

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

THE SANDPOINT ARCHAEOLOGY PROJECT 2006-2013

VOLUME 1: SANDPOINT STORIES



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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.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	III
LIST OF FIGURES	VIII
LIST OF TABLES.....	X
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Why Historical Archaeology?	4
The Saga of the Byway	5
Addressing the old townsite in archaeological terms.....	8
Is Something Really There?	8
Into the Field	10
What Comes Next?	12
Public Benefits.....	13
Sandpoint Interpreted	13
References Cited	14
CHAPTER 2. OUR TOWN – SANDPOINT’S EARLY DAYS	15
In the Beginning	15
The Traders	16
The Missionaries	17
Federal Government and Exploration.....	18
Miners and Gold in the Hills.....	19
Building a Railroad	19
The Formative Years (1882 to 1893).....	21
A Push for Respectability and Growth (1893 to 1900)	26
A Big Change A’Coming (1900 to 1907)	33
Big Timber Comes to Town	33
The Demise of the Old Town.....	37
Reversion to “Sin City” (1907 to 1914)	40
Epilogue.....	48
References Cited	50
CHAPTER 3. A “COMMUNITY” ON THE MARGINS: CHINESE LIFE IN TURN OF THE CENTURY SANDPOINT	55
Setting the Stage.....	55
Chinese in Sandpoint	56
What Archaeology Tells Us	58

Ceramics.....	59
Bottle Glass	61
Faunal Remains (Animal Bones from Meals)	63
Remembering Home	65
Coins.....	65
Jewelry and Buttons.....	65
Buttons.....	67
Bird Feeder.....	67
Thoughts for the Future.....	68
References Cited	70
CHAPTER 4. CLASS AND SOCIAL STANDING WITHIN THE SANDPOINT CHINATOWN: AN ANALYSIS OF CERAMIC AND GLASS TABLEWARES AND GAMING ARTIFACTS.....	73
Introduction	73
Dining in Sandpoint’s Chinese Community.....	74
Vessel Decorations.....	74
Vessel Forms	78
Gaming in Sandpoint’s Chinese Community.....	80
Gaming Summary.....	84
Conclusion.....	84
References Cited	84
CHAPTER 5. REMEMBERING TRIXIE COLTON: THE WORLD OF SANDPOINT’S PROSTITUTES.....	89
Prostitution in the West.....	90
Prostitution in Sandpoint.....	91
The World of Henderson’s Brothel	92
The World of Herman’s Bordello	96
But What About the Men?.....	99
Concluding Thoughts on Trixie Colton	100
Scenario 1: Trixie in Henderson’s Brothel.....	100
Scenario 2: Trixie in Herman’s Bordello	101
References Cited	101
CHAPTER 6. “PROSPECTS APPEAR TO BE BRIGHTENING EACH DAY”: THE ECONOMIES OF SANDPOINT	103
Sandpoint and the World.....	103
It’s a Small World After All	105
Keeping up with the Joneses	107

Sandpoint, the Company Town—Kind of.....	108
The Cure for the Common Cold and Buying Locally	109
Invisible Economies.....	112
So What Does it All Mean?	113
References Cited	114
CHAPTER 6, APPENDIX I. PRODUCTS RECOVERED IN SANDPOINT EXCAVATIONS AND ADVERTISED IN LOCAL PAPERS.....	117
CHAPTER 7. EXCAVATING LABOR: ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE HUMBIRD BLACKSMITH SHOP	119
Level 1: Getting the Lay of the Landscape	121
Level 2: Work at the Shop.....	122
Shoeing the Horses	122
Electrification	124
The Work Being Done	125
Level 3: Digging Deeper: Glimpses of Workers’ Secrets	126
Perception and Reality	127
Why Excavate a Bunch of Metal? A Concluding Thought	128
References Cited	129
APPENDIX A. PUBLIC OUTREACH.....	131
Summary of Professional and Public Outreach Activities of the Sandpoint Archaeology Project	132

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.	Young Theodore in his western garb.	1
Figure 2.	Sandpoint around 1905 looking north from slightly south of Bridge Street just before raising the Northern Pacific Railroad grade.	2
Figure 3.	Looking north to Sandpoint from Gold Hill showing the original spit and island	6
Figure 4.	1950s rendering of proposed extension of Highway 95 bypassing Sandpoint.	7
Figure 5.	Controlled grid excavation in the Restricted District.	10
Figure 6.	Working in Tyvek suits and masks in the Blacksmith Shop.	11
Figure 7.	Native American encampment at Seneacquoten, about 1860	15
Figure 8.	Canadian First Day cover, 1957, commemorating David Thompson.	16
Figure 9.	Father Jean-Pierre DeSmet.	17
Figure 10.	1850s survey for railroad alignments produced by I.I. Stevens	18
Figure 11.	Sketch of early Sandpoint, about 1885	22
Figure 12.	Chinese residence with pen in 1887 just above the railroad crossing of Sand Creek	25
Figure 13.	NPRR plat with 1890s leases.	28
Figure 14.	Sandpoint in the late 1890s looking north from Bridge Street on the west side of today's railroad underpass	33
Figure 15.	Layout of the Humbird Lumber Company mill shown on top of a 1934 U.S. Forest Service aerial photograph.	35
Figure 16.	Humbird footbridge across Sand Creek to a location just south of Larch Street with Milltown housing to right side of photograph.	36
Figure 17.	Looking southwest to the Nesbitt boarding house with the old town cemetery with fence in the grove of trees to the right	36
Figure 18.	Buildings along Railroad Avenue in March 1903 with today's Sandpoint in the background ...	38
Figure 19.	Layout of the original Sandpoint in 1904 E.	39
Figure 20.	Cedar Street Bridge and new location of the Sandpoint Depot in 1907	40
Figure 21.	The Pend d'Oreille Hotel relocated to Sand Creek and was raised to the new railroad grade near the depot and Cedar Street Bridge	41
Figure 22.	Restricted District layout based on a ca. 1916 NPRR station map.	42
Figure 23.	The Restricted District in the foreground around 1908 looking northeast toward the hotel section of old Sandpoint.	43
Figure 24.	Restricted District in 1912 from north of Bridge Street looking towards the powerhouse	43
Figure 25.	Buildings shown on the 1904 Sanborn map with a modern aerial background.	45
Figure 26.	Sanborn map, 1904, showing the "Chinese Laundry," the building associated with the excavations.	55
Figure 27.	Older 1887 Chinese enclave southeast of the 1890s laundry building).	57
Figure 28.	Ca. 1908 photograph showing approximate location of "Chinese Laundry" identified in 1904 Sanborn map.	58
Figure 29.	Opium pipe bowl.	58
Figure 30.	Chinese spouted jar (LC #40119) (left) and Chinese wide-mouth jar (LC #44670) (right).	60
Figure 31.	Chinese medicine bottle (LC #43249).	62
Figure 32.	Representative cuts of beef.	64
Figure 33.	Representative examples of Chinese coins recovered during excavations.	66
Figure 34.	Nesting turtles/tortoises.	66
Figure 35.	Jade bracelet.	67
Figure 36.	Traditional Chinese button.	67
Figure 37.	Glass bird feeder fragment (left) and example of bird cage with feeder on side (right).	68
Figure 38.	Geisha ware (heat damaged).	75
Figure 39.	The largest sherd in 10BR978, OP-2, is LC#2821; others, in no particular order, are LC#s 2943, 43802, 43803, 44177, 48961, and 49452.	77
Figure 40.	A white gaming piece (zhu disc).	81
Figure 41.	Bone die.	82
Figure 42.	Sandpoint's "Restricted District" (photo courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).	89
Figure 43.	Sanborn map, 1909, showing Henderson's Brothel ("F.B. Cribs") and Herman's Bordello ("F.B").	92

Figure 44. Henderson's Brothel around 1910.	93
Figure 45. Prostitutes and their clients drinking champagne in a Denver parlor house.....	94
Figure 46. Children's cap gun, embossed NEW 50 SHOT/INVINCIBLE (LC #71654).....	96
Figure 47. Women's brooches/pins recovered at Willa Herman's Bordello, LC# 40259 (left) and LC# 40289 (right).....	96
Figure 48. WH embossed stamp case.....	97
Figure 49. "Speak no evil" monkey figurine (LC #6815). Figure 50. Cupid figurine (LC.....	98
Figure 51. "Trixie's ring": a women's signet ring (LC# 69008).	98
Figure 52. Men's wedding bands recovered from Willa Herman's Bordello.....	99
Figure 53. Urethral syringe and plunger ring (LC #69199, #70958).	100
Figure 54. Advertisement in Northern Idaho News.	104
Figure 55. Chamberlain's bottle recovered from Townsite excavation (LC #77227).	106
Figure 56. The 1904 advertisement of Lea, the Tailor.	108
Figure 57. The 1907 advertisement of the Sandpoint Lumber and Pole Co. (Pend d'Oreille Review 1907b: 2).	108
Figure 58. Sandpoint Drug Company bottle containing wood tar.	109
Figure 59. Allen Bros. Pharmacy advertisement for Foley's Honey and Tar	110
Figure 60. Advertisement for Dr. Bell's Pine-Tar-Honey, produced in Paducah, Kentucky.....	110
Figure 61. Advertisement for Foss' Syrup of White Pine and Tar.....	111
Figure 62. Interior of Sandpoint Drug Company, owned by Charles Foss. Foss is standing on the left (Photo courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).	111
Figure 63. Humbird Mill complex showing the Blacksmith Shop on the left side.....	119
Figure 64. What the Blacksmith Shop location looked like at the time of excavation.	120
Figure 65. Excavating the Humbird Blacksmith Shop.	120
Figure 66. Blacksmith Shop interior, undated photo.	121
Figure 67. A map of the Blacksmith shop excavation.	123
Figure 68. Hydrometer fragment (LC #10579)..	124
Figure 69. Carbon brush from an electric motor manufactured by the Jeffrey Manufacturing Company of Columbus, Ohio.	125
Figure 70. A sample image of materials recovered from the Blacksmith Shop excavations.	126
Figure 71. Left: whiteware saucer from the Blacksmith Shop; Right: close-up of same saucer showing transfer print decoration and molding.	127
Figure 72. Fragment of window glass recovered during excavation. Image on the right is an enhancement of the caricature that is sketched on the glass.....	128

Cover photo by Idaho Airships Inc., Courtesy of URS Corp.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.	Directory listings for Sandpoint in 1887.	24
Table 2.	Businesses in Sandpoint 1892–1893.....	24
Table 3.	Origins of People in Sandpoint from 1900 Census.....	30
Table 4.	Parental Origins of Sandpoint Settlers Based on 1900 Census	30
Table 5.	Categorization of Working Adults by Job	31
Table 6.	Residents of the Restricted District in 1910	46
Table 7.	Number of Chinese Recorded as Living in Sandpoint	57
Table 8.	Chinese and Euro-American Ceramic Vessels.....	59
Table 9.	Chinese Utilitarian Vessels	59
Table 10.	Euro-American Ceramic Containers and MVC	61
Table 11.	Chinese Settlement Glass Containers by Functional Categories	61
Table 12.	Euro-American Alcohol Bottles	62
Table 13.	Relative Percentages of Faunal Remains in the Chinese Settlement	63
Table 14.	Comparative Summary of Cow/Large Mammal and Pig/Medium Mammal Remains.....	63
Table 15.	Asian Porcelain by Decoration in Sandpoint Chinese Settlement Deposits	74
Table 16.	Comparison of Ceramic Food Preparation and Consumption Vessels by Origin in Chinatowns.....	74
Table 17.	Archaeological Excavations of Overseas Chinese Laundries	75
Table 18.	Asian and Euro-American Ceramic Vessel Forms in Sandpoint Deposits	79
Table 19.	Summary of Euro-American Glass Vessel Forms in Sandpoint’s Chinese Community	80
Table 20.	MNI of Gaming Artifacts Recovered from Overseas Chinese Sites	82
Table 21.	Residents of Henderson’s Brothel and Herman’s Bordello in 1910.....	91
Table 22.	Children’s Artifacts in the Restricted District	96
Table 23.	Herman’s Bordello Adornment Items	97
Table 24.	Freight forwarded from Sandpoint in 1882–1883.....	103
Table 25.	Countries of Origin of Sandpoint Artifacts.....	105
Table 26.	Goods Listed For Sale at the Humbird Lumber Company Store	108
Table 27.	Summary of Pork and Beef Remains at the Chinese Settlement.....	113
Table 28.	Excavated Products Advertised in Local Newspapers of the Time	117
Table 29.	Blacksmith Shop Ceramic Vessel Count	126
Table 30.	Blacksmith Shop Container Functional Categories.....	128

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Robert M. Weaver

The young easterner stepped down from the train and surveyed his surroundings. His first impression was of “a heaven-forsaken series of shanties at Pend d’Oreille lake”; however, “the scenery was magnificent.” The year was 1888, it was a warm August, and the stop was Kootenai Station along the Northern Pacific Railroad line. The 29-year-old gentleman was, like many from the east during the decade, out for adventure—a hunting trip for caribou in the Selkirk Range along Kootenay Lake in Canada. This meant packing along the old Native American trail from Lake Pend Oreille up to Bonners Ferry, and into the wilderness. Unlike many others of his privileged class who mounted hunting expeditions to the West, this was no greenhorn or tenderfoot. Five years earlier, at age 25, he had bought a ranch in the Badlands of the Dakotas. In 1884 he purchased a second ranch that would serve as a retreat for many years. He punched cows, rode the range, hunted buffalo and antelope, and lived the life of a westerner.

While disembarked and headed for the Selkirks, he and his colleagues had a delay: a wait for their gear and bundling it for a pack train. The Northern Pacific Railroad advertised an excellent tourist hotel down by Hope, Idaho, but our intrepid explorer and his companions chose to ramble the 4 miles down the tracks to the little town of Sand Point (as it was then spelled) for a night out on the town.

Sandpoint in its earliest years had a bit of a reputation for providing “entertainment.” How much this was deserved will never be known, but enough of the correspondence of the times suggests a rough edge to the town that straddled the mainline tracks. Not much is known about how the young man spent his time in town, but he ended up in a cabin overlooking Sand Creek because he had not taken the time to acquire one of the available boarding house rooms. By the time he chose to hit the sack, all the rooms had been taken and he was offered the cabin, the owner being out of town (Gunter n.d.). Unfortunately, the somewhat intoxicated owner returned in the middle of the night; how accommodations were straightened out is a matter of opinion between the local oral history and the recollections of Theodore Roosevelt (Roosevelt 1888a, 1888b).

On April 14, 1911, Theodore Roosevelt returned to Sandpoint. He had changed and so had the town (Figure 1). Now decked out in a silk top hat and three-piece suit, the former president and famous Rough Rider had forgone the buckskins of the early days. In similar fashion, the town of Sandpoint had new clothes. From the early days beside the tracks, a whole new town had arisen west of Sand Creek. All that was left in the old town area were a few hotels and an area that had been specifically designated as the only location for serious vice consisting of several saloons and two brothels. Even so, the local sheriff had driven the ladies of the night out of their establishments a few weeks before Roosevelt’s arrival. It is unlikely that the former president,



Figure 1. Young Theodore in his western garb.

who was on the campaign trail as a representative of the Bull Moose party, would have found those businesses offensive given his younger days, but the people of Sandpoint cared.

In his speech that day at the Rink Opera House, Roosevelt reinforced his affinity to the West, saying:

I have watched the growth of this country, not as an onlooker, but as an actual settler, and I have lived in the dug-out, and you know, you old-timers, that these dug-outs had a way of being very hot when the fire got a good start. I know that I owe the fact that I was president to the west, for if there had been no west I would not have raised my regiment in the Spanish war. I felt when elected that I could be of service to you and that the west wanted a president from the short grass country, one who knew an irrigation ditch not from hearsay, but from seeing one.

In a way, the Roosevelt anecdotes provide bookends to the early days of Sandpoint. In the beginning, the town was one of many small frontier villages (Figure 2). Rough and rowdy, and complete with necktie parties and vigilantes, the scene was dominated by predominantly single men and vagabonds. Transient, miners, prospectors, hunters, timber men, adventurers, gamblers, and ne'er-do-wells formed the mainstay of the regional population. In 1886 with a population of maybe 100 (at best), a new arrival, Delia Holton, noted that there were only six (white) women in town.

The Northern Pacific Railroad was perfectly happy to see these changes. In 1907 they raised the grade of the tracks some 10 to 16 feet above the original and evicted all of the businesses on the west side of the tracks. All that remained were a few hotels and restaurants that served the railroad's purposes; most of these were almost cut off from local activity by the new railroad berm until citizens demanded the construction of an underpass at Bridge Street.



Figure 2. Sandpoint around 1905 looking north from slightly south of Bridge Street just before raising the Northern Pacific Railroad grade (courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

The 1910 federal census shows that Sandpoint had exploded from a village of about 400 in 1900 to a town of over 3,600 residents in 1910 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1910). In addition, as late as 1900, the townspeople were still predominantly male and predominantly single. By 1910 that had changed in a big way, as families moved in and called for respectability and a suitable environment in which to raise their children; the political powers, for the most part, responded.

This background sets the stage for revisiting days gone by through a combination of history and archaeology. Few current residents imagined that Sandpoint got its start east of Sand Creek. On the west side of the tracks, all that remained were the railroad depot (built in 1916) and the Lakeside Motel, with its origins in the 1940s. But then came the Sand Creek Byway project and a requirement to consider and investigate the historical archaeological remains of the former village.

This report provides some of the findings from the archaeological work that began in 2004. Most of the findings relate to Sandpoint's historic period, but we found interesting information about prehistory and the ancestors of Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, and other tribes as well. The report is divided into four volumes as well as several appendices:

- Volume 1 tells some of the story about the early days¹. The chapters cover a synthesis of history gleaned from both the artifacts and historical records, looking into the daily lives of the people who lived in the town beside the tracks. These are just a few of the many stories that could be told from a collection of over 570,000 artifacts. Hopefully more will be told in the future.
- Volume 2 continues with additional details and historical information, but primarily from the vantage point of specific artifact types. These touch on the medicines people used, clothing they wore, toys that children played with, and more.
- Volume 3 covers findings associated with prehistory and the early habitation of the Lake Pend Oreille region. Although not many prehistoric artifacts were recovered and we found nothing in the way of encampment features, the artifacts demonstrate a continual use of the Sand Creek area for over 6,000 years.
- Volume 4 provides the background about the excavations and history, and the counts derived from cataloging the different artifact classes. Unlike the other volumes, this one will mainly interest the professional archaeologist who may use the data for comparative or analytical purposes. The volume supplements the project database that is also available for use in future analytical queries.

The appendices provide miscellaneous relevant information, again primarily for professionals, such as the original research design and the laboratory manual that was used while cataloging artifacts in the database.

Often archaeological reports are written for other professionals. While interesting to some, they can be quite tedious to others, particularly non-archaeologists. With this Sandpoint report, we hope to reach a broader audience. Consequently some parts, particularly those explaining the process of archaeology, cover details familiar to practicing professionals that might not otherwise be included in standard reporting.

¹ Histories with additional details specific to archaeological areas are also included with Volume 4 chapters.

WHY HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY?

In the United States, most traditional archaeologists are trained to address remnants of the past left by the peoples who settled the Americas over 14,000 years ago. When people hear the word archaeologist, their minds immediately jump to excavating projectile points (arrowheads) or ruins like Mesa Verde. In the 1960s, however, a group of professionals found greater interest in examining the culture history of our country after the arrival of European settlers. They formed a professional society and focused on topics ranging from interactions with Native Americans and effects of immigration and trade, the Pilgrim settlers, slave life in the antebellum south, all the way up to the pioneering of the West.

Historical archaeology differs from other archaeology in that it has the opportunity to use the historical record to develop a research perspective. The perspective helps guide decisions about what people consider important, decisions about what to excavate and what not to excavate, and decisions on the types of information we collect. In addition, we use the historical record to help interpret the data collected through excavation. This integration of the historical record with the information contained within the ground forms the heart of historical archaeology. The process is symbiotic. Neither piece provides all the information or achieves all of the goals. In fact, testing the historical record forms one key aspect and justification for historical archaeology.

While “true” to the individual who created a specific piece of the historical record, the documentary record includes biases and omissions. Using historical archaeology adds another layer to our understanding of how people lived their lives. In some cases (an example would be groups within society who were ignored by what comes down to us in the documentary record), archaeology provides the only means to understand the specific cultural dynamics. Even though we can imagine the bustling activities beside the tracks in early Sandpoint, and accounts give a snapshot of personal interactions, more information through archaeology enriches our historical perspective. Early Sandpoint, being a frontier Western town, woefully lacks written records of its first several decades; historical archaeology can step in and provide some understanding of pioneer life.

One of the founders of the discipline, James Deetz, notes correctly that both history and historical archaeology are equally valid disciplines that come at similar issues but from different slants. He explains that archaeologists come from an anthropological background steeped in the ethnographic study of cultures and with a focus on the relationship of material culture (what we own, what we select as part of our surroundings, what we display on our mantelpiece, and what we lay down on a dinner table) with the people or culture that used those objects. Deetz states that:

While the historian creates contexts of the past based on probate data, court records, censuses, diaries, and related written materials, the archeologist’s contexts are created from the study of excavated foundations, pottery fragments, faunal remains, smoking-pipe stems, and other such material regalia. Since people in the past produced both documents and material objects, it is obvious that archeology and history must be complementary. The real question is how best are we to combine the methods of historiography and archeology to reach a better understanding of the past, not which of the two is more appropriate. (Deetz 1988:362)

We might also add several other complementary disciplines to the mix, namely historical geography and folklore. In combination, they can provide a much more robust picture of our ancestors than any one approach.

Archaeology’s value to history stems from an ability to address aspects of people’s lives that often never show up in written records. Topics range from the simple, daily aspects of life (does anyone keep a diary of their daily meals?) to essentially ignored people within a community. In the case of Sandpoint, there

are next to no portrayals of the lives of the early Chinese (except records of occasional raids on “opium dens”); likewise, the lives of prostitutes and bartenders also get a short shrift in historical accounts. The only avenue to learn more about their lives and roles in Sandpoint comes through the archaeological record and the meshing of historical records with archaeology through an archaeologist’s perspective.

In addition, historical archaeology differs significantly from prehistoric archaeology. While we all rely on aspects of statistical study, prehistory relies much more on statistical proof of hypotheses. The historical archaeological approach takes more from history and tries to “tell stories” about the subject matter rather than relying on wholly on statistical correlations.

Additionally, because of the historical record, historical archaeology necessarily requires a higher level of sophistication in questions posed and answered. Prehistory’s first question tends to be “how old is it?” or other basic questions; more sophisticated understandings follow. With historical archaeology, in many cases—particularly in the more recent West—we already have a good idea of dating. And because of the historical record, we also already know something about the area under study as well as the range of narrative opportunities afforded historians. Consequently, even when determining the value of a specific site—whether it truly can add to our understanding of the represented society—a historical site must necessarily reach a higher threshold before it is considered something of importance. Our answers must add to and enhance what may be gleaned from the existing record. Again to quote Deetz:

In the nonexperimental sciences (if archeology is indeed a science), precise certainty is rarely achieved. Rather, research takes the form of a gradual refinement of explanation, as more and more factors are incorporated into the construction of the past that one is attempting to create. In historical archeology, this refinement is best accomplished by maintaining a balance between the documentary and material evidence, being always mindful that, to be a productive exercise, the results should provide a more satisfactory explanation than would be forthcoming from either set of data alone. (Deetz 1988:367)

While historical archaeology may rely on aspects of the scientific method (hypothesis testing), it necessarily must also rely on speculation and interpretation of the data on hand, including the historical record. If interpretation is hamstrung by statistics, we can never make a substantial contribution to history. Consequently historical archaeologists, like historians, construct “narrative stories” that best fit the available data, whether derived from probate records or artifacts in the ground. If the interpretation is incorrect, then at least it is available for challenge and hopefully will ultimately advance our understanding of the societies of our forefathers and their neighbors.

Hopefully, the following report will accomplish those goals.

THE SAGA OF THE BYWAY

Until 1910, Sandpoint was somewhat cut off from its neighbors to the south. Ferries plied the Pend Oreille River at various points, but travel was cumbersome. The railroad afforded connections, but not freedom. In 1908, construction began on a bridge connecting Sagle (on the south side of the river) and Sandpoint, and the roadway was opened to traffic in 1910. The north end of the bridge aligned with First Avenue at the south end of town. At the time, the United States did not have an integrated national road system, and many improvements were funded by either counties or the states. With the dawn of the automobile age, most roads followed old trails and remained rutted, dirt pathways rather than roads, but the new bridge made connections to the south much easier.

Local or state responsibilities began to change in the 1920s when the federal Bureau of Roads began to designate and support a system of highways. U.S. Highway 95 was completed in 1926, running north-south from the Canadian border to Payette, Idaho, entirely within the state of Idaho. The highway was

still state-owned but federal subsidies assisted with construction. The first “Long Bridge” crossing of almost 2 miles of the Pend Oreille River became part of the highway system and was supplanted by a new span in 1934.

Both original bridges were built with timber, which did not have a tremendous life span. In the late 1940s, another replacement bridge was deemed necessary and the Idaho Transportation Department (ITD) initiated studies. The location of the new bridge was much debated—a harbinger of things to come. In December 1951, a delegation from Sandpoint met with the ITD Board of Directors (ITD Minutes 1951:47):

Mr. Floyd Gray, the mayor of Sandpoint, was the spokesman. He told the Board that they were desirous of obtaining a commitment as to where the bridge was to be located, and that they wanted to present to them pertinent information as to why they were of the opinion that the new bridge should be in the same vicinity as the old one. The Mayor said that if the bridge was constructed at the Rocky Point location, it would be necessary to revise their entire system of feeder roads as the whole City of Sandpoint had been built around the present location of the bridge. The suburban area had also been built up adjacent to the bridge on the south side, and a change in the location would make it necessary to have additional school buses for transporting the students to and from school.

Sandpoint was lobbying for a direct replacement, but ITD engineers had another idea. The actual length of the bridge span could be reduced if the design used part of the original sand spit that gave the town its name. Land south of Sand Creek and southeast of the main town was a low-lying area. While it was an exposed grassland during part of the year, the spring floods submerged much of the area. At the south end of the spit, however, was a higher strip of land with trees that formed an island during the high water (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Looking north to Sandpoint from Gold Hill showing the original spit and island. The Long Bridge is to the left and the Northern Pacific Railroad trestle in center (courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

The ITD concept consisted of a concrete and steel bridge (the first of its kind in the state) to the southern tip of the island, with a hydraulic fill causeway up the island spine and then north along the railroad tracks to Superior Street and a connection back to First Avenue south of the powerhouse. And that was what they built. Both systems were new to the department, and the engineers requested permission to study a similar fill project in Oregon as they had been having “difficulty in drawing competent specifications for the construction of the hydraulic fill at the North approach to the proposed Sandpoint Bridge” (ITD 1954a:110). The contract was awarded to Peter Kiewit Sons and LeBoeuf-Dougherty Contracting on April 14, 1954, for \$1,135,332.11 (ITD 1954b:148). The new bridge opened in 1956, and its novel design has since been recognized through consideration for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

The bridge, however, was not the only component of the project. The positioning of the north approach of the bridge anticipated a continuation of the highway. The projected bypass corridor lay adjacent to the Northern Pacific Railroad tracks on the east side of Sand Creek and east of today’s city. At the time, aside from the Lakeside Motel, the bypass corridor consisted of a road to the railroad depot and the cottonwood-lined undeveloped east bank of Sand Creek. A 1950s artist’s rendering on an aerial photo presents the intended route (Figure 4).

Unfortunately, necessary funds were not available in 1956 to complete the intended route. That meant that U.S. Route 95 wound its way through midtown Sandpoint and created all sorts of traffic issues for the town—think cattle trucks on the main commercial street.

Reconsideration of the bypass began in the mid-1980s and environmental studies were begun. ITD had just replaced the 1956 bridge (with the 1956 bridge turned into a pedestrian corridor), and the long-desired bypass was again examined.

The project, referred to as the Sandpoint North and South Project (NH-IR-F-CM-5116[068]), consisted of four segments extending from Garwood, Idaho, to Kootenay Cutoff Road in Ponderay, Idaho. The Sandpoint Bypass was the first segment.

In the early stages of developing an environmental impact statement (EIS), then-ITD archaeologist Jenna Gaston conducted a compliance review of the corridor and alternatives. In preparing an overview for the EIS and in conjunction with a quick on-the-ground survey, she noted that “the most significant resource along Sand Creek is the original 1882-1898 [sic] town site” and that the Sand Creek alignment “would severely impact [these] cultural resources” (Gaston 1991:21–23). Gaston followed up her original observations in 1993 with

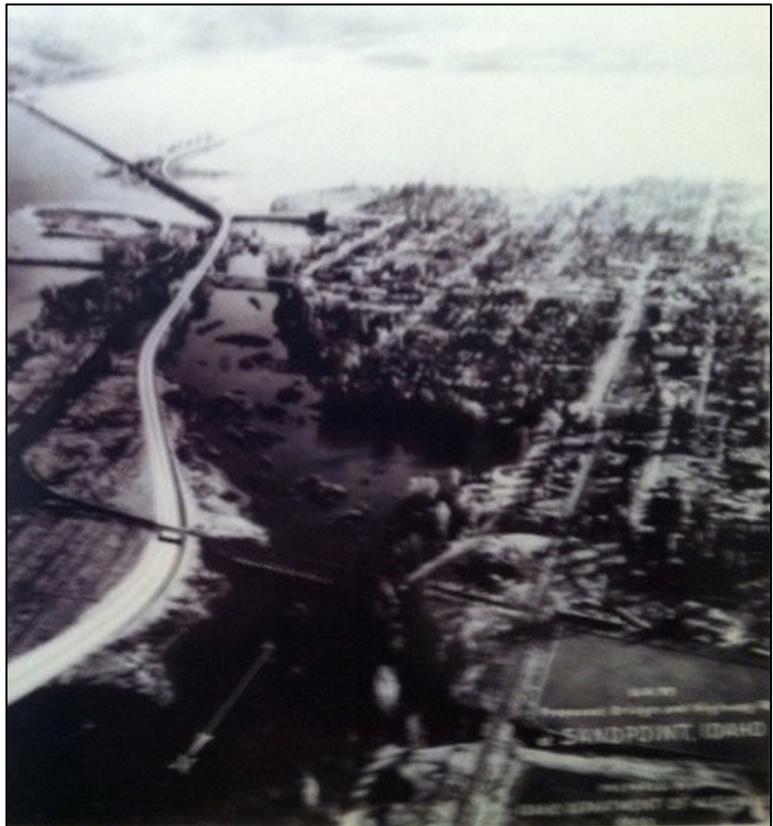


Figure 4. 1950s rendering of proposed extension of Highway 95 bypassing Sandpoint.

a limited subsurface testing program and, in consultation with the Idaho State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), determined that the Sandpoint Townsite was eligible for listing in the NRHP; Smithsonian number 10BR859 was assigned for an area between Bridge and Cedar Streets from the Burlington Northern Santa Fe (BNSF) tracks to generally the original Sand Creek channel. The final EIS was released in 1999; the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) issued its record of decision (ROD) in 2000. Although the corridor had been confirmed through the ROD, local concerns were expressed about the visual aspects of the design. As proposed, the Sand Creek Byway would have been a trestle viaduct of concrete bents and the roadway. After additional consideration, ITD changed the design to a continuous fill causeway with additional graphic enhancements of the concrete panels that would be used. The fill provided opportunity for increased vegetation, which would also soften the look of the causeway and better integrate it into the visual environment. ITD prepared a supplemental environmental assessment to the EIS, which was approved in 2005.

ADDRESSING THE OLD TOWNSITE IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL TERMS

The byway construction received major funding from the federal government and also required a number of federal permits, particularly from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE). Federal law under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (as amended) requires that projects with federal involvement consider and address effects to archaeological and historic resources. Without delving into the regulatory minutia, this means following a number of steps starting with historical research and survey to identify whether anything of value exists, determining if and how these resources may be damaged, and frequently ending with some manner of mitigation like archaeological excavation and study.

Is Something Really There?

History tells the tales of our past. It comes to us through the writings of our forefathers—in part. The writings filter through the minds and perceptions of the authors. These recordings—valid for the individual who wrote them—do not, however, necessarily tell the whole story. We all also leave traces of our lives, whether it is the pocket knife dropped in the garden or, in olden days before garbage collectors, the trash strewn about the yard. These clues—our preferences, our things, our choices—have been strewn about for centuries. Sometimes they lie undisturbed in the remoteness of places long left alone; in cities, the urban dynamic can destroy the traces—but far less than we imagine. Before the days of highly mechanized development, it was easier to fill a property and level it for development than to excavate large holes in the ground or cut level surfaces with massive graders. More lies beneath our feet than we might imagine, particularly along shorelines such as Sand Creek's.

In 2002, ITD hired Northwest Archaeological Associates (NWAA) to conduct a more thorough survey of the corridor between the mouth of Sand Creek and the north end of the byway segment immediately north of the intersection of U.S. Route 95/2 and State Highway 200. The survey consisted of pedestrian transects throughout the corridor, supplemented with approximately 125 40-centimeter shovel probes. Probes were placed both systematically and opportunistically depending on conditions. The work identified five additional site clusters of historical resources within the corridor, some of which included a smattering of prehistoric artifacts. The new “sites” were accorded Smithsonian designation numbers and evaluated. Two of the five were considered of interest and value and determined eligible to the NRHP. These were the remnants of the Humbird Planing Mill complex and the southern extension of the old townsite south of the Bridge Street bridge and north of Sand Creek. While historical resources dominated the collections of the testing program, prehistoric Native American artifacts were also present. Consequently, further investigations required archaeologists knowledgeable in both subjects.

In May 2004, ITD finalized a memorandum of agreement (MOA) with the SHPO and the FHWA as consulting parties covering mitigation measures for all historic properties. An MOA establishes a legally binding process and commitments to address the impacts to historic and archaeological resources. The MOA was revised in April 2005, when the USACE was added as a consulting party and the Kalispel and Kootenay Tribes were added as concurring parties. In addition, the Coeur d'Alene Tribe was consulted, but general interaction was delegated to the Kalispel. The MOA required data recovery for sites 10BR859, 10BR977, and 10BR978, beginning with a research design and data recovery plan.

ITD contracted with CH2M HILL and the Environmental History Company (EHC) to conduct the mitigation effort. James C. Bard (CH2M HILL) was identified as principal investigator with a specialty in prehistory, and Robert M. Weaver (EHC) served as principal investigator focusing on historical resources. Together they developed a data recovery strategy resulting in the formal research design as ultimately approved by the MOA parties on February 27, 2006 (Weaver et al. 2006). Mark Warner of the University of Idaho subsequently brought his expertise as a historical archaeologist and became a co-investigator on the historical side.

The findings of the historical research drove both a conceptual site formation model and an understanding of alternative treatments of certain areas. Generally speaking, in terms of the historical archaeology, emphasis was placed on finding high-density areas that would provide information that could be associated with specific historical activities like those at a saloon or residence. The concept was similar to that used by Adrian and Mary Praetzellis in their data recovery for Oakland's Cypress Expressway corridor (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2004). The Praetzellis' study emphasized finding features such as privies and dumps that had the potential for yielding the maximum information for the effort expended. This included using mechanical equipment to expose the higher density pockets and ignoring much of the sparser surface scatter associated with the properties under investigation. Conditions at Sandpoint differed somewhat, especially in the main section of the town. Photographs showed that privies (typically excellent targets for recovering good information) within the byway corridor were built over the creek—creating a self-flushing situation—and that the creek bank itself was a major disposal area.

The background research regarding Native American peoples prior to arrival of the "white man" confirmed that the Sand Creek area was used, but details were more obscure. Although a potentially good location for permanent settlement, no villages were known in the oral or ethnographic histories within the Sand Creek peninsula affected by the byway. Discussions with elders and a few comments from pioneers suggested that the flats south of Sand Creek and the "island" at the south end of the spit served as gathering places for meeting and trade among numerous tribes who traveled along a trail that had been used for centuries. As with our current highway system, a very major trail system passed through the Sandpoint area. The trail from the south and Seneacquoteen split just north of Sandpoint, with one branch heading north into the Kootenay region and the other passing up the Clark Fork River into the buffalo country and into the Plains.

In addition, local collectors reported finding prehistoric artifacts along the banks of Sand Creek, and the NWAA survey and testing also located a small number of Native American artifacts. Consequently, measures specifically geared to locating possible Native American sites were incorporated into the field strategy.

Into the Field

For various reasons, actual excavation of the sites occurred over a two-and-a-half-year period, from May 2006 to November 2008, and dealt with many challenges typically not faced by archaeologists. The fluctuating lake levels (summer pool and winter pool as regulated by the USACE) posed problems in reaching areas; some of the archaeological target areas, which were dry before the Albeni Falls dam was built in 1956, could only be addressed during lower winter lake levels. In addition, permitting applications had to be filed to dig within the areas governed by the USACE. When we addressed the blacksmith shop near the Humbird Planing Mill, we insisted on environmental testing of the sediments, and ITD found that, while not serious, levels of arsenic and other metals as well as tarry substances exceeded regulatory standards. Consequently the archaeologists worked in “hazmat” suits and took other suitable precautions during excavation.

The effort examined a number of different locations within the various designated sites. Within the southernmost portion of the Townsite (10BR978), we excavated a dense deposit that came from the small Chinese enclave near the railroad tracks (1891 to 1907) and an area designated as the Restricted District (Figure 5). An earlier Chinese occupation from the 1880s could not be located, most likely because the railroad changed the location of the tracks and raised the grade in 1905. The Chinese settlement produced a wide range of archaeological materials, including bones left over from meals, both patent and Chinese medicines, Chinese porcelain bowls and typical American and British wares, and paraphernalia associated with smoking opium. Other artifacts clearly identified the area as a laundry.

The Restricted District was established by town ordinance in 1908 and lasted until about 1914. Prostitutes had always frequented Sandpoint in its early days, but as the town became more respectable, the first step taken was to isolate their activities. The project uncovered evidence of a saloon, a brothel, a bordello (a fancier, more sophisticated establishment), and another associated dance hall and saloon.

Between the Bridge (or Church) Street bridge and the Cedar Street bridge, which was the main strip of the old town proper, we were able to sample a range of activities as evidenced by the artifacts. While the early 1900 maps provided a key to the businesses that operated on the hillside above, the artifacts told a tale of changing times and changing purposes over Sandpoint’s first 20 years. Not too unexpectedly, most areas showed a mix of commercial activities (saloons, mercantile stores, and butchers), but also evidenced a more residential nature. Residences and at least one boarding house had occupied the area, and some business owners may have also lived in the buildings in which they worked. Although the artifacts showed a mix of activities, they still provided a good glimpse into the economics of the town and the trade networks that brought goods not only from the East Coast, but from a number of European origins as well.

While most of the artifacts came from the main settlement of Sandpoint until 1907, when the railroad kicked everyone off their property,



Figure 5. Controlled grid excavation in the Restricted District.

one area characterized the later, waning days of the town. The Pend d'Oreille Hotel had been moved from the east side of the tracks to the west around 1907 and lasted to about 1920. The recoveries reflected an establishment that provided lodging for passengers arriving at the nearby railroad station. Artifacts revealed what and how people were eating—not to mention what they were drinking. This area produced by far the single densest unit of the project. Over 70,000 pieces of glass and ceramic came out of one 5-foot by 5-foot area. Most were A-B beer bottles, with an assortment of other brands, accompanied by ceramic jugs from two prominent Spokane wine dealers.

That pretty much covers the heart of old Sandpoint. We continued excavations farther north, however, to an area that essentially made Sandpoint the center of Bonner County today. As with the old town, no substantial vestiges of the Humbird Lumber Company operations from 1900 to 1932 remain as a reminder that Sandpoint served as one of the largest lumbering operations of the region. At one time, the big mill cut the white pine and other timber that once stood on the nearby mountains and hills. Lights from the main complex likely shone well into the night with double shifts in operation at the mill. In addition, the Humbird Lumber Company had built a whole town complex north of Sandpoint. No visual vestige of either still stands, although pictures of the place are found in various town establishments and some of the tales of tall timber can still be heard.

In addressing the Humbird Lumber Company operations, we reexamined an area that previously had been considered archaeologically marginal. Site 10BR979, which had been mapped near the pilings of a footbridge leading from the mill to Milltown, had been originally considered unimportant—droppings from people passing over the bridge. The research design and initial testing presented another picture. During the earlier railroad days, Chinese laborers had been housed in the vicinity. After the mill was constructed, a series of boarding houses flanked the eastern end of the bridge. Archaeological excavations uncovered evidence of all three aspects.

The project then went on to consider an area immediately north of the boarding houses—the old town cemetery. The byway alignment passed right through the area. The plot served Sandpoint from the early 1890s to 1903. As the big sawmill complex grew, more land was needed, so the Humbird Lumber Company bought what is now the Lakeview Cemetery and had graves removed to the new location. Those familiar with such projects know, however, that disinterments typically are incomplete. Investigation was in order. We located four undisturbed burials as well as some missed fragments of other individuals and a fair amount of hardware from decomposed coffins. The abandoned individuals have now joined their fellow pioneers at Lakeview Cemetery.

The last archaeological target to mention is the blacksmith shop of the Humbird Mill (Figure 6). The building lay overlooking the east bank of Sand Creek, a bit farther north of the cemetery. It was part of the original mill complex and in the earliest days had to make shoes for the horses that pulled the timber out of the woods and hauled



Figure 6. Working in Tyvek suits and masks in the Blacksmith Shop.

finished lumber around the yard. Clearly the blacksmiths had to maintain the big boilers that ran the whole operation as well as sharpen the saws. In later days, the building serviced small electric locomotives that had replaced the yard horse team and machined parts to repair the various carriages and conveyors that were used in the cutting and finishing of the lumber. The archaeology not only investigated the location of the building, but also studied a huge hillside waste pile created by throwing the ash and clinkers of many a forge load over the hillside. Layers and coloration tell a tale of changes in process and focus over the 15 to 20 years of operation at the location. As might be expected, broken files, chisels, swages, and other discarded tools also made their way out the big side door and over the bank. Unlike a number of other archaeological excavations that tend to focus on the smaller “village blacksmith” shop, this excavation provides information on work done at an industrial scale and at a time when technology was transitioning from older ways to more modern systems.

What Comes Next?

