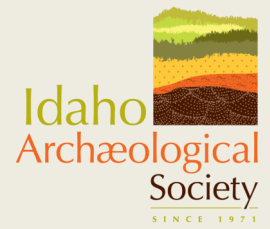


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THE IDAHO ARCHAEOLOGIST

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Scope

The *Idaho Archaeologist* publishes peer reviewed articles, reports, and book reviews. Though the journal's primary focus is the archeology of Idaho, technical and more theoretical papers having relevance to issues in Idaho and surrounding areas will be considered. The *Idaho Archaeologist* is published semi-annually in cooperation with the College of Arts and Sciences, Boise State University as the journal of the Idaho Archaeological Society.

Submissions

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Idaho

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Thematic Issue: Historical Archaeology in Idaho

Guest Editors: Molly Swords and Mark Warner

Historical Archaeologies of Idaho

MOLLY E. SWORDS, MARK S. WARNER

University of Idaho

Introduction

This issue of *Idaho Archaeologist* is long overdue. As a state, Idaho has a 45-year track record of leadership in the field of Historical Archaeology; this influence can be traced to the contributions of Dr. Roderick Sprague. Sprague was both a founding member of the Society of Historical Archaeology and long-time professor at the University of Idaho. During his tenure at UI, Sprague taught generations of archaeologists- a number of them going on to successful careers and becoming leading figures in archaeology throughout the Pacific Northwest. This volume is in many ways a testimony to Sprague's legacy in Idaho and the region – and it hopefully is also a catalyst to encourage more publishing on historical archaeology in the state.

The volume consists of five articles, though in all honesty it probably should include many more as professionals familiar with the work that has been done in Idaho will immediately think of what else could be added to this issue. We encourage those who think about what is missing to start on another thematic issue of the journal – as noted in the epilogue, historical archaeology in Idaho is incredibly common in the state – it just isn't well represented in many of our professional journals.

In speaking of this volume, we have organized it geographically. The first three articles focus on research based in the northern portion of the state while the last two are derived from projects conducted in Boise. Cross-cutting these articles are several themes that could also serve as organizing frameworks for this issue. The articles by Haught-Bielmann and Goodwin use archaeology to explore intersecting themes of class and identity. The articles focus on the lives of two relatively affluent households with Haught-Bielmann adding a second dimension of analysis by investigating the Swedish heritage of the Johanson family. Haught-Bielmann's position is that the class standing of the Johanson family is readily apparent in the archaeological record, yet evidence of Swedish heritage is muted in

the archaeology. In some ways Goodwin's work is similar. Goodwin's chapter is based on archaeological work done at the Cyrus Jacobs-Uberuaga Boarding House; one of the city's iconic properties. While the project has potential to explore similar complexities of class and Basque identity, Goodwin's contribution focuses primarily on the Jacobs family. The Jacobs family was one of Boise's founding families and were among its' most prominent citizens (socially, economically and politically) in the nineteenth century. Goodwin's' work discusses the material life of this prominent Boise family.

Another theme is transportation with articles by Cavender and Campbell et al. exploring the movement of people in the west. Cavender investigates this in a fairly conventional way by discussing the impact of the railroad on the settlement of the north Idaho town of Sandpoint. She uses archaeology to identify how transportation networks brought goods manufactured throughout the world to rural outposts such as Sandpoint and the significance of those goods in expediting the settlement of the west. In sharp contrast to the other articles Campbell and company present a study of modern material culture recounting a long standing north Idaho tradition of bar-hopping over a 70 mile area. Our rationale for including this paper in the volume is twofold. First, it is part of a long tradition of both landscape studies and modern material culture studies dating back to the 1980s (e.g. Gould and Schiffer 1981, Miller 1998, 2013, Buchli and Lucas 2001, Harrison and Schofield 2010). We feel strongly that all historical archaeology does not need to be about excavation – it can also be the study the contemporary. Our second rationale for inclusion is simple. The work is a systematic documentation of what is probably at least a 70 year tradition in north Idaho tracing out both the physical setting for the Bovill run and the rich community narratives associated with it.

Finally, we note May's study of munitions recovered from Fort Boise. His work is a good example of the continued research potential of older collections and it is a meaningful useful contribution to military sites archaeology in the west.

