaller numbers. By 1900 there were Chinese in Clark Fork again; four of them were listed in that year's census. All railroad laborers aged 46 to 51 years, they lived in the same household (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900:Kootenai County, Clark Fork, 66A). In June 1907, Clark Fork's Chinese section gangs went on strike; they wanted to be paid \$1.25 per day (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1907f:3). No information was found to show how that situation was resolved. In 1910 there were seven Chinese railroad laborers living in one household; their ages ranged from 50 to 68 years (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910:Bonner County, Clark Fork, 3A). Their names were all different from those listed in 1900.



Figure 201. Chinese section gang workers for the Northern Pacific Railway, along the Clark Fork River, 1890 (Haynes Foundation Collection, Montana Historical Society, Helena, H2128; photograph by F. Jay Haynes).

In April 1909, a Chinese section gang worker was killed in an accident at Clark Fork. When he was trying to retrieve a hammer that he had left on the track, a freight train struck him. He was known locally by the derogatory nickname of “Joe Chink.” The newspaper reported that he had been employed on the Cabinet section for several years. He had just started work at Clark Fork and it was his second day with the section crew there: “[He] was a smart [Chinese] man, well-known in the Cabinet country[,] and had saved quite a little money. He was thirty-four years old. Burial took place at Hope” (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1909a:8). What may be the same death, but with some factual discrepancies, is listed in the Bonner County Register of Deaths under “Coroner[']s cases.” The death of a 45-year-old Chinese man called “Chung” was recorded on May 15, 1909; he was killed in a railroad accident (Bonner County [Register of Deaths] 1907–1911:5).

Tillie Ruen, who grew up in Clark Fork, recalled that the Chinese from the section crew bought chickens from Ruen’s mother and panned gold in the Clark Fork River. They also would “come over and buy a whole pig, a live pig” from her mother. They would “get a long stick and tie ... the two hind feet together, and the two front feet and they’d take a long pole ... and stick it through there and then two Chinese would get on one end and two on the other and carry it home.” They had to take the live animal away because Tillie’s mother did not want them to butcher it in front of her children (Ruen 1981:41–42, 45).

“Home” for the Chinese was “along the track” in “little huts around Clark Fork [near] the section house and the depot” (Ruen 1981:41–42). Tillie Ruen also recalled that two or perhaps three Chinese were

“buried up on top of Castle Rock” because “they wanted to bury them up high.” For some reason, not stated, “they couldn’t ship them to China” (Ruen 1981:41–42, 46).

Some Chinese residing near Clark Fork did not work for the railroad but would have been dependent upon it to transport their product to market. A building boom in St. Paul and Minneapolis had created a demand for cedar shingles; near Clark Fork, the Chinese and others had a ready source of raw material available—a massive amount of fire-killed, fallen cedar. Along Lightning Creek, north of the railroad:

the Chinese built water-powered shingle mills. At one time there were three diversion dams on Lightning Creek below the mouth of Cascade Creek. These dams shunted water into flumes that dr[o]ve under-shot water wheels. This energy turned flat saws that cut the fire-killed cedar into shingles. All of this was accomplished by unaided Chinese planning and ingenuity. (White 1985b:6)

Certain Clark Fork Chinese, otherwise too old to work, eked out a precarious living, perhaps 70 cents a day, by shaking gold coins together with hard stones in a chamois bag to remove small amounts of gold, and then burning the bag to recover the gold thus obtained (White 1985a:8).

Cocolalla

Cocolalla, in Bonner County, is just 13 miles south of Sandpoint. Because it was also a stop on the NPRR, it would have been an easy journey for Chinese in Cocolalla to travel to Sandpoint if they wished. In Cocolalla, in 1900, Chin Su Ton was a cook for the Caucasian workers at the NPRR section house there (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900:Kootenai County, Cocolalla, 75A).