Archaeology is often tedious work. One must document everything found and preserve both records and artifacts so they may be studied as part of the project and by people in the future. A team of over 20 archaeologists spent a year just processing the artifacts recovered from Sandpoint. That means cleaning the artifacts, recording various characteristics so the artifacts could be identified (for example, noting the glaze, decoration, and type of clay for a piece of a ceramic plate, and, if lucky, a manufacturer’s trademark), entering information into a database that could be used for statistical studies, and packaging artifacts so they may be stored in a “designated repository” or curatorial facility.

In addition, and as part of the basis for statistical interpretation, artifacts are categorized in a system that estimates the minimum number of vessels or in the case of faunal materials, individuals. The process tries to eliminate a bias from fragmentation of artifacts. Most archaeological sites consist of broken pieces rather than whole examples, although the Sandpoint efforts uncovered a number of complete artifacts—for instance, over 100 bottles of Mumm’s champagne. Another task pieced artifacts back together, in part to enhance identification. Additionally, as each piece comes from a documented location, the exercise provides an indication of how scattered (or cohesive) the deposits may be.

Once all the processing is over, it is time to do the real archaeology—the interpretation of what information can be gleaned from the record. The project research design posed a number of research questions that might be addressed from the work. As these were prepared before any fieldwork, they are far more expansive than the subset of answers that can be addressed from the collection. They cover most possibilities that we might have encountered. The questions, however, provide a framework. The collection from Sandpoint can address many more nuances of the primary research questions than can be answered at this time. That is the reason for saving the collection in a curatorial facility and for providing documentation about where, how, and what things were found. The collection should provide an opportunity for students at the University of Idaho to develop additional perspectives on Sandpoint’s history; the same can be said for other archaeologists and historians.

In addition, archaeology uses whatever tools are available to enhance our understanding of history. Part of the project included submitting samples from bottles, the cinders and slags from the blacksmith dump, various metals, and other substances to the chemistry department at the University of Idaho. Dr. Ray von Wandruszka led a team that analyzed the samples using a variety of testing methods, which provided another aspect to the analysis.

This report represents the culmination of work to supplement the historical record of the town of Sandpoint as well as provide additional information about the people who lived for thousands of years near the banks of Sand Creek before that historical record came into existence.

Public Benefits

Guidelines developed by the federal government note that a project of this nature needs to include and benefit the general public. After all, their dollars pay for the road and for the archaeology. Elements benefiting the public were built in to the plan during the research design phase.

Although the remnants of the Humbird Lumber Company Planing Mill lay in the direct path of the byway, we decided that archaeological excavation, while feasible, would not produce as robust a return as would the Blacksmith Shop. Yet some sort of mitigation was warranted. Although the Humbird Mill served an incredibly important role in developing the city, no publications exist that tie together the whole history of the operation and its relationship to the lumber industry of northern Idaho. Mitigation, in this instance, comes from preparing a historical account that is available to the general public written by local historian Nancy Renk (Renk 2013).

The project has held three open house “show and tell” events for the citizens of Sandpoint along with several others for members of the Bonner County Historical Society and students at the Bird School. The first, held during the initial season of excavations, consisted of a day at the community center with a full variety of the available artifacts laid out for examination. Project team members explained the nature of the artifacts and how they related to the settlers of the region. The morning was occupied by fourth- and fifth-grade classes from the local schools, with the evening well attended by other interested citizens.

Many project staff have also given both professional and public presentations about the project and what we found. Public venues have ranged from Sandpoint to Wallace, Idaho, and Fort Vancouver in Washington State. Sandpoint has been on the map at several national conferences, along with gatherings of professionals from the Pacific Northwest and even conferences attended by highway engineers.

For Sandpointers, an exhibit that details both the history of the town and the fruits of the archaeological work has opened at the Bonner County Historical Society Museum. The exhibit titled *Digging into the Past: Uncovering Sandpoint’s Hidden History* displays artifacts recovered from the sites along with text chronicling the early days of the town. The artifacts provide a glimpse into more mundane or unrecorded aspects of daily life.

With the thousands of artifacts recovered, saving each one is impractical and unnecessary. Consequently, “spare” artifacts can be used for public education, another aspect of public payback. In particular, education of our children about both archaeology and Sandpoint seems a worthwhile objective. As part of the project, we developed traveling teaching kits for the local Sandpoint schools that accomplish this goal. The kits were coordinated with the school district and teachers, with lesson training as part of the program.

SANDPOINT INTERPRETED

This volume of the Sandpoint Archaeology Project provides some of the stories gleaned from our research. The subsequent chapters include:

- An overview history of early Sandpoint that provides background for understanding the subsequent chapters;
- The lives of the Chinese as shown by Sam Sing’s laundry;
- Examination of class and social standing of the Chinese, with comparisons to other Chinese communities;

Chapter 1. Introduction

- Observations on the economies of early Sandpoint;
- Discussion of life within the Restricted District brothel and bordello;
- Blacksmithing and machining for a major industry, the Humbird Mill

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CHAPTER 2. OUR TOWN – SANDPOINT’S EARLY DAYS

Robert M. Weaver

How old is Sandpoint? A few decades over 100 years. That pales against the thousands of years for which people have experienced the beauties and bounty of the north Idaho area. Yet even in little more than 100 years, we have lost most of our memory of the earlier years of a fledgling settlement beside the glistening blue waters of Lake Pend Oreille. In looking back, it is hard to imagine what it was like to invade a region with a small band of people looking for opportunities: to set up homes and commerce literally in the wilderness; to experience the prevalent diseases and hardships of the time (which are distinctly different from today’s); or to feel the isolation a new land. From our modern perspective, it is difficult to imagine what life was like—to put ourselves into the minds of those pioneers, to experience their feelings and fears—let alone to imagine the everyday routines of maintaining a foothold in a semi-wild environment. Yes, they had the connections afforded by the railroad that tied them to the rest of the country and the larger world beyond, but aside from rudimentary dirt ruts to other nearby settlements, that was about it.

Trying to bring back those moments is not easy. The historical records, particularly for the town’s first 20 years are woefully lacking. Some clearly were kept...at the time. But even the county government records are incomplete, and copies of early local newspapers are sparse or lost. In reality, it is difficult to recreate or reconstruct an understanding of the early days of the small community. What was it like to really live there, and what were residents’ hopes for the future?

Here we provide a bare-bones framework of the history of Sandpoint—a rudimentary context—to help us understand some of the findings of the archaeological efforts to “read” history from the artifacts—the material culture—that the people left behind.

IN THE BEGINNING

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, the Lake Pend Oreille region and the Sandpoint locale looked much as it had for centuries. Forests crowded the margins of the lake, and the native Pend Oreille tribal bands occupied traditional settlement areas and exploited the resources of the lakes, rivers, streams, and sloughs.

Water provided the main highway, supplemented by two major trail systems. The main overland route, often referred to as the Buffalo Trail, crossed the Pend Oreille River at Seneacquoten near the later town of Laclede (Figure 7), followed the shoreline east to Sand Creek, crossed into the project area, and then looped around the north side of the lake to a passage up the Clark Fork River. The second major route branched from this corridor (with one junction a bit west of Sandpoint and another near Boyer Slough east of Kootenai), crossed the Pack River, headed north through today’s



Figure 7. Native American encampment at Seneacquoten, about 1860 (courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

Bonnars Ferry, and linked into the Kootenay district of Canada.

Early years of interaction between the native populations and the European arrivals consisted of small dispersed ventures that had little effect on the regional setting or traditional ways, although diseases, the influx of new tools and goods, and the changing economies of the fur trade had their impact.

The Traders

First contact with Native Americans in the Pend Oreille region and the Sandpoint vicinity occurred under the impetus of chartered British companies that looked to exploit the resources of the region. Despite the initial voyage of Lewis and Clark under the banner of the United States, Great Britain dominated the area north of the 46th Parallel and the Columbia River until the resolution of the boundary dispute in 1846. The British companies had no intention of changing the lifeways or culture of native inhabitants *per se*. Rather, they encouraged a status quo as long as it maintained a trade system that was economically beneficial to the trading companies. Obviously the interactions among parties, the introduction of European trade goods, the addition of the fur economy, the effects of epidemic diseases, and the territorial shifts caused by western migration pressures had substantial impacts on the Native American cultures.

Fur traders David Thompson and Finnan McDonald arrived at Lake Pend Oreille on September 9, 1809, thereby becoming the first known foreign visitors to the region. Thompson (Figure 8) worked for the North West Company out of Canada. On arrival, he was met by a congregation of Native Americans that included “54 Flat Heads, 23 Pointed Hearts (Coeur d’Alene) & 4 Kootenaes” who were anxious to trade (Elliott 1920). The encounter shows the diversity of regional groups that used the Buffalo Trail into the Rocky Mountains.

Thompson spent the fall of 1809 exploring the region while McDonald built their trading post, Kullyspell House, near Memaloose Island on the east shore of the lake a short way north of the mouth of the Clark Fork River. Thompson’s explorations traversed the Clark Fork and Pend Oreille Rivers. He was familiar with the Sandy Point near the outlet of the Pend Oreille River, having passed the point during explorations in 1809, 1810, and 1811. In his journal about a canoe trip down the Pend Oreille River in 1810, he notes that his group “turned a point of Sand [at 7:30 PM] & put up at 7-35PM having passed the Lake in a fine Calm Thank Heaven” (Elliott 1932:89). Given the timing, it is possible that Thompson set up camp on a sparsely treed “island” that stood near the tip of the point, effectively in the vicinity of the area now locally known as Dog Beach. During a trip downriver in 1811 with a canoe that had “been so leaky as to keep a Man continually baling out water,” he pulled in “at the Rock below the Sandy Pt.,” most likely the promontory near Dover (Elliott 1920:170).

Trade at Kullyspell House was short-lived, supplanted soon by Spokane House, but the contact opened the area to further trade. From 1809 onward, the fur trade expanded throughout the Pacific Northwest. From 1821 well into the 1850s (in spite of the

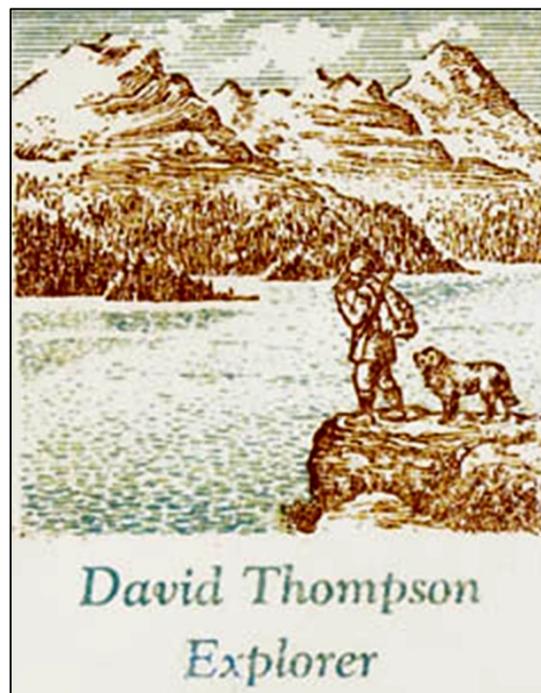


Figure 8. Canadian First Day cover, 1957, commemorating David Thompson.

resolution of the boundary issue between Canada and the United States in 1846) the Hudson's Bay Company maintained a grip on the trade interactions in the interior regions of Washington and northern Idaho.

The Missionaries

Missionaries hoping to convert the local people arrived in the 1840s. The Native Americans of the Pend Oreille region and throughout the Pacific Northwest believed in the value of spiritual power. As the influence of invading "foreigners" and the effects of "foreign" diseases disintegrated social structure, local tribal leaders both vied for position and looked for new spiritual powers to restore order in their societies. The religion brought from outside appeared to be a possible solution, and tribal delegations were sent east to seek out missionaries.

In 1840 the Jesuit Order sent Father Pierre Jean DeSmet into the territory (Figure 9). DeSmet's travels resulted in the founding of the Rocky Mountain mission district, with missions and stations among the Spokans, Coeur d'Alenes, Kootenais, Flatheads, Kallispel, and Colvilles. DeSmet established the Mission of St. Ignatius to the Kalispel in 1844. Fathers Peter DeVos and Adrian Hoecken began the mission near today's town of Cusick, Washington, along the Pend Oreille River. Due to flooding, the original mission site was abandoned the next year and moved 4 miles downriver.

For a variety of reasons, the mission to the Kalispels was closed in 1854 and moved to the Flathead Valley about 30 miles north of today's Missoula, Montana. Some of the Kalispel group moved with the mission and joined the local members of the Flathead tribe; many, however, chose to remain within the Pend Oreille region and continued their traditional subsistence patterns. Regardless, many were influenced by the missionaries and remained within the hold of the Catholic religion.

One must appreciate the symbiotic relationship between the traditional native religion and the Catholic religion to understand this influence. Unlike the Protestant missionaries who brought a Puritan background to their proselytizing, the ceremonialism of the Catholic Church as particularly practiced by the Jesuits had sympathetic similarities to the existing Salish ideological patterns. In addition, Catholicism relied on physical manifestations such as medals, crucifixes, and other trappings of ceremony, which also would have been attractive to most of the inhabitants, whether they lived at the mission or at their traditional

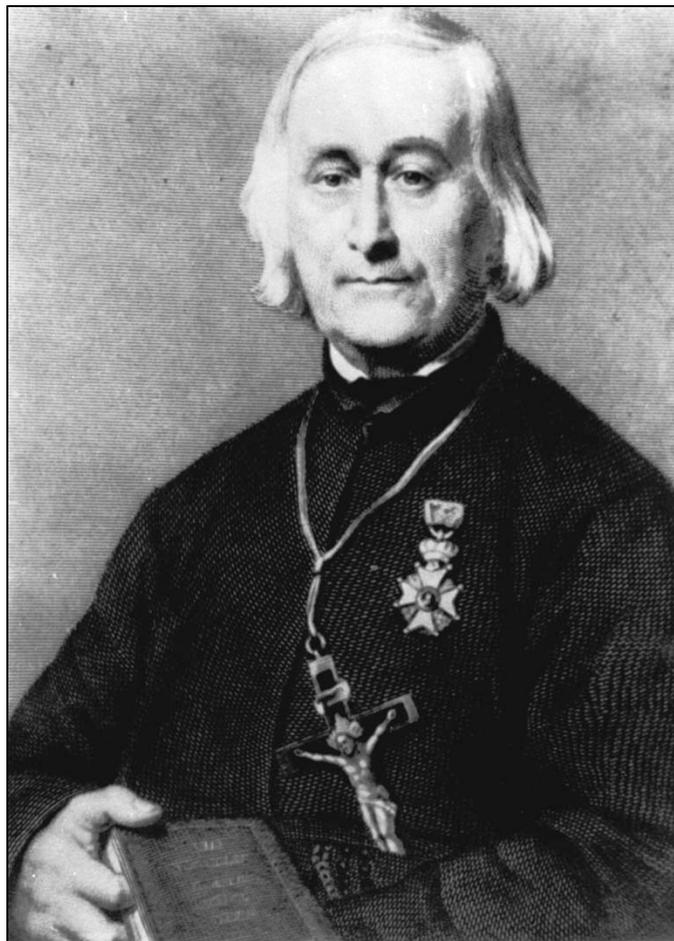


Figure 9. Father Jean-Pierre DeSmet (Laveille 1915: frontispiece).

locations. Finally, the Jesuits supported the tribes, to the extent possible, in opposing the inevitable Euro-American settlement within the region.

Federal Government and Exploration

The 1846 settlement establishing the international boundary with Canada at the 49th Parallel unfettered the United States from official activities within the Pacific Northwest. Teams of surveyors began establishing official land plats; treaties were signed with Native American tribes; and cadres of military engineers explored and built transportation routes through the various mountain chains. The explorations and official opening of the area for occupation brought prospectors as a first wave of immigrants. Placer gold was discovered in the Kootenay districts of British Columbia and in the Bitterroot Valley area in the mid-1860s. Exploitation of the mineral resources demanded supplies, which were packed over the few existing aboriginal trails or roads constructed by the military.

The federal government commissioned Isaac Ingalls Stevens to wear three different administrative hats that were to profoundly change the character of the region. As Territorial Governor of Washington, Stevens was responsible for implementing and administrating a fledgling government; as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Stevens' charge was to treat with the various tribes throughout the region and extinguish the claims of Native Americans to a vast amount of land; and lastly, he also directed the survey parties identifying routes for a transcontinental railroad.

The latter two assignments greatly influenced events within the Pend Oreille region. In terms of future events, the railroad surveys took precedence over treaties: they established an awareness of the topography; identified valuable resources; and established routes for connecting the trade networks. At least five members of Stevens' command traversed the Pend Oreille area, particularly the route of the old Buffalo Trail (Holstine 1985). After combing the mountains, foothills, and valleys, two primary routes took precedence for a railroad line: one followed the old trail around Lake Pend Oreille and up the Clark Fork, and another ran south of Coeur d'Alene and over the headwaters of the St. Joe River. Of the two, the explorers (and politicians) favored the Pend Oreille route (Figure 10).

Beginning in 1854, Stevens began to systematically "purchase" the Pacific Northwest territories from the Indians so that U.S. sovereignty over lands was established, thereby opening them for settlement. The Hells Gate treaty near Missoula with the Upper Pend Oreille,

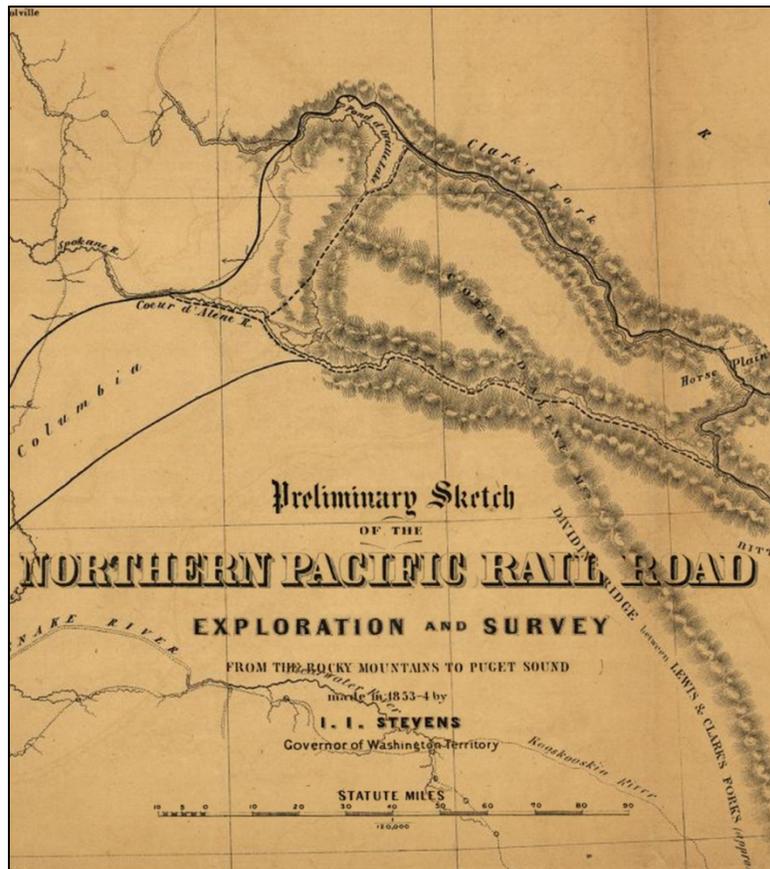


Figure 10. 1850s survey for railroad alignments produced by I.I. Stevens (courtesy of Library of Congress).

Flathead, and Kootenai Tribes set up a specific reserve within the Bitterroot Valley along with other considerations (Stevens 1855). The Stevens treaties, however, did not cover the people living on the lake or farther down the Pend Oreille River. Between 1855 and 1887, the people living within that region had little contact with the federal government and generally continued their traditional ways within their traditional territory (Kalispel Tribe of Indians 2009).

The Treaty of Sandpoint (never ratified) was signed by the head of the Upper Kalispel (or Lower Pend Oreille) in 1887, but the people farther down the river did not agree with its terms and did not sign it (Renk 1991). This so-called treaty, however, along with the influx of settlers to the Sandpoint area and the decimation of tribal ranks, forced the Indians out of the immediate area surrounding the lake and upper river. A reservation dedicated to the Indians of the Pend Oreille region was not established until 1914 along the Lower Pend Oreille River near Usk.

Miners and Gold in the Hills

The glint of gold often seems to provide the opening waves of Western development, whether in the Black Hills of South Dakota, later in Alaska, or in the interior of the Pacific Northwest. The next developmental stage in the history of northern Idaho and the Pend Oreille region spawned from a tradition first established in the 1850s in California. Gold itself, however, was not a draw to the Sandpoint area of the 1860s. Instead, to reach discoveries, prospectors had to pass through the area, so the trails to the north and east became thoroughfares to discoveries in Montana and the Kootenay Ranges of Canada.

In the summer of 1863, three prospectors hit paydirt in the Canadian Kootenays a short distance from present-day Cranbrook. By the next spring, men staked 1,500 claims throughout the district. The easiest supply route to the districts ran from Ft. Walla Walla and up the old Native American trail to the Kootenays, then renamed the Wild Horse Trail after the mining district. Pack trains crossed the Pend Oreille River at Seneacquoteen, and turned north either around the base of the mountains west of the Sandpoint area or at Boyer Slough at the head of Lake Pend Oreille.

A year later, gold was discovered at Last Chance Gulch near Helena, Montana. Additional strikes spurred more traffic through the Sandpoint region. The old "Trail to the Buffalo" served as a major corridor. The toughest segment of the trail lay between Seneacquoteen and the mouth of the Clark Fork River. The gold rush also created the beginnings of commerce on Lake Pend Oreille. The Oregon Steam Navigation Company launched a 108-foot steamer, the *Mary Moody*, at Seneacquoteen in the spring of 1866. The company built additional steamers to traverse the upper Clark Fork River, built a cutoff road to the south end of the lake, and established the settlement of Pen d'Oreille City. Traffic to the gold fields decreased in a little over 5 years; the steamers were idled in 1871 and dismantled in 1876 (Holstine 1985).

Building a Railroad

Until construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad (NPRR) line, the Pend Oreille region remained sparsely settled. Although the first transcontinental line along the central route had been completed in 1869, and the charter for the NPRR line had been signed in 1864, it took almost 19 years to complete the line across the northern tier. The financial panic of 1873, which brought down the original lead investor, Jay Cooke & Company, seriously delayed progress.

Between 1870 and 1873, the company ran additional line surveys and built a section of rail from the Columbia River to Tacoma. The 1873 panic put the brakes on progress for almost another seven years. Making grade and laying track on what became the Pend Oreille and Idaho divisions did not start until 1879. Work on grading the line began at the confluence of the Snake and Columbia Rivers in October,

and by the same time next year, 170 miles had been graded east of the town of Ainsworth (*Spokane Times* 1880). Rails and the first train reached Spokane Falls on June 25, 1881 (Oliphant 1926).

While work moved forward on grading and track laying in 1880, teams of surveyors moved forward along the line. They explored and set line along Lake Pend Oreille and up the Clark Fork during the summer, fall, and winter of 1880, having established a base camp at Pen d'Oreille City. As surveyed, the line crossed the Pend Oreille River where the river exited the lake. The north side consisted of the confluence of Sand Creek.

As the alignment became a reality, Robert L. Weeks and his son Barton established a store, hotel, bar, and sawmill in what would become Sandpoint. They established a contract with the NPRR to supply lumber.² By June 29 1881, railroad engineers and crews were occupying a camp at Sandpoint, which served the main line, but particularly the necessary trestle bridge (Biell 1881).

The Sandpoint location represented a major bottleneck to progress. The crossing required driving pilings that formed 525 bents with five to seven piles per bent for a distance of 8,704 feet, running from the peninsula on the south side of the river to the north side near the mouth of Sand Creek. Until early November, Sandpoint became the main engineering and operations station for the railroad. One of the assistant engineers reported:

Brophy has finished clearing on Sand Point side and also areas West side of lake end of Piling. Shall commence and clear from Slough East (I mean the Slough that comes down behind Engineers Quarters). Bracken got fixed all [unreadable] in Hospital Building. The Roof is all on the Storehouse and Shaked. Bunk House will be completed in two or three days. Sent Eight (8) men to Clarks Fork this morning to commence Buildings at that place. Pile Driver worked this morning. We are now having a terrible rain and wind Storm.

Ventner, which lay south along the line near Fry Creek, later became the operations base until the headquarters shifted to a new camp at Cabinet Landing (on the Clark Fork) in 1882.

The grading force passed through in December 1881 and by Christmas had made grade to about 6 miles north of Sandpoint. Chinese workers outnumbered others by over two to one, with a force account on December 24, 1881, showing 1,491 Chinese and 675 "white" (Maynard 1881). The Chinese crew would grow to over 2,000 as the railroad pushed its way up the difficult Clark Fork River section.

The track finally reached the south end of the bridge on January 9, 1882. Cutting the tops of the piles, laying stringers and ties, completing cross-bracing, and constructing the drawspan would take until March 5, 1882. By April, most of the assembled men (and women) had moved on from Sandpoint. The fledgling town, however, was not totally abandoned or forgotten. The store and hotel of the Weeks family still anchored the territory, and the railroad clearly saw the location as a permanent stopping point.

Sandpoint, however, did not become the major regional railroad town. That honor fell to Hope, Idaho, at the northeast corner of Lake Pend Oreille, and Kootenai, which was the offload station for points in Canada. Hope also received a passenger depot and freight house like Sandpoint, but the intent to house the main permanent operations force in the region was signaled by erection there of four bunkhouses, two mess halls, a commissary, an office, and the necessary water closet. The transcontinental line was

² Correspondence from the local engineer in charge indicates that the Weekses supplied 263,242 board feet in August 1881 and 273,324 board feet in September in addition to 144 cords of slab wood. Some of the lumber was earmarked for construction of the company's 150-foot steamer, the *Henry Villard*, at Pen d'Oreille City.

completed in 1883. As promoted by the railroad company, completion of the line spurred an influx of settlers and developers to the interior regions of the Pacific Northwest.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS (1882 TO 1893)

Although the railroad, with thousands of acres at its disposal and a need to sell the land to pay off debt obligations, heavily promoted settlement along the line, Sandpoint was little featured. Brochures were produced to entice settlers, and the railroad promoted the newly opened country as a mecca for tourism. The objective was to induce well-to-do people to invest in businesses or encourage farmers and immigrants who would develop the lands and provide commodities to ship by the railroad. The initial strikes in the Coeur d'Alene mining district in 1881 prompted the NPRR to tout the opportunities for gold and silver in north Idaho...not only in the area of the main strike, but throughout the rugged mountains of the Coeur d'Alene range that bordered Lake Pend Oreille.

Unfortunately, it appears that Sandpoint was rarely featured on the tourism agenda. Brochures reference the lake and the mountains, but mainly mention Hope, Kootenai, and Clark Fork. The *Railroad Guide for Tourists and Travelers* (NPRR 1891) describes Hope as follows: "...beautifully located on high ground at the north end of lake Pend d'Oreille. It was formerly only a fishing and hunting resort, with a small hotel for sportsmen. But [the relocation of the NPRR division point to Hope] and the discovery of important mines of silver ore on the south shore of the lake, have caused a rapid growth and the new town promises to become...a place of considerable importance." Sandpoint, however, was noted briefly as "a place of importance during the railroad construction [and]...a good place to lie over for a day's hunting, or for catching some of the trout with which the lake abounds."

Consequently, little is known about the early days of Sandpoint, especially its first decade.³ Documents, photographs, and maps are scarce to non-existent. An NPRR document from May 1882 notes a "Mr. Campbell, a man doing business for Mr. Schellworth at Sand Point..." who received a shipment of goods to the fledgling town (NPRR 1882:1). The document also notes that a Dr. Masterson, who had established a hotel, had received 5,000 pounds of freight; also, a Mr. Dobson received shipments. In addition, the operating division headed by a Mr. Reed as agent had just moved to Sandpoint from another point 6 miles south of town called Hangtown.⁴

Along with the Weeks family, early arrivals include John Hawkins (his wife, Mary Jane, opened a restaurant in 1883); John Russell and family, who also opened a store, with John as the first postmaster of the town in a building on the west side of the tracks; James and May Baldwin with their son Harry (owners of hotels and saloon); George and Delia Holton (owners of a hotel); and J.C. and Lottie Ferguson. Others names have yet to be pulled from the limited government records of the time. In fact, well into the next century, Sandpoint consisted of a core group of permanent residents, short-timers who subsequently claimed government lands nearby, and the transient sorts (miners, adventurers, hunters, and ne'er-do-wells) who were just passing through.

From the start, the town lined the tracks, and in spite of the few respectable people around town, was known to be fairly wild. The British adventurer William Baillie-Grohman spent time in Sandpoint in 1884

³ Sandpoint is poorly represented in records and especially newspapers of the period. A number of the known but short-lived local papers have disappeared into the void, and the online papers provided through state auspices focus on southern Idaho. On occasion, Sandpoint is mentioned in Spokane, Helena, Montana, and Minneapolis/St. Paul papers, but from 1880 to 1895, Sand Point, Alaska, received more attention than Sandpoint, Idaho.

⁴ Over the years, the Hangtown moniker has been given to early Sandpoint allegedly because of all the necktie parties that occurred there. Letters from the railroad construction period, however, clearly show that Hangtown was a place on the railroad to the south of Sandpoint and the name was not associated with hangings. According to a pioneer, David Masterson, (1925) the name referred to railroad cars that were hung up there while the bridge was being built in 1881.

while hunting and developing a canal scheme and mining investments in the Kootenay Lake area. He characterized Sandpoint as follows (Baillie-Grohman 1900:241):

(M)y land interests in Kootenay...obliged me during 1884 to be frequently for days at a time in Sandpoint, the nearest rail and post station, which then afforded the only approach to Kootenay. This wretched hole, one of the "tough" towns in the tough territory of Idaho, where shooting scapes and "hanging bees" were common events, Sprowle [a hired guide of Baillie-Grohman] had many friends, for he had lived there a winter or two.

In keeping with the rough nature of the country, Ballie-Groham goes on to recount how his guide, Sproule, tried to kill him.

Another visitor, using the pen name of "James Daly," visited in probably 1885, and described Sandpoint as follows (Daly 1886:44-46):

My stopping place was at Pend d'Oreille Station...others call the place Sand Point. When the road [NPRR] was being built, Sand Point numbered eight thousand population. One hundred would probably be the number now...but if dogs were counted in, I think it would reach its old figure. The depot is a very pretty one built in Swiss style; the rest of the town is built of native wood, plain finish...The architecture is fine in places, and picturesque in grouping, but not often.... Sand Point has no streets. The railroad divides the town and there is great rivalry between the "North Siders and "South Siders."

Whether accurate or a bit fanciful, Daly provides probably the first-ever view of the town (Figure 11).

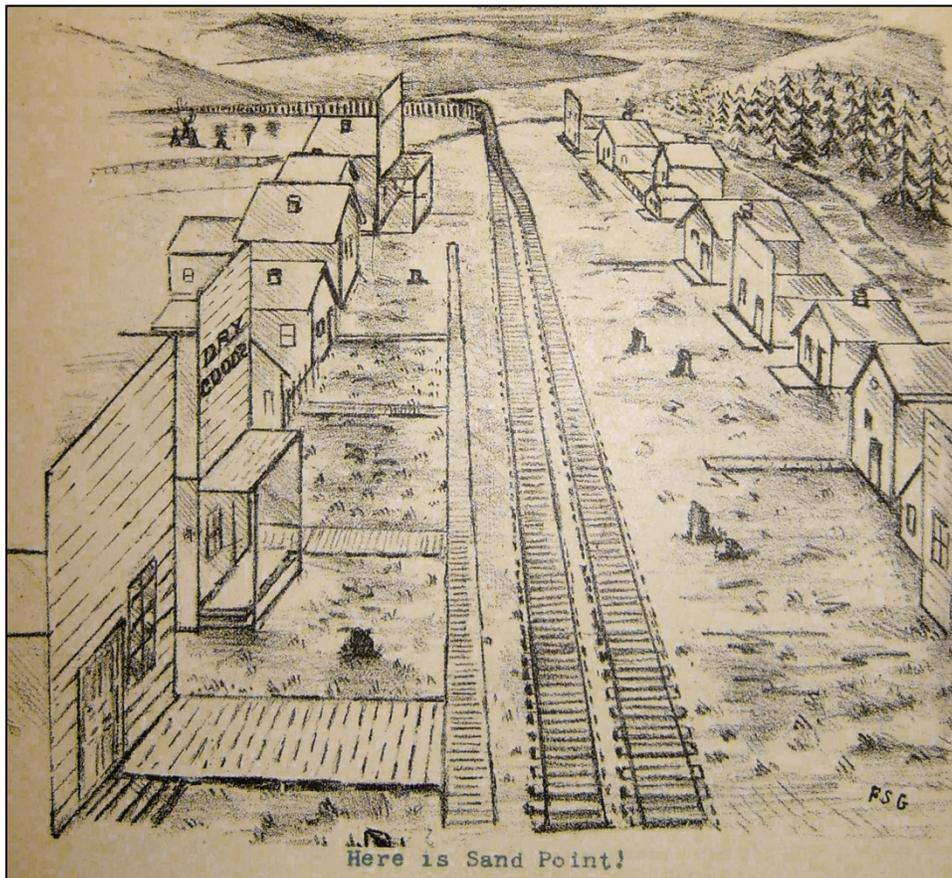


Figure 11. Sketch of early Sandpoint, about 1885 (Daly 1886).

From the limited accounts, it appears that Sandpoint did not grow much during the 1880s. The 1884 NPRR timetable lists Hope with a population of six and has no numbers for Sandpoint or Kootenai; Spokane, Washington Territory, was a burgeoning town of 1,534 according to the railroad. Kootenai was the unloading point for freighting north to Bonners Ferry and Canada, and in the later 1880s clearly outranked Sandpoint in terms of population increase...until the arrival of the Great Northern Railroad (GNRR) in 1892. Obviously, the NPRR numbers do not reflect actual settlement, but it is likely that Daly's number of 100 (within the locale) reflects some reality. Also, charges for immigrants traveling to Sandpoint from the east at the time would have been about \$38 per person (or almost \$950 in today's dollars)—not exactly cheap.

Nevertheless, Sandpoint was a stop, both on the rail line and for the steamers that plied the length of the lake. From the few accounts that have been pieced together, Sandpoint may have been a bit wilder than the other localities on the lake such as Hope and Kootenai. The town appears to have been a cluster of railroad worker houses, saloons, shacks, tents, and boarding houses, along with the utilitarian buildings for railroad operations. Robert Weeks' store provided staples and merchandise. Based on later NPRR records, it appears that the Weeks store and hotel was located on Block 4, Lot 18 of the railroad plat, which would put it on the east side of the tracks in line with today's City Dock.

Although Sandpoint had its civilized component, in its early days it also demonstrated some of the rowdier aspects of the railroad construction days. Vigilantes from Weeksville, Montana, raided Sandpoint in 1883 and hauled "Dick the Barber" and "Ohio Dan" off for a necktie party (*St. Paul Daily Globe* 1883:1). When Teddy Roosevelt visited in 1888, he called Kootenai "a heaven-forsaken series of shanties" and, while waiting for his gear, headed to Sandpoint for a night time of "entertainment" (Roosevelt 1888:1).

When Delia Holton arrived in Sandpoint in 1886, there were only six "white ladies" in town (Holton n.d.). After stopping at a rooming house near the original depot on the east side of the tracks, she was led to a "house" and chicken coop for rest; the beds were infested with chicken mites. She also noted that "the stores only kept things that the Indians and Miners wanted." At the time, the region was experiencing a prospecting boom in the Cabinet Mountains and most locals either worked for the railroad or were related to transporting supplies. She also chronicles the continued use of the area by Native Americans for congregation as follows: "I think it was in August that so many Indians came to town the flats [the City Beach area] and the Island [a former island in the Sand Creek delta in the vicinity of today's Dog Beach] were covered with tepees." Gatherings and pow-wows continued to about 1934 when the city officially developed the City Park (Gaston 1991).

In 1891, one of the local merchants, Sam Hayes, was arrested for trying to retrieve his lost cash by revolver after an all-night craps game at the Baldwin and Bradley Saloon (*Anaconda Standard* 1891a:7), and also that year, a "lady counterfeiter" was arrested in Sandpoint for passing gold-coated lead coins as \$5 gold pieces (*Anaconda Standard* 1891b:1). It was alleged that she was working for several Sandpoint saloonkeepers.

No maps or photographs provide the layout of buildings for the early years of the town. Even city directories clearly do not provide complete information listing all of the businesses in town. Table 1 provides a list of businesses of the town in 1887 (Polk 1887).

The directory indicates that the population was 250, and clearly is incomplete in terms of listings. It omits Delia Holton's hotel, which could not accommodate Teddy Roosevelt when he came to Sandpoint in 1888. Similar omissions occur in an 1892 directory (Polk 1892). Table 2 provides a composite of businesses in town compiled from the directory and all available copies of the *Pend d'Oreille News* from

Table 1. Directory listings for Sandpoint in 1887.

Business Owner	Type of Business
John Long	Hotel
J. Blackhart	Boarding House
John G. Hawkins	Boarding House
Bradley & Davis	Saloon
H. Massey	Saloon
Harry Baldwin	Restaurant
E.L. Weeks & Co.	General Store
John Russell	General Store
A.T. Weeks	Boat Builder
Gray Bros	Lime Burners
Kootenai Mining & Smelting Co	Mining

Table 2. Businesses in Sandpoint 1892–1893.

Name of Owner	Business	Owner	Business
Mrs. J. C Ferguson	Hotel Tremont	Herrin & Carpenter	General Merchandise
C.C. Spinks	Spinks Hotel	Mrs. W.H. Bertrands	Fine Millinery
A. Klockmann & L. Knaak	The Central Hotel	R. Sailey	The City Drug Store
Mmes. Stone & Wylie	The Galinda House	Long & Illsley	Sand Point [Meat]Market
Thomas Devine	The Park Lodging House	Williams & Long	Sand Point [Meat]Market
William Monroe	Boarding House	Barker & Spearing	Sand Point [Meat]Market
F.H. Buzzard	The Sporting Exchange Saloon	J.G. Dickson	Sand Point [Meat]Market
Wylie & Buzzard	The Sporting Exchange Saloon	Duffy & Baker	Notions
A.B Wylie	The Sporting Exchange Saloon	J.L. Pritchard	Confectionary, Tobacco
P.E. Cusak	The Sporting Exchange Saloon	P.H. Stevenson	Confectionery
Cusak & Sutter	The Sporting Exchange Saloon	Mrs. S.A. Mitchell	Wines, Liquors, and Cigars
Baldwin & Bradley	The Billard Exchange Saloon	W.B. Dishman	Sand Point Stage Line
McVeigh & Bertrand	The Elite Saloon	George House	The O.K. Barber Shop
J.P. Beeler & Co.	The Minneapolis Saloon	Jubert Robert	The O.K. Barber Shop
Walt & Dunc	The Montana Saloon	Beeler & Leidiger	Tonsorial Parlor
A.B. Wylie & Co.	The Point Saloon	William Beeler	Tonsorial Parlor
J. Waite	The Seattle Mug Saloon	James Peterson	Boot and Shoemaker
Butler & Lund	The Senate Saloon	A. R. Ridley	Contractor and Builder
Larson & Co.	The Union Saloon	J.J. Dunfee	Jeweler
L. Knaak	The Central Saloon	P.E. Cusak	Justice of the Peace
George Richter	Saloon	J.L. Prichard	Notary Public
J.H. Patterson	Saloon	J.L. Brace	Sawmill
Charles Wing	The Central Restaurant	Butler & Manning	Steamer Halys
Hugh Murphy	Whiteman's Chop House	Ellis & Benton	Steamer Halys
N. Ouimet	Pend d'Oreille Restaurant	I. Manning	Steamer Halys
Ed Cassens	Sporting Exchange Lunch	Tanner & Farmer	Steamer Torpedo
Ed Cassens	The Central Restaurant	Dr. J.C. Ricks	Veterinary Surgeon
Ignatz Weil	General Merchandise	T.F. McDougal	Veterinary Surgeon/Farrier

February 1892 to April 1893. Where business names are identified, they come from the newspaper. The others come from the directory, although there is some overlap.

The histories, accounts, and later photographs agree that, from the beginning, the town lay on both sides of the tracks as shown in Figure 11. Those on the west side and within the project corridor (between the Cedar Street and Bridge Street bridges) were, for the most part, built on platforms supported by pilings along the steep bank of Sand Creek. The main commercial establishments stretched from Bridge Street to approximately the junction with the City Dock.

On the west side, south of Bridge Street, lay the more utilitarian services (blacksmithing), stables, and, after 1892, a stage to the GNRR depot. The far south end contained the Chinese enclave (Figure 12). As early as the final days of railroad construction, there were Chinese laundrymen at Sandpoint. A broad daylight murder in February, 1882 resulted in the culprit being caught and arrested in a “Chinese washhouse” (*Spokane Times* 1882). Housing stood at the southeast corner of the town, and down on the lower flats toward the lake.

Early Sandpoint appears to have been a fairly wild town regardless of some of its more civilized aspirations. Records mention hangings and shootings, and the saloons advertised that they were open all night. When Ella Farmin arrived in 1892, she noted: “Over in this little town there were perhaps one hundred people – 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” (Farmin n.d.).



Figure 12. Chinese residence with pen in 1887 just above the railroad crossing of Sand Creek (courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

A passerby reported in the *Spokane Review* (1892a) that:

Sand Point is made up of between three and four dozen rude shacks and perhaps a dozen tents. Sixty-five per cent of the buildings are used for saloon and gambling purposes, with a few brothels, the latter a natural consequence of the former. The remainder may be divided up between restaurants, lodging-houses, barber shops and a few general stores.... About 7 o'clock the saloon [where the individual was staying] began to fill up with the laborers from the railroad. Almost every nationality under the sun was represented.... By 10 o'clock I concluded to go to bed, but between the bugs that had already taken possession of the bed...and the drunken yells downstairs, it was impossible to sleep.

In defense of Sandpoint, the account refers to a time when construction of the second transcontinental railroad line, the GNRR, was passing through the area, complete with boisterous crews of laborers with behavior akin to the days of the NPRR. A rejoinder by a local resident softened the criticism, but did not exactly erase the charges (*Spokane Review* 1892b):

By crossing the street to the west side of the track he could have found a very good two-and-one-half story hotel, with no saloon or gambling in connections, beside two other lodging houses which are perfectly respectable and quiet. As for the saloons and gambling places he complains of, I presume they are of about the same kind and conducted upon the same principles as such places are in all frontier towns where there is a considerable pay roll... [Referring to the shacks and tents the complainer] was evidently blinded by prejudice or something stronger. There have been a large number of common board houses built upon the flats during the year. Nor can our town boast of architectural beauty. There being no government survey of lands as yet, the only building site obtainable has been on railroad right of way by lease from the Northern Pacific Company. Nevertheless the hotel building cost \$2,000 and the other buildings on the right of way have cost from \$500 upward, averaging, perhaps, \$500 each, all painted except two new buildings, which altogether, make very respectable "rude shacks."