What we emphasize is that the articles presented in this issue should be a beginning. Idaho has such a vast treasure trove of archaeological sites- from mining towns to urban centers, from Chinese communities to Basque neighborhoods; from military forts to brothels- these are all archaeological subjects that become a lens to examine Idaho's unique history. Although, this is just a "sampling" of the contributions of historical work in Idaho, our hope is that others will follow, as there are myriad of stories to tell about Idaho through the lens of the archaeologist.

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ARTICLE

Home Swede Home: An Archaeological Analysis of Swedish Cultural Identity in Idaho

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Abstract

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, many immigrants set out west to make the rugged landscape of the American West their home. Among the immigrants traveling westward was the Swedish household of Per and Anna Johanson. The Johansons established a homestead in 1891, along Nora Creek, in rural Idaho. In 2003, excavations of the Nora Creek site, conducted by the University of Idaho, unearthed material culture associated with the Johanson homestead including approximately 20,000 artifacts. In conjunction with historical documents, the glass, ceramic, faunal remains and artifacts are examined to determine whether and how a signature of Swedish identity is observed archaeologically. Essential to this research is the consideration of the ways in which class, gender, and cultural identity contributed to a Swedish identity in the Nora Creek assemblage versus the general homesteading assemblages contemporary with the temporal span of this site.

KEYWORDS: Idaho, Class, Cultural Identity, Gender, Homesteads

Introduction

In 2003, the University of Idaho conducted a field school that unearthed the material culture remains of the Swedish Johanson family homestead along Nora Creek, just outside of Troy, Idaho, a small town located in northern Idaho. The project provided archaeologists the opportunity to explore rural life in Idaho and it generated data for two Master theses (Mercer 2005, Haught 2010). This article is based on the work done as part of the 2010 thesis and explores some of the early Euro-American settlement of North Idaho. Specifically, it is the glass, ceramic, and faunal remains collected during the excavations that shed light on how a Swedish cultural identity can be identified in the archaeological record.

Identity is a broad topic comprised of many fluid layers, as environments change so can one's cultural identity. Gender and class are two layers of cultural identity of the Nora Creek site explored here. To frame this discussion, we start with Elizabeth Scotts' notion of the interconnectedness of gender, class, and cultural identity. Scott emphasizes that these three elements should not be studied in isolation because it is a combination of these that "shape[d] the lives of the men, women, and children who made, used, and discarded the material and/or documentary records we uncover" (Scott 1994:8). This research analyzed the artifacts and historical documentation relevant to the Nora Creek site through the interconnected lenses of gender, class, and cultural identity to determine whether a Swedish cultural identity is manifested in the archaeological record and if so, how is it visible at the Nora Creek site.

To begin this examination of identity it is necessary to first understand the history of Swedish immigration to the US and the people who made Nora, Idaho, their home. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, America received floods of immigrants seeking new beginnings or refuge during times of hardship in their homelands. Emigration from Sweden had a late and slower start than other European countries. The period between 1867 and 1869 saw the beginning of the "Great Migration" of Swedes to America and by 1910 it "was estimated that about one out of every five Swedes was living in America" (Barton 1984:287).

Reasons for emigrating from Sweden varied among the immigrants. During the mid-1800s, Sweden saw a rise in population. The country was not very urbanized and available land on which to work and farm was dwindling. Young men had two options, either pack up and move to the cities or leave Sweden all together (Marshall 2005:6-7). Other motivations included religious, social standing, and economic freedoms (Stephenson 1926:715, 719). The idea of being able to improve one's social or economic standing was a powerful justification to migrate to the New World. Motivations such as these are key factors in how Swedish identity may be perpetuated after immigration. Historians state that the transference and levels of transference of Swedish identity varied depending on the reasons for emigration (e.g., Barton 1984, 2006; Blanck 1995). If one was dissatisfied with their country and left out of anger there will be little to no reflection of the identity they left behind, however, if one left out of necessity and ties to the homeland were not severed it would be expected that aspects of Swedish identity would be maintained in the new country.

Two-thirds of the emigrating Swedes were families and many of the Swedes who immigrated to the United States did so in groups (Marshall 2005:8). These group immigrations often resulted in Swedish colonies, many in Midwestern states such as Minnesota. These "colonies" also helped to maintain Swedish identity among immigrants because their culture was still surrounding them. Immigrants who moved to non-Swedish communities were less likely to continue to reflect a Swedish identity because of the lack of a Swedish culture surrounding them. Swedish communities would eventually become starting points for Swedish groups to move even further west (Marshall 2005:10).