Some time prior to 1902, when the Mase family homesteaded on Fish Creek south of Cocolalla Lake, the Chinese had worked Fish Creek for gold. In an interview with Bill Mase he stated, “We understood they took out quite a bit of gold, but they moved out before we came to the place. I believe there is still gold below where the falls used to be” (Virginia Overland 1991, pers. comm.). By the 1910 census, there were no longer any Chinese in Cocolalla.

Hope and East Hope

Hope, in Bonner County, is 16 miles southeast of Sandpoint. It was an important stop on the NPRR and had a fairly large Chinese community at one time. Although time, space, and financial constraints can provide only a small glimpse of the Chinese in Hope, more information is available elsewhere (Wegars 1991:197–200).

In 1900 Hope had five households with Chinese residents; they numbered 16 people including one woman. In another indication of the larger size of the Hope Chinese community at that time compared with Sandpoint’s, two of the Chinese men were merchants (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900:Kootenai County, Hope, 62B, 63A, 64A). The Twin Wo Company, a branch of the Portland firm, sometimes known locally as “Twin Woo,” was active in Hope from at least 1902. In March of that year, Moy Back Hin purchased “all of lot eleven (11) of Block One (1) of the town of Hope ...” for \$700 from N.G. and Emma S. Sisson (Kootenai County Deeds 1902:187). Moy Back Hin (surname Moy) came to Portland in 1857 (Manchester 1978:147) or 1868 (Wong 2004:176) and was also known as “Charley Twin Wo” (Wong 2004:179); Euro-Americans often confused Chinese merchants’ names with those of their stores.

In the 1910 census, Hope had three households totaling 12 Chinese residents. One group contained three men of whom two were laborers and one was a laborer/cook. The second household was headed by a merchant and included his wife, two young sons, and a boarder, for whom no occupation was provided. The third household was also headed by a merchant and contained a woman and two men, all

listed as boarders. One young man, aged 17, had no occupation listed, and the other man listed was a bookkeeper. No occupations were provided for the two women (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910:Bonner County, Hope, 2B).

The Twin Wo Company in Hope lasted until at least 1913 (Figure 202). It appeared in the International Chinese Business Directory for that year as Duey Wo (Twin Wo), General Merchandise. Hope had another Chinese store then too; it was Wing Wo & Company, General Merchandise (Wong 1913:73). Because the Directory gives the Chinese characters for the names, a translator has indicated that Twin Wo's name means "Gather Peace Mixed Goods" (*ju he za ho*) in Mandarin Chinese, and Wing Wo's name means "Everlasting Peace Mixed Goods" (*yong he za ho*) in Mandarin Chinese. Although the translator provided the transliterations in Mandarin pronunciations, the Cantonese pronunciations, which the Sandpoint and Hope Chinese immigrants would have used, are *jeuih wo* for Duey Wo (Twin Wo) and *wihng woh* for Wing Wo. At the time, Hope also had a branch of the "Chung Hwa [China] National Club" (Wong 1913:73); the characters for it translate as "Guomindang [Kuomintang] mixed goods" (Gao 1989).