Another newspaper account emphasizes the effects of the railroad construction (*St. Paul Daily Globe* 1892:6):

The opening of an enormous dance house at Sand Point, Idaho, resulted in bloodshed and riot last night. Sand Point is a lively town on the Great Northern. Dave Duphey started a house, calling it the Seattle Mug. Three hundred railroaders, cowpunchers and mining men attended the opening. During the night a man known as "Cucumber Pete," in the midst of the dances, started a row, and a riot ensued. Pete was shot in the breast by "Wylockie Ned;" Irish Mollie and Iolanthe, two dissolute females, were wounded and may die; "Steamboat Johnnie:" had his brains blown out. In the midst of the affray, United States Marshal Joe Warren and Sheriff Morley, with five men entered, and closed the house. Twenty-five of the worst characters in the Northwest are now penned up in a stockade and guarded by deputy sheriffs.

That condition soon started to change. The arrival of the GNRR brought not only a significant economic advantage to Sandpoint, but also more immigrants to the area. Progress was somewhat stalled by the recession of 1893 (which put the NPRR into bankruptcy), but the trend was set for an influx of families rather than the single, male-dominated, and somewhat transient hordes of miners and loggers who dominated the earlier years of the town.

With the GNRR came the L.D. Farmin family, who served as station manager and telegraphers. They acquired the squatter homestead of Joe Prichard on the west side of Sand Creek and the future townsite of "new" Sandpoint. In 1893, the John Nesbitt family arrived along with several other families from Smead, Montana, and established a shingle mill near the location that ultimately became the Humbird Lumber Company sawmill.

A PUSH FOR RESPECTABILITY AND GROWTH (1893 TO 1900)

The completion of the GNRR, the opening of federal lands to claim through homesteading, cash entry, and the Timber and Stone Act, and the continued promotion of the territory did much to transform the Sandpoint community and the surrounding area. Assuredly, some of the old ways remained. But these were gradually forced out or dispersed by both the increasingly "respectable" populace and the changing economy of the region.

With the GNRR came L.D. and Ella Farmin. The Farmins served as the railroad agents and telegraphers at the GNRR Station along the line west of Sandpoint. During construction, a road had been built linking the station with the town (essentially today's Main Street, which runs diagonal to the later plat of the city). A stage coach initially operated by Harry Baldwin and Frank Courtney, with the terminal and barn just south of Church or Bridge Street on the west side of the NPRR tracks, provided service between the two depots.

The new arrivals were harbingers of the changes to come. Ella Farmin, in her autobiography, talks about the lawlessness and moral turpitude when she arrived (Farmin n.d.). With the Farmins and other new families came the impetus for establishing a settled community. The proper ladies of the town—few as they still were—banded together to promote improvements and make the place more family oriented. These included a dedicated schoolhouse, Sunday school meetings, and around 1896 an organized church (Farmin n.d.:75–76).

Also during the period, industry entered the area with a vengeance. Timber took on a new meaning, with several saw and shingle mills opening up; poles and ties, always a staple, increased in production; a smelter was opened with the intent to process ores obtained from mines in the Coeur d’Alene mountains and in the Priest Lake area. All this presaged a change in character of both the Sandpoint town and the surrounding region.

Promoting the region had its positive effect. A severe economic depression in 1893–1894 pressed people from more eastern states to look for fortune and opportunity in the West. With the ease now afforded by railroad transportation, people from all across the United States as well as foreign countries decided to gamble on north Idaho and the area around Sandpoint. As the timber industry opened up the lands, primarily around Sandpoint and the flatter lands in the Purcell Trench from Bonners Ferry south to Coeur d’Alene, farmers and homesteaders moved in to make their claims. Sandpoint’s respectability is rooted in the influx of workers, farmers, and opportunists who arrived during the second half of the 1890s, many by rail, and because of the finally successful promotion of the area by the railroad companies.

The layout of the town for the first two decades is difficult to reconstruct. Clearly, both businesses and residences occupied rows on both sides of the tracks; additional residences were located in the lower flats between the east side of town and the lake, and a few homesteads were established farther up north near the intertie between the GNRR and the NPRR and across Sand Creek. It seems that the east side of town originally contained the more commercial activities: saloons, stores, warehouses, and a few residences packed closely together. Fires recorded in the 1890s also occurred on the east side, and often proved major disasters. But the owners quickly rebuilt.

Use of the west side of the tracks seems varied if not a bit ephemeral. The buildings seem spread out more than their counterparts, and their uses present a bit of a moving target. Benjamin Butler’s establishments represent the only clear anchor. Butler, who arrived in 1881, took land at the north end of town opposite the NPRR depot and variously ran a saloon, boarding house, and subsequently a store (Western Historical Publishing 1903:794). When Roosevelt visited Sandpoint in 1888, he ended up sleeping in a “shack” on the west side of the tracks owned by Winfield Scott Monhart (Gunter n.d.). Records from the 1890s improve our understanding of the town layout, but not by much.

It appears that the NPRR did not establish recorded leases with the town residents (the town lay mostly on station property claimed by the railroad) until about 1890. Even so, the lease records do not match the level of detail even given in newspaper accounts, in terms of providing a clear sequence of occupancy. Recorded leases and dates from the period are shown on Figure 13.

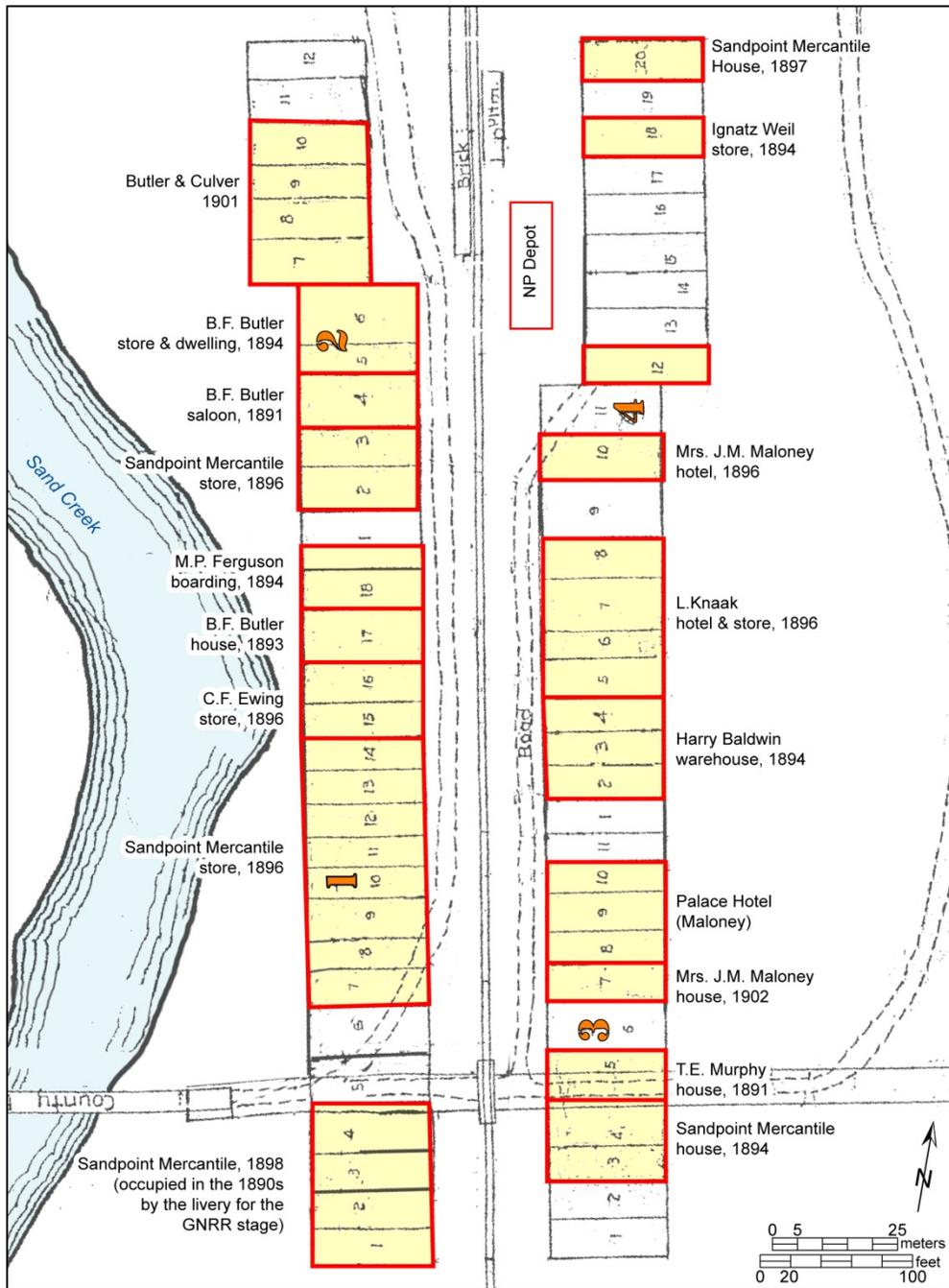


Figure 13. NPRR plat with 1890s leases.

The dates of the leases in some cases probably do not represent a start date. For example, the location of Ignatz Weil’s operation (subsequently Sandpoint Mercantile) at the north end of town likely represents the location of the original Weeks store from the early 1880s; the same applies to Benjamin Butler—his saloon, an earlier boarding house, and store were likely all in the same general location on the west side.

Maynard McDuffie (1974:2–3), who arrived as a child in 1894, recounted his memories of the town layout. He describes the east side as follows:

South of the section house, there was...a wagon road ...that went on south paralleling the railroad. [It] widened into the top of the little village square [where the depot stood]...[That] was the refreshment section of the town—was built two saloons and one restaurant.

One of the saloon keepers name was Willie Nash...The restaurant was operated by Mrs. Maloney...The McDuffie's ate there in 1894. I remember the lady in the beautiful black dress and that's about all I remember of it. I was only four years old at the time.

The other saloon was operated by Harry Baldwin and Harry Baldwin also had a residence on that block. It was just a short block. The Baldwin residence was just about opposite where Church Street would wind up if it was extended. There was another railroad crossing there. Today it has been turned into an underpass, but at that time with the railroads being level with the ground went over it and it went on down to the flats.

... There were three houses between the spot where that underpass goes through and the flat land south of that. Murphy's lived in the end house. I think the Workman's lived next door, but I may be mistaken about that, they may have lived on the flats along with the Holtons, and Carlins. The corner house next to the underpass belonged to Mrs. Maloney.

What seems fairly clear is that development on the west side near Sand Creek was not as dense as on the other side of the tracks. After detailing the east side of the town, McDuffie outlined the west. He notes Ben Butler's store opposite the depot and then goes on to say:

There was a vacant space south of Butler's store, [and then] there was a rooming house operated by Lottie Ferguson...[and] another vacant spot...and at the end of the block was another general store. The manager of it was a man named King. I think that was a Northern Mercantile Company owned store but no one ever called it anything but King's store. There were some more vacant land until you got south of [where] the Church [Bridge] street bridge is today. It was there then and there just to the south of that Harry Baldwin had a horse barn and stage terminal. He and his brother-in-law Frank Courtney operated a stage between the Great Northern depot and Sandpoint.

Between 1890 and 1900, the town almost doubled in size to a population of 400. While the demographics were changing, the 1900 census shows that the town of about 400⁵ still was dominated by a male presence. Men, especially single men, found fewer objections to the saloons, gambling, and other typical "entertainments" seen in western towns. Of the 276 adults (over the age of 18), 70 percent, or 195 individuals, were men and 117 of them were single (or widowers). Only 19 of the 81 women fell into the single category, quite a disparity for marriage opportunities. In addition, the town census probably did not include the numerous single workers, mainly loggers and miners, who lived outside of the census district, but undoubtedly spent some of their time in town on a periodic or seasonal basis. In that sense, Sandpoint still maintained some of the characteristics of a frontier town, with associated tolerances dictated by the preponderance of single men.

The immigrant movement, however, brought people from all over, although the preponderance came from northern heritage—both American and European. In the 1900 census, Sandpoint evidenced a diverse array of immigrant settlers. The majority of foreign born came from Canada. In terms of numbers, Scandinavians from Sweden and Norway made up the majority of the remaining foreign born, although the foreign-born population accounts for only about 30 percent of the influx of immigrants.

⁵ Officially in the 1900 census, Sandpoint and its vicinity held a population of 507. However, that number included 99 young Japanese who had been brought in by the NPRR to work on raising the grade and building a new bridge across the Pend Oreille River. As such, they cannot be considered as part of the 408 permanent residents and have not been included in the cited statistics.

These numbers apply to the close-in Sandpoint precinct and reflect the makeup of the town on the peninsula, with a few outlying areas accounted for. The overall statistics are presented in Table 3.

The majority of immigrants consisted of United States born with a large number coming from the Great Lakes and Mid-Atlantic states. If, however, one looks at parental origins, additional ethnic patterns prevail. There is a progression of American-born parents from the Mid-Atlantic states migrating to the Great Lakes and then their children moving on to Sandpoint. In addition, people with Canadian and British Isles origin (mainly Scottish and Irish) dominated the once-removed heritage. This pattern is characteristic of the northern tier portions of Idaho and Washington. Statistics are provided in Table 4.

Table 3. Origins of People in Sandpoint from 1900 Census

Origin	Number	Percent Population	Average Age	Place of Birth
Great Lakes	90	33.1%	34.7	Wisconsin/Michigan
Mid-Atlantic	51	18.8%	40.1	New York/W. Virginia
Canada	37	13.6%	38.4	Canada
Scandinavia	19	7.0%	39.3	Sweden/Norway
Southeast	19	7.0%	30.7	Tennessee
Midwest	15	5.5%	30.1	Iowa
Northwest	9	3.3%	34.2	Oregon/Idaho
China	9	2.9%	47.8	China
N. Europe	8	2.9%	42.5	Germany
New England	7	2.6%	40.1	Maine
British Isles	7	2.6%	39.3	England/Ireland
Southwest	2	0.7%	20.5	California
Totals	273	100%	36.7	

Table 4. Parental Origins of Sandpoint Settlers Based on 1900 Census

Father's Origin	No.	Percentage of Population	Location
Mid-Atlantic	80	29.5%	New York/Pennsylvania/W. Virginia
Canada	36	13.3%	Canada
British Isles	34	12.5%	Scotland/Ireland
Great Lakes	25	9.2%	Ohio/Indiana/Michigan/Illinois
Southeast	24	8.9%	Kentucky/Tennessee
Scandinavia	23	8.5%	Sweden/Norway
Europe	21	7.7%	Germany
New England	15	5.5%	Maine/Massachusetts
China	9	3.0%	Southeast China
Midwest	4	1.5%	Iowa
Southwest	1	0.4%	California
Total	272	100.0%	

People worked hard. The 1900 census lists common laborer as the most prevalent occupation. Obviously the watering holes still held sway in the town, as hotel/saloon workers still ranked high. Table 5 provides a breakdown of occupations⁶ within the Sandpoint census district.

⁶ The census data for 1900 Sandpoint covered outlying areas near town including homesteads. The table aggregates job categories provided in the census as follows: Laborer: farm laborer; day laborer; wood chopper; servant. Hotel/Saloon: saloon/bar keeper; restaurant keeper; hotel/boarding house keeper; bartender; cook; waiter. Farmer: farmer. Lumber: timber inspector; timber inspector; timber appraiser; millwright; lumberman; saw mill engineer; saw filer. Service: barber; bookkeeper; merchant; druggist; grocer; insurance agent; laundry; milliner; painter; salesman. Skilled Labor: carpenter; blacksmith. Railroad: agent; telegraph operator; section foreman; laborer. Professional: clerk; capitalist; accountant; school teacher; musician. Shipping: lake captain; drayman; teamster. Mining: miner.

Table 5. Categorization of Working Adults by Job

Profession/Industry	Number	Distribution
Laborer	82	42%
Hotel/Saloon	25	13%
Farmer	22	11%
Lumber	17	9%
Service	13	7%
Skilled Labor	11	6%
Railroad	8	4%
Professional	7	4%
Shipping	6	3%
Mining	2	1%

The Chinese recorded in the 1900 census fall within stereotypical occupations. Of the nine Chinese listed in town, two were laundrymen, six were cooks, and the other was listed as a servant. Their average age was significantly higher than that of the rest of the population, and as noted in the section on railroad construction, it would appear that over half immigrated to the United States during the earlier railroad construction or gold mining period from 1865 to 1880. Two were too young to have participated in the NPRR construction.

As the Sand Creek Byway Archaeological Project addresses the occupations of the Chinese, more detail on this minority is warranted. Again, Maynard McDuffie provides the information. It appears that the NPRR based a few Chinese line workers north of town during the 1890s (McDuffie 1973:4):

[There] was two houses of the type that railroad seemed to have built. They were oblong shaped a story and half clapboard, rough lumber...One across the tracks just below the cemetery and another about 200 feet from that, that was occupied by the Chinese section hands that worked on the section.

In addition, there was the small settlement in the same general area as shown in Figure 12. The NPRR leases provide the details, such as they are. In April 1891, Sam Lee signed a lease to operate a laundry and maintain a dwelling on the railroad property. Another Chinese, Sam Sing, took over the lease in 1896, and renewed the holdings up to 1907. The laundry, with Mr. Sing listed as head of household, appears in the 1900 census, and the 1904 Sanborn map shows a laundry within Block 5 of the railroad plat.

The 1900 census provides information about the people residing at the laundry site. Sam Sing was 51 years old and had moved to the United States in 1874. Two others stayed with Sam: Ham Hing, who was 40, had arrived in 1879 and was a cook, and Susie Lee, aged 48, also arrived in 1874 and was described as a servant. Sam Sing, Susie Lee, and three of the other Chinese do not appear associated with the railroad given their dates of arrival; we speculate that they were not drawn to the United States as railroad workers, or at least not for the NPRR.⁷ Two others, Sing Lung and Yung Yak, had immigrated in 1860 and 1862, respectively. Looking at the census from a more regional perspective, a number of

⁷ The initial influx of Chinese came with the California gold rush in the 1850s. Construction of the transcontinental Central Pacific Railroad beginning in 1862 brought a more organized influx of Chinese to work on the railroad, and Chinese workers were employed on numerous other regional railroads throughout the 1860s and 1870s. Still, the lure of gold attracted many of the immigrants, either directly or after initial arrival, as part of an organized railroad-related system. Chinese gold miners were active in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho throughout the 1870s and 1880s.

individuals in other towns show arrival dates of 1880 to 1882, which would fit the major push for hiring by the NPRR.

Before the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882,⁸ both Idaho and eastern Oregon held large populations of Chinese, mainly placer miners looking for gold. Rushes to the Pierce/Orofino gold fields in the 1860s encouraged immigration from China, and in 1870, one out of four residents of Idaho was Chinese (Idaho State Historical Society 1993).

Our review of census and other records for information on the Chinese living in Sandpoint produced little or no information. We found possible listings for Sam Sing. The 1880 census shows two Sam Sings as gold miners in Shoshone County (which at the time included the Clearwater drainage and the towns of Pierce and Oro Fino). Both are about the right age, and one would fit exactly the birth year for the Sandpoint laundryman. At that time, Chinese represented 63 percent of the Shoshone county population and 88 percent of them mined gold. The occupations for white men varied, with 57 percent listed in the lumber industry or as laborers and only 22 percent listed as miners. A Sing Lung appears in the 1870 census as residing near Idaho City, which was a big gold mining district in southern Idaho. There were 1,751 Chinese (almost half the population) in the Idaho City camps at that time, but there is no way of associating this individual with the Sandpoint resident.

We probably will never know the origins and travels of the laundryman of Sandpoint and the rest of the Chinese living in the town in 1900 and 1910. By 1930, only two Chinese were listed in the census, and none were living in the town in 1940.

By 1900, Sandpoint had become a village (rather than a settlement) of diverse origins, a stable economy, and in terms of north Idaho, a regional *entrepôt*⁹ (Figure 14). The year 1900 also saw a significant breakthrough in the area's development with the platting of L.D. Farmin's homestead as a townsite. Farmin had finally obtained patent rights to land west of Sand Creek, and platted the new town in 1898. The new town offered developable lands and private ownership—a chance to have elbowroom and get out from under the railroad's thumb. It was but a short time until businesses either moved to the new town or expanded to properties not controlled by the railroad.

With the new town plat, people and businesses began the move to the west side of Sand Creek. In addition, 1900 brought a new industry that would rapidly change the face of the town. The Sandpoint Mercantile Company changed its name to the Sandpoint Lumber Company and erected one of the larger sawmills in the region; soon that was taken over by interests associated with the Weyerhaeuser timber conglomerate from St. Paul, Minnesota, the Humbird Lumber Company.

The 1900 census also provides a hint of things to come that would seriously affect the eastside businesses. The census documents the arrival of 99 Japanese railroad workers. Most had arrived in the United States a scant six months before the Sandpoint inventory. About half were boarding on the west side of Sand Creek, with the other half at Benjamin Butler's place in the old townsite. These men, with a median age of 23, were slated for a rebuilding program along the NPRR line. The improvements

⁸ While numerous cities and towns in the Pacific Northwest ejected (sometimes violently) the Chinese living in their area after the Exclusion Act, Sandpoint avoided the frenzy. The railroad, with its Chinese workers, may have influenced this, as less agitation seems to have been typical of areas along the line.

⁹ *Entrepôt* in this sense is defined as a center or node where goods are received, in this case due to the presence of two transcontinental railroads, and then distributed to outlying areas or collected for shipment to other parts of the country.



Figure 14. Sandpoint in the late 1890s looking north from Bridge Street on the west side of today's railroad underpass (Courtesy of the Bonner County Historical Society).

included: raising the track grade by 6 to 12 feet; building a new bridge across the river; filling the trestle area south of Sand Creek; and relocating the depot to the west side of the tracks.

A BIG CHANGE A'COMING (1900 TO 1907)

At the beginning of 1900, the original Sandpoint still remained a core of commercial activities. In fact, some businesses erected new buildings, particularly on the west side of the tracks. All this changed over the next seven years, as the town west of Sand Creek grew in response to the tremendous influx of people spurred on by the Humbird Lumber Company mill as well as changes made by the NRR.

Big Timber Comes to Town

The big Humbird Lumber Company mill served as the heart of Sandpoint's economy for the next 30 years. The initial concept for the mill originated in 1898 through the initiatives of local and regional investors. The owners of the Sandpoint Mercantile Company (which originated as the Weeks' store in the early 1880s) decided that a major mill would boost the local economy. Although a series of small sawmills and shingle mills had operated off and on in Sandpoint from its beginning, none had come close to the size of operation the owners of the Sandpoint Mercantile Company envisioned. The company name was changed from the Sandpoint Mercantile Company to the Sand Point Lumber Company (SPL) and construction began in late 1899.

The company bought a large swath of land north of both the new and old towns, obtained machinery, purchased the holdings of the existing shingle mill on the lake side of the Sand Creek peninsula, and ambitiously platted a townsite along the east side of Sand Creek (Renk 2013).

In early 1900, as part of the mill's development, the company agreed to move several houses that were located in the vicinity of the planned sawmill. The scheme involved transporting them to the new Milltown site, which they called Ponderay. One of the homeowners was Amanda Nesbitt, whose husband, John, had opened a shingle mill in 1892 but had been killed in a railroad accident in 1897.

Amanda held stock in the shingle mill of the Sand Point Lumber & Shingle Co., which subsequently was bought by SPL. In June, 1900, one of the investors, W.E. Cullen, noted:

[Mrs. Nesbitt] keeps a boarding house, and a number of our men board with her right along... Her little cottage, while she gets along in it, is not calculated for a company boarding house. It might not be a bad idea for us to put up a building better suited for the purpose, and let her move into it and run it.... I would suggest putting it at the extreme south end of the town site. You remember how it is there, the bluff cuts off and spoils one or two otherwise nice lots and it might be utilized for this purpose and none more particularly so, as it is so close to the mill. My idea would be to put up a two story affair as cheaply as possible, making a good sized kitchen and dining room down stairs and living room and sleeping rooms above. (Cullen 1900a:2)

In late August, 1900, Cullen wrote:

The Lodging House will be completed early next week and ready for occupancy. I understand Mrs. Nesbitt wants to run it. I have not been able to get at the cost of it yet but I think it will be pretty close to \$2000. Taking that as a basis I think we ought to get \$30 per month rent for it. I will provide in the lease that men in our employ shall have rooms at a reasonable sum say about \$7.50 per month. Transients and outsiders may be charged any price that the Lessee sees fit. (Cullen 1900b:2)

Mrs. Nesbitt ran the boarding house until sometime around 1907 when she built a new house on Fourth Avenue in Sandpoint.

Unfortunately, the proponents of the SPL were in over their heads. Along with mismanagement, they had purchased old machinery and were running out of capital before even realizing much, if any, revenue. By late summer, they were looking for other investors or buyers, and in December 1900, new investors formed the Humbird Lumber Company and took over the plant. The venture was an outgrowth of the movement west by Minnesota and other Midwest timber barons, notably those associated with the Weyerhaeuser Companies. What they found was a totally inadequate and antiquated facility, but the acquired timber holdings justified the purchase. The Humbird Lumber Company completely redesigned and essentially rebuilt the complex over the next few years. By 1903, it was the tenth largest sawmill in the northwest (Renk 2013).

Along with the sawmill, the facility included a shingle mill, a planing mill to smooth-surface the boards, drying sheds, and a huge yard for lumber storage (Figure 15).

The complex straddled the NPRR mainline tracks, with finishing facilities on the west side and the main sawmill operations on the east (where the lake could be used as a mill pond). Lumber yards extended north, well beyond today's Highway 200 and encompassing most of the current Elks golf course.

In addition to the mill, the Humbird Lumber Company built a company town (known locally as Milltown) north of Sandpoint on the west side of the creek that could house the families of workers. A footbridge across Sand Creek connected Milltown with the mill, and reached the east side of the creek next to the Nesbitt boarding house and just south of the old town cemetery (Figures 16 and 17).

The cemetery had served the town from at least 1890. In 1903, the Humbird Lumber Company needed room for additional expansion of its planing mill. The company purchased relocation lands—today's Lakeview cemetery—and paid for dis-internment and re-internment of the pioneer graves. Bodies were moved in October 1903.



Figure 15. Layout of the Humbird Lumber Company mill shown on top of a 1934 U.S. Forest Service aerial photograph.

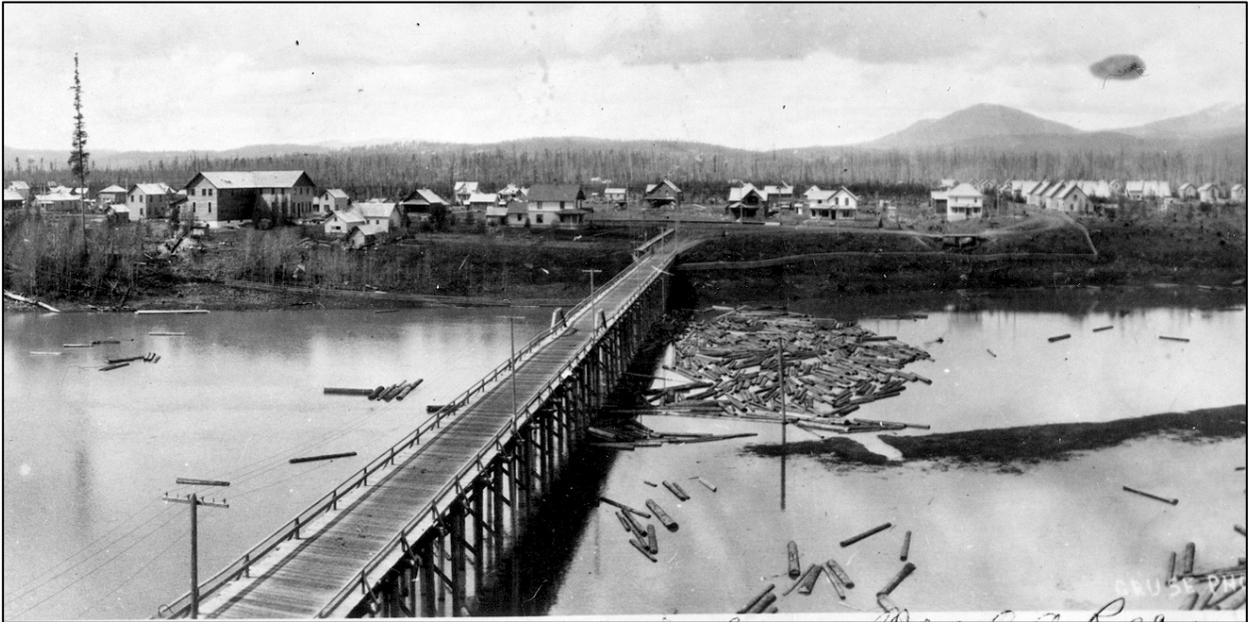


Figure 16. Humbird footbridge across Sand Creek to a location just south of Larch Street with Milltown housing to right side of photograph (Courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).



Figure 17. Looking southwest to the Nesbitt boarding house with the old town cemetery with fence in the grove of trees to the right (Courtesy of Bonner County Daily Bee).

In an oral interview longtime resident Mel Nesbitt talked about the cemetery, which was “right out the back door” from his mother’s boarding house (Nesbitt 1973).

Nesbitt further noted that “Humbirds needed that ground so just trans-planted them. There’s a lot of bones left in there yet too.” Other pioneer accounts suggest that the cemetery contained white, Chinese, and Native American burials.

In 2000, Mary and Nellie Garrison of Sandpoint compiled a list of people in the Lakeview cemetery who had been buried in the old Humbird location. They identified 24 graves dating to the pre-Humbird Lumber Company days and added three additional names from early newspaper accounts. One of the new names was a local character named “Steamboat” Tommy Meagher, who was killed in a bar fight in 1892; the story of his demise intrigued members of the archaeology project.

Typically, cemetery relocation efforts never are complete so the archaeologists investigated; we identified 25 empty vaults (many with casket artifacts), located four complete individuals, and found an additional three graves with skeletal fragments. One, a man between 40 and 60 years of age had incredible tooth wear from smoking clay tobacco pipes (common at the time) and was missing at least eight teeth. Was this Steamboat Tommy? The findings increased the number of identifiable graves in the cemetery to 32, but they do not correspond to newspaper accounts of the time.

The *Kootenai County Republican* (1903:3) reported the following on October 24, 1903:

H.E. Hunt who has [been] in charge [of] the removing of the remains of the dead from the old cemetery to the new has ceased operations temporarily until permits from the relative of those still buried there are received. During the week Mr. Hunt has given personal supervision to the exhuming of 50 bodies during the forenoons and in the afternoons he went with the workmen and saw the bodies reinterred and their last resting place marked beyond a possibility of mistake. There are yet 30 graves in the old cemetery.

Where the discrepancy in numbers lies probably can’t be determined.

The impact of the Humbird Lumber Company on Sandpoint was huge. From a town of about 400 in 1900, the stimulus provided by the mill increased the population to over 3,500 by 1910, and changed the city’s demographics from a predominantly male-populated city to one populated by families. The effects would continue throughout the first third of the century until the mill shut down during the Great Depression.

The Demise of the Old Town

Although some of the businesses remained in the old town as the new Sandpoint grew, dramatic changes were coming. New establishments were added to the west side of the tracks around 1900, including the drug store run by Charles Foss, a jewelry store, and two meat markets. The west side layout in 1903 (and as reflected in the 1904 Sanborn map) is shown in the foreground of Figure 18. Already numerous saloons, hotels, and billiard parlors appear in the background, lined up along First Avenue of the newly established Village of Sandpoint.

The one-time “refreshment district” described by Maynard McDuffie had disappeared; remaining businesses consisted of restaurants, cafes, and the “Ladies Ice Cream Parlor and Candy Store”; a bank; commercial activities including several hotels, three general stores, two meat markets, a barber shop, a jewelry store, and a drug store along with utilitarian commercial structures such as liveries, ice houses, and warehouses. Assuredly, entertainments remained, but these consisted of the Lewis & Keller Pool Hall and Harry Baldwin’s bowling alley. The town layout is shown in Figure 19.

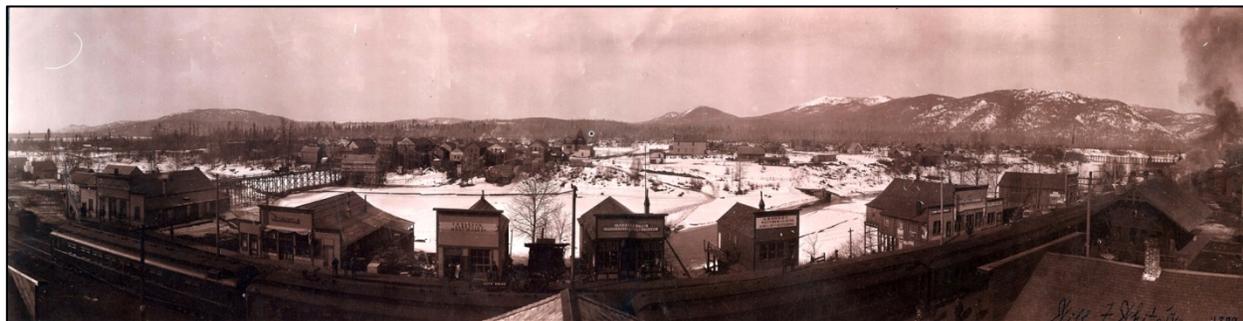


Figure 18. Buildings along Railroad Avenue in March 1903 with today's Sandpoint in the background (Courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

But that 1904 picture of the old town disappeared within a year or two. As noted earlier, the NPRR had plans for their property and line that were incompatible with most commerce. Since the catastrophic flood of 1894, the NPRR had wanted to raise grades and make changes around the lake to preclude damage and train delays stemming from high water. The Sandpoint line and a better bridge across the Pend Oreille River were priorities, but nothing could be done while the railroad was in bankruptcy.

Raising the grade and sales in the new town created the impetus for abandoning Sand Point City (which was used as a term in the 1900 census to differentiate the old and the new towns). In 1901, initial work began on the new railroad bridgework, along with raising temporary structures for rerouting the line. The contract for concrete piers and substructure was awarded to George S. Deeks & Co. in April 1902 and was completed a year later (Darling 1902). Work on the superstructure began under the firm of Frankman Brothers & Morris in the summer of 1904 (NPRR 1904), and by January 1905, the Chief Engineer was able to write the Corps of Engineers (NPRR 1905) that “the new structure is completed and in use. The work of removing the old structure, which parallels the new, is underway.”

Grading work began in the spring of 1905 and required numerous adjustments. After deliberation, the railroad decided to relocate the passenger depot to the west side of the tracks. In January 1905, Division Engineer Croswell reported to the Chief Engineer (Croswell 1905):

It is understood that merchants on the [west] side of track are preparing to move across the river. That the business of the town will soon be all on the [west] side of Sand Point river (*sic*) and that bridges serve traffic to and from proposed freight and passenger depot locations with convenience....[We should] place new passing [passenger] station on [west] side immediately opposite present. This should have a rather large office and two waiting rooms. On account necessity of driveway back of depot between same and bluff, the passenger depot should not be over 20' wide.

The filling for the grade along with the narrow corridor along the peninsula destroyed effective access, especially on the west side of the tracks. A portion of a photo taken in 1907 looking northwest shows the relocated depot (on the right) and relationship between one of the old buildings (just south of the Cedar Street Bridge) and the railroad fill. The fill tapered to the stoop and was higher than the false front, about 12 to 16 feet higher than the original grade (Figure 20).

The continuation of this panoramic photograph (not included) also shows that to the south of this shot, all buildings had been demolished or moved with the exception of the former Humbird Company Store near Bridge Street.

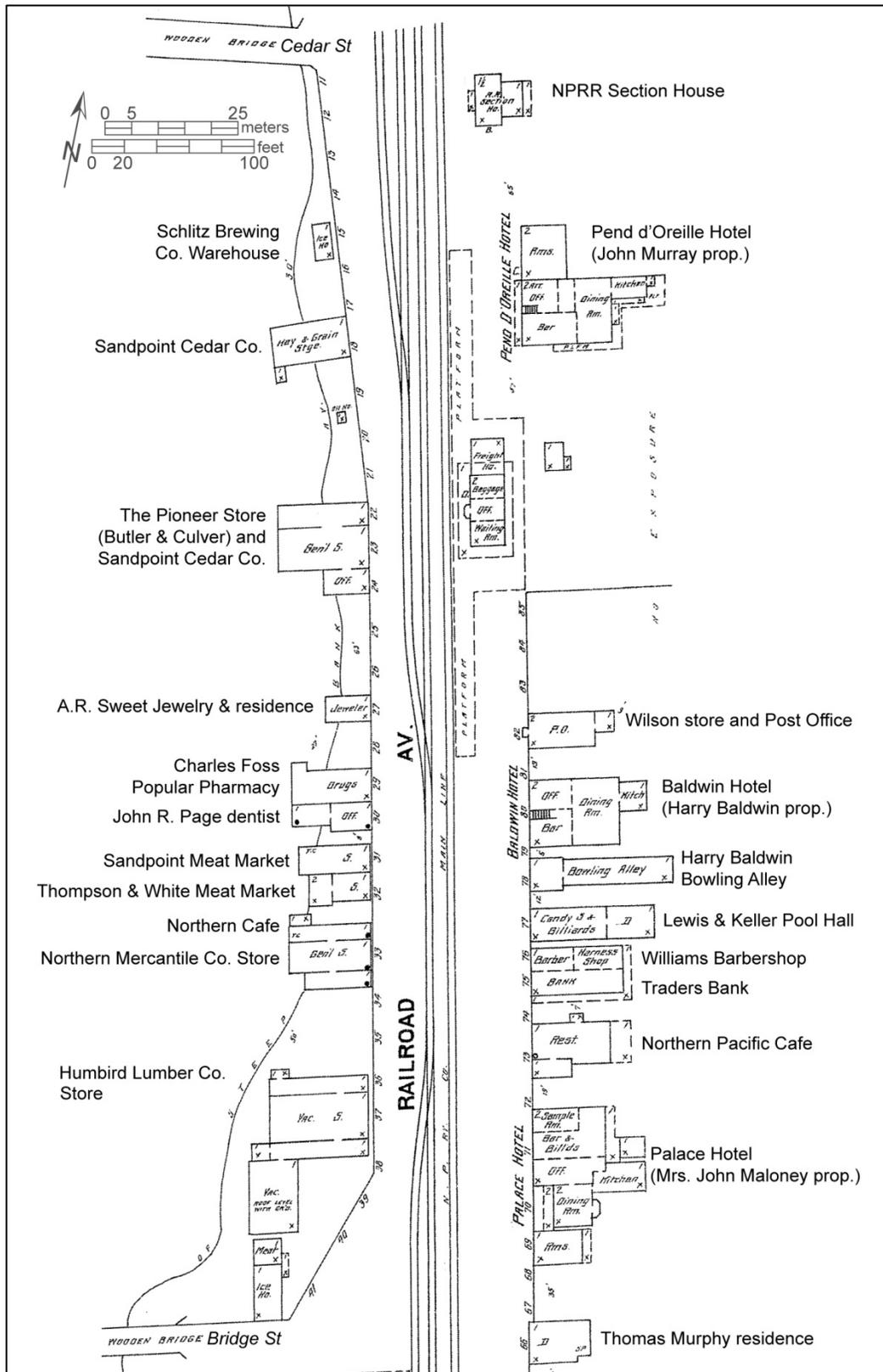


Figure 19. Layout of the original Sandpoint in 1904 (based on Sanborn map).



Figure 20. Cedar Street Bridge and new location of the Sandpoint Depot in 1907. Note that the fill placed for the raised grade for the station is higher than the false front of the old hay and grain building—by at least 12 feet (courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

In March 1907, the NPRR gave notice to “all parties having buildings on the west side of the railroad on Railroad Avenue [between Bridge and Cedar streets] to have the same removed” (*Northern Idaho News* 1907). The same applied to the east side, with the exception of the three hotels. The notice mentioned the Post Office, Traders Bank, the Baldwin bowling alley, and the other Baldwin and Weil buildings as being slated for removal. The end of the original Sandpoint was at hand.

One slight variation on the railroad request resulted in one of the hotels moving to the west side. By May 1907, the Pend d’Oreille Hotel was lifted from its foundations, carted across the tracks, rotated 180 degrees, and plopped down on new fill and timber supports at the former original location of the Butler/Sandpoint Cedar feed and grain building (Figure 21). The hotel remained in this location up to about 1920 before building anew in the new town.

With the demise of the hotel, the new brick depot built north of Cedar Street in 1916 became the only structure of note along the old Railroad Avenue. Trees and bushes sprout from the embankment, and the memories of the bustling businesses that lined Sand Creek are forgotten.

REVERSION TO “SIN CITY” (1907 TO 1914)

When L.D. Farmin platted the new Sandpoint Townsite in 1898, he started a process that seriously changed the nature of the area east of Sand Creek. The new townsite drew new businesses and created an area where people could build town residences. Now they could own both the property and the buildings.

With the business shifting to the new townsite, the area east of Sand Creek reverted to the days when Sandpoint was much more of a railroad stop than a town. Several of the local hotels and restaurants remained east of the tracks as did a number of the small houses. In fact, housing expanded as people built float houses and moored them near the City Dock. On the west side, however, all buildings but the



Figure 21. The Pend d'Oreille Hotel relocated to Sand Creek and was raised to the new railroad grade near the depot and Cedar Street Bridge. Photo from 1912 (courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

former livery stable and warehouse of the Sandpoint (Humbird) Lumber Company had been removed by 1907.

This left vacant land, especially in the relatively level area south of Bridge Street, part of which was outside railroad control. The parcel outside of the original 400-foot right-of-way had been sold by the railroad to Ignatz Weil in March 1899. Soon this became the new tenderloin district.

Over on the new west side town, the townspeople built churches, houses, and proper places of entertainment along with diversified commercial establishments. They organized many civic groups including the Commercial Club and fraternal orders such as the Woodmen of the World, the Eagles, the Masons, and the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. With the fraternal organizations came the associated ladies' auxiliaries (Polk 1910:28–30). Sandpoint became the county seat for the newly formed Bonner County in 1906, and Ignatz Weil built a courthouse to anchor the rising image of the town. However, Sandpoint had never entirely lost its ladies of the night or its Chinese laundries. They actually appear to have increased as the new lumber mill also brought hundreds of unattached workers to the town. As in former years, prostitutes continued to ply their trade in both the old and new towns. Although major establishments (including an open air dance platform) lurked behind several of the saloons along First Avenue—adjacent to the creek—services were scattered throughout town.

Early decisions by the Board of Trustees acknowledged the reality of prostitution within the town. In their meeting of June 5, 1901, they passed a motion that all prostitutes “be taxed or fined \$10.00 each per month” (Village of Sandpoint 1901). That condition was reaffirmed in 1903 when the fine was set at \$10.00 per month with “\$2.00 to be remitted on presentation of Physicians certificate of examination. Examinations to be made at least once a month” (Village of Sandpoint 1903). Although the initial actions of the trustees suggest a measure of tolerance seen elsewhere in the West, with the increasingly family-oriented demographics of the town, something had to be done. Unlike in other areas of the country, the changes were achievable. Idaho had given the vote to women in 1896, and as the number of middle-class married women grew, so did opposition to any form of vice that was perceived as hurting family values. Although the political offices remained with the men, they more and more had to consider the force of the women’s vote.

By 1905, Sandpoint had an established area referred to in the newspapers as the “restricted district,” which was located behind the Stockholm Saloon on First Avenue. The concept of creating designated areas had been first introduced in St. Louis in the 1870s (Morgan 1998:188). By the early 1900s, the idea had spread to many cities including San Francisco; Portland; Seattle; Fairbanks, Alaska; and a number of the other gold rush Alaska communities. Quasi-legal prostitution was confined to a designated area, which in some cases, like in Fairbanks, included a privacy fence that screened the activities. Of course, while the districts did provide value—on both sides of the fence—by reducing the menace of touts and pimps and in many cases giving far greater control to the women themselves, complete control was not achievable and the “houses” typically were associated with saloons.

In Sandpoint a disastrous fire in December 1905 at the in-town “cribs” provoked a petition demanding the closure of all houses of prostitution. The petition noted that “Such institutions are customarily confined to districts remote from the business and resident portions of villages...where they are no menace to the business property of the community, nor an insult to the inhabitants” (Marshall 1906).

In January 1907, Sandpoint changed its government to a mayor/council format and became a town rather than village (both political definitions). Over the course of that year, the City Council and sheriff made rumblings about moving undesirable activities. The *Pend d’Oreille Review* noted in their November 7 publication that “the restricted district of Sandpoint will be moved to the east side of the creek and the cribs to the rear of First Street moved to that location. Ground has been secured in the neighborhood of the Owl [Dance Hall and Saloon] and buildings will be put up into which the women will move” (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1907:4).

In February 1908, the council passed Ordinance No. 84, which prohibited keeping a house of prostitution in the city “lying west and south of Sand creek, and north of a line drawn parallel to the old Baldwin bridge [Bridge Street] and one hundred feet southerly of the same, and easterly of the main track of the Northern Pacific railway company” (City of Sandpoint n.d.:105–106). The only plot of land not included in the prohibitions was the small area south of Bridge Street and west of the NPRR tracks—the Restricted District. Prior to the construction of the Sand Creek Byway, this was the land occupied by the Lakeside Motel, which had been built in the 1940s.

So who were the people who inhabited the Restricted District? And what did it look like? The layout can be seen in a ca. 1916 railroad map (Figure 22), and the somewhat ramshackle bare-board buildings (at least on

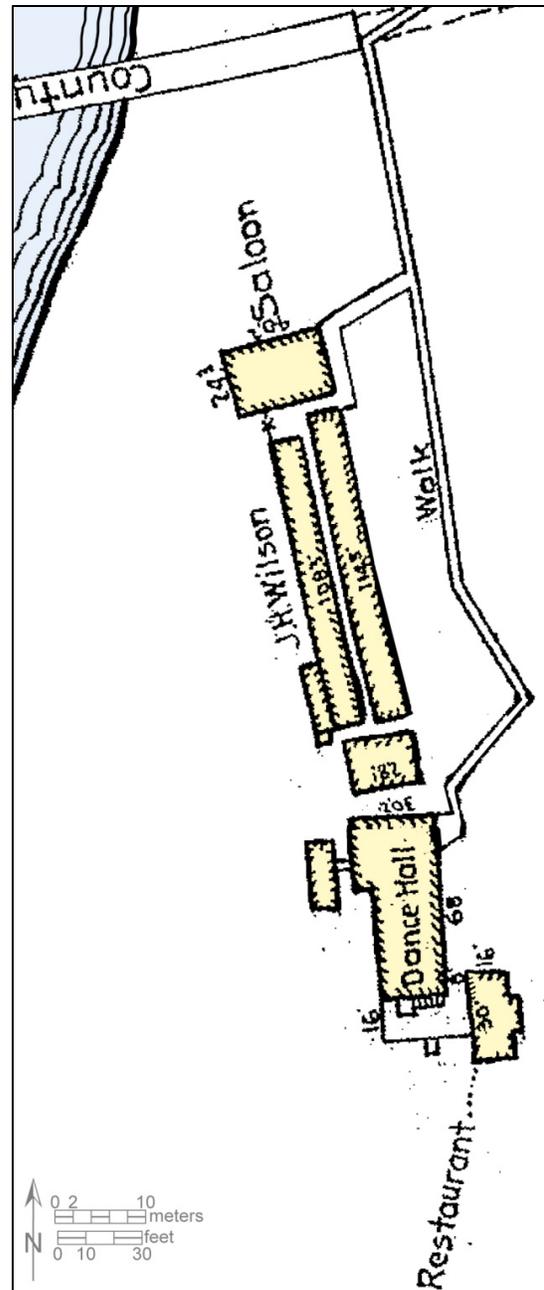


Figure 22. Restricted District layout based on a ca. 1916 railroad map and a ca. 1916 NPRR station map.

the exterior) are shown in Figures 23 and 24. The Owl Dance Hall and Saloon (the Owl), at the south end of the line, was owned by one of the local kings of vice, Daniel J. McMillian; D.B. "Dud" Wilson (also shown as J.H. Wilson in the NPRR map, Figure 22) operated the saloon at the north end, the Riverside. It appears that these saloons were directly linked to their adjoining prostitution facilities. In fact, the 1904 Sanborn map



Figure 23. The Restricted District in the foreground around 1908 looking northeast toward the hotel section of old Sandpoint.



Figure 24. Restricted District in 1912 from north of Bridge Street looking towards the powerhouse. The Riverside Saloon has the false front in the center of the photo.

shows the Owl in its initial configuration (which was substantially expanded in later years) as a small saloon *and* a female boarding house—a common euphemism for a brothel (Figure 25). With the construction of the Restricted District complex in 1908, the facilities became much larger. From the historical records, it appears that the Riverside provided an “entry” for the two parallel rows of cribs operated by Marie Henderson. The *Pend d’Oreille Review* (1909a:5) described the Riverside as being “at the head of the redlight tunnel.”

At the other end of the Restricted District, the Owl likely provided the main access to the bordello run by Willa (Willow) Herman, another one of the “madams.” Examination of photographs from that era suggests that, as one of the buildings ascribed to Herman and her three girls does not have a door entering onto the eastern “courtyard” of the district, the entry was on the south side linking to the dance hall; also the dance hall had a second story that looks like an “upstairs” parlor used for customers of the bordello.

In fact, it is possible that the ladies of what we believe was a higher class bordello (rather than the lower class brothel to the north) may have had their own personal residence just north of the Owl, while plying their trade above the saloon and dance hall. An association is demonstrated by the application by Willa for the Owl’s new liquor license in May 1910. McMillan was still involved with the place, as he was interviewed in 1910 by detectives investigating local attitudes toward the Humbird Lumber Company. The investigator, S.C. Theile, reported that McMillan “a resort keeper in the restricted [red light] district...looks upon the Humbird Company as one of his assets, saying that the men employed by this concern are his principal customers” (Renk 2006: 22).

The 1910 federal census provides a snapshot of the people associated with the Restricted District, including the men who provided services and entertainment at the dance hall. The women came from a mix of states and countries. Their age averaged 25 years old. Table 6 lists the residents.

As to the “working” ladies, they included what appears to be a “resident” population supplemented by seasonal and purely transient women. The most useful record is contained in the police blotter for the period between 1907 and 1911, although there is no way to tell whether the record reflect a complete census; it clearly is incomplete, as a few names recorded only in one year appear in newspaper records in other years. As prescribed by ordinance, prostitutes were required to pay a monthly “fine” for operating within the town. In addition, the record becomes less than transparent beginning in May 1909 when it appears that only the madams were responsible for covering the typical fee, which was consistently a \$5 fine and \$3 in “court costs.” The fee would suggest that the examinations by local doctors were in full force.

It appears that 1908 was the height of operations based on the recorded “arrests.” The records indicate that about 16 women were active in 1907 and an average of about 20 in 1908 (although there were six months with numbers above that, ranging to a maximum of 27); the numbers dwindled to 14 when the federal census was taken in 1910 and to 10 in March 1911, when they were driven temporarily from town in advance of Teddy Roosevelt’s visit. Another raid on the Restricted District occurred on May 22, 1913, when 13 women were evicted and the place completely shut down.

The last mention of the area occurred in late April 1914 (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1914:1). The paper notes that “the first raid was made on Tuesday night on the house across the creek, when Mrs. Wilson [Marie Henderson was sometimes known as Marie Wilson and associated with Dub Wilson] and the two inmates Stella DeGrace and Bessie Barlow, were taken...on Wednesday morning. Mrs. Wilson appeared alone before Police Judge Bunde, and reported that the other two had left town. The ‘Madam’ pleaded guilty to being an inmate of a house of prostitution and paid a fine of \$50.” Presumably limited services



Figure 25. Buildings shown on the 1904 Sanborn map with a modern aerial background.

Table 6. Residents of the Restricted District in 1910

Address	Surname	First Name	Age	Origin	Job
The Owl Saloon and Dance Hall					
101 Railroad Avenue	McMillan	Dan	40	Canada	Proprietor Saloon
	Miller	Homer	54	Indiana	Musician Dance Hall
Rooms					
103 Railroad Avenue	Watanabe	Tsenata	22	Japanese	Porter Dance Hall
	Fong	Charlie	42	Chinese	Dishwasher Dance Hall
Willa Herman's Bordello					
105 Railroad Avenue	Herman	Willa	28	Minnesota	Madam
	Earl	Lillian M.	25	Canada	
	Archer	Nellie	28	U.S.	
	Watson	Lulu	32	Wisconsin	
Marie Henderson's Brothel					
115 Railroad Avenue	Henderson	Marie	36	California	Madam
	Miller	Frances	16	Montana	
	Moore	Florence	18	Washington	
	Smith	May	24	Nebraska	
	Edwards	Trixie	25	France	
	Richmond	Belle	25	Canada	
	Mitchell	Ray	26	Kentucky	
	Chapman	Lou	26	Canada	
	Tackbery	Hannah	26	England	
	Glenn	Gertrude	28	Iowa	
	Compau	Myrtle	30	Michigan	
Riverside Saloon					
119 Railroad Avenue	McKee	Nathan	53	Iowa	Musician Dance Hall

Sources: United States Census 1910

went underground at the time, not to flourish again until World War II and the infusion of military men at the Farragut Naval Station at the south end of the lake.

Dixie Colton was noted as the "Queen of the Redlight District" by one of the papers. She appears to have achieved some acceptance by the town folks as, when charged with theft of a large sum of money, a *Pend d'Oreille Review* article noted that the "woman had had a fair reputation with the police for being 'square'" (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1909b:8). The charges were dismissed. She appears in available records from 1905 until 1911, although the newspaper suggests that she arrived in Sandpoint in 1903. Likewise, both Marie Henderson and Willa Herman show up fairly consistently in the police "arrest" records, with Willa appearing in the earliest available record from 1907. Others that fall in the semipermanent class were Lou Chapman, Flossy Hawley, Alberta Grant, and Frankie McDonald. The "arrests" and "fines" for these women occur for a number of sequential months, although it is clear that they took an occasional sabbatical from the Sandpoint scene. Others, like Grace Freeman, Nellie Tiffany, Dolly Long, and Josie Ellison (who ultimately committed suicide in Sandpoint) were more transient, showing up in the records for several months, disappearing for five to six months, and then returning. Based on the police records, 168 different women worked in Sandpoint between May 1907 and May 1909. Of these, about six women were anchored in the Sandpoint scene consistently over multiple years and another 15 stayed for a period of up to a year or came and went (almost seasonally). These women would have been somewhat known to the general populace and merchants. About 20 others came for stints between three and six months, another 21 came for two to three months, and 106 were recorded only once.

So what resulted in the rise and demise of the Restricted District? Many factors coalesced to create and then break the back of both drinking and prostitution in Sandpoint. As noted above, the population explosion created by the Humbird Lumber Company both supported and undermined what had been the fairly traditional *laissez faire* attitude toward vice in the region. The mill initially brought quite a number of single men into the area, who favored the gambling halls, saloons, and other “entertainment” houses as they did back during railroad construction days. But it also increasingly brought more families, with wives and children whose presence demanded the screening of vices from view and improvements in morals and respectability.

That alcohol and prostitution went together cannot be disputed. Both were challenged by what is labeled the Progressive Era, which flourished throughout the country from the 1890s to the 1920s (although the movement lagged in some respects in the more rural areas of the West). The movement promoted both political and social reform with organizations such as the Anti-Saloon League and the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Linked with the Progressives, the push for women’s suffrage also affected local politics and policies throughout the West. In some places, like Skagway, Alaska, little changed in terms of vice *until* women got the vote in 1916 (Spude in press). In Idaho and Sandpoint, however, women were enfranchised in 1896.

The problem in Sandpoint, however, was the disparity between sexes as shown in the census data—there were not enough women to make a difference in 1900, but they were clearly a growing strength through the subsequent decade. Some success occurred in 1910 when the county voted to go dry. The change was clearly due in part to lobbying by the women of the region. Tensions among the sexes, however, clearly are evident, as that law was repealed two years later. The “dry” spell likely put a crimp in prostitution, and newspapers of the time frequently refer to “blind pig” prosecutions,¹⁰ including a charge against Marie Henderson (as well as druggist Charles Foss and the operator of the Pend d’Oreille Hotel).

The newspapers, however, do not provide an accurate portrayal of the behind-the-scenes activities, particularly by the women’s groups. They were there, however, and a Sandpoint resident, Mabel McCrae was the co-chair of the Idaho WCTU in 1913 (Anti-Saloon League 1913:277). The local Anti-Saloon League, which included both men and women, played a prominent role in the initial 1910 prohibition. As married millworkers became more dominant (as evidenced by the Humbird Lumber Company closing its male boarding house by 1918), women’s movements and the Progressives began to dominate the direction of the town. By 1913, prostitution became something that could no longer be tolerated; the few remaining saloons also had gone by the wayside by 1916 as Idaho enacted prohibition statewide. Only in Wallace and the Silver Valley where hard-working and hard-playing unattached miners still dominated the scene did out-front prostitution remain...until 1988. Sandpoint settled down into a growing, family-oriented “civilized” community and maintained its position as the center of Bonner County affairs ever since.

The end of the Restricted District came somewhat gradually. Based on the newspaper accounts, it appears that both the Riverside and Owl Dance Hall and Saloon operations may have shut down with the advent of county prohibition in May 1910. A number of the other local saloons transformed their beverages into soda pop...but most show up in the papers as having slipped a little something “extra” into the bottles and were charged as “blind pig” establishments. Neither the Owl nor the Riverside are mentioned. When the county voted to go wet again in May 1912, the city limited licensing to six establishments. Neither McMillan nor Wilson are listed as having applied for a new license, but at least 12 other locals did apply (*Northern Idaho News* 1912:1).

¹⁰ “Blind pig” was a euphemism for speakeasies and other establishments violating prohibition.

Although it appears that Marie Henderson's (Wilson's) establishment and two others lasted into 1914, larger scale operations had been eliminated in 1913. The remnants of the Owl and Willa Herman's place burned down in March 1915, leaving the Riverside structure and the parallel row of cribs (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1915:1). The 1915 Sanborn map labels the cribs as vacant and the Riverside as F.B. (female boarding house, i.e., brothel) (Sanborn Map Company 1915). The Owl clearly was not operating as an "establishment" in its final years. It was noted that for the preceding few years, it had served as a "Hotel de Gink," a flophouse for tramps and hobos passing through the area.

The final swansong for the Restricted District occurred in 1924. On October 23, fire broke out at "119" (the Riverside Bar), which had been used as a residence—and for other "operations"—by the Willard Salyars family "for some years":

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 were destroyed.

Unsavoury 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. (*Northern Idaho News* 1924)

From what we know from history—and archaeology—this news account of the demise was a little over the top, and probably promoted a sensational unhistorical stereotype even though it was only 15 years after the heyday of the Restricted District. By then, however, Sandpoint had become an even more proper community. If 1908 was "wild and wooly" and a den of iniquity to the newspaperman, he should have seen the really old days.

EPILOGUE

Sandpoint came into being with the construction of the first major northern tier railroad line in 1881. The construction camp clearly was rowdy; as with other major camps along the line, the engineers wanted to live close by but elsewhere—they had their wives and families to protect. As with other camps, various businesses set up shop. Many moved on down the line when the crews pulled out, but some stayed and Sand Point (the spelling dates to those years) was born. For the first 20 years, the town lined the railroad tracks with houses on the lake flats; west of Sand Creek still was heavily forested.

For the first 10 or so years, the town was a bit of a backwater. The NPRR promoted Hope, Kootenai, and the lake, although even then Sandpoint had its unique qualities. According to some travelers, it was their main post office and also appears to have served as the "refreshment" location for many of the unattached miners and laborers in the region. The reputation caused a young Theodore Roosevelt to wander down the tracks from Kootenai for a "night on the town." As with many frontier communities catering to single men, saloons (and likely the typically associated prostitution) represented the major establishments. Nevertheless, family residents with children did arrive and began the move toward creating a more civilized city.

The construction of the second northern rail line, the GNRR, in 1892 probably signaled the last gasp of the rowdier times. As with the NPRR line construction, the large number of men flush with railroad paychecks drove an increase in drinking establishments. Once they were gone, however, Sandpoint started to settle down—both figuratively and literally. The combination of the railroads and a timber industry paved the way for immigrant farmers to acquire enough open land to raise their crops. With the increase in population came additional businesses to support the various ventures, which still included mining and pole production as well as the recreational aspects of the lake region. The 1890s brought a more robust school system for the growing population of children, the first church, and expanded social organizations. Still, the town population was dominated by men, many of them single. Control of government and business rested predominantly with the men, who clearly catered to the culture of the single crowd.

All that changed over the next 10 years. The big sawmill was up and running in 1900 and soon expanded under the Humbird Lumber Company. The workforce for the mill significantly expanded the population as did the services needed to support that increase. In addition, the mill changed the demographics of the area by bringing in families with children. More schools were built, church denominations expanded, and by 1910, the male-female ratio had moved towards equality. The movements of the Progressive Era as well as the popular fraternal organizations took hold. As most people acquired land and homes on the west side of the creek, the whole center of the town shifted. The old town next to the tracks went into decline.

The NPRR was glad to have control of their property. The reconstruction and raising of the grade along with a new bridge improved the line but infringed on most of the business activity. The area became a sidelight to the new village or—as it grew—town. It became the new “other side of the tracks” or creek. The new population demanded a cleanup of vice, whether gambling, heavy drinking, or bawdy entertainment. Many saloons moved over to the new main street, First Avenue, but even there, controls became the norm. At various times, slot machines were outlawed and other forms of gambling went underground. By popular request, prostitution was corralled and restricted to a small section of the old town. Even then, however, there was acceptance of such as an institution—as long as it was mainly out of sight. All this lasted until about 1910 when the voters of the county established prohibition; the writing was on the wall for other forms of vice. By 1916, the Restricted District was out of business and virtually nothing of import (except for the Pend d’Oreille Hotel) occupied the east bank of Sand Creek except the new train depot. The Pend d’Oreille Hotel, as well as all buildings on the east side of the tracks, were gone by 1921.

For over 80 years, the old townsite lay practically bare, its former uses long forgotten. West of the tracks, cottonwoods and brambles took hold and grew. One area became a traditional rope swing for children to splash into the creek. In the 1940s, motor courts sprang up: one where the Edgewater Motel now stands, and a second, the Lakeside Motel, occupied the former Restricted District location. Both expanded from a series of small cabins into more substantial venues as Sandpoint added tourism to its list of industries.

And then there was the Sand Creek Byway. The Idaho Transportation Department (ITD) wanted to extend Highway 95 up the old town corridor when they built the bridge in 1956, but did not have the money to do so. The idea sat on the back burner for another 35 or so years, and it took another 20 years to achieve the goal. Few people knew that the alignment ran right over the old town. In later stages of development, the fact was recognized by engineers, but they still believed that only minimal action was warranted. Even old-time members of the local historical society thought that an archaeological component of the place was unlikely. They were totally surprised when the program conducted for the byway became the largest archaeological project in the history of Idaho.

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CHAPTER 3. A “COMMUNITY” ON THE MARGINS: CHINESE LIFE IN TURN OF THE CENTURY SANDPOINT

Mark Warner, Breanne Kisling, and Molly Swords

SETTING THE STAGE

Over the course of our excavations in Sandpoint we explored many different sites. Our most extensive work was done on the location of a Chinese residence and in the town’s nearby Restricted District (Figure 26). Both clustered at the south end of historical Sandpoint, an area subsequently occupied by the Lakeside Motel beginning in the 1940s. We spent a good deal of time at the Chinese Settlement for the simple reason that the site clearly represented one of the most distinct findings in the entire project. The materials we found tell a story that is relatively unknown in both the histories of Sandpoint and the annals of historical archaeology in the western United States. Given how distinctive this assemblage was, we decided to dedicate two chapters to what we have learned. This chapter is site-specific, that is, it focuses on what we have learned about Chinese residents of Sandpoint, while the following chapter by Stacey Camp is a comparative study of what we found in Sandpoint and other Chinese-occupied sites in the West.

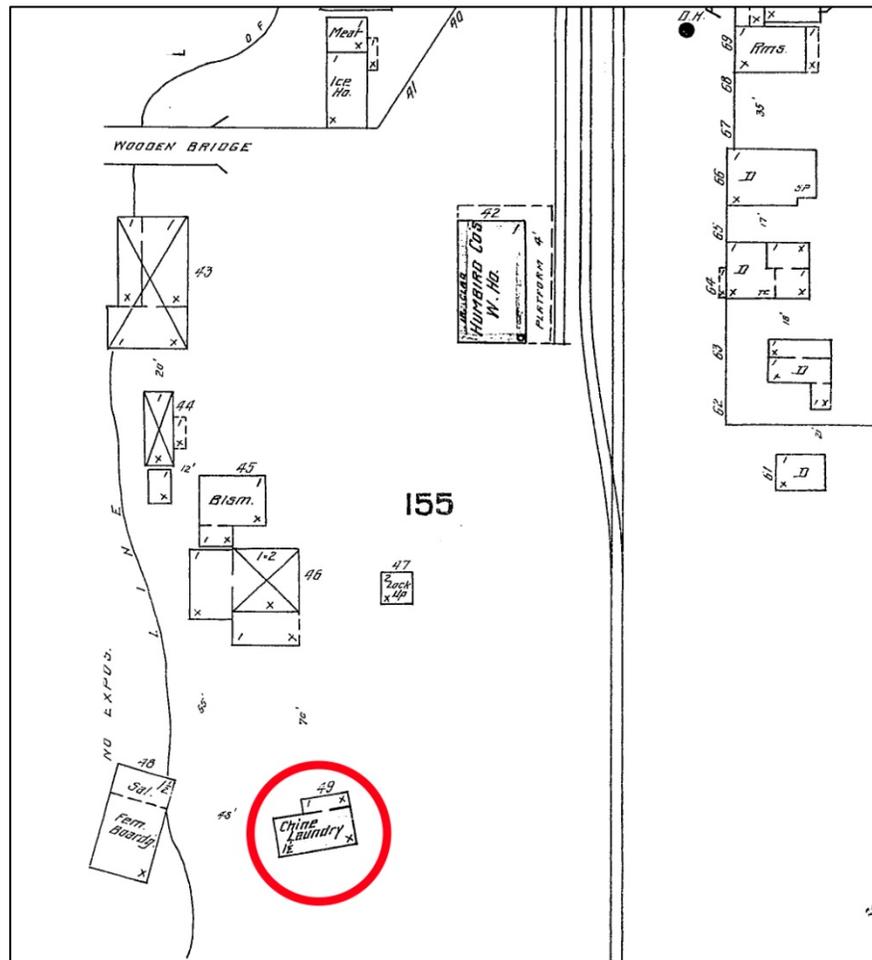


Figure 26. Sanborn map, 1904, showing the “Chinese Laundry,” the building associated with the excavations.

One of the important contributions of historical archaeology in the West over the last twenty or thirty years is the contributions that the field has made to understanding the histories of Chinese immigrants to the United States. Priscilla Wegars (1991, 1993) and Roberta Greenwood (1996) were at the forefront of using historical archaeology to understand life for the Chinese in the American West. The result has been a great deal of insight into the lives led by Chinese here and an extraordinary amount of archaeological data for us to compare our Sandpoint findings with. One of the consistent conclusions of archaeologists has been the fact that Chinese living in the United States in the nineteenth century went to considerable lengths to create enclaves that were to a certain degree separate from Euro-American society. The archaeological literature on Chinese life consistently reports findings such as:

- “Were able to maintain their cultural identity”
- “Went to great lengths to maintain ethnic separation”
- “Lived...without any fundamental assimilation of the American lifestyle”
- “Remained as far removed from the local mainstream as if separated from it by a thousand miles of open ocean”
- “Maintained the strongest ethnic boundary”

To be clear, every archaeological site is different when you look closely, but when viewed from a wide lens many archaeological studies have identified substantial consistencies in material life, particularly of Chinese immigrants in the United States.

People always are learning more about the past through archaeology. Over the past decade, scholars such as Barb Voss and Rebecca Allen (2008), Adrian and Mary Praetzellis (2001), Bryn Williams (2008), and Paul Mullins (2011) have pushed many of us to re-examine how we think about the archaeological work that has been conducted on Chinese-occupied sites in the West. Voss (2005) in particular has challenged us to move away from framing work largely around the idea of acculturation to thinking in terms of community. In other words, the rich array of Asian, European, and American-manufactured products we find on Chinese-occupied sites is more than just the extent to which Chinese were “able to maintain their cultural identity.” Rather, she calls for us to rethink how we view archaeological explorations of Asian America—to some degree catching up with a lot of contemporary scholarship on the archaeologies of inequality. Voss goes on to specifically advocate thinking along the lines of a community-based approach to move beyond the oppositional “east versus west” thinking regarding archaeologies of Chinese-occupied sites. This is what we started out to do in Sandpoint. But what happens if there is no community?

CHINESE IN SANDPOINT

The history of the Chinese in Sandpoint is explored in greater depth both in Chapter 2 of this volume and in Chapter 15 of Volume 2, so in this section, we will briefly summarize what is germane for this discussion. For a very brief period of time, over one thousand Chinese laborers passed through the town (actually the labor camp for building the long trestle across the Pend Oreille River) while building the railroad in the 1880s. Most, however, were transitory as the Chinese worked predominantly on the grading crews, which moved in camps along the line. A few may have stayed in the camp at Sandpoint, as one record notes a murder at a Chinese laundry in 1881. After the railroad line opened for traffic, no more than a handful of Chinese stayed in the area, although records are almost non-existent. We know that at least one Chinese compound existed in 1887 and that a railroad lease for a laundry existed in 1891. Actual counts begin with the 1900 and subsequent censuses (Table 7). As a result what *did not* happen in Sandpoint (unlike in many mining-driven boomtowns in Idaho and elsewhere in the West) was the establishment of an enclave of Chinese residents. Mining towns in Idaho such as Silver City and

Pierce had substantial populations of Chinese living in the community, leading to the inevitable establishment of “Chinatowns” or substantial groupings of Chinese-occupied or -owned residences and businesses in a geographically segmented part of town.

Sandpoint had a “Chinatown” as well, though as far as we can determine, what the locals referenced as “Chinatown” consisted of two or three structures, and those structures were not necessarily standing at the same time (Figures 27 and 28). The local community talked about a “Chinatown,” but the fact of the matter is that in 1900 there were eight men and one woman identified in the census as Chinese, in a town of slightly over 400 individuals—or 2.2 percent of the population.¹¹ Three Chinese people lived in the area excavated during this project; another three lived on the flats east of the town; two lived in boarding houses where they were cooks; and one was cooking for the new Japanese railroad workers. Not addressed in the census were a couple of houses north of town used by Chinese railroad workers. Our area may have been the original “Chinatown,” as it appears earliest in the records. This was an isolated area south of town, and was prone to flooding, which made it a less than desirable location. What this means is there was not a “Chinese community” in the sense of what was frequently identified in many places in the West. At any point in time, “Chinatown” in Sandpoint was basically a single building in a backwater area of town and in later years was associated with the red light district (Figure 28). At the time of our excavations, these buildings were long gone. The Lakeside Motel used the area south of Bridge Street, although most

Table 7. Number of Chinese Recorded as Living in Sandpoint

Year of Census	Total
1900	9
1905	11
1910	6
1920	5
Total	31

Note: Summarized from Volume 2, Chapter 15.



Figure 27. Older 1887 Chinese enclave southeast of the 1890s laundry building. Note the goose or duck pen in front of the building (courtesy of the Bonner County Historical Society).

¹¹ Although the 1900 census shows 507 people in the Sandpoint census tract, 99 of these were Japanese laborers brought over by the Northern Pacific Railroad to replenish work crews along the line. The census just caught them as they were temporarily housed in the town.

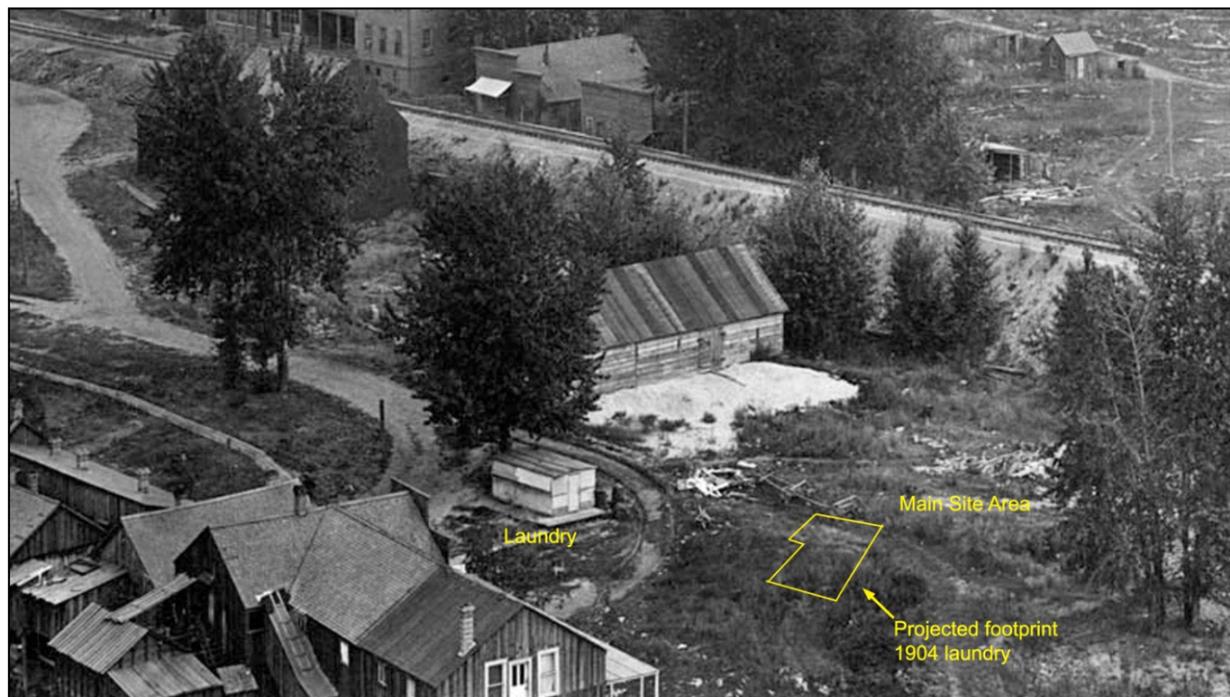


Figure 28. Ca. 1908 photograph showing approximate location of “Chinese Laundry” identified in 1904 Sanborn map (courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

activity focused on the western half of the property. “Chinatown” lay at the far southeast corner of the compound in an area that had been set up for picnicking and swimming. The hotel operations preserved a lot of material culture associated with Sandpoint’s Chinese and what was recovered tells a story about their life in Sandpoint that is strikingly different from what many other archaeologists have found.

WHAT ARCHAEOLOGY TELLS US

So what do we know about the place that we excavated? First, like many buildings, it likely served multiple uses, both as a residence and as a laundry according to the 1904 Sanborn map (Figure 26). Certainly the fact that we found 839 buttons on the site as well as a copper wash tub is strong corroborative evidence of laundering activities. We also think it likely that two men and a woman lived there, based on 1900 census accounts. It was a venue to smoke—and most likely sell—opium, a fact documented both in newspaper stories of raids on



Figure 29. Opium pipe bowl.

opium dens as well as in our archaeology (Figure 29). We found quite a bit of paraphernalia associated with opium smoking (see Chapter 9 in Volume 2). Finally, we found many other objects that are typically associated with Chinese-occupied sites: gaming pieces, Chinese medicine vials, and many ceramics. The minimum vessel count (MVC) of ceramics of Asian origin was 170 vessels. We also recovered 102 vessels manufactured in England or the United States.

If you take a step back and look at this assemblage in comparison to other Chinese-occupied sites, it is clear that the material lives of the Chinese living in Sandpoint were quite different from the lives that Chinese led in many other parts of the West. To highlight these contrasts, we would like to highlight what we saw in some of the major classes of artifacts that we analyzed. Specifically, this chapter will discuss ceramics, bottle glass, and food remains—through the animal bones that we recovered—and what these artifacts tell us about the unique circumstances of the few Chinese residents of Sandpoint

Ceramics

The largest number of artifacts that can be attributed to the Chinese living in Sandpoint is found in the ceramic assemblage. Usually the most abundant artifacts recovered from a Chinese-occupied site are Chinese imported porcelain vessels, which are used to serve food, and Chinese utilitarian stoneware vessels, which are used to import foodstuffs (Greenwood 1996:67). Although Chinese ceramics are prominent in this assemblage, there is still a similarly large presence of Euro-American ceramics, in both tablewares and utilitarian vessels. Out of the total 271 ceramic vessels recovered from the site, MVCs of 53 Chinese tablewares and 43 Chinese storage vessels were identified, representing only 44.8 percent of the ceramic vessels recovered.

In comparing Chinese and Euro-American tableware and utilitarian vessels, an interesting pattern emerges (Table 8). Whereas the MVC of Chinese tablewares ($n = 53$) is exactly half that of Euro-American tablewares ($n = 106$), almost the exact opposite is true of Chinese and European utilitarian vessels, albeit with a smaller total quantity. Chinese utilitarian vessels number 43, while the Euro-American ceramic storage vessels constitute less than half of that ($n = 17$).

Table 8. Chinese and Euro-American Ceramic Vessels

Ceramic Artifact	Chinese	Euro-American	Total
Tablewares	53	106	159
Utilitarian vessels	43	17	60
Total MVC	96	123	219

Focusing on this larger proportion of Chinese utilitarian vessels to Euro-American vessels, a glimpse of home life and traditional foodways emerges. Chinese utilitarian vessels are what the name implies—useful: “Shrimps, dry oysters, cuttlefish, mushrooms, dry duck kidneys, birds’ nests, fish fins, bean sauce and seaweed, along with distilled spirits, homeopathic pharmaceuticals, and ‘thousand-year-old’ eggs all were shipped from China to America in stoneware pottery vessels” (Brott 1987:233). Utilitarian vessels are made with inexpensive stoneware and some have a quick brown glaze, often haphazardly applied. While nondescript, these sherds are readily identifiable in the archaeological record; however, a number of the represented forms were not specifically identified if the sherds did not mend to form a recognized vessel. The vessel forms that we were able to identify include liquor bottles, a ginger jar, a globular jar, spouted jars, straight-sided jars, and wide-mouth jars (Table 9).

Table 9. Chinese Utilitarian Vessels

Object	MVC
Liquor bottle	11
Ginger jar	1
Globular jar	1
Spouted jar	18
Straight-sided jar	3
Wide-mouth jar	9
Total	43

Spouted jars have a round body with a rolled lip opening at the top of the jar and a small spout just below it (Figure 30). Although commonly associated with soy sauce, spouted jars could have also contained black vinegar or molasses (Praetzelis and Praetzelis 1979:155). There were 18 spouted jars identified in the assemblage, making it the most abundant of the Chinese storage vessels recovered.

Wide-mouth jars (Figure 30) were shipped from China and contained such foodstuffs as bean curd, sweet bean paste, pickled turnips, brown and white beans, shrimp paste, and cabbage (Sandmeyer 2006:54).



Figure 30. Chinese spouted jar (LC #40119) (left) and Chinese wide-mouth jar (LC #44670) (right).

Straight-sided jars, which came in various sizes, were also used to ship and store bean curd, and then reused to steam vegetables (Sandmeyer 2006:54). These jars were also known to be used by doctors in China to hold medicinal ointments (Hellman and Yang 1997:182), and the small straight-sided jars contained cosmetics, sweets, and spices (Wegars 1991:474). Thus a variety of Chinese food products and sauces were shipped from China, possibly along with other products such as medicines and grooming items.

The Euro-American utilitarian ceramic vessels include beer bottles and wine jugs, a salt or pepper shaker, and a few jars that would have held spices, preserves, jellies, and other food items (Table 10). Almost half of the assemblage (47.1 percent) are stoneware beer bottles, so when comparing just food storage vessels from both Chinese and Euro-American origins, the numbers drop to nine Euro-American food storage vessels and 32 Chinese utilitarian vessels. In this instance, Euro-American foods that were stored in ceramic vessels were not as prevalent as those stored in Euro-American glass containers or those shipped in utilitarian stoneware vessels from China.

Although there were a variety of ceramics that were recovered from this area, the presence of Chinese stoneware falls in line with findings at other archaeological sites. What this tells us is that despite the fact that the Chinese residents of Sandpoint did not have a traditional “Chinatown” featuring markets and shops, they were still able to gain access to some Chinese goods via the Northern Pacific Railroad (NPRR), or through other means. Overall, there was considerable use of Euro-American ceramics, which is not surprising given their relative accessibility, but the presence of these Chinese stonewares also

Table 10. Euro-American Ceramic Containers and MVC

Vessel Form	Function	MVC	% of MVC
Bottle	Beer	8	47.10%
Jar	Preserve/jelly	2	11.80%
Jar	Spice	1	5.90%
Jar, bail handled	Multiple food storage	1	5.90%
Jug	Wine	1	5.90%
Shaker	Salt or pepper	1	5.90%
Unknown	Multiple food storage	3	17.60%
Total		17	100.00%

points to the Chinese immigrants holding on to some aspects of traditional Chinese food, a reminder of home—and a sharp contrast to the behaviors we identified through the bottle glass data.

Bottle Glass

While the ceramics point to a Chinese presence in the archaeological record, the same cannot be said for the glass artifacts. A total of 63,701 glass artifacts were recovered from the excavated area, with an MVC of 430 vessels. Of these, a total count of 19,004 artifacts, and an MVC of 300 are glass containers (Table 11). Based on a number of properties of the bottles, including form, color, embossing, and decoration, bottles can tell use a great deal about the products they once contained, as well as where they were manufactured.

Table 11. Chinese Settlement Glass Containers by Functional Categories

Functional Category	Count	MVC
Alcohol	8,400	90
Cleaning/Chemical	23	1
Food/Food Storage	909	44
Grooming/Toiletry	48	10
Pest Control	5	1
Pharmaceutical/Medical	575	104
Tobacco	9	1
Unknown	9,001	34
Writing/Printing	34	15
Total	19,004	300

In the Wong Ho Leun Chinatown project, an examination of glass bottles revealed that “the key element in this Chinese Ethnic Bottle Pattern is the very low incidence of Euroamerican food bottles” (Blanford 1987: 229). However, this is absolutely not the case in Sandpoint. For example, consider products represented in the food bottles and jars that we recovered (MVC of 44). The group of bottles includes those that held fresh beverages, milk, condiments, sauces, extracts, flavorings, and spices. Such products include Curtice Brothers Blue Label Ketchup, Lea & Perrins Worcestershire Sauce, and Randall Grape Juice, just to name a few. Basically the entire food bottle assemblage consists of Euro-American beverages, condiments, and other food products. These products are quite a contrast to the traditional Chinese foodstuffs contained in the ceramic utilitarian storage vessels discussed above.

Euro-American glass alcohol bottles more than doubled the food glass bottle assemblage. This assemblage has an MVC of 90, and includes beer, wine/ champagne, and liquor bottles, along with carboys and flasks. Compared to the recovered 11 ceramic Chinese alcohol bottles, the alcohol assemblage is dominated by Euro-American products (Table 12). The fact that Euro-American alcohol

bottles constitute the second largest glass bottle assemblage recovered from the Chinese Settlement also reinforces the access to and use of Euro-American food and drink.

The largest functional category of bottle glass is pharmaceutical and medical bottles (MVC = 104 vessels). The category also includes the only glass containers that can be traced back to China: 13 small glass medicine bottles. The aqua-colored bottles are sometimes referred to as vials and, according to Greenwood (1996:114), were used by the Chinese to hold medicine when traveling or for the prevention of heat sickness. These bottles are generally rectangular and have a narrow, hollow core surrounded by a thick gather of glass (Figure 31). According to Hellmann and Yang (2007:197), this type of bottle is the most common on Chinese-occupied sites.

These small bottles held medicinal herbal pills, powders, or liquids (Greenwood 1996:111). The medicine vials represent a familiar way for the Chinese of Sandpoint to treat illness or injury, and could have been reminders, along with other objects, of the comforts of their homeland.