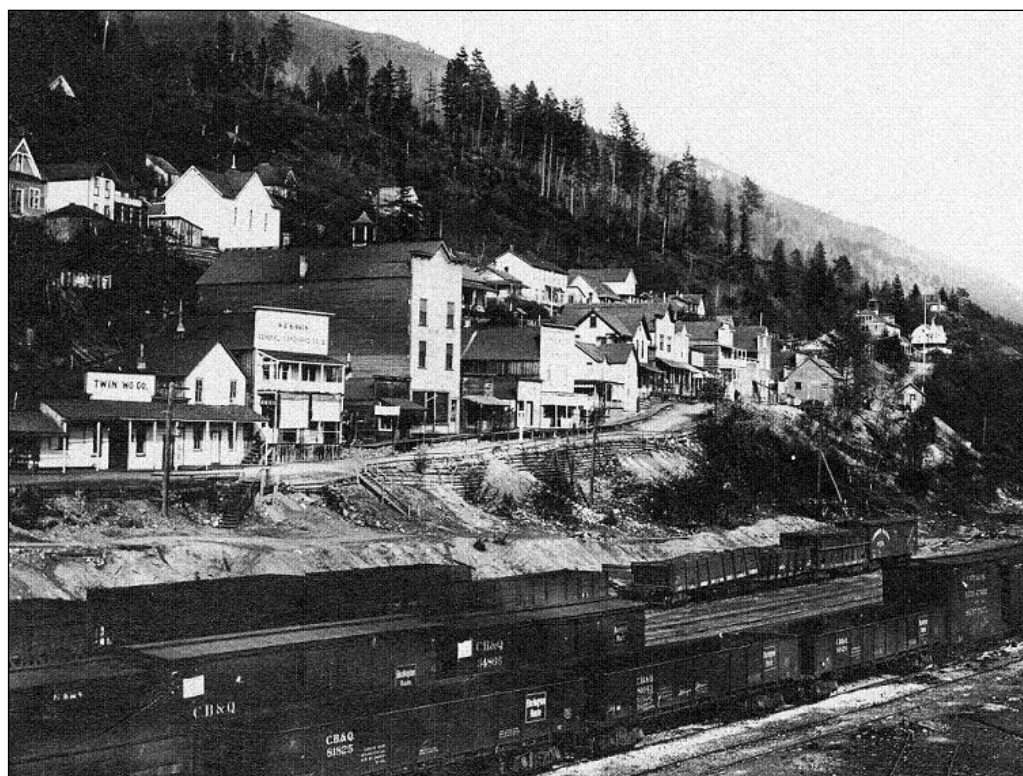


Figure 202. View of Hope, Idaho, showing the Twin Wo Company at the left, circa 1900 (Bonner County Historical Museum, 10.0469).

Hope had some of the same problems with opium smoking establishments as did Sandpoint. For example, in November 1906 a headline in a Sandpoint paper, within news from Hope, proclaimed "Girl Found in Opium Joint." A man reported seeing "a young girl go into a Chinese hop joint about 7 o'clock that evening. Judge Dooley and a deputy ... found the girl there in company with Charley Kee, the Chinese proprietor of the place." The investigators observed some opium smoking paraphernalia, so they took Kee and the young woman, Bertha Williams, to Judge Dooley's office, where the judge let them go free on bond, \$100 for Kee and \$50 for Williams; their case was scheduled to be heard the following week, in the probate court at Rathdrum (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1906c:3).

Hope also celebrated the Lunar New Year. In 1907, it began on February 13 and was the Year of the Sheep (Hu 1991:397). The *Review* reported that “Chinese New Year ... comes just as regularly as the Christian New Year, but it has the advantage of staying longer and being more hilarious ... At midnight the new year started off with a flourish. Most of the [O]riental gathered in the big store where many of the [Chinese]men live” (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1907b:3). Chinese from Sandpoint could well have participated in the festivities.

According to local historian Chuck Peterson, “Hope’s Chinese community was very active during the early 1900s but began to fade when the Northern Pacific division point was moved to Spokane in 1902.” The “Chinatown” at Hope “became non-existent during the 1930s” (Peterson 1980:2). Still, the 1920 census listed 37 Chinese in Hope (Robert M. Weaver 2011, elec. comm.). By the late 1920s, most of them were retired NPRR employees, living off pensions from \$28 to \$37 per month. They had retired at age 70, and received \$1 per month for every year of service (Elsensohn 1970:115–116). In 1945, a newspaper article reported that three of them, in their 80s and 90s, resided in Spokane. They were “the only living members of a group of 55 furnished [to] the Northern Pacific by the Twin Wo [C]ompany,” represented by Louis (also Lewis and Louie) Den (*Spokesman Review* 1945). Den, a former, prominent Chinese resident of Hope, had moved to Spokane to open a restaurant, and the retirees probably accompanied him there so he could look after them.