The 13 medicine bottles were the only glass artifacts directly imported from China. Overall, the glass pharmaceutical and medical assemblage was dominated by Euro-American products. Predominantly prescription and patent medicine bottles, as well as homeopathic and peddlers' vials, this class totals 87 vessels. The Chinese Settlement assemblage includes 50 prescription bottles representing four local Sandpoint pharmacies: Allen Brothers Druggists, Central Pharmacy, Sand Point Pharmacy, and Sandpoint Drug Company. No non-local prescription bottles were identified, signaling that the Chinese men residing here were procuring prescriptions from their local pharmacies. Other glass bottles include patent medicine bottles. Patent medicines were similar to today's over-the-counter medications, could be obtained without a prescription, and were marketed and sold nationally and internationally.

The use of both Chinese medicines and local Euro-American medicinal products is consistent with what Greenwood (1996:116) observed in the Los Angeles Chinatown, which yielded the same types of artifacts but in much greater quantities than the Sandpoint Chinese Settlement assemblage.

The possibility still remains that other glass containers were imported from China and are present in the collection; however, without the presence of embossing or painted or printed labels on the bottles, there is no way to identify those containers. The glass indicates that while the

Table 12. Euro-American Alcohol Bottles

Alcohol Type	MVC
Beer	7
Wine/Champagne	25
Unknown	34
Carboy/Demijohn	1
Flask	14
Liquor	9
Total	90



Figure 31. Chinese medicine bottle (LC #43249).

men living at this locale were able to obtain Chinese goods, in the majority of cases they turned to Euro-American products packaged in glass containers that they could pick up locally at shops and pharmacies.

Faunal Remains (Animal Bones from Meals)

To understand the distinctiveness of the food remains associated with the Chinese in Sandpoint, it is useful to start with a brief summary of Chinese food habits. We also preface this summary by noting that our characterization is a generalization, as there are distinct regional differences in Chinese diets and to address all of the regional variation in Chinese food traditions is well beyond the scope of this report (see Anderson 1988; Chang 1977; and Newman 2004 for extensive accounts of Chinese foodways). Very broadly, it was a rice and vegetable based diet, with the primary meats consumed being poultry, fish, and pork. Those meats were three of the four “heroes of the table” as described by the Chinese poet Yuan Mei in 1795 (the fourth “hero” was duck) (Coe 2009:67). More importantly, there was real disdain for beef among many Chinese. For many in China, beef was far down on the list of meat preferences, while conversely pork was profoundly important. As one scholar noted “Domestic pigs...were probably the principal meat source across China since early Neolithic times. From nose to tail, pork remains the most popular meat by far” (Coe 2009:81).

Given this background, the bones that we recovered from Sandpoint were particularly puzzling. Table 13 summarizes what we found—and what we found was strikingly at odds with what is considered typical Chinese fare. The “four heroes” were not all that prominent in the Sandpoint assemblage. The most prevalent meat by far was beef, and not pork (Table 14). This was all the more intriguing considering how different this assemblage is from those found on other Chinese-occupied sites (Greenwood 1996; Hamilton 2008; Henry 2012). In places like Los Angeles, San Jose, and Silver City, Idaho, archaeologists have consistently identified food patterns among Chinese immigrants that were relatively consistent with what would have been consumed back in China—the four heroes. In all of those places, the primary meat consumed was pork, while fish and poultry were also present in significant amounts. The archaeological findings in places other than Sandpoint are to be expected when one recognizes that food is a very conservative component of any culture. People are commonly quite resistant to change food habits as certain foods or ways of cooking are closely identified with people’s identity and heritage (Mintz 2002:26). It made sense for the foods identified in Chinese communities in the United States to look somewhat similar to those found in China. What did not make sense was the foodways of the Sandpoint Chinese. Where was the poultry and fish and why was there so much beef?

Table 13. Relative Percentages of Faunal Remains in the Chinese Settlement

Animal Class	Number of Identified Specimens (NISP)	% NISP	Weight (g)	%Weight
Mammal	12,417	97.10%	51,238.1	99.40%
Aves	239	1.80%	225.6	0.40%
Reptile	27	0.20%	22	0.00%
Fish	24	0.20%	3.7	0.00%
Mollusk	77	0.60%	58.2	0.10%
Unknown	1	0.00%	0.4	0.00%
Total	12,785	99.90%	51,548	99.90%

Table 14. Comparative Summary of Cow/Large Mammal and Pig/Medium Mammal Remains

Species	NISP	% of NISP	Weight (g)	% of Weight	Biomass (kg)	% of Biomass
Cow/large mammal	3,632	40.2%	35,181.6	68.3%	348.2	64.7%
Pig/medium mammal	3,439	26.9%	9,902.1	19.2%	110.8	20.6%
Total	7,071	67.1%	45,083.7	87.5%	459.0	85.3%

Note: percentages given represent percent of the total assemblage; for full fauna tables see Volume 4.

A knee-jerk thought might be that the Chinese in Sandpoint were merely adapting to prevalent American foodways; as the advertisement says, “Beef. It’s what’s for dinner.” But the ceramics indicate an element of continuing Chinese food traditions (still a considerable number of bowls), and as the reader will see below, there was other intriguing evidence of these folks holding on to parts of Chinese culture. If they were actively holding on to other aspects of their heritage, it would be highly unlikely that they would throw off something as culturally significant as their food traditions.

So how to explain this seemingly anomalous behavior? We may have found an answer when we took a closer look at the census records and at some of the bones we recovered. The occupations of the Chinese in Sandpoint as noted in the census are significant. Of the 31 Chinese recorded in various census records (Table 3.1 above), at least two-thirds were listed as working in a restaurant, with most working as cooks. A second important piece of information was the meat cuts that were present. There was a wide array of meat cuts in the assemblage, and it is interesting that we recovered a large number of very large bones. Some were probably soup bones, but many may represent very large cuts of meat, some of it cheap and some of it likely expensive roasts (Figure 32). Further, the aggregated beef and large mammal remains (almost certainly also beef) reflected a tremendous amount of meat represented by the bones. Extrapolating from bone weight to an estimation of meat weight is not an exact science, but we found that the bones would have represented approximately 244 pounds of pork and 768 pounds of beef. In other words, the faunal remains suggest about 1,000 pounds of pork and beef on that site—for a household of three.



Figure 32. Representative cuts of beef.

One thousand pounds of pork and beef is a real archaeological anomaly. It is not reasonable to assume that the three people living and working in that small structure were consuming such quantities of meat. Now turn back to their jobs. The vast majority of the Chinese in town worked in restaurants. Being cooks in local restaurants would have meant daily access to large amounts of meat. We believe that the meat cuts (many large cuts such as roasts) and meat choice (lots of beef) was a pragmatic response to what was available; it is likely some of those roasts (or the bones) went out the door at the end of the night and into the cook’s residence rather than the trash can. We will never know whether the meat was going out the door with the approval of the restaurant owners, but ethnographically we know there is a long tradition of restaurant workers bringing home leftovers at the end of a night’s work—with or without the sanction of the restaurant owner.

The supposition is supported in the more recent record. In recalling his father at the time of his death, current ambassador to China, Gary Locke, recounted that as a teenager, he worked with his father at the Virginia Mason Medical Center kitchens, and brought “leftovers” home to the family (*Seattle Times* 2011).

Many people may suppose that some of what we have described above (the ceramics, the consumption of beef, etc.) is a simple matter of the Chinese in Sandpoint assimilating to Euro-American culture. Yet a closer look at these materials suggests a more complex story. Given that there was not a critical mass of Chinese in Sandpoint, there were no stores in town to buy Chinese ceramics or medicines or foodstuffs. The closest outlet lay in Hope, Idaho, about 15 miles up the tracks. There, the Twin Woo Company provided imported goods to a cluster of railroad workers, and the Sandpoint Chinese most likely obtained goods from this location—but not on a regular basis. Given the apparent easy access to lots of beef through restaurant work we believe the story archaeology tells us is that the handful of Chinese living in Sandpoint took advantage of the comparatively easy access of local sources. In short, the Chinese in Sandpoint were “making do” with what they could get, and, as the final section indicates, when possible they were most definitely holding on to Chinese traditions.

REMEMBERING HOME

We talked generally about viewing archaeological materials from differing lenses at the beginning of the chapter. While roughly 12,000 bones and hundreds of bottles can tell us one story it is also important to recognize how some little things can also provide compelling stories about life in the past. As archaeologists, we commonly explore and write about people as groups, particularly when exploring the Chinese experience in America. As we noted, in Sandpoint there really isn’t a group to be explored, so the materiality of a good deal of daily life is seemingly puzzling. However, the tendrils of broader group identities can still be seen through the things people left behind. In this instance, the small, seemingly anomalous objects that we found associated with the laundry/residence are not just simply oddities; instead, they provide us glimpses of how those few Chinese living in Sandpoint held onto memories of home. This section presents a few of those small, isolated objects that are so important to tying this story together.

Coins

Coins are regular finds on archaeological sites, and Sandpoint was no exception. Of note, in our Chinese Settlement was the fact that we recovered 41 coins that were originally manufactured in either China or Vietnam (Figure 33). Further, almost all of these coins are much older than Sandpoint, some dating to as early as the 1600s. These coins are discussed in some detail elsewhere (see Volume 2, Chapter 12).

Their presence here in Sandpoint tells us a great deal. The coins were not brought over as currency; instead, they likely had multiple roles that were tangential to their original use. These functions were surprisingly varied, ranging from use as gaming pieces to use in traditional medicines and as personal talismans. These Chinese and Vietnamese coins did not end up in Sandpoint by accident. They were retained for a purpose—a purpose that was associated with personal behaviors and not cash transactions.

Jewelry and Buttons

A second group of artifacts represents some of the truly unexpected things one can recover in historical excavations. The first item is a set of two brass turtles/tortoises. There was at least a pair of these, with an even smaller figurine nesting inside the shell of the larger one (the shell was apparently hinged).

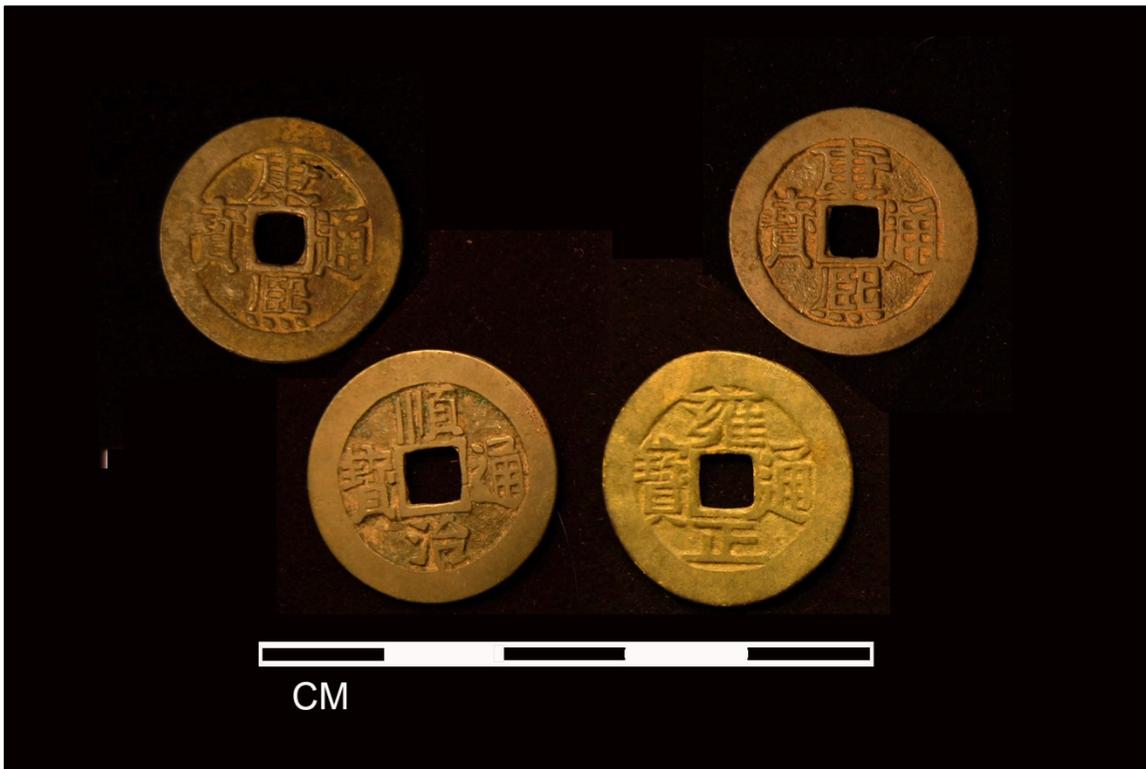


Figure 33. Representative examples of Chinese coins recovered during excavations.

They were likely some sort of decorative pendant, a charm, or possibly earrings (there was one Chinese woman recorded in the 1900 census) (Figure 34). The interesting feature of this find is not the fact that we found what may be a charm on the site but rather what the animal was. A turtle/tortoise is symbolically important in many parts of China. Historically, the animal symbolizes the universe. Its back represents the sky, and its belly the Earth; it is one of the four key animals in Chinese lore. Turtles are also a symbol of strength, endurance, and longevity for many Chinese (Kalman 2008:18). While this artifact could be dismissed as just another trinket, our lab staff spent a considerable amount of time searching for examples of analogous pieces that may have been sold through American outlets. Nothing of this sort was identified by our staff.

Whether this item was more than a simple trinket we will never know, but at a minimum its recovery in the context of a Chinese residence/business at least hints that there may have been deeper meanings to this object for the site occupants.

A second item of note was a bangle bracelet made of jade (Figure 35). Jade was used extensively by the Chinese for a variety of ornamental and decorative purposes. It was used largely for producing status items in China. For example, jade serving utensils or tablewares were viewed as being the ultimate in stylish dining. They would have



Figure 34. Nesting turtles/tortoises.

been reserved for state level dining—something analogous to plates of gold in the United States (Chang 1977:125). This bracelet would have been tremendously important to its owner, possibly from a monetary perspective, but certainly from a symbolic perspective. One side note concerning this bracelet: most people today identify bracelets as jewelry that women wear, but bracelets such as these could have been worn by men or women at the turn of the century (Noah 1987:396).

Buttons

Given that we were excavating a laundry it was not too surprising to find hundreds of buttons on the site. Out of those hundreds of buttons, 17 particularly caught our attention. These buttons were small and round (Figure 36) and most importantly, were the type of button that would have been used on some Chinese clothing. These buttons suggest that there was some access to clothing typical of China. It also suggests that instead of wholeheartedly adopting western dress, the men who lived here made a choice at some point to stick with more familiar clothing items.

Bird Feeder

The last item we highlight could easily have slipped by one of us without recognition. We are fortunate that staff member Dan Martin was sharp eyed and able to identify this small fragment. Figure 37 shows a fragment of a glass bird feeder recovered and an example of what a bird cage of the time (with our feeder) would have looked like. The implications of this little fragment of a bird feeder are discussed in more detail in Volume 2 (Chapter 8), but bears some repeating here. We think the bird feeder represents a very small attempt on the part of the Chinese to do something that was profoundly reminiscent of life in China. Bird keeping was (and still is) extraordinarily popular in China; further, the birds were also largely kept by men (Leung 2001).

Living in Sandpoint as one of nine Chinese in a town of about 400 people (in 1900) would have been a profoundly isolating experience. The handful of Chinese who lived in the town were not living in a place that was particularly welcoming of its Chinese residents, something Wegars has documented in Volume 2, Chapter 15 as well as her earlier work (Wegars 1991). In many ways, the archaeology of this Chinese laundry and residence reflects that isolation. Almost all of the bottle products we recovered contained products manufactured in the United States or Europe, and the Chinese in Sandpoint were clearly eating meats that were not at all representative of traditional Chinese diets, either in the kind of meat eaten (beef instead of pork) or in the meat cuts eaten (roasts, steak cuts, etc.). Yet this project also illustrates the power of historical archaeology to help us see the complexities of life in the past. By looking closely at the little, seemingly insignificant objects we recovered, we also see areas where the Chinese appeared to be holding on to small aspects of their earlier lives in China. We see bowls manufactured in China and an array of other small items such as coins, pendants, and bracelets that clearly were held onto for years, objects that, to us, appear to serve as small symbols of home for their owners. For the



Figure 35. Jade bracelet.



Figure 36. Traditional Chinese button.



Figure 37. Glass bird feeder fragment (left) and example of bird cage with feeder on side (right).

three men living in a small dwelling on the shores of Sand Creek in Sandpoint looking at their bird in their bird cage, the caged bird sang—but that bird sang of memories of an earlier life, a home in China.¹²

THOUGHTS FOR THE FUTURE

As noted, the Sandpoint Chinese collection represents an anomaly to many otherwise known archaeological sites within the West. The disparity is real¹³ and brings up additional issues warranting further study. Who were these people living in Sandpoint along the main regional transcontinental railroad lines? What were their experiences prior to coming to Sandpoint?

Unlike other studied communities, Sandpoint does not demonstrate the cohesiveness of other more typical Chinese communities. Even though small in number, the Chinese in Sandpoint were not clustered into a centralized community. They were spread out, with some individuals living behind the main town and others in their place of employment as well as the site we investigated. Over 50 percent (five out of nine) of those in the 1900 census had arrived in the United States between 1860 and 1875—too early to have been lured by the opportunities of working on the NPRR construction. Two others in that census

¹² With many apologies to Maya Angelou, both for co-opting lines from her classic poem “I Know Why The Caged Bird Sings” and twisting the meaning.

¹³ The data are representative almost exclusively of the Chinese Settlement with little later mixing, and we believe we recovered over 90 percent of the available site area deposits. Being on railroad property, after the demise of the nearby Restricted District around 1914, the area remained essentially vacant until the development of the Lakeside Motel in the 1940s. Even then, the initial motel structures lay far enough away from the main site area to inhibit extensive dumping at the site (a fair amount of Lakeside midden material did make its way to the eastern bank of Sand Creek). Use as a picnic area in later years did not seriously affect the subsurface primary deposits.

arrived in 1879, which might reflect an NPRR draw, although that also tends to be a bit early. Initially, the NPRR relied on “all white” crews. The real boost including Chinese labor began in late-1880 and escalated in 1881 as pushing the railroad line forward became a crisis due to the need to meet federal deadlines.

The initial influx of Chinese into the United States came in the 1850s in response to the discoveries of gold in California, well before the transcontinental railroads were authorized. Additional immigrants arrived in the 1860s, some still drawn by the lure of gold but others because of the Central Pacific Railroad construction between 1863 and 1869. Construction of branch lines after that initial construction kept some of the Chinese working, but some drifted into mining or congregated in the major cities and took up other businesses. The larger populations in urban environments allowed for more traditional cultural continuities. Supplies from China were available, and the critical mass allowed for establishment of social organizations (i.e., tongs); perceived threats from non-Chinese reinforced the collective.

But what happened in the more rural areas—the small mining communities in Idaho, Oregon, or Montana? Chris Merritt (2010:195) provides a hypothesis that needs testing, namely that distance to available sources of traditional goods affected the quantity of Chinese items immigrants could acquire:

In 1897, Wong Chong, President of the Quong Chong Mining Company, purchased a claim along Emigrant Creek approximately 11 miles upstream from Chico Hot Springs [Montana]. This camp was significantly isolated from other Chinese communities; the closest substantial population living in Livingston, 40 miles away. At the site archaeologists discovered a few Chinese artifacts, but non-Chinese materials dominated the assemblage. This does not suggest that the Chinese of Emigrant Creek were more assimilated; instead it is likely due to the fact that they lacked access to their traditional goods due to their isolation.

Merritt, in citing Voss (2005:432), goes on to caution that the interpretation should not necessarily imply acculturation to more Euro-American ways; rather, the situation at least initially has more to do with the poorer distribution systems throughout the West and the availability of goods. The farther away people were from a Chinese store, the harder it was to obtain traditional goods:

[T]he mining camp on Emigrant Creek near Yellowstone National Park lacked any local Chinese markets, and thus appears that occupants made do with locally-purchased Euro-American goods and the few curated Chinese wares they brought with them. The simple fact of market availability precluded the easy access to traditional goods and opened up more economic choices. (Merritt 2010:295)

The site at Emigrant Creek, however, provides only a tantalizing clue, as most of the similar small sites have yet to have thorough archaeological study.

The question then arises about the food selection evidenced in the Sandpoint collection. We have concluded that it represents an opportunistic condition, but without comparative data from other sites, it is impossible to address whether this is adaptive (within a continuation of traditional values and practices) or possibly acculturative, or a combination of both.

It is also interesting to ponder where the Chinese of the time fit into the Sandpoint community. We know they patronized local establishments, and in later periods not only served as cooks and launderers, but established a presence within the community. In 1910, Kee Fang owned a noodle restaurant adjacent to the main hotel complex on the east side of the tracks and was prominent enough to be listed in the local directory (Polk 1910:46). During the great uproar during the mid-1880s that resulted in Chinese being driven out of many towns throughout the Pacific Northwest, Sandpoint (as well as Hope,

Idaho) did not follow suit. Perhaps the NPRR, which still relied on Chinese railroad workers to maintain tracks, protected the Chinese along the lines. Yet the Sandpoint Chinese clearly felt insecurities to some degree, as the site yielded the greatest density of firearm-related artifacts.

Finally, there is potential in teasing out nuances that may be observed in the archaeological data. Whether these are on an individual basis or more generic to the population again cannot be determined without better comparative sites. Our crew almost had heart failure the day we found a lid to an opium can filled with a dark substance. On further examination, we determined that the lid had been made into a stamp pad, probably for laundry marking. Other adaptive reuses of artifacts were visible, not only in the Chinese encampment, but elsewhere within the overall Townsite area. Repurposing artifacts represents a major field of study, particularly in frontier or rural areas, that has yet to be fully tapped within the profession.

Still, the question exists as to where Sandpoint and its Chinese inhabitants fit within the context of a fledgling frontier community, not to mention the larger complexities of the Chinese diaspora. It seems to lie somewhere in between the big cities and the even smaller outposts that dotted the West. The data also hint at degrees of continuity with traditional ways but possibly also of subtle changes brought on by years living within a foreign and changing environment.

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CHAPTER 4. CLASS AND SOCIAL STANDING WITHIN THE SANDPOINT CHINATOWN: AN ANALYSIS OF CERAMIC AND GLASS TABLEWARES AND GAMING ARTIFACTS

Stacey Lynn Camp

INTRODUCTION

The historical archaeology of Overseas Chinese communities is not a new field within the discipline; rather, it began in the late 1960s and early 1970s as archaeologists working within the realm of cultural resource management (Greenwood 1993:376) were incidentally contracted to excavate sites associated with Overseas Chinese communities. As Voss and Allen detail (2008:17), these early efforts, which “included the excavation of Chinatowns in Ventura, California; Lovelock, Nevada; Idaho City, Idaho; and Tucson, Arizona,” paved the way for more recent interpretive attempts to understand class and gender differences among Chinese immigrants within these communities. Though highly descriptive and often focused on establishing a standardized suite or pattern of artifacts in “typical” Chinese communities, these initial publications allowed archaeologists to date, identify, and, in some cases, price the very diverse artifacts found at Overseas Chinese sites.

Wegars’ establishment of the Asian American Comparative Collection at the University of Idaho made similar headway in the field as it provided archaeologists with a standard set of artifact terminologies and common language to discuss the historical archaeology of Chinese sites (for a more comprehensive discussion of the history of the historical archaeology of Overseas Chinese sites, see Greenwood 1993 and, more recently, Voss 2005 and Voss and Williams 2008). The Asian American Comparative Collection began to house an extensive set of publications associated with Asian communities, including an unparalleled breadth of archaeological site reports pertaining to Chinese and Japanese communities. This opened new doors in terms of comparative scholarship, allowing chapters such as this one to investigate differences and similarities across urban and rural sites, transient labor camps and permanent settlements, all-male and family occupied sites, and demographically large and small Chinatowns. Early comparative endeavors to interpret Overseas Chinese artifacts involved using the relative amount of “Chinese” manufactured wares as an indicator of the community’s assimilation into American culture or maintenance of Chinese cultural beliefs.

This chapter aims to contribute to comparative attempts to go beyond basic artifact description by instead placing the data recovered from Sandpoint’s Chinese community in dialogue with other excavated Overseas Chinese sites in the western United States. As Greenwood noted very early in the history of Overseas Chinese archaeology, archaeologists must be attentive to the “distinctions between the more and less prosperous, the rural and urban areas” and “large and small communities” (Greenwood 1993:381). Today, thanks in part to the early efforts of historical archaeologists to standardize Overseas Chinese artifact categorizations and classifications, archaeologists are now able to meet Greenwood’s early call (1993:381) to go beyond assimilation/cultural maintenance models. Ceramics, glasswares, and leisure-related artifacts, in particular, offer insight into the daily activities, class standing, and gender dynamics specific to Sandpoint’s Chinese population; the findings discussed below imply that Sandpoint’s Chinese residents engaged in consumption patterns that were, in some cases, markedly different than those of other contemporaneous Chinese immigrant settlements.

This chapter compares the relative numbers of recovered ceramic and glassware types, forms, and vessel designs to those of previously excavated Chinatowns in the western United States to understand how Sandpoint’s community differed from other assemblages. Sandpoint’s Chinese Settlement provides a particularly fascinating case study for comparison as it predominantly comprised first-generation male

Chinese residents. This unique demographic raises the important question of how gender, class, and generational status impact and shape a community’s consumption patterns in relation to ceramics and leisure-related artifacts.

DINING IN SANDPOINT’S CHINESE COMMUNITY

Based on comparisons made with previously excavated Overseas Chinese sites, the Sandpoint Chinese Settlement ceramic assemblage appears to be unusually suggestive of the site residents’ class standing, gender, and demographic diversity. Below, the distinctive qualities of the collection are discussed and theorized. A more descriptive analysis of the entire ceramic assemblage can be found in Volume 4.

Vessel Decorations

The Sandpoint Asian porcelain assemblage is particularly diverse (Table 15) in terms of the vessels’ decorative type and origin of manufacture, especially when juxtaposed against other relatively contemporaneous Overseas Chinese assemblages (Table 16). A total of 15.4 percent of the ceramics recovered from the Sandpoint Chinese Settlement were of Japanese origin (Table 16), whereas excavations of Chinese communities in San Bernardino, Sacramento, and at California’s Woolen Mills did not recover any Japanese ceramics. When compared with previously excavated Chinese laundries (Table 17), the Sandpoint collection of Japanese ceramics also stands out; no Japanese wares were recovered in excavations of Chinese laundries in Lovelock, California, and Sacramento, California. In Chinese laundries excavated in Stockton and Oakland in California, the percentage of Japanese wares recovered are likewise minimal when compared to the Sandpoint collection; in Oakland, only 1.1 percent of the ceramics were of Japanese origin while in Stockton, a mere 0.4 percent of the ceramic assemblage were produced in Japan (Table 17).

Table 15. Asian Porcelain by Decoration in Sandpoint Chinese Settlement Deposits

Category	Minimum Number of Items (MNI)	Percentage of MNI
Celadon	17	26.2
Four Seasons	23	35.4
Bamboo	10	15.4
Double Happiness	1	1.5
Sweet Pea	2	3.1
Export, Canton	1	1.5
Japanese Celadon	5	7.7
Japanese Export, Geisha	4	6.2
Japanese Export, Unknown	1	1.5
Asian Unknown	1	1.5
Total	65	100%

Table 16. Comparison of Ceramic Food Preparation and Consumption Vessels by Origin in Chinatowns

Collection	Dates of Deposit	MNI	Ceramic Types (%)			
			China	Europe or United States	Japan	Asian, Undiff.
San Bernardino (Costello et al. 2010)	1876–1920	205	80	20	-	-
Los Angeles Vegetable Sellers (Costello et al. 1998)	1899–1919	255	74	20	3	3
Woolen Mills Chinatown (Allen et al. 2002)	1887–1902	63	52	48	-	-
Sacramento Chinatown (HI56) (Praetzelis and Praetzelis 1997)	1855–1860	130	47	53	-	-
Sandpoint		171	32	62	5.4	0.6

Note: Adapted from Costello et al. 2010:6.64.

Table 17. Archaeological Excavations of Overseas Chinese Laundries

Artifact	Lovellock* Hop Lee		Sacramento San Fong Chong		Stockton Sing Lee		Oakland 1813 7th St.		Sandpoint	
	#	%	#	%	#		#	%	#	%
Celadon	198	16.6	1	5.3	32	30	8	16	17	10.1
Four Seasons	131	11	5	26.3	21	19.6	4	8	23	13.6
Bamboo	21	1.8	3	15.8	4	3.7	4	8	10	5.9
Double Happiness	0	0	0	0	1	0.9	3	6	1	0.6
Other Chinese Tableware	40	3.4	2	10.5	23	21.5	0	0	2	1.2
Japanese Tableware	0	0	0	0	4	3.7	2	4	10	5.9
English/American Tableware	800	67.2	8	42.1	22	20.6	29	58	106	62.7
Total	1,190	100%	19	100%	107	100%	50	100%	169	100%

*Ceramic fragment counts

Note: Adapted from Praetzelis 2005:255.

This diversity in decoration might be reflective of Sandpoint's mixed ethnic demographic and/or the occupations in which Chinese residents found themselves employed. In 1900, 99 Japanese railroad workers arrived in Sandpoint who had only been in the United States for six months (Weaver et al. 2006:2-55). In addition, according to the 1910 United States census schedule, a Chinese immigrant and a Japanese immigrant—Tsenata Watanabe, a 22-year-old porter for the Owl Dance Hall and Saloon, and 42-year-old Charlie Fong, a dishwasher at the same place of employment—roomed together in the “Restricted District” of Sandpoint.

The types of Japanese ceramics recovered, specifically Japanese Geisha wares (Figure 38), may provide some insight into interactions between Sandpoint's Chinese and Euro-American settlements. Though the Japanese marked Geisha Girl wares for European and American consumption, they have been found in small quantities on Japanese American, African American, and Mexican American sites. The arrival of Geisha Girl porcelain in the United States was the result of historically tense trading relationships between Japan and the Western world. In 1853, U.S. Commodore Matthew C. Perry arrived in Japan's Uraga Harbor, marking “the end of Japan's isolation from the rest of the world” (Jahn 2004:13). Facing both internal pressure from Japanese citizens who wished to open the nation's ports and westernize the nation and external pressure from the United States, Britain, France, and Russia, Japan eventually conceded to what Gisela Jahn describes as “humiliating” trade “conditions” (Jahn 2004:13). These conditions “deprived Japan of control over trade, fixed Japanese customs duties at low rates, granted right of residence and extraterritorial status to foreigners in Edo and Osaka, and contained ten further clauses demeaning for Japan” (Jahn 2004:13). Coerced into unequal trade relations with the West, Japanese pottery manufacturers attuned themselves to these Western stereotypes of their own culture. As one historian explains,



Figure 38. Geisha ware (heat damaged)

“relevant official institutions and the craftsmen themselves proved their willingness and ability to modernize production and marketing on Western lines” (Jahn 2004:15).

The arrival of Japanese-manufactured Geisha Girl porcelain in the United States is a product of these controversial international relationships and colonial longings on the part of westerners. This Geisha Girl motif was popular among Anglo Americans starting in the 1890s and continued until World War II (Costello et al. 2001:147; Litts 1988:10–11). Interestingly, the wares displayed images that were not considered “Japanese” by their producers. As Litts describes, the Japanese pottery industry “manufactured...forms and designs that appealed to Western consumers, directed by their newly acquired education about their target market. In fact, their situation was rather ironic. While the West desired Oriental wares, they really were buying ‘Westernized’ wares from the Orient” (1988:11). Geisha Girl wares thus played into a primarily white Western audience’s fantasies about the East, but was marketed to a specific lower class demographic. By the early 1900s, Geisha Girl wares were cheap, affordable, and easily obtained (Greenwood 1993:384). Despite their initial reticence, “the Japanese were exporting substantial quantities of ceramics to the United States by 1876...had equaled the British as the leading shippers by 1920, surpassing all other exporters” (Greenwood 1993:384).

A mixed demographic including Euro-American residents of Sandpoint frequented the Chinese laundry/residence in the project area. Given their nuanced manufacturing history, Geisha Girl wares may have been displayed as part of a marketing ploy by the business’ owners to demonstrate their acceptance of Euro-American cultures and gain favor with their Euro-American patrons. Displaying goods that emulated Anglo-American taste would have been especially important in Sandpoint, where racist advertisements and newspaper articles were composed by white community members to prevent Chinese residents from acquiring white customers. One advertisement for Sandpoint’s Lumber Jacks’ Eating House, for example, promised that “nothing but white help” served the restaurant’s customers (Wegars 1991:255). The Baldwin Hotel and Cafe similarly guaranteed its guests “nothing but white help employed” (Wegars 1991:255). These advertisements reflected regional attitudes toward Chinese residents; as a Sandpoint newspaper article detailed, the neighboring town of Bonners Ferry “drove out the town’s Chinese residents” (Wegars 1991:249). Other editorials in the same paper suggested following Bonners Ferry’s lead by chasing out Sandpoint’s Chinese community.

Historical archaeologists have previously documented this practice—placing Euro-American commodities on display in businesses owned by racially marginalized individuals or groups. Mullins (2001) came to this conclusion in his interpretation of non-Euro-American goods found during excavations of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Oakland’s African American and Irish American parlors. As Mullins explains, the display of exotic goods took on particular importance in late Victorian-era culture. Consuming and exhibiting objects non-Western in origin, especially those produced or appearing as though they were produced in China and Japan, communicated that their owners were sophisticated, well-traveled, and worldly: a sentiment especially understandable to middle- to upper-class Euro-Americans. Importantly, visitors arranged these objects in parlors and other locations in their households that were regularly visible and frequented. Use-wear studies of the vessels (Mullins 2001:172) found in these parlors along with photographic evidence of the homesteads similarly support Mullins’ conclusion that these “Oriental” objects were purchased primarily for exhibition and visual consumption.

According to Mullins, individuals on the margins of society, such as newly arrived Irish immigrants or historically racialized African Americans, consumed and displayed these objects to distance themselves “from the conventional notion of penury, which often stresses that poverty is defined by an absence of material things. Stylistically, visible assemblages and unusual goods, regardless of their cost, could confound what material marginalization looks like” (Mullins 2001:167). In other words, marginalized

groups could use foreign goods to communicate an air of wealth and sophistication beyond their actual class standing. Praetzellis and Praetzellis (2001) have similarly documented ways in which immigrants have selectively and strategically employed material symbols to gain the social, economic, or political favors of established Anglo Americans. For example, Yee Ah Tye, a Chinese immigrant and merchant living in late nineteenth century Sacramento, California, held elaborate feasts for “public officials and prominent businessmen” that “subtly fused Chinese food and environment with the familiar symbols of Victorian popular culture” (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001:649). Through Tye’s and other Chinese merchants’ “dinner, open houses, and other staged events” that exhibited “popular Victorian material culture in their public rooms,” Chinese businessmen were able to engage in an elaborate game of “impression management in an attempt to avert racism” (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001:649).

The discovery of Chinese export wares, such as Canton wares and Willow wares, during other archaeological excavations of Chinese settlements likewise demonstrates how Chinese communities “developed strategies of difference and similarity” (Lydon 1999:274) to find acceptance among European settlements. Like the Japanese export porcelain Geisha Girl wares, Willow ware played into European fantasies of “18th century Europe’s naive artistic expressions of its view of the mysterious East” (Young as quoted in O’Hara 1993:243). Influenced by “imported Chinese designs,” which included a “bridge with three figures,” a “willow tree in the center,” a “boat,” “birds,” a “blossoming orange tree behind” a “teahouse,” and a “fence running across the foreground” (O’Hara 1993:421), Willow ware became a staple in nineteenth century Victorian households. Willow ware reflected “British commercial prejudices and developing ethnographic narratives of the relationship between a European culture imagined as civilized and progressive, and an alien culture seen as primitive and static” (O’Hara 1993:423).

Canton wares, one of which was found in Sandpoint’s Chinese Settlement assemblage, were also designed with European sensibilities in mind (Figure 39). Canton wares, often referred to as Chinese export porcelain, were first produced in China to export to England and its colonies beginning in the late 1700s and early 1800s (Staniforth 1996:13). Chinese export porcelain wares were distinctively different from the wares traditionally used by the Chinese in that they were designed to accommodate English foodways and methods of handling Western vessels. Europeans could thus use them without having to familiarize themselves with new ways of holding the wares or consuming food from them: “Both the teapot and tea bowl were of Chinese origin but were progressively altered for, and by, Western usage; the addition of handles to the tea bowl and the locating depression on the saucer to create the recognizably modern teacup and saucer together with the concept of matching sets were two of the changes which occurred over time, often in response to changes in European fashion” (Staniforth 1996:15).



Figure 39. The largest sherd in 10BR978, OP-2, is LC#2821; others, in no particular order, are LC#s 2943, 43802, 43803, 44177, 48961, and 49452.

In Australia's Chinese Rocks settlement in Sydney, Chinese residents purchased these European-oriented wares much like the Chinese merchants of Sacramento, California, did. For Europeans, owning these wares was a "means to display socio-economic status (or class), to demonstrate 'good taste' and to allow people to negotiate and construct their place in society" (Staniforth 1996:13). Some upper-class merchants in the Chinese Rocks community also appropriated and donned European styles of dress, which allowed them to communicate their social standing to fellow community members and garnered the attention of European Australians, who measured an individual's morality and respectability by the lack or abundance of European clothing (Lydon 1999:275). Whether in Sandpoint, Idaho, Sacramento, California, or Sydney, Australia, the Chinese diaspora actively used both Asian and European objects "to create and maintain social bonds with whites" (Lydon 1999:275).

The distribution of Chinese import ceramic decorative types purchased by Sandpoint's Chinese occupants offers insight into their social aspirations of class and as consumers. According to Sando and Felton's (1993) analysis of ceramic bowl inventory records from a nineteenth century Chinese store owned by the Kwong Tai Wo Company in California, Celadon was the most expensive ware, while Four Seasons was the second-most expensive ware (Sando and Felton 1993:163). Archaeological studies of lower-class Chinese-occupied sites, such as railroad camps and mining and construction sites, substantiate Sando and Felton's claim, as Bamboo- and Double Happiness-style bowls—the cheapest wares in the Kwong Tai Wo Company's records—are the most abundant on such temporary, transient sites (Sando and Felton 1993:165). In Sandpoint, the pattern "Four Seasons" was most prevalent in the overall Chinese porcelain collection, constituting 35.4 percent of the assemblage. The pattern known as "Celadon" came in at a close second, representing 26.2 percent of the assemblage (see Table 15). Distribution of decorated rice bowls (MNI=22), however, shows a bias towards the Bamboo style with ten vessels, but the next highest (six vessels) fall into the Celadon classification. In addition, the assemblage also includes five pieces of Japanese Celadon. Clearly Sandpoint's Chinese, although a small group, differ from the lower-class outlier groups in rural camps. They had access to goods through the railroad and a Chinese company store in Hope, Idaho, about 16 miles east of town along the rail line. At the same time, they were also selecting from a range of commercial ceramics other than the traditional imports.

Vessel Forms

The distribution of vessel forms (Table 18) among both the Euro-American and Asian-manufactured ceramics provides additional explanations for the diversity of waretype origins of production. A typical table setting in a Chinese household consisted of "one or more serving bowls or high-footed flat servers; a rice bowl for each individual; tea bowls; wine bowls; condiment dishes; chopsticks and porcelain spoons; a teapot; and, often, a spouted pot for wine, oil, or soy sauce decanted from a stoneware shipping jar" (Greenwood 1996:69). Based on an analysis of the vessel forms in Table 17, it appears that the Asian residents of Sandpoint were supplementing their Asian wares with Euro-American vessels to complete this table service. For example, only 1 percent of the Asian ceramics were flatware, whereas 31 percent of Euro-American ceramics were flatware. Despite using Euro-American wares, the vessel forms selected imply that Sandpoint's Asian community was actively seeking out vessels that would allow them to continue some traditional foodways. Bowls, which likely held rice or other traditional Chinese dishes, make up a significant portion of the overall minimum number of items (MNI) for the ceramic assemblage, with 36 bowls representing 21 percent of the collection when Euro-American and Asian-manufactured vessels are combined.

Table 18. Asian and Euro-American Ceramic Vessel Forms in Sandpoint Deposits

Vessel Form	Function	MNI	Percentage of MNI
Euro-American Vessels			
Bowl	Sugar	1	1%
Bowl	Table	5	3%
Butter dish	N/A	3	2%
Cup	Coffee	3	2%
Cup	Tea	11	6%
Cup	Unknown	2	1%
Cup, moustache	Tea	1	1%
Flatware	Unknown	15	9%
Hollowware	Unknown	23	16%
Plate, large	N/A	1	1%
Plate, muffin	N/A	10	6%
Plate, oval	N/A	1	1%
Plate, supper	N/A	1	1%
Plate, table	N/A	1	1%
Plate, twiffler	N/A	2	1%
Saucer	Tea	19	11%
Unknown	N/A	7	4%
Asian Vessels			
Bowl, serving	N/A	8	5%
Bowl, rice	N/A	22	13%
Plate, large	N/A	1	1%
Plate, medium	N/A	1	1%
Plate, small	N/A	3	2%
Cup, liquor	N/A	6	4%
Cup, tea	N/A	11	6%
Hollowware	Unknown	3	2%
Flatware	N/A	1	1%
Lid	N/A	1	1%
Liquor warmer	Liquor	1	1%
Spoon	N/A	6	4%
Tray	N/A	1	1%
Total		171	

Note: Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole.

Eleven vessels (or 6 percent of the ceramics manufactured in Asia) associated with tea consumption were also recovered in the Asian ceramic assemblage, while teacups and tea saucers constituted 6 percent and 11 percent, respectively, of the Euro-American ceramic MNI. One teacup was discovered in the glass assemblage (Table 19). An abundance of small ceramic cups and teacups (when compared to the minimum number of Euro-American glass tumblers) has similarly been found at other Chinese sites.

A substantial number of bottles containing some form of alcohol were also part of the assemblage (see also Volume 2, Chapter 4). Included in the assemblage were several very small ceramic cups, which were typically used for Chinese alcohol (Costello et al. 2010:6.61). Alcohol consumption among Chinese immigrants served a number of purposes; for the Chinese, consuming alcohol was “rarely about the physiological effects” but, rather, a ritualistic practice that took place at “regular meals, feasts, and festivals” (Ross 2010:237). At these events, alcohol served to reinforce long-standing cultural traditions as well as helped individuals both establish and maintain social ties. An editorial from the *Idaho Daily Statesman* dating to January 20, 1892, illustrates not only the important social function that alcohol consumption played for Boise’s Chinese immigrants celebrating Chinese New Year, but also its role in

Table 19. Summary of Euro-American Glass Vessel Forms in Sandpoint’s Chinese Community

Function	Count	Total MNI
Fresh beverage bottle	74	6
Condiment and sauce bottle	54	6
Extract, flavoring, and spice bottle	10	3
Milk bottle	16	1
Serving bowl	27	2
Tea cups	4	1
Unknown cup	7	1
Flatware	19	4
Short glass, tumbler	2	1
Pilsner glass/tumbler	3	1
Unknown glass, tumbler	167	3
Handle	2	1
Hollowware	6	1
Canning jar	101	10
Pickle jar	525	
Jelly jar	8	1
Club sauce style bottle	4	3
Mug/tankard	15	1
Table plate	20	1
Salt and pepper shaker	3	2
Unknown glass vessel	92	1
Jar lid liner	56	2
Jar canning cap and insert	41	4
Total	1,267	

forging ties with the surrounding Euro-American community. As the article details, Chinese restaurant owners “liberally” treated “all customers” to “beer and cigarettes.” Alcohol consumption was also a highly gendered practice (Ross 2010:238). While “women and children” were “not excluded from drinking,” men consumed alcohol “in larger quantities than women” (Ross 2010:238).

Drinking alcohol out of tiny, Chinese-manufactured cups, such as the ones excavated in Sandpoint, was an especially symbolic act that communicated distinct beliefs regarding gender and class in Chinese culture. For example, Williams (2008) interprets the presence of tiny cups archaeologically recovered from San Jose’s Market Street Chinatown as an expression of the male residents’ expression of masculinity. Citing Asian American historians, he explains: “In Chinese literature...the ‘hero’s’ tolerance for alcohol is highlighted. All heroes consume large quantities of alcohol” (Louie 2002:81 as cited in Williams 2008:62)...“the alcohol consumption is not just a question of unbridled drunkenness and revelry” (Williams 2008:62). Asserting one’s masculinity was especially important given the temporal and cultural context that Sandpoint’s Chinese community inhabited—they often worked in laundries (as was the case in Sandpoint) or as nannies, housekeepers, or cooks (as was also the case in Sandpoint). As many scholars have described, Chinese men were subjected to feminizing discourses when they immigrated to the western United States.

GAMING IN SANDPOINT’S CHINESE COMMUNITY

Artifacts associated with gaming and leisure provide yet another lens through which we can begin to understand how Sandpoint’s Chinese residents positioned themselves within a predominantly Euro-American town. While Euro-Americans have historically represented the leisure activities of Overseas Chinese communities in a lascivious and sensationalist manner, a closer examination of Chinese cultural

beliefs and the locations in which leisure-related artifacts have been recovered in other excavated Chinatowns suggest that these descriptions, on the whole, grossly misrepresent the cultural reasons behind such leisurely pursuits (c.f. Williams and Camp 2007). As the number of Chinese individuals in the United States grew from 7,520 to 105,465 between 1850 and 1880 (Takaki 2000:216), anti-Chinese sentiment also mounted within Euro-American communities. In California alone, “the Chinese constituted 8.6 percent of the total population” and “an impressive 25 percent of the wage-earning force” in 1870 (Takaki 2000:216).

For many lower- and middle-class Euro-Americans, Chinese immigrants appeared to pose a very real threat to their current and future employment opportunities. In response, Euro-Americans formulated aggressive attacks. Takaki argues that the Chinese were subjected to a racialization process quite similar to that faced by African Americans in historic America. He details:

Heathen, morally inferior, savage, and childlike, the Chinese were also viewed as lustful and sensual. Chinese women were condemned as a ‘depraved class,’ and their depravity was associated with their almost Africanlike appearance...Chinese men were denounced as sexual threats to white women. White parents were advised not to send their daughters on errands to the Chinese laundry where horrible things happened to white girls in back rooms. (Takaki 2000:217)

Films, newspapers, and other media capitalized on these irrational fears, frequently depicting “Chinatown” as a “mysterious and dangerous space, existing outside of the rules and regulations of ‘normal America’” (Williams and Camp 2007:205). Recent historical archaeological studies of Overseas Chinese sites have thus reevaluated (c.f. Williams and Camp 2007) archival portrayals of Chinatowns and called into question their validity using artifactual evidence associated with leisure. This section continues in this vein of scholarship by providing a historical and cultural context to the games that appear to have been played within Sandpoint’s community.

The most commonly found gaming artifacts on Overseas Chinese sites are glass gaming pieces, which historical archaeologists have previously called “zhu discs” (Figure 40) in older site reports on Overseas Chinese sites (c.f. Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1997:201). Wegars refined the term in 2006, suggesting that these small convex glass discs, which are usually “1.1cm in diameter,” “0.5cm in thickness,” and “convex on one side and flat on the reserve” (Greenwood 1996:94), be described as “glass gaming pieces” or “abbreviated ggp” (Wegars 2006). Historically, glass gaming pieces were likely referred to in Cantonese as *hak chu* (“black pearl”) or *pak chu* (“white pearl”), since “the great majority of early Chinese immigrants to the United States came from Guangdong province, in the south, from, or near, the city of Guangzhou (Canton)” (Wegars 2006). Glass gaming pieces come in a variety of colors, including white, green, blue, red, or black, and, as the name connotes, are typically manufactured out of glass (Greenwood 1996:94). The color of the glass gaming piece is best determined by holding the artifact up to a bright light. When unavailable, glass gaming pieces were replaced with white or black buttons. Greenwood (1996:94) postulates that non-white and non-black gaming pieces may have been either interchangeable with black gaming pieces or may have counted as “higher value” pieces.

A total of 49 glass gaming pieces were found in the excavation, which, given the small population of the site, is a fairly large collection when



Figure 40. A white gaming piece (zhu disc).

compared with larger Chinatowns such as San Bernardino, Riverside, Woolen Mills, Los Angeles, and the Market Street Chinatown (Table 20). Gaming pieces have been studied by Stuart Culin, an American ethnographer who published a variety of articles and books on gaming across cultures and spent time among Chinese immigrant communities in the United States during the late 1800s and early 1900s. According to Culin, glass gaming pieces were frequently used in *Fán T'án*, a game that was “best known” and “most popular among Chinese laborers” (1891:1). *Fán T'án* is a game of chance and luck, “usually played upon a mat-covered table, with a quantity of Chinese coins or other small objects which are covered with a cup” (Culin 1891:1). The game involves having players estimate and bet on how many glass gaming pieces or coins will be “left when the pile is divided by four (Culin 1891:1). Glass gaming pieces served as currency in the same game, with white pieces worth one American dollar and black pieces worth five American dollars (Culin 1891:4). Glass gaming pieces could also be used in *Wei qi* or “Go,” a game that originated in Japan nearly three thousand years ago (Smith et al. 2008:146). Unlike *Fán T'án*, *Wei qi* is a “game of chance, more akin to chess than poker” (Smith et al. 2008:146).

Table 20. MNI of Gaming Artifacts Recovered from Overseas Chinese Sites

Artifact	Sandpoint	San Bernardino	Riverside	Woolen Mills	Los Angeles	Sacramento	Market Street Chinatown
Glass gaming pieces (white)	33	768	361	7	816	6	68
Glass gaming pieces (black)	16	612	289	1	152	3	18
Glass gaming Pieces (red)	-	-	8	-	12	-	-
Glass gaming pieces (green)	-	-	-	-	157	-	4
Glass gaming pieces (clear)	-	-	-	-	62	-	-
Dice	1	18	10	-	10	-	5
Dominoes	-	53	17	-	153	-	5
Chess pieces	-	-	2	-	2	-	2

Nearly 33 percent of the Sandpoint assemblage’s glass gaming pieces were black, while the rest were white. This pattern seems fairly consistent with other Chinese assemblages (Table 20), where white glass gaming pieces tend to substantially outnumber black and multicolored glass gaming pieces. In addition, one bone die (Figure 41) was recovered from Sandpoint. Dice are frequently found in other Overseas Chinese sites (Table 20) and were used “in a number of games including *Shing kun t’o* (Promotion of the Mandarins), *Chak tin kau* (Throwing Heaven and Nine), and *Chong un chau* (Game of the Chief of the Literati), and the popular *Sic bo* played with three dice” (Smits et al. 2008:146).

Though frequently painted as immoral and indulgent by Euro-American outsiders, gaming in Chinese communities fostered “a sense of ethnic and social solidarity among the Chinese” (Camp 2004:3). Greenwood, for example, describes gambling halls as spaces of “excitement and release...where games familiar from the homeland were played” (1996:94). Mueller also describes gaming as a way in which “a sense of cohesiveness and companionship” could be established among Chinatown inhabitants and Chinese coming from outside the Riverside, California, Chinatown (Mueller 1987:386). As A.W. Cumyow, president of Vancouver’s Chinese



Figure 41. Bone die.

Benevolent Association, explained to Vancouver officials and testified to before Canada's Royal Commission in 1901, "There is proportionately a large amount of gambling among the Chinese. Some do gamble for large amounts, but more commonly, the play is for amusement only and for small sums to pass the time" (Anderson 1987:21).

Gaming reminded Chinese immigrants of China and of their worldview, giving them a sense of familiarity and home that must have been essential to survive in racially hostile Euro-American communities. As Lydon elaborates:

In the traditional Chinese view of the universe, fate's hand was at the tiller and life was a gamble. For most nineteenth-century Chinese it was better to be born lucky than clever. The Chinese courted fate through astrologers, soothsayers, geomancers, and gambling...Wherever a large group of Chinese laborers congregated, somewhere, somehow, gambling went on. Any event could be bet on, but the most attractive bets (and games) revolved around randomness rather than skill. Nothing could substitute for luck. (Lydon 1985:204).

Given the instability of a Chinese immigrant's life, winning a game took on powerful personal meaning as it was interpreted as a sign of obtaining "good fortune from the spirit world" (Chang 2004:6). Although gaming often played an important role in uniting Chinese communities and connecting them to their homeland, it had the opposite effect in some Chinatowns. Some Chinatowns became known as places of vice and danger, even for the occupants living within them. Perhaps due to the way in which they were portrayed by Euro-American outsiders, some Chinatowns attracted criminal elements and "rowdy, drunken, and brawling" Euro-Americans living outside of the community (Light 1974:373). In demographically large Chinatowns such as in San Francisco and New York, leisure activities were economically motivated, in part due to, ironically, Euro-American patrons. In Sydney's Chinese Rocks community, Europeans were known to have frequented the "gambling-dens of Lower George Street" (Lydon 1999:275). Light claims that gambling houses, opium dens, and brothels located within Chinatowns played a large role in sustaining "these illegal institutions" and "enabled American Chinatowns to support many more bordellos, opium dens, and gambling halls than would have been possible solely on the basis of Chinese patronage" (1974:368).

Tongs were similarly guilty for some of the conflict that took place within Chinatowns. Historically, Chinese tongs were "semi-political, semi-religious" groups (Reynolds 1935:612) that worked toward benevolent means. Much like contemporary Rotary or Lions Clubs, they assisted members of their communities while maintaining important business and/or economic bonds between the group's members. In some Chinatowns, such as New York City's Chinatown, "each tong employed hired gunmen to enforce its claim against rival tongs, to extend armed protection to member businesses, and to intimidate or kill hostile witnesses in criminal proceedings" (Light 373). Even in towns where gambling halls were present, gamblers and gambling establishments were known to donate money to the Chinese community. In 1891, Culin noted that Chinese gamblers were known to put their winnings toward the building of religious shrines and "temples in San Francisco" (1891:17). Yu similarly details "slips of paper pasted" on the Heinlerville, California, Chinatown's bulletin board that "indicate that seventeen gambling houses gave from five to ten percent of their annual income to the upkeep of the temple and maintenance of the Chinese school" (Yu 1991:76).

Additionally, the spatial distribution of artifacts in previously excavated Chinatowns seems to support the idea that gaming within many Chinese communities was a way of establishing social networks. In San Jose's Market Street Chinatown, for instance, gaming artifacts were clustered in residential and communal areas that would have been frequented by all members of the community, including women and children (Camp 2004). At the Riverside Chinatown, "gaming pieces were found in a diversity of features...indicating that these activities were practiced in locales throughout the community" (Costello

et al. 2004:6.97). In Sandpoint, 26 poker chip fragments were also recovered (representing a minimum of six chips), indicating that, with regard to gaming, the Chinese community in Sandpoint was much like many of the other larger communities in the West. It should also be noted that much like other Chinese communities, opium smoking was also a part of life for Chinese in Sandpoint. Opium smoking in Sandpoint is discussed at length in Volume 2, Chapter 9.

Gaming Summary

The gaming signature of Sandpoint's Chinatown is, in many ways, typical of the artifact patterning one finds at other Chinatowns. The ratio of black to white glass gaming pieces, the small number of glass gaming pieces, and presence of one die is typical of other Chinatowns, especially considering that other excavations have involved much larger immigrant populations. The poker chips, however, stand out when compared to other Chinatowns, as gaming artifacts associated with poker have not been recovered in previous excavations of Chinatowns. The poker chips raise the possibility of the Chinese in Sandpoint incorporating aspects of Euro-American gaming traditions. The Chinese in Sandpoint had been in the United States for many years, so it is reasonable to expect that given the prevalence of gaming among many Chinese, there would be some incorporation of Euro-American gaming traditions into their gaming world.

CONCLUSION

The intent of this chapter was to contextualize the material world of Sandpoint's small Chinese community with other work that historical archaeologists have done on Chinese-occupied sites. What is identified in Sandpoint is a group of Chinese that in one sense share material commonalities with other Chinese communities in the west. There is evidence of a shared culture of gaming, alcohol consumption and some ceramic usage. Yet at the same time there are also subtle contrasts, notably the larger percentage of Euro-American made ceramics and differences in the forms of alcohol consumed. Such contrasts highlight the strategies employed by this small community of Chinese in an overwhelmingly Euro-American culture.

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CHAPTER 5. REMEMBERING TRIxie COLTON: THE WORLD OF SANDPOINT'S PROSTITUTES

Mark Warner and Jim Bard

Let's start with Trixie [aka Dixie] Colton:

Robbed of \$200

A Finn lumberjack by the name of Oscar Lindstrom was robbed of \$200 in bills and gold while seeing the redlight district Tuesday night. The Finn claimed to the police that Trixie Colton threw him down and took the money away from him. The police believe [the] Finn was drugged and robbed by a man he met while on the rounds. The Colton woman has never been implicated in a robbery while she has been here, a period of six years, and the police do not believe she got the money. The Finn's story is being further investigated and no arrests have been made. (*Pend d'Oreille Review* 1909:1)

Reading between the lines, this is a revealing little narrative on the lives of the women working in Sandpoint's red light district—the “Restricted District” as the locals called it (Figure 42). What is revealing about this small vignette is that to some degree it paints Trixie as regular citizen of the town. The report notes that she had been there for six years and, most tellingly, it appears from this account that the police stood up for her integrity, saying that she “has never been implicated in a robbery.” It is a glimpse of women as part of a community rather than a stereotype.

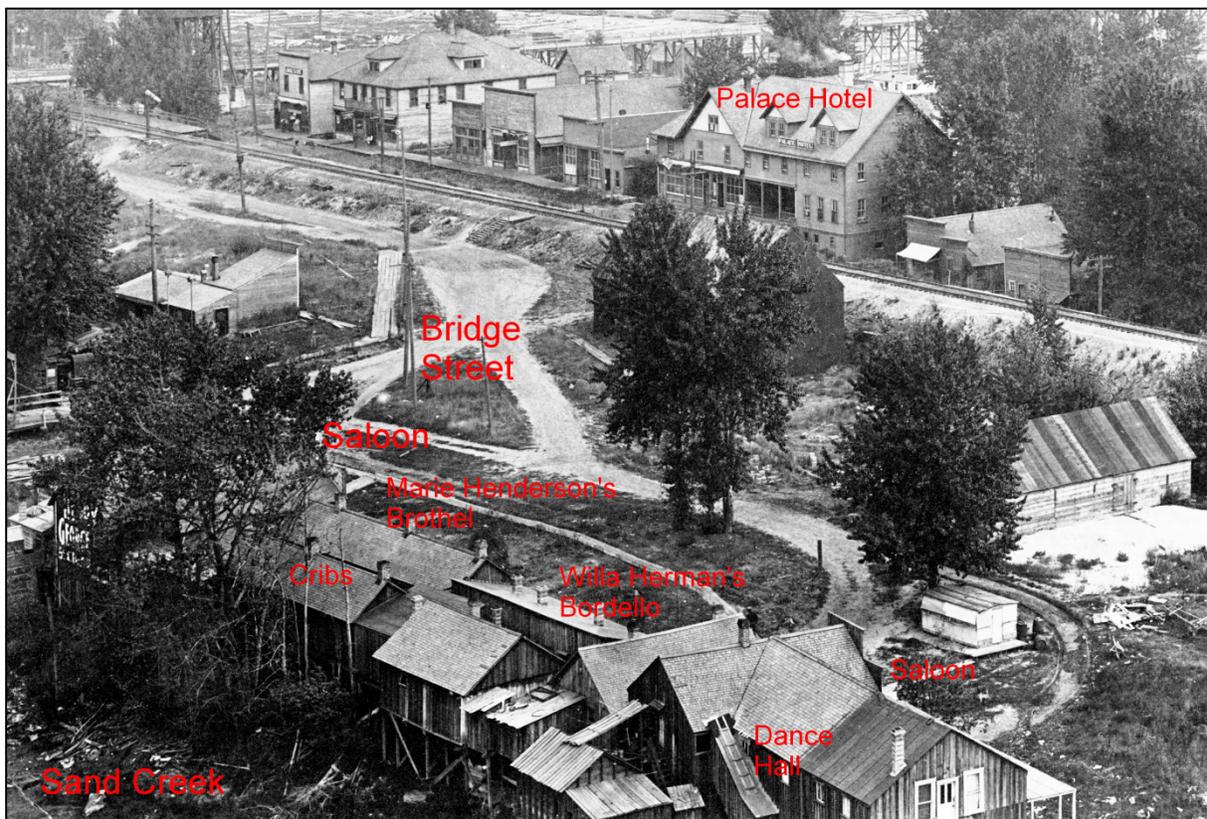


Figure 42. Sandpoint's “Restricted District” (photo courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

Far too often the discussion of prostitution in the West rarely rises above the stereotypical, be it the prostitute with the heart of gold or the alcoholic/drug addicted/diseased fallen woman who was the object of the town's scorn or perhaps pity. The reality of prostitutes' lives is often overlooked, as is how these women fit into the everyday fabric of the town. The excavation of two adjoining brothels in Sandpoint provides us with a unique opportunity to begin to explore some of these questions and understand the working and daily lives of women such as Trixie Colton, Lou Chapman, and Jennie/Trixie Edwards. Further, the excavations provide us with an opportunity to address something that has been widely documented in historical literature, but has generally not been addressed through archaeology, namely the economic differences within a town's community of prostitutes.

PROSTITUTION IN THE WEST

Prostitution was commonplace in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century American West, playing a prominent role in Idaho's early mining history (Hart 1986:53–55) as well as the settlement of many Western towns and cities (Barnhart 1986; Butler 1985; Goldman 1981; Morgan 1998; Rosen 1982; Rutter 2005; Seagraves 1994; Vermeer 2006, among others). One scholar has estimated that more than 50,000 women worked as prostitutes in the nineteenth century West (White 1991:304). What is interesting about prostitution in the West was its centrality in many communities. Rather than being a hidden economy, prostitution was a relatively public part of many Western economies. The fining and taxing of prostitutes became part of the economy of many Western towns (White 1991). This was the case in Sandpoint. To return to our friend Trixie Colton, for example, we find that she was fined \$3.00 plus \$5.00 costs almost monthly between 1907 and 1908. All told, she paid \$122.00 in fines over a 4-year period (Sandpoint City Police Records 1907–1911). Yet she was not a one-person revenue stream for the town. She was part of a larger group of Sandpoint prostitutes who were regularly fined—fines that generated almost \$5,000 in revenue for the city (Sandpoint City Police Records 1907–1911). In addition to the fines, the city also assessed prostitutes a dollar a week for a health inspection, which would have added several hundred additional dollars to city coffers (Slusser and Moody 1905).

Scholars have noted that there was an economic hierarchy within the world of prostitution. Scholars have framed this in a variety of ways and used different terminology to identify the economic differences (see Agnew 2008:53–77; Goldman 1981:73–96; and Rutter 2005:13–24, among others). In this work we are using a four-tier hierarchy and adapting the terminology used in several contexts. There is a fair amount of variability in the terminology used to describe various establishments across different historical sources, but the physical descriptions are generally consistent. For our study, we characterized the hierarchy of working establishments as follows:

- Parlor house: A relatively lavish establishment, with an emphasis on romance, generally open by appointment only, with letters of reference frequently required (Rutter 2005:14).
- Bordello, aka high end brothel: These had considerable decorations, with a saloon often being a part of the complex; meals and in-house entertainment (piano) were available (Rutter 2005:18–19).
- Brothels: These had minimal amenities, with food usually available and possibly some other entertainment (Rutter 2005:19–21).
- Cribs: These were little more than a small room with a bed, with no added amenities and no pretense of socializing: “a place for fast, mechanical sex with a maximum turnover of customers” (Agnew 2008:69).

PROSTITUTION IN SANDPOINT

In Sandpoint we excavated two establishments, both operated by women: Marie Henderson’s Brothel and Willa Herman’s Bordello. Henderson’s establishment was the larger of the two. According to the 1910 census, there were 11 women living there (Table 21), while there were four women living in Herman’s place. In many instances the U.S. census records the occupation of women as prostitutes; unfortunately, there were no occupations listed for any of the women in these two businesses in the census. However, other sources make it clear that these places were working brothels, most notably the 1907–1911 Sandpoint Police Records where Henderson is fined 13 times and Herman is fined 23 times for violating city laws (there are also several references to the two women and others in the city newspapers).

Table 21. Residents of Henderson’s Brothel and Herman’s Bordello in 1910

Name	Age	Place of birth	Notes
Henderson’s Brothel			
Henderson, Marie	36	California	
Mitchell, Ray	26	Kentucky	
Edwards, Trixie	25	France	
Smith, May	24	Nebraska	
Miller, Frances	19	Montana	
Glenn, Gertrude	28	Iowa	1 child, divorced
Chapman, Lou	26	Canada	
Thackbery, Hannah	26	England	Married
Richmond, Belle	25	Canada	1 child, married
Moore, Florence	18	Washington	1 deceased child, divorced
Compau, Myrtle	30	Michigan	2 deceased children, divorced
McRae, Nathan	53	Iowa	Dance hall musician
Herman’s Bordello			
Herman, Willa	28	Minnesota	
Watson, Lulu	32	Wisconsin	Divorced
Earl, Lillian	25	Canada	Divorced
Archer, Nellie	28	U.S.	2 children, married
Watanabe, T[?]inata	22	Japan	Porter
Song, Charlie	42	China	Dishwasher, dance hall

Of the 15 women living in the two establishments, three were recorded as being married, five as divorced, and seven as single. It is interesting to note the presence of three married women. We do not have a plausible explanation for why these women were living in the two establishments, but at a minimum it does speak to the malleability of life for many women. Through today’s lens it is somewhat surprising to find married women working as prostitutes but it is important to remember that times change. In fact, what we have identified in Sandpoint almost exactly parallels what has been identified elsewhere. Several studies of the time identified large numbers of married or divorced women working as prostitutes (Goldman 1981:71–72). We also note that two of the three women who were identified as having children were married—this may be one contributing factor for the women to identify themselves as being married, potentially muting the social stigma associated with prostitution.



Figure 44. Henderson's Brothel around 1910 (photo courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

there being occasional references to “Cribs” in local newspapers, the place was not actually a crib establishment based on the definitions given above. Space was undoubtedly restricted in Henderson's Brothel, and the rooms the women worked in were likely small, a fact corroborated by the recovery of a single bed during the excavation (as an aside, that bed was available for purchase through the Sears catalog in 1909 for \$4.65 [Sears, Roebuck and Company 1979:47]). Yet there was also apparently more available to customers than just five minutes of intercourse (Agnew 2008:72). The materials recovered from Henderson's establishment are more representative of a brothel, meaning while the physical setting was somewhat cramped, their material world indicated a modicum of social activity other than simply sex.

Of immediate interest is the available alcohol at Henderson's Brothel. Four hundred and three alcohol bottles were recovered at the brothel, a number that represented a third of the total bottle assemblage and almost 67 percent of the bottles that were identifiable to their contents. Further, of the alcohol bottles identified, wine/champagne was far and away the most common product being consumed ($n = 275$ bottles). While there were a variety of other alcohol types recovered (multiple whiskey brands, gin, beer, and so on), the predominance of champagne indicates that the place again echoed a common pattern, where alcohol was readily available both as a social facilitator and as a revenue stream to the brothel. The choice of champagne as the drink of choice in Henderson's (and Herman's) Brothel would also have been a modest attempt at adding a bit of style to the experience (see for example, an image of a Colorado parlor house of four men, four women, and 13 bottles of champagne on the table [Figure 45; Agnew 2008:136]).

One additional note about the modest touches of style in Henderson's Brothel is that we also recovered 192 glass tablewares used for drinking alcohol. Most of the glasses were tumblers ($n = 148$), but also present in the assemblage were stemware, shot glasses, cordial glasses, and pilsner glasses (see Chapter



Figure 45. Prostitutes and their clients drinking champagne in a Denver parlor house (courtesy of Colorado Historical Society, Mazzulla Collection, Box 22, FF 1294, scan # 10027277).

4 in Volume 2 for further discussion of alcohol in Henderson's Brothel). It is initially puzzling why there would be a disconnect between the types of alcohol bottles recovered (champagne) and the types of drinking glasses recovered (tumblers), but the previously mentioned parlor house in Denver provides a tentative explanation. There are four women in the picture, and there are four stemmed drinking glasses (two of the women are actually holding the glasses), while the men in the picture appear to be holding short tumblers of some sort. Based on this evidence a tentative hypothesis is that the stemware was primarily used by the women working there while the men would be drinking from tumblers. Such a contrast would also make a certain amount of sense—the men would be given the somewhat more sturdy drinking vessels, while the women drank from the symbolically more refined stemware.

Trixie Colton's Daily Life

Overall, Henderson's business seemed to be pretty straightforward—drinking, then sex. However, our excavations gave us an interesting glimpse into the daily lives of the women working there. Starting with dining, the ceramics reveal a place of apparently hearty but functional dining. Out of the 197 identified vessels the overwhelming majority were whiteware or ironstone food preparation/consumption vessels (meaning things like serving bowls, plates, cups, and saucers). In addition, just under half of the table vessels were either undecorated or minimally decorated (molded only) vessels that were commonly for

functional or private dining as opposed to public meals. In other words, if you were to set a table with the ceramics we recovered it would be pretty plain and white.

To some degree the meat remains echo the functionality of the ceramics. Overall, the faunal assemblage (animal bones) was relatively modest in size ($n = 782$ bones), particularly in comparison to Willa Herman's establishment. In keeping with what we identified everywhere else in Sandpoint, beef was the primary meat consumed. What is interesting about the bones, however, is the considerable contrast in the quality of meats recovered. There were moderate amounts of both very high quality meat cuts (steaks) and also bones representing relatively inexpensive meats such as soup bones, necks, and so on. This was initially somewhat puzzling, but given the limited amount of space available, the relatively small assemblage, and the unremarkable ceramics, a plausible explanation is that, in general, the women ate modestly, consuming meals like stews, but at selective times they would eat quite well. For instance, in the days after a busy night at the house, they might purchase a higher quality cut of meat for their meal. Such behavior would echo what would have been the routine of the house, as business boomed in brothels on the weekends following paydays. What did the women of the house do after busy nights such as those? Perhaps they splurged on a nicer meal for themselves.

But what else did women like Trixie Colton do? What do we know about their lives? During our excavations, we recovered indicators of routine, daily life outside the business of sex. Henderson's women certainly had their share of everyday health issues, as indicated by the 84 patent or pharmaceutical bottles that were recovered (see Volume 2, Chapter 7). In many regards, they were typical of everyone else in town—they evidently spent a fair amount of time coping with gastrointestinal issues. But looking closer at these mundane bottles, they also show us how Henderson's women were part of the town. Two-thirds of the identified pharmaceutical bottles came from druggists in town ($n = 26$ local pharmacy bottles). People often think of a prostitute's life as somehow isolated from the town, yet the medicines indicate that they were regular patrons of most of the town's pharmacies. Regardless of how the town may have publically viewed their profession, Marie Henderson and her women would certainly have been known by name to the town's pharmacists (as would have also been the case with Herman's women).

Beyond life in the town there was also everyday life outside of work in the brothel. Certainly the women got sick and had health issues, but our archaeology suggests other things as well—such as families. One of our surprises was the volume of toys that we recovered (Table 22). As noted above, the census recorded several women as being mothers, but the census did not list any children living there. What we have found suggests that something else was going on. One does not commonly think of children in brothels, but when we recover 95 fragments of children's toys and clothing it is pretty clear that children were a presence in the brothels and this is particularly the case in Henderson's Brothel. Marbles can occasionally be dismissed as having other purposes (such as skirt hem weights), but the doll parts, shoes, clothing, and toys (Figure 46) make it clear that children were around the brothels. In fact at least one child was in Henderson's place long enough to have lost a baby molar there! (See Volume 2, Chapter 11 for more.) The most reasonable explanation is that these toys and clothing items were from the children of the women who worked there. Toys may be lost anywhere a child plays, but personal items such as a child's playsuit or shoes (or even teeth) seem to be objects that would stay nearer to the home. These children were invisible in the census of 1910, but they were not invisible to archaeologists a century later.



Figure 46. Children’s cap gun, embossed NEW 50 SHOT/INVINCIBLE (LC #71654).

Table 22. Children’s Artifacts in the Restricted District

	Willa Herman's Bordello	Marie Henderson's Brothel	Total
Doll parts	6	42	48
Marble	9	37	46
Shoes	3	5	8
Tableware	12		12
Toys		8	8
Buttons		2	
Child's playsuit		1	
Total	30	95	125

The World of Herman’s Bordello

Herman’s Bordello was a considerably smaller establishment and was right next door to Marie Henderson’s place, but in many ways entering Herman’s place was a very different experience. A visit to Herman’s place was more of an “event,” rather than just a sexual encounter. There was likely a small parlor for receiving clients as well as a dining area for enjoying meals. Male visitors would have been there for some length of time, at least a half hour but likely much longer (Agnew 2008:87). The materials recovered from the place suggest a much more refined décor than Henderson’s Brothel. First, the women would have been well dressed. This is not to say that Henderson’s women were not well dressed, but in Herman’s Bordello, it is clear that they put considerable effort into the presentation of themselves. From the hair pins and combs they used to keep their hair in place, to the makeup they used, to the decorative jewelry they wore (Figure 47, Table 23), to the stacked heel shoes they had on their feet (see Volume 4 for more details), these women were clearly spending a considerable amount of time on their appearances. In a frontier town like Sandpoint they would have most likely been considered quite presentable.



Figure 47. Women’s brooches/pins recovered at Willa Herman’s Bordello, LC# 40259 (left) and LC# 40289 (right).

While personal adornment is part of the story, what makes Herman's place so intriguing is the many other small, decorative touches that would have lent an air of refinement to the place. Symbolic of this is a small embossed stamp case (Figure 48). The case was monogrammed WH; it likely was not a terribly expensive item as something similar to it was available in the Sears catalog (Sears, Roebuck and Company 1905: 262). It is also likely that customers never saw this (it probably stayed on Herman's office desk), but it does illustrate an attention to detail that is pervasive in the place. Of broader significance are the remnants of approximately a dozen figurines and some esoteric ceramic pieces. These small items, commonly known as "bric-a-brac," were staples of many Victorian-era households. They are often overlooked archaeologically, but in fact are actually quite revealing about people's values. Paul Mullins (2001) has studied these small figures in a variety of contexts and argues that these figurines carry a disproportionate symbolic weight. Simply put, any self-respecting household of the era had better have had some decorative objects, ranging from pictures on the wall to ceramic figurines on the shelves, as they were a symbol of middle class values and Victorian sensibilities.

However, to simply assume that the figurines in Herman's Bordello were simple emulation of the ideals of Victorian gentility would not be accurate. A close look at the figurines shows a tongue in cheek sense of decoration. Figures 49 and 50 are two of the objects recovered. The first is a monkey that is part of a trio of monkeys conveying the adage "see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil," while the second is a portion of a cupid figurine. Such small figurines on display would have initially suggested the stylish décor of a turn-of-the-century home, but on closer examination these objects were also likely poking fun at that ideal.

It is a bit hackneyed, but the sense from the archaeology is that the inside of Herman's Bordello would have been seen as a relatively refined place. Once inside the bordello, the male patrons would have had plenty of access to good drink and good food. The bottles indicate a well-stocked bar, and the food remains indicate very hearty dining, with the equivalent of several thousand pounds of beef being consumed there. Herman's was a place where the clientele was truly being wined and dined when they visited.

Table 23. Herman's Bordello Adornment Items

Object	MNI
Bead	24
Bracelet	2
Ring	5
Brooch	5
Pendant	3
Stone/jewel	7
Pin/button	3
Hair comb	9
Barrette	3
Postage Stamp Box	1
Fob	1
Pocket Watch	1
Unknown	6
Total	70



Figure 48. WH embossed stamp case.



Figure 49. “Speak no evil” monkey figurine (LC #6815).



Figure 50. Cupid figurine (LC #69929).

The “Other” Trixie

We started this chapter with a police report on Trixie Colton. We will end with another Trixie, namely Trixie Winters (aka Edwards). While prostitutes were well known for having aliases, we are confident that Colton and Winters were two different women. The ring in Figure 51 was recovered in Herman’s Bordello. It is a woman’s ring and has the initials TW embossed on it. We obviously do not know for certain whether this was in fact “Trixie’s ring.” Yet most of the project staff came to refer to it as such. In some ways this small ring is emblematic of much of what we were trying to draw out of these two brothels. Certainly, brothels are about sex, but the archaeology came to be about the nuances of life in the two brothels and, indeed, the lives of the women in them. If this was “Trixie’s ring” have we been able to shed some more light on what her life would have been like?



Figure 51. “Trixie’s ring”: a women’s signet ring (LC# 69008).

It is a puzzle that we found this ring where we did. Trixie Edwards was a long-time worker in Henderson’s Brothel, but the ring was found in Herman’s Bordello. Taking a negative view of this finding, one may think that the ring was purloined property and that somehow a woman in Herman’s place took it upon herself to snag Trixie’s ring. Another (we think more plausible) perspective is that this finding is a small indication of the community of prostitutes in Sandpoint. Many women were living in close proximity to each other, and regardless of whether one group had a somewhat better living situation, they were still a marginalized group in town (though again we remind the reader that they were not isolated—the prostitutes of Sandpoint were part of the town’s fabric even if their presence did cause discomfort for many). As a marginalized group they would have had a common bond. Perhaps rather than suggesting that competition between the two businesses was personal, the presence of this small item suggests a level of community between the two places. Trixie may have lost her ring while visiting Herman’s establishment.

The daily life of a prostitute included sharing daily worries and problems with her roommates living in the same house. Tabor (1972:100) explained that in some places a madam and her women were cut off from normal society and as a result tended to adopt each other as a family. Although they indulged in gossip, petty jealousies, and quarrels, they developed a sense of loyalty and concern for each other and a tolerance of human faults. Rosen (1982:105) observed that the myth of the “whore with a golden heart” probably originated not from what prostitutes did for men, but from what they did for each other:

When a woman could not pay for her child’s care at a baby farm, the other women chipped in to help her out. When one prostitute became pregnant and lost her baby, the women surrounded her with all the nurturance “of her own sisters and mother” ... In effect, women living together could, under certain conditions, create a surrogate family life in which both deep caring and fights sustained and bonded the entire group together.

Perhaps this is what was going on in Sandpoint.

BUT WHAT ABOUT THE MEN?

The other side of the coin in any brothel is the people who visited the place. One of the small things we learned from excavating Henderson’s and Herman’s places is a bit about the hazards of visiting a brothel. First, if you return to this chapter’s opening quotation, it is clear that one of the hazards of visiting a brothel is that you could be robbed. As reported in the *Pend d’Oreille Review*, “A Finn lumberjack by the name of Oscar Lindstrom was robbed of \$200 in bills and gold while seeing the redlight district Tuesday night.” A similar event was also reported in 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* 1901:5). We found some archaeological evidence of a lot of men “losing” things, objects that would certainly never be returned to them. The most distinct of these items were a number of gold wedding bands. 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 52) The 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 one another, suggesting that they represent a collection kept by one or more of the prostitutes. Men may have offered up valuable 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, pockets that were surreptitiously checked while they were in the brothel.

Beyond the wedding bands, several other pieces of male decorative items were recovered in the assemblages. These objects included lapel pins and watch fobs (presumably the watches were the primary goal). Basically if you went into a brothel it appeared that one of the hazards was losing things beyond the money you brought with you (see Volume 2, Chapter 5).



Figure 52. Men’s wedding bands recovered from Willa Herman’s Bordello.

A more serious consequence of visiting brothels was venereal disease. There is an extensive discussion of venereal disease in Chapter 3 of Volume 2. We found at least half a dozen products that were marketed for the treatment of venereal disease in the two assemblages, products that may well have been used by the female residents of the two establishments. Beyond the medicinals, however, we also recovered parts of a syringe that would have been used for treating males via injections into their urethra (Figure 53).

The syringe presents us with fairly solid evidence to indicate that one of the ancillary services being provided at Herman's Bordello, and possibly at Henderson's Brothel as well, was treatment of men for venereal disease. By today's standards syphilis or gonorrhea are treated by physicians. Medical literature attests that many individuals did go to doctors, but at the same time many also apparently tried treating themselves, either due to the costs involved in medical treatments (one source put the cost of syphilis treatment at around \$100.00 [Agnew 2008:88]) or because of shame at contracting a socially stigmatizing disease. As counter-intuitive as it may seem, many men apparently went to brothels for treatment. The syringe certainly argues that in addition to sex men may well have been traveling to Marie Henderson and Willa Herman for treatment, a point that is corroborated in 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).



Figure 53. Urethral syringe and plunger ring (LC #69199, #70958).

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS ON TRIXIE COLTON

We do not know where Trixie worked, but our work in the two brothels has provided us with some fragments of information about the lives lived in those two places. What follows are two sketches of what her life may have been like depending on where she worked. In the tradition of archaeologist as storyteller we have crafted two short narratives of historical fiction, with many of the details being inferred from the objects we have found.

Scenario 1: Trixie in Henderson's Brothel

In Henderson's Brothel, Trixie was sharing a building with 10 other women, so space was at a premium. Given the numbers of people coming through there, the brothel probably was a bit rough on the inside, and there would not have been a whole lot of decorative touches. Most of the time Trixie would have eaten fairly basic meals on undecorated plates. The brothel probably smelled a bit from the men splurging on their cheap cigars and smoking them in the brothel while enjoying their night on the town. On busy nights, she would have been having sex with many, many men. In between "dates" with her clients, she might have caught a glimpse of one of her co-workers' children who were there and might have had to whisk them back into their small space. She had to do that because their mother was with a man at the moment. After a busy night, she may have ventured to one of the town's drug stores to get some medicines—and frankly just to get out of the house for a bit before gearing up for another night's work.

Scenario 2: Trixie in Herman's Bordello

On Friday night of payday, the place would have been busy, the bar next door crowded and loud. But once a client stepped into Herman's place, things would have slowed down. First he would have walked into what was likely a smallish room but set up somewhat like a parlor/dining room. There would have been curtains on the windows and decorative bric-a-brac on the shelves in the front room. Prior to the evening, Trixie may have prepared a solution of carbolic acid and Vaseline to serve as a combination birth control/disease precaution. After selecting Trixie as his partner, he likely would have enjoyed a drink (or two, or three!) of his choice from a well-stocked bar and probably had a meal with her as well (a steak). When they did retire to have sex, it would not have been an overtly rushed event (depending on how much he paid). Afterward Trixie would have had the time to clean herself prior to hosting her next client. Over the course of a busy evening she may have "just" had sex with one man or no more than a few men.

We encourage readers to take these small stories with a grain of salt, yet we did want to end this chapter with a story. At the end of the day prostitution was (and is) a dehumanizing profession. Yet these women were still a part of a community, and they had lives outside of their jobs. What you have seen in this chapter is a glimpse of those lives and, more importantly, of the women who worked in Sandpoint.

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CHAPTER 6. “PROSPECTS APPEAR TO BE BRIGHTENING EACH DAY”: THE ECONOMIES OF SANDPOINT

Mark Warner, Molly Swords, and Amanda Haught-Bielmann

Sandpoint has been improving and making rapid strides forward for the past two years. This state of affairs is not only continuing, but the prospects appear to be brightening each day. The town appears now to have such a start that nothing short of a calamity could check its growth or cripple its prosperity. New people are coming in at such a rate that the demand for houses is much greater than the supply (Kootenai County Republican 1902:1).

SANDPOINT AND THE WORLD

So, why a chapter on the economy of a small north Idaho town? If one only looks at what the town produced, Sandpoint’s economy was just like that of any other Western town, a perspective conveyed in this quote from historian Richard White’s (1991:242) work on the West: “A pile of rusting tin cans outside a western worker’s shack gave the economic facts of life. What westerners produced they usually did not consume and what they consumed they did not produce.” In one sense this description fits Sandpoint exactly—timber and minerals were pulled from the lands in and around the town and sent east, and the miracle of mass consumer society came to the area on every train coming through town. Illustrating this point is Table 24, drawn from the annual report of the Northern Pacific Railroad (NPRR) for 1882–1883. The table is a summary of the freight forwarded on from Sandpoint. The relevant point here is that three categories, “Lumber,” “Other Forest Products,” and “Wood” account for over three-fourths of the products (78 percent) being shipped out of Sandpoint.

Table 24. Freight forwarded from Sandpoint in 1882–1883

Description	Tons
Agricultural implements	4
Grain	57
Hay	34
Other agricultural products	65
Lumber	2,876
Other forest products	2,172
Ore, stone, sand, etc.	18
Wood	182
Brick	-
Coal	110
Flour, meal, etc.	22
Iron & castings	495
Animals	160
Emigrant movables	34
Wool	40
Merchandise & other articles	429
Total tons	6,698

Source: Northern Pacific Railroad 1883:86–87.