Hope resident Barbara Littlemore recalled that Chinese gardeners lived and worked in the Hope area during the 1890s (Heath 1996:20); in 1895 one of them, described as “a hardworking, industrious man,” was shot and killed by a Caucasian man in a dispute over money (*Coeur d’Alene Press* 1895:3). Other gardeners were there in the early 1900s. One, named Ah Sing, also called Hop Sing, was photographed delivering vegetables; he may be the same person as laundryman Hop Sing. Longtime Hope resident Paul Croy recalled him “delivering groceries when I was six-seven years old” (about 1911–1912) (Figure 203). Croy also recalled that the section workers “would do jobs when they were off duty” and he [Louie Den] “made gardeners out of” two others besides Hop Sing; the “China gardens” were on the west side of Hope (Croy 1987:11–12,18).

East Hope, called “an extension of Hope,” is just 1.25 miles east (Boone 1988:183). In 1902, Ling Moy, the Chinese man who ran the boarding house at the lumber mill, “was taken from an east bound train ... on a warrant charging him with attempting to defraud his creditors. He owed the Twin Wo [C]ompany \$600” (*Kootenai County Republican* 1902g:4). In June 1906, the local Chinese “exhum[ed] the bones of some of their countrymen at East Hope” (*Northern Idaho News* 1906a:6).

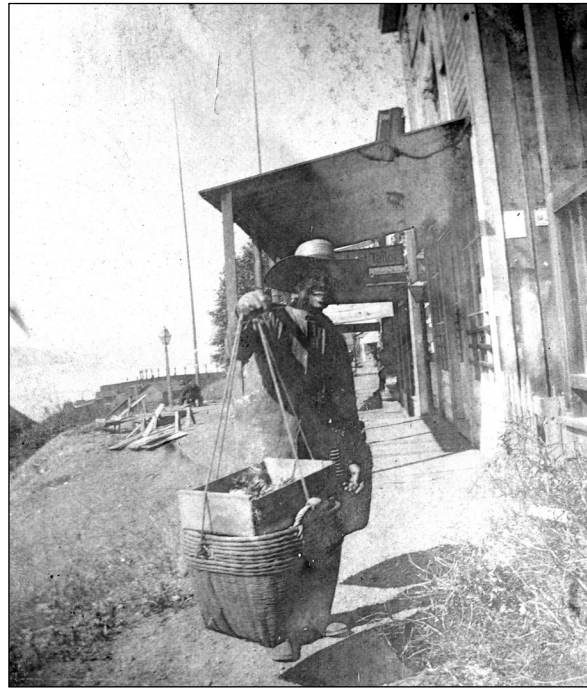


Figure 203. Hop Sing, also known as Ah Sing, delivering vegetables in Hope, Idaho, early 1900s (Bonner County Historical Museum, Warren R. “Chuck” Peterson collection).

Kootenai

With and after the coming of the NPRR in the early 1880s, Kootenai (sometimes spelled Kootenay) and Hope were the two preeminent towns in the Pend Oreille region (Weaver et al. 2005:2-25). Kootenai, also in Bonner County and only 2.75 miles northeast of Sandpoint, was laid out in 1885, and an NPRR station was established there in 1889 (Boone 1988:212). Mel Nesbitt, who came to Sandpoint in 1893 when he was about six years old, recalled that “Kootenai was a bigger town than Sandpoint” (Nesbitt 1973:3). Because of its close proximity to Sandpoint, there was surely plenty of interaction among and between the Chinese in the two communities. That would most likely have been before the turn of the twentieth century because Kootenai no longer had Chinese residents in 1900 and 1910, according to the censuses taken in those years.

Occasionally, Chinese residents of Kootenai were featured in local or county-wide news items. For example, in February 1892, “The [Chinese]men had a tilt among themselves”; luckily, none were known to have been killed (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892b:4).