However, examining only the products leaving Sandpoint (what the town produced) overlooks one of the more intriguing aspects of life in the West: what happens inside a town? Certainly Sandpoint’s timber and mineral exports were just small cogs in a growing global economy. By also exploring Sandpoint’s economy from the consumption side of things—meaning what goods people chose to bring into the town—reveals another side of capitalism in the West: people’s material desires and economic aspirations. The artifacts unearthed in Sandpoint tell stories of the past. These everyday consumables that Sandpoint’s citizens acquired—bottled goods, food, medicine, and so on—truly reveal how the town of Sandpoint was settled. They convey the complexities of how locals participated in (or did not participate in) a growing mass consumer culture in Sandpoint.

This chapter will highlight some of the many different ways that people acquired goods in Sandpoint and explore what some of their actions suggest about how people saw themselves. On a broader scale, it also addresses a point made by the historian Patty Limerick (and others) (Limerick 1988, White 1991): that the history of the West does not end with the so-called closing of the frontier, but needs to continue into the twentieth century, which is exactly what the Sandpoint project does.

In many regards, one of the most important stories archaeology can tell us about Sandpoint is that of “life after the frontier.” While excavations revealed pockets of materials from the earliest settlement of the town in 1882, the vast majority of the materials date from the 1890s to around 1910. This was a period of transition for Sandpoint, a time when the area shifted from a largely male settlement where regulation was relatively lax to a town that was more heavily populated by families. It was also a time when the opening of new businesses such as a drug store or the construction of schools and churches was celebrated more enthusiastically in the town than the opening of another saloon or brothel.

One work that is particularly thought-provoking when thinking about what happened in Sandpoint is an article published in the journal *Historical Archaeology*. In this 1992 piece, “Consumption as Communication,” historical archaeologist Margaret Purser explores the material world of Paradise Valley, Nevada. The history of Paradise Valley is, in many regards, quite similar to many communities in the West—communities such as Sandpoint. The first few years of a town’s existence are tenuous, but if a population can make it through the first year or two, it commonly will survive for a few generations. Purser makes it quite clear that her goal was not to simply identify and measure the penetration of capitalism in the Western United States, but rather to explore how a local community chose material acquisitions that served “...to integrate, explain, and control national and local scales of change” (Purser 1992:107; see also Purser 1999). This point is pivotal because to some degree it turns the tables on thinking about the economies in the West. The central issue shifts from what a little community such as Sandpoint contributes to the world economy to a question of what kind of world the people of Sandpoint constructed and why?

A simplistic way of thinking about the economics of Sandpoint is to assume that the greater the mass-produced goods that reached rural outposts (such as Sandpoint), the closer these towns came to being fully settled and thoroughly incorporated into mass consumer society. Purser makes clear in her article that increasing access to goods was not necessarily all that people were looking for in establishing settlements. Certainly almost all goods came from outside a region, but it was the local community that dictated what was used and who it was purchased from. Most of the goods circulating in a community were non-local, coming from places around the world, but the logic of the population’s consumption behavior was decidedly local and not necessarily national. In other words, people were making a community in Sandpoint that was unique to Sandpoint. One way to illustrate this complexity is a 1904 advertisement from the *Northern Idaho News* for one of Sandpoint’s drinking establishments (Figure 54).

The intriguing part of this advertisement lies in the details of the text. Of particular interest are the highlighted beer choices available to the residents of Sandpoint who were drinking at the U and I Sample Room. What is being advertised is a simple choice of beers, yet those beers are very different products representing very different consumer choices. Basically, Mr. Boline, owner of the U and I Sample Room, is offering his customers the choice of a very



Figure 54. Advertisement in Northern Idaho News. (*Northern Idaho News* 1904b: 7).

local beer, Spokane beer (recovered in the Sandpoint excavations), or a Milwaukee beer (Schlitz). Just two years earlier, one million barrels of Schlitz beer was produced, surpassing Pabst as the largest beer producer in the world at the time (Tremblay and Tremblay 2005). This seemingly generic advertisement reveals two things. First, it shows that businesses in Sandpoint had access to the most popular products being produced in the United States at the time. Second, these products illustrate some degree of awareness of local versus national products. Charles Boline is telling his customers that they have a choice of local products or what is popular nationally, presenting a very clear local versus national consumption choice.

It is argued that local consumer behavior is driven by an array of complex motivations that are not readily understood through simple explanations relating to subsistence issues or a goal of emulating consumer choices being made back East. Instead, the narrative of Sandpoint, and indeed many parts of the West, is metaphorically speaking, one of tensions between Spokane and Schlitz beer, or literally how a community engages the world of burgeoning mass consumer culture. Do you buy goods from your friends and neighbors or do you buy something that everyone else is buying? How does this play out in Sandpoint? What follows is an exploration of some of the broader forces influencing what people were acquiring in Sandpoint.

IT'S A SMALL WORLD AFTER ALL

When people think of the West, the common perception is one of hardship and material deprivation. While that may be the case for the very earliest years of a town's existence, the reality is that communities very rapidly had opportunities to acquire the goods being manufactured in the United States and, indeed, all over the world, particularly after a railroad link was established. This was certainly the case in Sandpoint. Local historian, Paul Rechnitzer, commented about the arrival of the NPRR to the region: "the railroad provided access to markets for the seemingly unending products..." (Rechnitzer 2006: preface). Over the course of the Sandpoint archaeological project, excavators unearthed many of these "unending products." The excavations resulted in the recovery of objects originally manufactured in 36 different states within the United States and 16 different countries (Table 25). It is important to realize, however, that these figures do not just represent a few random objects from international locations, but rather that hundreds of objects from all over the world were recovered in Sandpoint's dirt. For instance, over the course of the project, archaeologists recovered at least 44 Gordon's Gin bottles (produced in London), 80 Mumm's Champagne bottles (produced in Rheims, France), and even 64 bottles of bitters from an array of places such as Germany, Hungary, France, Italy, and Venezuela. By at least 1890, people in Sandpoint undoubtedly had access to a global world of goods.

Table 25. Countries of Origin of Sandpoint Artifacts

Description
Austria
Canada
China
England
France
Germany
Holland
Hungary
Ireland
Italy
Japan
Puerto Rico
Scotland
Sweden
Switzerland
Venezuela

Within the Sandpoint archaeological collection, an excellent example of this diversity is present in the bottle glass assemblages. Bottle glass is wonderful for historical archaeologists to study because bottles were produced in vast quantities; often have embossing that reveals what was in the bottle and where it came from; and often have a very specific date range. People generally purchase a bottle for the contents rather than the container; they use the bottle and then throw it out, creating very little time lag between when a bottle is manufactured and when it is thrown out. Once the bottle is discarded it

most likely enters the archaeological record (the only exception to this being aged goods such as wine and champagne). In contrast, people can use a set of dishes for years (or even decades—think of grandma’s china cabinet) before the dishes break and are thrown away, thus forming a longer timeline of potential consumer use. Therefore, when studying how products are consumed, bottles can be especially revealing. In studying Sandpoint’s bottles, there are literally dozens of examples that one could discuss (see Appendix I to this chapter), but here, just one example is highlighted—Chamberlain’s patent medicines—which demonstrate how thoroughly Sandpoint was aware of and linked to national markets.

The Chamberlain Medical Company produced patent medicines in Des Moines, Iowa, starting in 1872. The company produced a variety of products. Among their most popular products were “Chamberlain’s Colic, Cholera, & Diarrhoea Remedy” and “Chamberlain’s Cough Remedy” (Figure 55). These products were sold by the millions from the 1870s into the twentieth century (Fike 2006:122–123). Excavators found at least ten Chamberlain’s bottles in various locations of the Sandpoint project area. Finding many of these bottles in Sandpoint is not all that revealing; what is interesting are the advertisements found in city and regional newspapers, which are basically a great illustration of the tendrils of the global market. Chamberlain’s products were advertised relentlessly over a period of at least 15 years in newspapers such as the *Kootenai County Republican*, *Northern Idaho News*, *Pend d’Oreille News*, and the *Pend d’Oreille Review*. In many cases there are multiple Chamberlain’s ads throughout a single issue and then those ads would be repeated (with some variation) for weeks at a time. But it was not just the newspapers that were aggressively hawking Chamberlain’s. It was also a product that at least three different Sandpoint druggists chose to highlight in their advertisements (see Volume 2, Chapter 7). Chamberlain’s was marketed so aggressively in Sandpoint that at least one local druggist, Charles Foss (owner of Sandpoint Drug Company), had three advertisements for Chamberlain’s placed on the front page of the October 3, 1902, edition of the *Kootenai County Republican*. What the Chamberlain’s example illustrates is how rapidly national products (and the accompanying marketing) became part of the city’s material culture. Indeed, as early as 1892, when the town was home to no more than a few hundred people, national products such as Chamberlain’s were the focal points of many businesses’ sales—and more importantly, the archaeology indicates that those sale pitches were effective. Many national products were being advertised in Sandpoint papers and, as seen in the archaeological evidence, many Sandpoint residents bought those products (see Appendix I to this chapter). Far from being an ongoing story of survival and subsistence, life after the frontier is very much a story of globalization.



Figure 55. Chamberlain's bottle recovered from Townsite excavation (LC #77227).

KEEPING UP WITH THE JONESES

While consumption in the West was not just about emulating life in the East, this undoubtedly was still a factor in some of the choices people made in what they acquired. Certainly “keeping up with the Joneses” was part of the consumer equation (Batt 2002), and in Sandpoint that may have meant keeping up with both the “Joneses” who lived next door as well as the imagined “Joneses” living in Victorian splendor in the eastern part of the country. Part of the story in towns such as Sandpoint is that the arrival of the railroad did open up people’s material world, resulting in efforts to replicate aspects of what people had known back East—or to replicate what was perceived as being current in other parts of the country. Ultimately one of the great unwritten stories of the West is how folks living in places such as Sandpoint became dedicated and strategic consumers just like their Eastern brethren.¹⁴

Aspects of this competitive consumer behavior in the West are visible in a number of ways, beginning with some of the historical narratives of the Northwest: “my cookstove was the envy of all my woman visitors. It had been brought around the horn” said Mary Rorst of Centralia, Washington (Williams 1996:47). Clearly Ms. Rorst was very aware of the fact that her stove was not just a stove but a status symbol among her peers. A similar perspective was shared by a Spokane woman in the 1890s:

Miss Sampson was over here while I was away yesterday and left for me an elegant celery dish – flat oblong china and gilt limoges (5 dollars). It is very exquisite but as usual so many other things I would prefer.... I have no dish with my china for canned fruit or preserves & I have such a nest of oblong platters only suitable for celery and cold meats...there is such a fad here for nice china – the most exquisite things in the china stores. (Williams 1996:54)

Even a five-dollar, gilt-edge decorated Limoges celery dish, did not suffice—the author needed more goods in her mind to adequately present a truly refined table. Such behavior is also suggested in Sandpoint newspapers. Two adjoining advertisements in the *Pend d’Oreille Review* in 1905 both emphasized available ceramics. Allen Brothers Druggists invited Sandpoint women to come into their store and “look over the only stock of IMPORTED HAND PAINTED CHINA ever exhibited in Sandpoint” [emphasis in original] (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1905a: 5), while Mrs. G.G. McMath reminded her prospective customers to “...not forget our China and Japan Ware for Christmas presents” (*Pend d’Oreille Review* 1905b: 5). There are also several advertisements where businesses highlighted their fine glasswares. All of these products were found in abundance within the Sandpoint assemblage. Even in the “Wild” West, in places such as Spokane and Sandpoint, there was much more going into people’s purchasing than mere practicality. Consumer envy factored into their thinking in a significant way.

The fad for “the most exquisite things” in Spokane in the 1890s and people buying imported hand-painted china in Sandpoint a few years later suggests a bit of emulation. The message is much clearer in other objects such as clothing. Reading between the lines of city newspapers, it is clear that businesses regularly tapped into local desires to be “current” in the material world. Businesses were explicitly providing Sandpoint residents an avenue to emulate what was being sold in the Eastern (and presumably more fashionable) United States. Figures 56 and 57 are examples of how local businesses in Sandpoint attempted to sell Eastern style to westerners. The *Pend d’Oreille Review* advertisement (Figure 57) is particularly interesting given that the business was a lumber company. The Sandpoint Lumber and Pole Company primarily sold working garments, but one of the products they chose to

¹⁴ Scholars have written a great deal on consumption, most of it in the last 25 years or so, but the roots of this thinking go back over a hundred years to Thorsten Veblen (1953) who is widely credited with introducing us to the idea of “conspicuous consumption.” A very good overview of this topic from an archaeological perspective is a recent book by Paul Mullins, *The Archaeology of Consumer Culture* (2011).



Figure 56. The 1904 advertisement of Lea, the Tailor. (Northern Idaho News 1904a: 7).



Figure 57. The 1907 advertisement of the Sandpoint Lumber and Pole Co. (Pend d'Oreille Review 1907b: 2).

highlight in the advertisement is “Dress pants, just received *from Virginia*” [emphasis added] (Pend d’Oreille Review 1907b: 2). Meanwhile “Lea, The Tailor” (Figure 56) emphasized the desire to be like the East by selling, in the first line of the business’ advertisement, “The best offerings from eastern houses” (Northern Idaho News 1904a: 7). It is small details such as these that demonstrate how acutely aware the men and women of Sandpoint were about the material world outside their small town—and how much they coveted that world.

SANDPOINT, THE COMPANY TOWN—KIND OF

Everybody who has even a passing familiarity with the history of Sandpoint knows that the Humbird Lumber Company was the dominant economic force in Sandpoint for many years (Renk 2013). It was the major employer in town and responsible for the movement of vast amounts of goods and materials both into and out of Sandpoint. Much like many other businesses in the West, the Humbird Lumber Company also ran a company store. This store, originally located near the railroad on the east side of Sand Creek, was one of the primary suppliers of the community. In understanding the significance of company stores two things should be recognized. First, the term company store is somewhat of a misnomer. The store was not just serving business needs but also catered to household needs. Table 26 lists the variety of products listed in a few Humbird store advertisements showing that people could buy everything from rice to socks in the store. It was not just a location where one could buy logging supplies, it was an early one-stop shopping destination.

Table 26. Goods Listed For Sale at the Humbird Lumber Company Store

Men’s Clothing	Women’s Clothing	Children’s Clothing	Household Goods	Foodstuffs
Suspenders	Shoes	Cotton hose	Clothes pins	Canned corn
Handkerchiefs		Cloaks	Flannelettes	Canned peas
Cotton mitts		Shoes	Blown glass tumblers	Canned tomatoes
Cotton socks			Fancy decorated china creamers	Fancy Japan rice
Trousers			Decorated china cups and saucers	Oat meals
Shoes			Bread and butter plates	
			Mugs	

Source: Northern Idaho News 1904c:3 and Pend d’Oreille Review 1905c:8.

The second point of note is that despite the vast influence of the Humbird Lumber Company, Sandpoint was not truly a company town. The Humbird store was not the exclusive source of goods in the community. While it was not the only venue where workers could shop, it is likely that the store's owners had some aspirations for their business (and Sandpoint) to become a "company town." We do not know this fact for certain, but we do know that the "company town" model was in the minds of people coming to the West to extract timber (Green 2010:42–44). If a company town had been created in Sandpoint, Humbird Lumber Company would have enjoyed the benefits of an economic monopoly as well as an additional level of worker dependency. In reality, however, this did not occur in Sandpoint. Certainly the store provisioned its businesses and work camps and probably many of the workers in town as well as residents, but there was competition for people's business. The competition came from other stores such as the Sandpoint Lumber and Pole Co. and the Northern Mercantile (Renk 2013; see also Volume 2, Chapter 2).

Unlike the other examples presented in this chapter where information is drawn from specific archaeological examples, the associations between what was excavated and the company store are only inferences. Of thousands of artifacts excavated from the Blacksmith/Machine Shop, the Worker Housing Area, and the Nesbitt Boarding House, it is likely that many of the objects originally came from the Humbird store—but it is not known for certain. What is known is that the Humbird store was arguably the most prominent business in town for decades. When the company was bringing in a box car full of goods to town each day (as the store claimed it was doing for a very brief period in 1901), it clearly played a major role in determining what people in Sandpoint had access to (Renk 2013). So while it is initially surprising to find quite a number of delicate items like tea cups and pressed glass in a place such as the Worker Housing assemblage, the written record proves otherwise. The company store was pushing things such as "decorated china cups and saucers" in its advertisements for prices as low as 10 cents; perhaps these advertisements reveal that material culture was really generated in stores like the Humbird store, serving as vehicles that were not just provisioning Sandpoint but also domesticating Sandpoint.

THE CURE FOR THE COMMON COLD AND BUYING LOCALLY

As mentioned previously, bottles can allow archaeologists a glimpse into how people lived their lives. A shining example of this can be seen in a single bottle recovered from the Sandpoint Drug Company (Figure 58). It is one of at least 76 bottles recovered that originated in this drug store (owned by Charles Foss). What is distinctive about this bottle is that it still contained its original contents—something that



Figure 58. Sandpoint Drug Company bottle containing wood tar.

does not occur often in archaeology. The contents were tested by analytical chemists at the University of Idaho (see Volume 2, Chapter 14), and the material inside the bottle was identified as wood tar, most likely from oak or bamboo. This was initially puzzling, as one does not generally think of tar as being central to many medicines (let alone oak or bamboo tar), but further investigation revealed two things. First, wood pitch and/or tar was apparently a fairly common ingredient in a number of cold/cough/consumption remedies of the time, and second, this little product told an interesting story about the relationships between local and national marketing.

The question of tar in medicine quickly leads down a path revealing some nuances of local marketing strategies. Once researched, other examples of tar in medicines of the era quickly surfaced. Nationally marketed products of the period included items such as Foley's Honey and Tar (produced in Chicago), Dr. Bell's Pine-Tar-Honey (produced in Paducah, Kentucky), and Hale's Honey of Horehound and Tar (produced in New York). Connections between these products and Sandpoint emerged. In the case of Foley's Honey and Tar, research found that the Allen Brothers Pharmacy (the Sandpoint Drug Company's chief rival) was selling Foley's (Figure 59). Dr. Bell's product was also being advertised in the local papers (Figure 60), and excavators recovered at least two bottles of his product. This investigation reveals behavior that is quite similar to what was identified with Chamberlain's product—national goods were being advertised in local papers, with local stores carrying the product and, in the case of Dr. Bell's product, locals buying them.

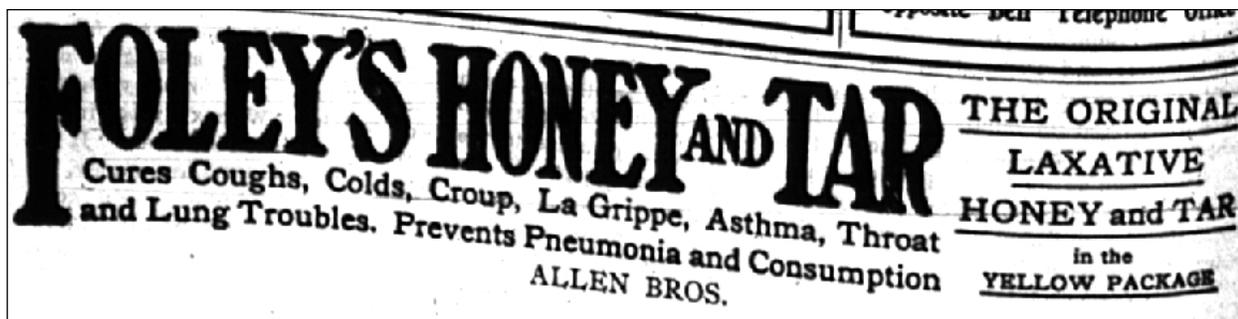


Figure 59. Allen Bros. Pharmacy advertisement for Foley's Honey and Tar. (Pend d'Oreille Review 1907a:2).

But the story of the bottle recovered with its original contents has a further twist. An advertisement in the *Northern Idaho News* for the Popular Pharmacy selling Syrup of White Pine and Tar was found when investigating Charles Foss and the Sandpoint Drug Company further (Figure 61). It is quite likely that this bottle, still holding its liquid, contains the remnants of this product. As the advertisement indicates, the Popular Pharmacy was owned by Charles Foss and was the predecessor to the Sandpoint Drug Company, which Foss established in 1905 (Figure 62). What is interesting about this advertisement is that it was a departure from most of Foss' other advertising strategies. After starting the Sandpoint Drug Company, Foss was advertising in the local papers all the time—most papers around 1905–1907 carried multiple advertisements for Foss. In fact, a comprehensive survey of all regional papers of the era would undoubtedly identify hundreds of advertisements for Foss. These advertisements generally took two forms: either they were small, article-

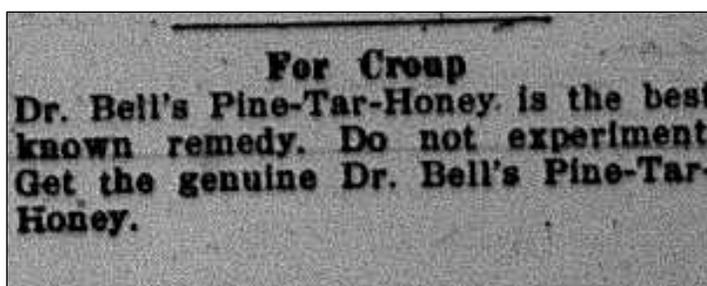


Figure 60. Advertisement for Dr. Bell's Pine-Tar-Honey, produced in Paducah, Kentucky. (Pend d'Oreille Review 1911:3).

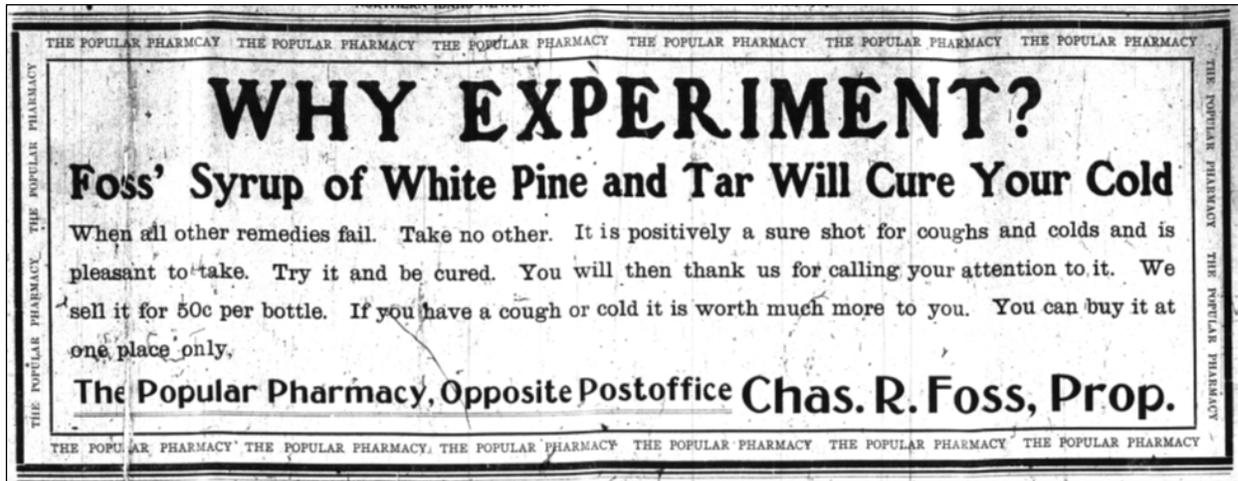


Figure 61. Advertisement for Foss' Syrup of White Pine and Tar. (Northern Idaho News 1904d:7).



Figure 62. Interior of Sandpoint Drug Company, owned by Charles Foss. Foss is standing on the left (Courtesy of Bonner County Historical Society).

type advertisements incorporated into the news of the paper, similar to Figure 60 above, or they were comparable in size to Figure 61. However, the content of the larger advertisements was consistently different than what is found in Figure 61, the White Pine and Tar advertisement. Foss' larger advertisements typically listed an array of products that were available in his store. This particular advertisement is striking in that he departed from his usual strategy and used a large advertisement to sell just a single product.

Why choose this single product to advertise from among the many goods that he sold? First, it is recognized that Foss was selling a cure for the common cold at the start of the proverbial “cold and flu season.” He was getting the word out about his products just as colds were re-entering the community’s consciousness. Second, he was selling a product that was directly challenging national brands—national brands that his competitors, Allen Brothers Pharmacy, were selling. In this advertisement Foss was explicitly offering Sandpoint residents a local alternative, the inference being that a product made locally was something that they could trust because they knew and trusted the person who made it. Foss was a prominent figure in Sandpoint, and almost everyone in Sandpoint would have known him and his businesses. Indeed, a 1905 special edition of the *Northern Idaho News* highlighted his prominence, saying that “...no man in the Inland Empire enjoys a higher reputation as a pharmaceutical chemist than does Mr. Foss.” The article goes on to say he was a social “leader and favorite” of the community and lists his leadership roles in a variety of local and state organizations (*Northern Idaho News* 1905: 18). Essentially Foss used his reputation to sell his Syrup of White Pine and Tar cure, and in doing so he also gave the folks in Sandpoint another option besides what was being sold nationally: “When all other remedies fail” turn to people you can trust—Foss (*Northern Idaho News* 1904d:7).

INVISIBLE ECONOMIES

As with any town, there are elements of the community that are more challenging to see through archaeology. Private acquisition and exchange of goods and services are part of the fabric of every town, though the particulars can vary considerably. People exchange labor for things like barn raisings, or they share the fish they caught with neighbors, or they pay a debt not with cash but with goods, or perhaps they pilfer. Most of these exchanges are all but invisible without extraordinary documents, but on occasion archaeologists can catch glimpses of such invisible economies.

The town newspapers reveal many accounts of people’s hunting or fishing successes, all of which provide examples of people acquiring food outside of Sandpoint markets. For example the *Bonner County Progressive* reported in the “Local Arena” column that: “Anton Maybaum and Mr. McElroy have returned from a hunting trip and they have brought back one bear, three deer and a number of small animals” and that “James Murray, just returned from a hunting trip at Priest Lake, reports lots of birds, but says the deer have not yet come down out of the hills” (*Bonner County Progressive* 1914:3). Hunting or fishing reports were a staple news item in many of the local papers and they illustrate one of the common avenues through which people acquired food. However, our excavations produced very little evidence of wild game. Of the almost 24,000 bones recovered in the excavations, fewer than 150 bones came from fish or wild game. This fact illustrates one of the culinary surprises of many parts of the West. Wild game is without question part of Western foodway. Yet, moving away from wild game to meat such as pork and beef from domesticated animals was also viewed by many as an important symbol of a town being “settled.” Given that the bulk of our excavations took place in the commercial district, it perhaps is a bit less surprising that we did not recover evidence of wild game. Simply put, meats such as beef and pork symbolized a settled community. It also means that in this one instance, the habit of provisioning one’s family through hunting remained invisible archaeologically in this part of town.

On the other hand, the bones recovered do provide evidence that brings to light another invisible economy in town. One of the largest assemblages of Sandpoint bones came from the excavation of a Chinese residence/business on Sand Creek. Research indicates the home and business (a laundry) housed three of the nine Chinese that lived in Sandpoint in 1900. With almost 13,000 bones recovered from this business/residence, the assemblage represents the remains of many, many meals of the people living here. Archaeologists and historians alike have spent many years studying what Chinese immigrants to the United States ate. One of the consistent findings is that Chinese immigrants went to considerable lengths to maintain the food traditions they grew up with. In other words, even though

they were in a new land, they tried to eat as they had in China. In practical terms this meant a diet where meats were commonly chopped up into small pieces to serve over rice. As for what meat was used, certainly fowl and fish were regularly consumed, while the red meat of choice was unquestionably pork (Newman 2004: 235). Farther down on the list of meat preferences for many Chinese was beef (Roberts 2002: 19). This preference for pork has been regularly identified by archaeologists working in many locations in the West (cf. Greenwood 1996; Hamilton 2008; Henry 2012; Longenecker and Stapp 1993).

The assemblage of 13,000 bones recovered from the Chinese business/residence seemingly flies in the face of this previous archaeological, historical, and ethnographic research. What is found here is a household that apparently consumed an overwhelming amount of beef (Table 27). This result is in line with all of the other faunal assemblages that we analyzed for Sandpoint, but it contradicts what is repeatedly identified in other parts of the Western United States. Further, many of the meat cuts identified were large cuts such as for roasts—a form of meat consumption somewhat atypical of Chinese foodways.

Table 27. Summary of Pork and Beef Remains at the Chinese Settlement

Species	Bone Count	Bone Weight (kg)	Estimated Meat Weight (lbs)
Cow/large mammal	3,632	35.182	766
Pig/medium mammal	3,439	9.902	244

Again, this poses another question. Why would these few Chinese in Sandpoint differ so dramatically in their food choices from what has been consistently identified elsewhere? Research indicates that the answer lies in their line of work. Of the nine Chinese living in Sandpoint at the time, six were listed as working as cooks in the 1900 census. Our hypothesis is that some of the meat slipped out the side door of the restaurants in town. It is possible that food was being taken home legitimately as leftovers, or perhaps the meat was being taken home surreptitiously. The fact is that the type of meat (beef), the volume of meat (over 1,000 pounds), and the specific cuts (roasts, stews, and about 200 steak cuts) are not representative of a small Chinese household, though they are fairly representative of what one might find in a restaurant of the era.

SO WHAT DOES IT ALL MEAN?

When thinking about the West, many people assume that once towns were past the self-sufficiency stage of the “frontier era,” townspeople essentially lined up by the railroad tracks waiting for goods to come in on trains carrying whatever products sales agents agreed to send to businessmen such as Charles Foss or the people who ran the Humbird store. A second assumption is that people were perhaps simply waiting for the delivery of the goods they ordered from Sears, Roebuck and Company or Montgomery Ward. In short, people may assume it was a passive consumerism—a consumerism that was at odds with the consumerism in the East, where there were a myriad of opportunities both to consume and to consume with a message about who you are.

This archaeological and historical work provides us some different perspectives on Western consumption. We have presented a few representative examples that could be mined from the artifacts we excavated. These examples present additional layers of complexity to the simplistic model of just waiting for the train to come in. In many regards Sandpoint is typical of what transpired all over the West after the so-called closing of the frontier. It does not mean they were isolated. Indeed, Sandpoint was thoroughly tied into the world economy. Certainly, some of these linkages were facilitated by the considerable influence of the Humbird store (as well as others such as Sandpoint Lumber and Pole

Company's store and the Northern Mercantile), but one way or another goods from all over the world were coming into Sandpoint from very early on.

However, beyond this, there were various other factors influencing people's choices. For some, aspirational consumption was also part of the town. People bought not just for functional reasons but to convey messages about their wealth and their social savvy, while at the same time, in other contexts, they chose to buy from someone they knew and trusted. We have hypothetical households in Sandpoint actively seeking out the latest "imported hand painted China" at a place such as the Humbird store, but then travelling down the street to Sandpoint Drug Company because they had more faith in what Charles Foss could prepare to cure their cold rather than another cold remedy made halfway across the country in Paducah, Kentucky.

The final point to emphasize here is that while some of the complexities of the rise of mass consumer culture in Sandpoint are highlighted above, by inference the material complexities of the West through archaeology are also highlighted. The examples presented here are underlain by broader understandings of the relationship between Sandpoint and the world. Further, this research only touches on the proverbial tip of the iceberg on this topic; there are many, many more stories about what people bought and why in the thousands of artifacts recovered from Sandpoint.

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CHAPTER 6, APPENDIX I. PRODUCTS RECOVERED IN SANDPOINT EXCAVATIONS AND ADVERTISED IN LOCAL PAPERS

The appendix is a listing of products recovered through excavation that were also identified as being advertised in local newspapers.

Table 28. Excavated Products Advertised in Local Newspapers of the Time

Product/Business	Newspaper
Businesses	
Allen Bros Druggists	<i>Pend d'Oreille Review</i> : 9/15/05, p.5
Langert Wine Co.	<i>Pend d'Oreille Review</i> : 4/11/11, p.10
Crescent Mfg. Co.	<i>Bonner Co. Democrat</i> : 9/17/08, p.6
Evans Chemical Co. "The Big G"	<i>Pend d'Oreille News</i> : 4/23/92, p.3
H.K Mulford Co.	<i>Pend d'Oreille Review</i> : 11/5/09, p.12
Jaques Chemical Works	<i>Pend d'Oreille Review</i> 9/18/09, p.2
Sandpoint Drug	<i>Hope Herald</i> : 11/20/13, p.1
Spokane Brewing Co.	<i>Northern Idaho News</i> : 10/21/04, p.7
Products	
Ayers Cherry Pectoral	<i>Bonner Co. Democrat</i> : 9/17/08, p.7
Chamberlain's Colic, Cholera	<i>Kootenai Co. Republican</i> : 10/3/02, p.1
Chamberlain's Cough	<i>Northern Idaho News</i> : 10/21/04, p.8
Dr. A. Boschee's German Syrup	<i>Pend d'Oreille News</i> : 3/3/92, p.6
Dr. Bell's Pine-Tar-Honey	<i>Pend d'Oreille Review</i> : 3/24/11, p.3
Dr. J. Hostetter's Stomach Bitters	<i>Hope Herald</i> : 3/25/13, p.3
Dr. King's new discovery	<i>Pend d'Oreille Review</i> : 8/1/07, p.8
Dr. Miles Restorative Nervine	<i>Northern Idaho News</i> : 10/21/04, p.9
Dr. Prices' Delicious Flavoring Extracts	<i>Pend d'Oreille News</i> : 2/13/92, p.6
Electric Brand Bitters	<i>Kootenai Co. Republican</i> : 10/3/02, p.3
Ely's Cream Balm	<i>Pend d'Oreille News</i> : 3/5/92, p.6
Fletcher's Castoria	<i>Bonner Co. Democrat</i> : 9/17/08, p.7
Foss Syrup of White Pine Tar	<i>Northern Idaho News</i> : 10/21/04, p.7
Gilt Top Beer	<i>Pend d'Oreille Review</i> : 8/1/07, p.8
H.J. Heinz Co.	<i>Bonner Co. Progressive</i> : 10/17/14, p.3
Hall's Catarrh Cure	<i>Pend d'Oreille News</i> : 2/13/92, p.3
Hood's Sarsaparilla	<i>Hope Examiner</i> : 11/22/95, p.3
Mason Fruit Jar	<i>Kootenai Co. Republican</i> : 8/2/1, p.4
Murine Eye Remedy	<i>Hope Herald</i> : 3/25/13, p.3
Olympia Beer	<i>Pend d'Oreille Review</i> : 1/13/05, p.5
Oregon Blood Purifier	<i>Pend d'Oreille News</i> : 4/2/92, p.3
Paine's Celery Compound	<i>Hope Examiner</i> : 2/19/97, p.3
Pe-Ru-Na	<i>Pend d'Oreille Review</i> : 9/15/05, p.6
Piso's Cure for Consumption	<i>Kootenai Herald</i> : 11/2/01, p.3
Prairie Queen Whiskey	<i>Pend d'Oreille Review</i> : 1/13/05, p.3
St. Jacobs Oil	<i>Pend d'Oreille News</i> : 12/13/92, p.3
Syrup of Figs	<i>Hope Examiner</i> : 5/1/96, p.3
Warners Safe Cure	<i>Pend d'Oreille News</i> : 5/28/92, p.4

CHAPTER 7. EXCAVATING LABOR: ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE HUMBIRD BLACKSMITH SHOP

Mark Warner and Molly Swords

One of the important claims about historical archaeology's importance is that the field can tell us a great deal about the everyday lives of people who are largely forgotten in the written record. This is certainly the case with the archaeology done in Sandpoint. We have learned a great deal about the women of the town's red light district, how a handful of Chinese residents lived, the complexities of the town's economies, and to a lesser degree about many other groups living in the town.

One of the last areas we excavated was quite different from everything else we did. This final area of the project was the Blacksmith Shop for the Humbird Mill complex. While our other excavations were of a small business, a residence, or a combination of the two, this aspect of our fieldwork was part of a major industry (Figures 63 and 64). This meant that most (but not all—as we will discuss) of what we recovered from our fieldwork was effectively industrial trash rather than personal trash. Put simply, we were dealing with a lot of scrap metal—and the question is what did we learn from all that metal?

To tell the story of the Humbird Blacksmith Shop, we are going to treat this chapter as an excavation. Archaeologists typically excavate by removing soil in layers. Theoretically each layer of soil can tell us different things about what went on at a particular location. So as archaeologists peel back layers of soil, different stories are unearthed, and in some instances the deeper one gets the more ephemeral the materials become. In this case, we are sharing some different levels of information gleaned from our excavations of the Blacksmith Shop (Figure 65).

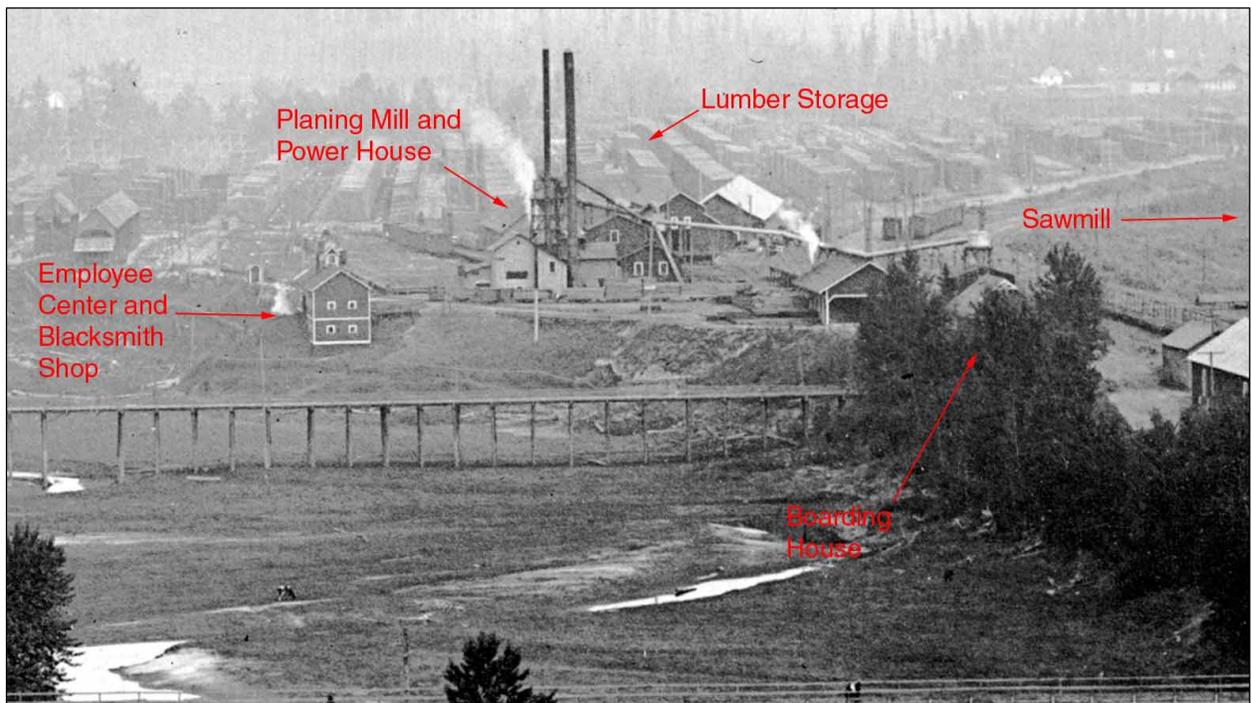


Figure 63. Humbird Mill complex showing the Blacksmith Shop on the left side.



Figure 64. What the Blacksmith Shop location looked like at the time of excavation.



Figure 65. Excavating the Humbird Blacksmith Shop.

LEVEL 1: GETTING THE LAY OF THE LANDSCAPE

One of the basic questions archaeologists have to answer on any project is what actually took place on the site being studied. We obviously had some information—we knew we were excavating a blacksmith’s shop, we knew approximately where it had been located, we knew the workers’ clubhouse had been located at the southern end of the building, and we knew from a picture that ash was thrown over the banks toward Sand Creek (in Figure 63, note the steam rising from the mound). Just as for the rest of the early commercial district, Sand Creek was the place to get rid of trash. And, finally, we “obviously” knew what went on in the shop—metal work, especially shoeing horses (Figure 66; notice the shoes hanging on the wall on the left side of the image). Yet, the archaeology of this site revealed a more complex picture of what went on in the shop.



Figure 66. Blacksmith Shop interior, undated photo (courtesy of Nancy Renk).

As both the picture above and the archaeology demonstrate, blacksmithing undoubtedly went on there, but the archaeology presents a more varied picture of working life at the shop. We identified that, first, the place was more than just a blacksmith shop, and other metal-working activities were also being carried out on-site. Second, even though we did not identify change in work functions over time—meaning a clear material shift from blacksmithing to another kind of workshop—we did identify some distinct activity areas, telling us more about the spatial layout of the shop.

Not surprisingly we found an enormous amount of metal in our excavation. In addition to old horseshoes, broken tools, and shoe nails, we found thousands of scrap metal fragments. The metal was waste material from machine shop work. This told us that in addition to being a blacksmith shop, the place also served as a machine shop for the Humbird Mill, so despite being referred to as a “blacksmith” shop, the reality was that the workshop was a combination of both a blacksmith shop and a machine

shop. One of the ways we identified this was through chemical testing of a limited number of slag samples collected from the slag and ash heap that had been thrown down the slope toward Sand Creek. Some of the testing supported what we already suspected, namely that workers were primarily working with mild carbon steel and they were not smelting metal on-site but, rather, conducting repair work on a variety of steel objects. Yet, the analytical chemists testing the samples also identified some anomalies in the metals in the samples. Specifically, high amounts of lead and zinc were identified in the samples recovered from one of the slag/ash layers (see Chapter 14 in Volume 2). This finding does not tell us specifically what was going on in the shop, but it does provide some indication that they were doing more than just shoeing horses.

We also discovered evidence of other industrial activities. The blacksmith's shop was also an electric battery station for the mill, something that was abundantly clear through the recovery of over 6,300 battery parts on the site. The battery parts were concentrated in the northern part of the excavation, with the vast majority being recovered where the area slopes down to Sand Creek. The remains were from at least two different types of industrial batteries. The batteries were industrial batteries, most likely used to power electric vehicles that transported materials around the Humbird Mill.

Figure 67 is an overview of the excavated Blacksmith Shop areas. It also provides a visual orientation of the different activities that went on there. The bulk of the electric battery artifacts were recovered in the northern portion of the shop. This northern portion of the building was also the last addition to the building, according to the Sanborn maps. Blacksmithing and machine work were done in the southern portion of the shop, while the extreme southern portion contained scrap metal waste from the machine work and trash from the worker break area. This worker break area was referred to in one Sanborn map as a "clubhouse." The western side of Figure 67 was the slope down to the water and was where ash from the forge was being dumped along with miscellaneous forge-related waste. The ash dumping along the bank of Sand Creek was extensive; at its deepest point the waste pile was almost five feet deep. The area identified as "Initial Blacksmith Shop" was the primary blacksmithing locale, while the southern portion served as one of the waste areas during the earlier years of the shop (until the building was expanded onto, thereby covering the waste pile).

LEVEL 2: WORK AT THE SHOP

Our second level looks at some of the specific work activities that took place in the Blacksmith Shop. In doing this we begin to gather more detail about what was going on in the shop as well as uncover some things that we did not realize about the shop.

Shoeing the Horses

We know about the layout of the Blacksmith Shop, so our next question is about what we can learn about the work activities of the Blacksmith Shop. Starting with the expected, when one thinks of a blacksmith, the maintenance of horses' shoes comes to mind. The recovery of 194 horseshoes and 137 horseshoe nails (among other horseshoe-related objects) illustrates that this perception was indeed accurate for the Humbird Blacksmith Shop. An examination of these shoes actually reveals more detail about the smithing that was going on there. First, approximately 76 percent of the horseshoes had heel or toe calks, a fact that tells us that the vast majority of the shoes were probably for work animals. The presence of heel and toe calks on their shoes provided extra traction for a horse. This is expected, as many horses were used for logging and needed to have traction on unstable roads, trails, and paths. What is actually a bit unexpected was the large number of shoes that had no calks on them ($n = 46$, or 24 percent of the shoes). Despite the shop being part of the mill, almost a quarter of the shoes were for

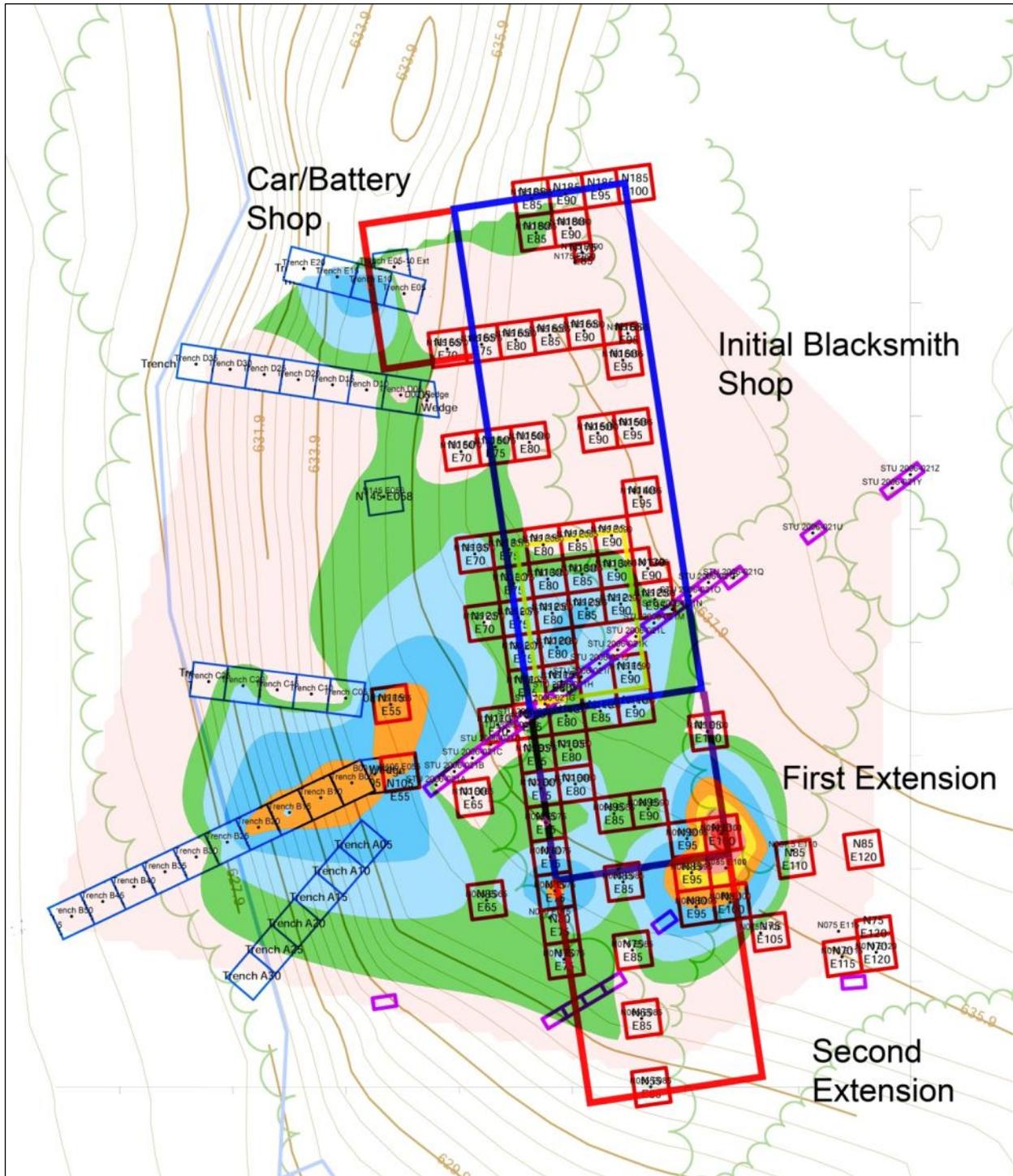


Figure 67. A map of the Blacksmith shop excavation.

“city driving,” meaning the horses were not being shod to haul logs from the hills around Sandpoint but rather to pull carts around town or to be ridden by individuals.

Our second finding was that multiple shoes were recovered that indicated corrective/therapeutic support for the horse who was wearing them. This is an important, yet frequently overlooked, aspect of working as a blacksmith. Good smiths do not just shoe a horse, as needed; they try to address problems that a horse may be having. In this case at least 16 horseshoes were recovered that were modified in

some fashion to be therapeutic shoes for the horses. Such a number of shoes identify the Blacksmith Shop as a place where the farrier regularly attended to some form of horse malady.

Electrification

The storage batteries that were recovered were a significant component of our findings. These fragments of storage batteries also symbolize one of the transformations that were taking place at the Humbird Lumber Mill and throughout the United States: the shift from animal-driven work to machine-driven work. This transformation, however, was not without significant challenges. The early battery cells that were developed were large, heavy, prone to leaks, high maintenance, and had relatively little capacity compared to modern standards—thus, if you were depending on them for work you would have “backups,” and this is evident in the large number of battery-related artifacts that were recovered. The earliest storage batteries that we identified were lead-acid batteries. These were wet cells, meaning that lead plates were suspended in an aqueous solution with a very specific ratio of diluted sulfuric acid to hold a charge. These batteries were also very maintenance-intensive, requiring a host of tools and sufficient knowledge of electrical principles to troubleshoot any issues that might arise. We found some of those battery maintenance tools in the course of the excavations. For example Figure 68 is a hydrometer (and one of the many objects that we saw for the first time in an archaeological context), a tool that would have measured the acidity of the battery. Too acidic and the lead plates in the battery would corrode, and thin rubber separators would dissolve; too weak, and a proper charge could not be maintained.



Figure 68. Hydrometer fragment (LC #10579)..

As mentioned we found thousands of fragments from industrial batteries. We also found evidence of what the batteries were going into. Figure 69 is a large carbon brush from an electric motor. The motor is embossed with the words JEFFREY MFG CO COLUMBUS, OHIO. Brushes such as these are replaceable items that wear out over the life of an electrical motor. They are used to pass current to the moving part of the motor, the armature. The interesting aspect of this finding is that it tells us something about what kind of motor was employed and what vehicles were being used at the Humbird Mill. These motors powered carts capable of hauling heavy loads, much heavier than any horse-drawn vehicle could haul, albeit at a maximum speed of around 5 miles per hour. Jeffrey Manufacturing Company was started in 1877 and manufactured industrial electrical equipment including rail carts for the coal industry. By 1900 they were one of the leading manufacturers of electrical industrial equipment in the country. Their products could be found in coal mines and mills around the country. This artifact illustrates the technological transformation that was occurring in Sandpoint as well as yet another example of the town’s links to the world. By purchasing carts from Jeffrey Manufacturing, the Blacksmith Shop workers and millworkers were acquiring tools that were made by national leaders in manufacturing products. This artifact is one of many found throughout this project that demonstrate how the little town of Sandpoint was extensively networked to global products.



Figure 69. Carbon brush from an electric motor manufactured by the Jeffrey Manufacturing Company of Columbus, Ohio.

The Work Being Done

Readers may wonder about the implications of recovering a lot of horseshoes and electric battery parts at the same locale. These two items may represent a much bigger story of what was going on at the Blacksmith Shop. The archaeology reveals a point of transition. Specifically, the material culture of the Blacksmith Shop represents the material transformation from a blacksmith shop to, increasingly, a machine shop. In short we have captured one of the profound transformations in industry from animal labor to an increasingly machine-powered labor. One of those clues was the electric batteries, but an equally revealing clue was the thousands of pieces of scrap metal that we found on the site.

Project staff spent hours figuring out how to analyze this scrap metal; it was a noble task to spend time studying materials as mundane as rusted scrap metal when we had thousands of other objects that were more recognizable, more interesting, and less messy (try seeing what your clothes look like after eight hours of working with rusted metal), yet the payoff was considerable, as that metal did tell us some very interesting things about the work that was being done at the shop (Figure 70).

We already knew that blacksmithing was one of the tasks accomplished in the shop, but the waste products showed us that the shop was also a machine shop. A lot of the work involved maintaining the machinery at the mill and the associated lumber camps. The scrap metal associated with machine shop work indicated that a lot of what the workers were doing was repetitive, suggesting that they most likely engaged in performing a few processes that were part of regular operations of the mill (Mitchell 2011: 183). For instance, we found literally hundreds of things such as sheared bolts, metal shavings, and boiler rivets. These items are consistent with what would be found in a machine shop whose function is to support a particular industry. There was relatively little evidence of innovation and a great deal of evidence of repetition. The 593 boiler rivets recovered are noteworthy because they also illustrate the transition seen above to steam-driven labor. One thing is clear: the men of the Blacksmith Shop were spending a good deal of time repairing boilers.



Figure 70. A sample image of materials recovered from the Blacksmith Shop excavations.

LEVEL 3: DIGGING DEEPER: GLIMPSES OF WORKERS' SECRETS

One of the repeated narratives about working for the Humbird Lumber Company was that it was a good place to work. City newspapers regularly reported on the construction of housing for workers, the availability of good jobs at the mill, and so on. The information we gleaned on working conditions at the Blacksmith Shop is sparse but informative. The bulk of the non-industry-related materials we recovered came at the southern portion of the site, in the vicinity of what was likely the break room for the shop. The bulk of the ceramics and bottle glass recovered from the Blacksmith Shop came from this area. The numbers of ceramic and glass recovered were small, but interesting. Table 29 summarizes the ceramic vessels identified, some of which we could expect. For instance, it is reasonable to find a pitcher as well as a few undecorated utilitarian whitewares in the break area of a shop. They indicate people needing to pause to clean up or having an everyday plate for lunch—think of these as the turn-of-the-century analog to the miscellaneous dishes in a workplace kitchen today. Perhaps not so expected, however, were things like tea cups and saucers. To be certain, these items were present in very small numbers but their mere presence is interesting. Why a couple of tea cups and a saucer were present at this location cannot be determined, but they do represent a small bit of unexpected behavior in what was resoundingly a work environment (Figure 71).

Table 29. Blacksmith Shop Ceramic Vessel Count

Vessel Form	Ware Type	Function	Minimum Vessel Count
Crock	Stoneware	Multiple	2
Cup	Whiteware	Possibly tea	1
Flatware	Whiteware	Possibly plate	2
Flatware	Porcelain	Unknown	1
Hollowware	Ironstone	Possibly bowl	1
Hollowware	Stoneware	Possibly crock/churn	1
Saucer	Whiteware	Tea	1
Pitcher	Whiteware	Beverage	1
Total			10



Figure 71. Left: whiteware saucer from the Blacksmith Shop; Right: close-up of same saucer showing transfer print decoration and molding.

PERCEPTION AND REALITY

A common feature in the public discourse on workers' conditions is how well a company treats its workers. To a degree the Humbird Lumber Company was no exception to this discourse. The company often noted the housing available for workers or the quality of the conditions in their lumber camps. Of course there is always a gap between perception and reality. On a larger scale this can be seen in some of the strikes by the Humbird Lumber Company workers in the early part of the twentieth century (Renk 2013).

We were able to catch glimpses of what may be seen as worker insubordination in the Blacksmith Shop excavations. A starting point is the small number of bottles that were recovered (Table 30). It was expected that on a work site one would not recover very many bottles, but what we did recover provides a bit of insight about on-the-job behavior that John Humbird would not have approved of. The largest identifiable category of bottles recovered were bottles that contained some form of alcohol; further, these bottles were flasks, which would have been readily concealed by workers. To delve even further, the second-largest category of bottles were pharmaceuticals. Certainly workers may have been ailing (there were no paid sick days at the time), but the medicines that were being brought to work would almost certainly have had an alcohol (and/or drug) content that was similar to what would have been in those flasks. The reality is that of the identifiable bottles recovered in the shop, 80 percent would have contained some form of alcohol, implying that the workers were doing some on-site drinking—something that one would find in most industry of the time (Murdock 1998:14).

Table 30. Blacksmith Shop Container Functional Categories

Functional Category	Count	Minimum Vessel Count
Alcohol	48	8
Food/food storage	38	3
Grooming/toiletry	3	0
Pharmaceutical/medical	21	6
Unknown	765	15
Total	875	32

Finally, we end with a small act of what may have been everyday resistance by one of the men in the shop. A small fragment of window glass recovered from the Blacksmith Shop revealed an etched caricature once it was cleaned in the lab (Figure 72). While it is possible that this is just a fragment of a larger scene that had been scratched into the glass, the figure’s particularly elongated nose and minuscule ears suggest that at best this is a gentle caricature of someone, and likely intended as an unflattering image. It may well be an interpretive flight of fancy, but one thought is that this is part of a caricature of an overbearing supervisor. We will never know who this person was, but consider workplace graffiti in general. Such work has overwhelmingly negative characterizations of people in power. What we may have here is a small example of a worker taking their break and taking a bit of time to surreptitiously etch an image in one of the shop’s window panes. The question we leave up to the reader is—did they carve an admiring image of a co-worker or boss, or was the intent to ridicule and memorialize managerial folly?

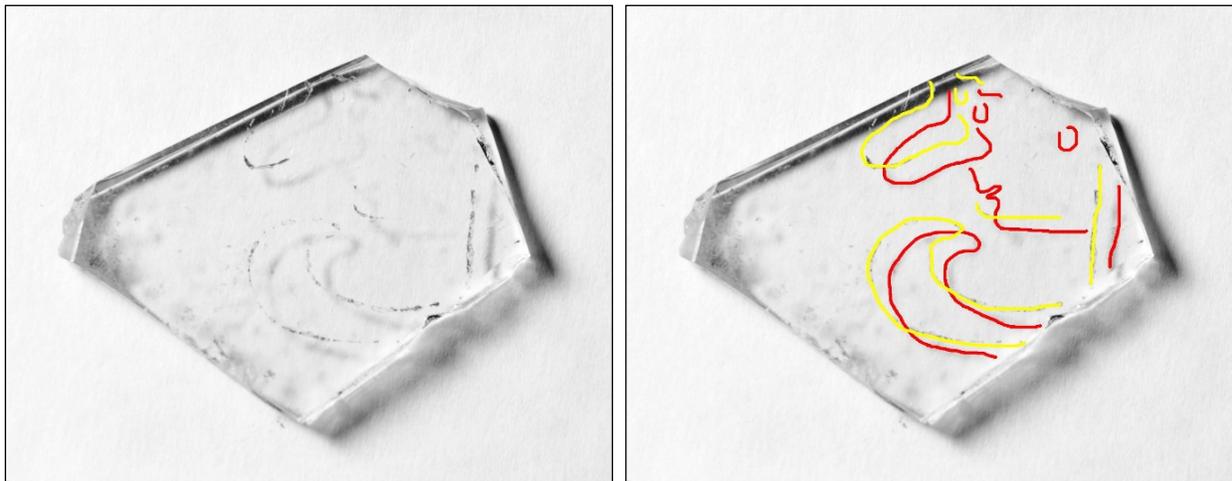


Figure 72. Fragment of window glass recovered during excavation. Image on the right is an enhancement of the caricature that is sketched on the glass.

WHY EXCAVATE A BUNCH OF METAL? A CONCLUDING THOUGHT

The Humbird Blacksmith Shop excavation was a sharp departure from most of the rest of the Sandpoint Archaeology Project. Almost all of the other excavations explored small businesses and were associated with an individual or family. This excavation dealt with the material remains of industry. We went into the project hoping to identify changes in smithing technology over time. What we recovered was not stratified enough for us to truly be able to tease that information out. However, as with much archaeology we did uncover stories that we did not expect. On a broad scale, we captured a point in time where a major shift was happening. We recovered the material world at a point where both animal labor and machine labor co-existed, but in an ever-changing relationship. We were also able to capture some of the individual spirit of the folks working in the place, we see the skill of the farrier working to regularly modify his shoes to aid ailing horses, and we also catch glimpses of worker life, on one hand

sitting down to a spot of tea in the break room—and on the other, perhaps adding something extra to that drink to make the drudgery of repairing boilers more tolerable. In the archaeology of industry, it is often easy for the worker to disappear, but by looking closely at the materials recovered, sometimes those lives can still be seen along with the transformations of the day.

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APPENDIX A. PUBLIC OUTREACH

Archaeological study of the old Sandpoint townsite began in 2002 with a cultural resources survey and testing. In 2006, full-scale archaeological data recovery commenced and was completed just ahead of the bulldozers in December 2008. The Sandpoint Archaeological Project was one of superlatives: it was the largest data recovery project ever conducted in Idaho and arguably one of the largest such projects in the Pacific Northwest. When the post-field processing work was completed in 2010, the 1,056 standard archive boxes filled with artifacts yielded over 560,000 individual artifacts. Over 90,000 line entries in the Microsoft Access database were required to handle the mélange of artifacts recovered from the various archaeological sites in the Sand Creek Byway construction corridor. The project ended in late 2013 with the production of four report volumes and appendices, and the completion of a number of professional and public outreach activities.

Public outreach was an important accomplishment of the Sandpoint Archaeology Project. Archaeology is not just for archaeologists. Archaeology is our history in physical form. Public outreach is about giving back to the public—the people who ultimately paid for the archaeology project through their tax dollars. This project left behind a permanent museum exhibit at the Bonner County Historical Society Museum and archaeology curriculum/teaching kits for grade-school teachers, as well as the four-volume report. Many papers, posters, and presentations were made along the way, some of which can be seen on the Idaho Archaeological Society website (<http://idahoarchaeology.org/projects/sandcreekarchaeology/>). More than a few newspaper articles and public radio interviews, and even a spot on Fox News on the exhibit opening at the museum, helped publicize the project and the finds unearthed by the archaeologists. Early in the project, a major open house event was staged at the Sandpoint Community Center by the Idaho Transportation Department (ITD) and its archaeologists; on a football Friday night, over 500 members of the public came and enjoyed a massive artifact show-and-tell. Moreover, the story of the Humbird family and their large planing mill, which sparked Sandpoint's growth and prosperity in the early twentieth century, has been published in a book available at the museum (*A Glorious Field for Sawmills, Humbird Lumber Company, 1900-1948*, written by Nancy F. Renk).

Public outreach included extensive involvement of the University of Idaho and its students and faculty. Projects like Sandpoint do not come along very often, and the opportunities afforded for students to earn money while working on the collection helped a number of individuals complete bachelor's and master's degrees in historical archaeology. Moreover, the large collection is being curated in perpetuity on the University of Idaho campus at the Alfred W. Bowers Museum of Anthropology. Many more fruitful investigations await future students; the artifact collection is extensive and varied and covers both Native American artifacts dating back as many as 6,000 years before present as well as artifacts left behind by the Euro-American settlers and townspeople.

Everybody loves a good story, and the archaeology beneath Sandpoint's original townsite that flanked the Northern Pacific Railroad tracks provided the building blocks for many unwritten stories. As shared in these volumes, Sandpoint's stories have been developed through archaeology and historical research. Sandpoint had it all—one of the last transcontinental railroads, thousands of Chinese laborers building the rail lines north from Spokane and over into western Montana, early settler entrepreneurs who opened up businesses along the tracks, a period of rough-and-tumble male-dominated life as the loggers and others imbibed in the local saloons and took their pleasures with the ladies of the night, an early and then later visit by Theodore Roosevelt who attested to the lively character of early Sandpoint, Chinese laundrymen and cooks living next to the tracks and working in the community at large, the arrival of big eastern money as the Humbird (Weyerhaeuser) timber interests took over a small mill and built up one of the largest mills in the western states, the explosive growth of the town as the mill

ramped up, the creation of a red light district to serve the needs of the mill workers and to protect the growing middle class society taking root across Sand Creek in the new town, the arrival of two additional railroads over the years, and a strong connection between Sandpoint residents and the larger world in spite of Sandpoint's geographic isolation in Idaho's panhandle.

Sam Sing, Trixie Edwards, Willa Herman, Marie Henderson, Charles Foss, the Allen Brothers, the Nesbitt clan, T.J. Humbird and his son John Humbird, and many other people whose names are lost to history all left behind artifacts. Archaeology helped bring these early Sandpoint citizens to life; there is much we do not know about them, and with the exception of the druggist Foss, we do not even have photographs of them. But they lived and worked in Sandpoint, either in respectable or not-so-respectable professions. They were real people who are part of the story of our common past; their lives are part of our collective heritage.

SUMMARY OF PROFESSIONAL AND PUBLIC OUTREACH ACTIVITIES OF THE SANDPOINT ARCHAEOLOGY PROJECT

The Sandpoint Archaeology Project analysis and reporting contract specified at least one presentation each for the Bonner County Historical Society; the Idaho Archaeological Society Annual Meeting; and the annual Northwest Anthropological Conference. Additional contract outreach activities included preparing a publication on the Humbird Mill; developing teaching kits for Bonner County schools; creating a museum exhibit at the Bonner County Historical Society Museum; developing a project website; and disseminating an operations newsletter.

The following summarizes accomplishments and works in progress. In many instances, the presentations have been provided pro bono by the authors as the contract requirements and budget were limited to the minimum requirements noted above. Public outreach services accomplished to date are listed below.

- **On-site Tour for Coeur d'Alene Tribe** (April 2006). Cliff SiJohn/Coeur d'Alene Tribe.
- **On-site Tour for Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) Signatories** (August 31, 2006). Kenneth Reid/Idaho State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), Lawr Salo/U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE), Dan Guard/ITD State Highway Archaeologist, and Kevin Lyons/Kalispel Tribe.
- **Community Open House** (Sandpoint, October 2006). All-day presentation of artifacts with staff, including fourth- and fifth-grade class visits and an all-community session at the Sandpoint Community Center.
- **On-site Tour for Bonner County Historical Society** (Sandpoint, October 2006). Guided tour of Sandpoint Archaeology Project excavation areas for members of the Bonner County Historical Society.
- **Community Open House** (Sandpoint, April 2007). Half-day presentation of artifacts and update of findings to the Sandpoint community, conducted by Robert M. Weaver and Robert C. Betts, Elks Club, Sandpoint.
- **Bonner County Historical Society Annual Meeting** (Sandpoint, April 2007). Paper presented. *Old Sandpoint Archaeological Project*. Presented by Robert M. Weaver.
- **Idaho State Historical Society Meeting** (Sandpoint, June 2008). Site tour and overview presentation. Co-sponsored by the Bonner County Historical Society. *Old Sandpoint Archaeological Project*. Tour and presentation by Robert M. Weaver.

- **American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials (AASHTO) Technical Committee on Environmental Design Conference** (Coeur d'Alene, September 2008). Presented paper.
Sandpoint Byway Archaeological Project. Paper by Robert M. Weaver.
- **ITD 2009 Project Development Conference** (Boise, April 2009). Presented paper.
Idaho Transportation Department Sandpoint Byway Archaeological Project. Paper by Robert M. Weaver.
- **Paper presentation** (May 2009).
Focus Shifting from Excavation to Analysis and Reporting on Idaho's Largest-Ever Archaeological Project. Project summary by Marc Münch and Amanda Haught in *Artifacts* 26(1):4–5. Idaho Archaeological Society, Inc.
- **Idaho Archaeological Society 36th Annual Conference** (Boise, October 2009). Presented paper.
Sandpoint Idaho. Paper by Mark S. Warner.
- **Society for Historical Archaeology 43rd Annual Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology** (Jacksonville, January 2010). Presented two posters and led conference panel.
Drowning in Artifacts: A Discussion of Deaccessioning Artifacts and the Implications for Historical Archaeology. Panel led by Mark Warner and Robert Sonderman. Presented *Sandpoint Archaeology Project: Collection Management Protocol, December 2009* by Mark Warner, Robert M. Weaver, James C. Bard, Amanda Haught, Jamie Emmick, and Marc Münch.
Boar's Heads Galore: A Typology of Gordon's Dry Gin Containers Distributed in the U.S. (1892-1920). Poster by Mary Petrich-Guy, Molly Swords, Amanda Haught, and Mary Kienholz.
Whiskey in the West. Poster by Molly Swords, Mary Petrich-Guy, Amanda Haught, and Mary Kienholz.
- **Northwest Anthropological Conference 63rd Annual Meeting** (Ellensburg, March 2010). Hosted an all-day symposium, *The Sandpoint Archaeology Project: Exploring a Northern Idaho Community through Archaeology*. Presented 13 papers and four posters.
The Sandpoint Archaeology Project: Exploring a Northern Idaho Community. Paper by Robert M. Weaver and James C. Bard.
But How Do You Keep Track of it All? A Synopsis of the Sandpoint Archaeological Project's Artifact Cataloging System. Paper by Mark Warner, Amanda Haught, and Joseph C. Mitchell.
Artifacts from an Early Idaho Settlement: The Chemical Story. Paper by Adeline Lustig and Ray von Wandruszka.
Chemical Identification of Bottle Contents Recovered from Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Mike Spinner and Ray von Wandruszka.
Snorting Through the Dirt: An Examination of Gordon's London Dry Gin in Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Mary Petrich-Guy.
Beauty in the Rough: Personal Adornment in the West. Paper by Lisa J. Morris.
Left Behind: An Archaeobiological Investigation of Forgotten Graves at Sandpoint's First Cemetery. Paper by Jamelon Emmick and Daniel Martin.
Illuminating the "Electrical Age": Archaeology of Electrical Artifacts at a Turn of the Century Machine Shop. Paper by Molly Swords, David Sheldon, and Mary Petrich-Guy.

Clean Your Plate: The Archaeobiological Analysis of Consumption at an Early-Twentieth-Century Blacksmith Shop and Club House. Paper by Amanda Haught.

The Material Culture of Sexual Hygiene in the Restricted District of Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Daniel Martin.

Pressed Clothes or Pressed Glass? A Preliminary Examination of Press-Molded Glass at a Chinese Laundry. Paper by Sonia Sifuentes.

Preliminary Explorations of the Foodways of Sandpoint's Overseas Chinese Community. Paper by Oliver Biemann and Mark Warner.

Hope and Change – a Look at Sandpoint's Chinese Laundrymen Through Their Cash Coins. Paper by James C. Bard.

Boar's Heads Galore: A Typology of Gordon's Dry Gin Containers Distributed in the U.S. (1892-1920). Poster by Mary Petrich-Guy, Molly Swords, Amanda Haught, and Mary Kienholz.

Whiskey in the West. Poster by Molly Swords, Mary Petrich-Guy, Amanda Haught, and Mary Kienholz.

Entering Sandpoint: Traction Required. Poster by Carmen Bradbury.

Behind Closed Doors: Opium Use in Sandpoint, Idaho. Poster by Breanne Kisling and Allison Neterer.

- **Boise State University Anthropology Lecture Series** (Boise, April 2010).
- **Fort Vancouver National Park** (Vancouver, July 2010). Summer Lecture Series, invited presentation.

Life on the Fringe: Food and Identity Among the Chinese of Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Mark S. Warner.
- **Idaho Archaeological Society 37th Annual Conference** (Boise, October 2010). Presented three papers and four posters.

The Sandpoint Archaeology Project: Pre-contact Period – Some Unexpected Results. Paper by James C. Bard and Robert C. Betts.

500,000 Artifacts – Now What?: Hints of Some Stories Coming from the Sandpoint Archaeology Project Excavations. Paper by Mark Warner.

The Sandpoint Archaeology Project: Archaeology of a North Idaho Community. Paper by Robert M. Weaver and James C. Bard.

Boar's Heads Galore: A Typology of Gordon's Dry Gin Containers Distributed in the U.S. (1892-1920). Poster by Mary Petrich-Guy, Molly Swords, Amanda Haught, and Mary Kienholz.

Whiskey in the West. Poster by Molly Swords, Mary Petrich-Guy, Amanda Haught, and Mary Kienholz.

Entering Sandpoint: Traction Required. Poster by Carmen Bradbury.

Behind Closed Doors: Opium Use in Sandpoint, Idaho. Poster by Breanne Kisling and Allison Neterer.
- **What's That? Bonner County Daily Bee.** Each month, Robert Gunter publishes an unidentified artifact from the Sandpoint collection and solicits the *Bee's* readers to identify the artifact.
- **ARLO Update Newsletter.** Periodically issued newsletters that documented the progress of the cataloging and research work; included "Artifact of the Week" and other special analyses of interesting artifacts.

- **Society for Historical Archaeology 44th Annual Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology** (Austin, January 2011). Hosted a symposium *Sandpoint and the World: Archaeology of a North Idaho Logging Community* and presented seven papers.

The Sandpoint Archaeology Project: Archaeology of a North Idaho Community. Paper by Robert M. Weaver.

Electrifying Sandpoint: Transforming an Urban Work Place. Paper by Mary Petrich-Guy.

Hope and Change – A Look at Sandpoint’s Chinese Residential Area Through Their Cash Coins. Paper by James C. Bard.

Consuming Identities: Foodways and the Complexities of Chinese-White Relations in Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Mark S. Warner and Oliver Biemann.

Breakfast in Bed: Consumer Choice of Ceramics at a Sandpoint Brothel. Paper by Amanda C. Haught.

Meat Consumption in Sandpoint’s Restricted District. Paper by Oliver R. Biemann and Mark S. Warner.

After the Smoke Clears: An Examination of Tobacco-Related Artifacts from the Restricted District of Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Mary K. Kienholz, Molly E. Swords, and Margaret R. Clark.
- **Society for American Archaeology 76th Annual Meeting** (Sacramento, March 2011). Presented two papers.

The Other Side of the Tracks (Literally): Historical Archaeology of the Disenfranchised in Turn of the Century Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Mark A. Warner.

The Sandpoint Archaeology Project: Review, Retrospective, and Lessons Learned. Invited presentation to the Association of Transportation Archaeologists Annual Meeting by James C. Bard, Robert M. Weaver, and Mark S. Warner.
- **Northwest Anthropological Conference 64th Annual Meeting** (Moscow, April 2011). Hosted symposium *The Sandpoint Archaeology Project*. Presented 11 papers, one poster, and one forum.

Introduction to the Sandpoint Archaeology Project. Introduction to the symposium by James C. Bard and Robert M. Weaver.

From Time Immemorial: The Prehistoric Record in the Sand Creek Byway Project Area in Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Robert C. Betts and James C. Bard.

Was There a Village at Sandpoint? Digging Deeper into the Archaeological and Ethnographic Record. Paper by James C. Bard and Sylvester L. Lahren, Jr.

The Chinese in Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Priscilla Wegars.

Childhood Treasures: The Toys of Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Breanne Kisling.

Developing an Artifact Coding System and Database for Blacksmith/Machine Shop Sites: A Case Study from Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Joseph C. Mitchell.

Quantity not Quality: Foodways of a Late 19th Century Boardinghouse Residents, Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Oliver R. Biemann.

Smoking Allowed: An Examination of Tobacco Usage in Historic Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Molly Swords.

Evidence for Dental Health in Historic Sandpoint Gathered from Human Remains, Isolated Teeth, and Artifacts. Paper by Jamelon Emmick.

Status in a Box(car): Consumer Culture in Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Mark S. Warner.

Why the Heck Dig There? – Targeting Cultural Resources in an Urban Environment. Paper by Robert M. Weaver.

Hot Off the Press: The Printing Plates of Sandpoint, Idaho. Poster by Mary Kienholz, Molly Swords, and Amanda Haught.

Lickety Split: Sandpoint's Artifacts in Three-Minutes. Forum organized by Amanda Haught and Molly Swords. Explored individual artifacts in a forum setting of three-minute papers. Presenters showcased an artifact every three minutes, revealing details and asking bigger questions about forces that shaped the history of Sandpoint and aid archaeologists in identifying and interpreting common and not-so-common artifacts found throughout the American West. Panelists: Amanda Haught, Molly Swords, Robert Weaver, James Bard, Mark Warner, Priscilla Wegars, Robert Betts, Jamie Emmick, Breanne Kisling, Mary Kienholz, Oliver Biemann, Jamie Capawana, Mary Petrich-Guy, and Curtis Cawley.

- **Idaho Archaeology Month** (May, 2011). Presented papers.
 - May 7, 2011: *When in Sandpoint, Do As Sandpointers Do: Food, Race and Chinese Identity.* Mark Warner and Oliver Biemann. Alfred Bowers Laboratory of Anthropology, Moscow.
 - May 14, 2011: *From Time Immemorial: Sand Creek and the Prehistory of Sandpoint, Idaho.* Robert C. Betts – Bonner County Historical Society Annual Meeting – Elks Club, Sandpoint.
 - May 19, 2011: *From Time Immemorial: Sand Creek and the Prehistory of Sandpoint, Idaho.* Robert C. Betts – Bonner County Historical Society Museum.
 - May 19, 2011: *The REAL Dirt: The Archaeology of Prostitution in Sandpoint, Idaho.* Mark Warner and Oliver Biemann – Wallace District Mining Museum, Wallace.
 - May 26, 2011: *Historical Archaeology of Sand Creek Byway.* Robert M. Weaver – Bonner County Historical Society Museum.
- **The Transportation Research Board (TRB) Archaeological and Historic Preservation (ADC50) Committee Mid-Year Meeting** (Portland, July 2011) Presented paper.
 - Dealing with Urban Archaeology: Tales from Sandpoint and Beyond.* Paper by Robert M. Weaver.
- **Clarkston Rotary Club** (Clarkston, August 2, 2011).
 - Sandpoint Archaeology.* Paper by Molly Swords.
- **Idaho Archaeological Society 38th Annual Conference** (Boise, October 2011). Presented one paper, one poster, and one forum.
 - The Way to a Man's ___ is Through His Stomach: Dining in the Brothels of Sandpoint, Idaho.* Paper by Mark Warner and Oliver Biemann.
 - Hot Off the Press: The Printing Plates of Sandpoint, Idaho.* Poster by Mary Kienholz, Molly Swords and Amanda Haught.
 - Lickety Split: Sandpoint's Artifacts in Three-Minutes.* Explored individual artifacts in a forum setting of three-minute papers. Presenters showcased an artifact every three minutes, revealing details and asking bigger questions about the forces that shaped the history of Sandpoint and aid archaeologists in identifying and interpreting common and not-so-common artifacts found throughout the American West. Panelists: James Bard, Paige Davies, Breanne Kisling, Mary Petrich-Guy, Heather Sargent, Molly Swords, and Mark Warner.

- **Daughters of the American Revolution** (Lewiston, December 16, 2011).
The Books Beneath Your Feet: Histories of Sandpoint Through Archaeology. Paper by Mark Warner.
- **Society for Historical Archaeology 45th Annual Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology** (Baltimore, Maryland, January 2012). Molly Swords organized/chaired a symposium called *The Great American West: Archaeological Investigations of America's "Other" Half*. Two papers with a Sandpoint focus and one poster was presented on Sandpoint artifacts.
The Arms of the Chinese: An Examination of Firearm Related Artifacts Recovered from Overseas Chinese Sites in the West. Paper by Margaret Clark.
From the "Other Side of the Tracks": An Examination of Children in Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Molly Swords and Breanne Kisling.
Papa Has a Headache: Red Raven Aperiens Water. Poster by Mary Petrich-Guy.
- **Northwest Anthropological Conference 65th Annual Meeting** (Pendleton, March 2012). Presented three papers and one forum.
Small but Not Forgotten: Bric-a-Brac from the Sandpoint Archaeology Project. Paper by Kaila Akina and Mark Warner.
Analysis of Gunpowder Retrieved from Sandpoint Excavation. Paper by Alicia Freeman, Ray von Wandruszka, and Mark Warner.
Developing and Testing an Archaeological Teaching Kit for Elementary School Classrooms: An Example from Idaho. Paper by Mary Petrich-Guy.
Hosted a forum *Something Old, Something New; Something Short and Just for You: A Three-Minute Artifact Forum*. Forum organized by James C. Bard. Explored individual artifacts in a forum setting of three-minute papers. Presenters showcased an artifact every three minutes, revealing details and asking bigger questions about forces that shaped the history of Sandpoint and other historic sites in Idaho and Washington. Panelists identified and interpreted common and not-so-common artifacts found. Panelists: Erik Anderson, James C. Bard, Amanda Haught Biemann, Tiffany Brunson, Breanne Kisling, Olivia McDaniel, Kali D.V. Oliver, Mary Petrich-Guy, Heather Sargent, Molly E. Swords, Alicia Valentino, Mark Warner, Robert M. Weaver, Priscilla Wegars, and Jessica Workman.
- **Idaho Archaeology Month** (May 2012). Presented papers.
There's a Million Stories Down There: Histories of Sandpoint Through Archaeology. Paper by Mark Warner. Alfred Bowers Laboratory of Anthropology, Moscow.
- **Idaho Archaeological Society 39th Annual Conference** (Moscow, October 2012). Presented two papers and one forum/workshop.
We are the 1.8 Percent: Isolation and Compromise Among Overseas Chinese in Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Mark Warner.
Sandpoint's Tiniest Residents: Unearthing Evidence of Children in Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by Molly Swords and Breanne Kisling.
Sandpoint Historical Archaeology Teaching Kits: I-95 Sandpoint Byway Project, Idaho Transportation Department. Forum and workshop organized and presented by Mary Petrich-Guy. Based on excavations of Sandpoint's historic townsite, restricted district, worker housing, and the Humbird Lumber Mill's blacksmith/machine shop, Ms. Petrich-Guy presented the results of classroom teaching kit testing being conducted by Idaho grade-school teachers. Teachers and archaeologists participated to explore ways to

teach historical archaeological concepts in the classroom.

- **Publications (2012).**
Chemical Analysis of Gunpowder Recovered in an Archaeological Excavation at Sandpoint, Idaho. *Idaho Archaeologist* 35(1):1–6. Idaho Archaeological Society, Boise. Alicia Freeman, Mark Warner, Margaret Clark, and Ray von Wandruszka.
The Sandpoint Archaeology Project. *SHA Newsletter* 45(3):14–1. Society for Historical Archaeology, Germantown, Maryland. James C. Bard.
- **Northwest Anthropological Conference 66th Annual Meeting (Portland, March 2013).**
Presented two papers and six posters.
So What’s Ailing You, Sandpoint?: Analysis and Interpretation of Medicinal Assemblages from Sandpoint, Idaho. Paper by James C. Bard and Robert M. Weaver.
Slated for More: An Examination of Historic Writing Slate in the Archaeological Record. Paper by Molly Swords.
Approaching the Efficacy of Archaeological Teaching Kits. Poster by Mary Petrich-Guy.
It’s Closing Time – Artifacts of the Drinking Culture of Sandpoint. Poster by Breanne Kisling, Molly Swords, and Mary Petrich-Guy.
Investigations of Pend Oreille Hotel. Poster by Amy Johnson, Rachel Schiell, Cristina Loughmiller, and Mallory Triplett.
A Visual Sample of Overseas Chinese Ceramics. Poster by Jamieson-Lee Scott.
Made Locally?: Trade Ties Between Sandpoint, ID and Spokane, WA. Poster by Bailey M. Cavender.
Personal Grooming in Historic Sandpoint, Idaho. Poster by Timothy Mace.
- **Idaho Archaeology and Historic Preservation Month (May 2013)**
Artifacts from Historic Sandpoint, Idaho. Idaho Historical Museum, Boise. Display and discussion by Molly Swords. May 2, 2013.
Historical Archaeology – The Sandpoint Dig and the Cost of Preserving Idaho’s History. Ada Community Library, Boise. Presentation by Marc Münch. May 7, 2013.
A Sample of Sandpoint’s Past: Artifacts from the Historic District of Sandpoint, Idaho. Coeur d’Alene Public Library. Display and discussion by Molly Swords, Breanne Kisling, Mary Petrich-Guy, Bailey Cavender, Rachel Schiell, Jamieson Lee Scott, Ted Charles, Kyle Parker-McGlynn, and Kali Oliver. May 15, 2013.
Sandpoint Archaeology Project. Bonner County Historical Museum, Sandpoint. Display and discussion by Molly Swords, Breanne Kisling, Bailey Cavender, Rachel Schiell, Jamieson Lee-Scott, Ted Charles, and Kyle Parker-McGlynn. May 18, 2013.
Career Day. Bird Alternative School, Sandpoint. Four school-period sessions describing careers in archaeology with the Sandpoint Archaeology Project used as the key example of what archaeologists do and what they find. Sandpoint artifacts were shown. Event conducted by Robert M. Weaver. May 18, 2013.

Idaho Heritage Conference September 25–27, 2013, Boise. Papers and posters summarizing the Sandpoint Archaeology Project will be presented at the Idaho Heritage Conference (hosted by Heritage Partners: Idaho Heritage Trust, Preservation Idaho, the Idaho State Historical Society, the Idaho Association of Museums, and the Idaho Archaeological Society). Sandpoint posters from 2009 to 2013 will be presented.

- **Bonner County Historical Society Museum.** Opened permanent exhibit *Digging the Past: Uncovering Sandpoint's Hidden History*. Opening event attended by over 250 members of the community with coverage by local media. Newspaper coverage of the event was published in the following days in the *Bonner County Daily Bee* and other papers in the region. August 16, 2013 3:30 – 7:00 PM.
- **A Glorious Field for Sawmills, Humbird Lumber Company 1900-1948, by Nancy F. Renk – available at**the Bonner County Historical Society Museum (March 2014).
- **Web page.** Hosted by the Idaho Archaeological Society. Content additions in progress (2011–2013) <http://idahoarchaeology.org/projects/sandcreekarchaeology/>.