The following month, Harry Long, a Kootenai barber, was arrested for assaulting a Chinese man: “It appears he stood off a [Chinese]man for a few meals for which the [Chinese]man, seeing that Long was about to retire from this field, dunned him. For an answer Long knocked the [Chinese]man down, using his revolver as a weapon, and when down the [Chinese]man was kicked several times in the head.” Long fled to Spokane by train, but was apprehended, brought back to Sandpoint, and fined \$50 and 10 days in jail. Fortunately, the Chinese man recovered from his injuries (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892c:5). That same week an I. Southworth “frightfully maltreated a [Chinese]man” but because there were no witnesses he could not be brought to trial (*Pend d’Oreille News* 1892c:5).

Charley Ling, owner of Sandpoint’s Gem Restaurant, also had a restaurant in Kootenai. In mid-1909 he sold it, “including the building and furnishings, to Edward Lundberg” for about \$2,400 (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1909c:8).

Ponderay

The name Ponderay, also a nearby town in Bonner County, is a respelling of Pend Oreille. Chinese settlement there was sporadic; no Chinese residents of Ponderay are reported in the 1900 and 1910 censuses. However, Ponderay is only 2 miles northeast of Sandpoint (Boone 1988:300), and that close proximity would have facilitated interactions between the Chinese residents of the two communities. For example, in April 1909, Moy Wing [*sic*], a Chinese man from Sandpoint, bought two lots from Joe Starke [*sic*] and was planning to “put up a laundry” on them (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1909b:11). In a subsequent court case referring to the same property, Lot 11 of Block Eighteen of the townsite of Ponderay, Sandpoint’s Humbird Lumber Company, the plaintiff, sued Wing Kee and former owner Joseph Stariha. The complaint stated that on April 26, 1909, Humbird “at the special instance and request of Wing Kee sold and delivered to said Wing Kee a large amount of lumber and building material” for the “construction, alteration[,] and repair of that certain building situate upon the above described premises, which lumber was of the value of ... \$63.79.” Wing Kee remitted \$24.00 before July 24, 1909, but paid nothing after that date, so 60 days later, Humbird filed a lien on the property for the amount owing, costs, and attorney’s fees. The case went to the District Court in January 1910. In February the sheriff reported that he had served a summons on Stariha but “after due search and diligent inquiry” he was “unable to find the within named Wing Kee” (Bonner County [District Court Records] 1910:Case 477; Bonner County [Register of Civil Actions] 1904–1911:543). Because Wing Kee had disappeared, Stariha presumably regained the property but had to pay for the lumber, costs, and fees. The names of Moy Wing or Wing Kee do not appear in other Sandpoint-related contexts.

Rathdrum

Rathdrum, also on the NPRR, was the former county seat of Kootenai County and is some 45 miles southeast of Sandpoint. Until Bonner County was formed in 1907, Sandpoint's Chinese residents had to visit Rathdrum to conduct county business. Few Chinese lived in Rathdrum; in 1900 the only one was Sing Lee, aged 40, who had a laundry there. Perhaps he visited Sandpoint's Chinese residents from time to time (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900:Kootenai County, Rathdrum, 5A). He was not listed in the 1910 census.

Other Local Chinese Residents

Bonner County records name at least one other Chinese resident (Dan Yee Jay) who cannot currently be assigned to any particular community. In February 1920, for example, Dan Yee Jay's estate was probated. He left \$407.80, which was distributed to his nephew, Ng She Pon of San Francisco, California, by April 30, 1920 (Bonner County [Probate Journal] 1920–1922:353–354,358,369).

CONCLUSIONS

Although the Sandpoint Chinese community was small, it nevertheless made important cultural, economic, and historical contributions to Sandpoint and Bonner County. Life for the Chinese in Sandpoint meant encountering prejudice from Caucasian residents, but they persevered to make productive lives for themselves in their new home. Unlike Chinese residents of nearby towns such as Clark Fork and Bonners Ferry, they were never "run out"; their fewer numbers meant that they were not perceived as enough of a threat to need removal. Archaeological excavations conducted by the Sandpoint Archaeology Project, together with historical research, have combined to provide a more complete picture of the Chinese community in Sandpoint. Sandpoint's Chinese thus deserve to be remembered as pioneers, on an equal footing with Sandpoint's early Euro-American settlers.

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