Per Jönsson was born at Åfallberg, Östmark parish, in the province of Varmland, Sweden, on March 26, 1842. As a young man, Per worked in log river driving and eventually began log contracting employing over 300 men and more than 150 horses on his contracts (*Troy News* 1927:1; Oslund-Cox 1992:73). Anna Nilsdotter was born in Varggården, Sweden, on July 11, 1845. Per and Anna met and married in Sweden (Figure 1). While in Sweden, Per constructed a combination flour and saw mill with two partners. Shortly after these mills were built they were destroyed by fire. Discouraged, Per bought passage to America for himself, Anna and their children (*Troy News* 1927:1; Oslund-Cox 1992:74). Per and Anna had a total of ten children, five children born in Sweden and five more born

in America. By the time they sailed to America only three of the children born in Sweden had survived. On the trip overseas their son, Nils Johan died from measles and was buried at sea. Their daughter, Ida Kristiana died shortly after arriving in America (*Troy News* 1927:1; Oslund-Cox 1992:74).



Figure 1: Per and Anna Johanson (Mercer 2005).

The Jönssons arrived on American shores on April 28, 1882 and changed the spelling of their name from Jönsson to a more Americanized Johanson. Their party traveled to Dassel, Minnesota, where Per built another saw mill. The business was successful but after three years the mill burnt down. Per packed up his remaining milling machinery and his family and headed west to Nora, Idaho, an area already inhabited by other Swedish people (Osterberg 1980:7; Oslund-Cox 1992:74).

The community of Nora was situated along Nora Creek in Latah County, near the town of Troy. Established by a Swede named Frederick Osteberg, the area of Nora flourished and by 1906, had several sawmills, a general store, post office, barber shop, saloon, blacksmith, and three churches. Swedish became the common language of the region and the area of Nora and the neighboring community of Big Bear Creek became known as “Little Sweden” (Otness 1983:133; Marshall 2005:62-63).

Per and Anna established a homestead in Nora, in 1888, and over time more Swedes followed the Johansons to Idaho including Per’s parents. Once settled, Per constructed another sawmill, which five years later, it too was destroyed by fire. He rebuilt the mill with a partner, but alas this too burnt a year later (*Latah County Press* 1990:1; *Troy News* 1927:1; Oslund-Cox 1992:74-76). Per was an influential man within his community and a key figure in starting various businesses in the area as well as owning a hardware store and a general merchandise store in Troy (Oslund-Cox 1992:76; Marshall 2005:110) (Figure 2).



Figure 2: Advertisement for Per Johanson and Company, a general merchandise store (*Troy Weekly News* 1905).

Anna too was a social person and enjoyed entertaining people at her home. Anna cooked four meals a day and often had guests at the meals (Oslund-Cox 1992:77-78). At the age of 84 Per became ill and in 1927 he passed away (*Latah County Press* 1990:1). Anna lived 14 years beyond Per, and when she died the property at Nora was passed to their children and stayed in the family until 1958 (Latah County Historical Society 1941). Both Per and Anna were respected members of their community. Their story is a long journey of dedication and hard work that led them and other Swedes to the Nora area. In researching the family and the homestead, historical documentation clearly indicates that this Swedish family lived in a Swedish community in the American West where Swedish was the common language. A change in the family's Swedish identity is evident in the changing of how they spelled their last name. Although the Johansons did not shed this layer of identity completely by changing their name to something entirely new and American, they did make it easier for Americans to pronounce, thus conforming slightly to an element of American culture. While historical sources provide a relatively detailed understanding of names, dates, and business activities associated with the Per Johanson family, it is necessary to turn to archaeological evidence to learn the material details representing the daily life of this Swedish immigrant family.

The 2003 University of Idaho archaeological field school took place just outside of Troy, Idaho (Figure 3), locating the homestead site of the Johanson family. The excavation of the homestead was divided into two areas (Figure 4), Area 1 was the living area where the home was located and Area 2 was a dump site associated with the homestead about 150 meters west of Area 1. After six weeks of excavation, over 20,000 historic artifacts had been unearthed including the glass, ceramic, and bone that is the core data set for this work.



Figure 3: Approximate location of the Nora Creek Site in Idaho.



Figure 4: 2003 University of Idaho field school.

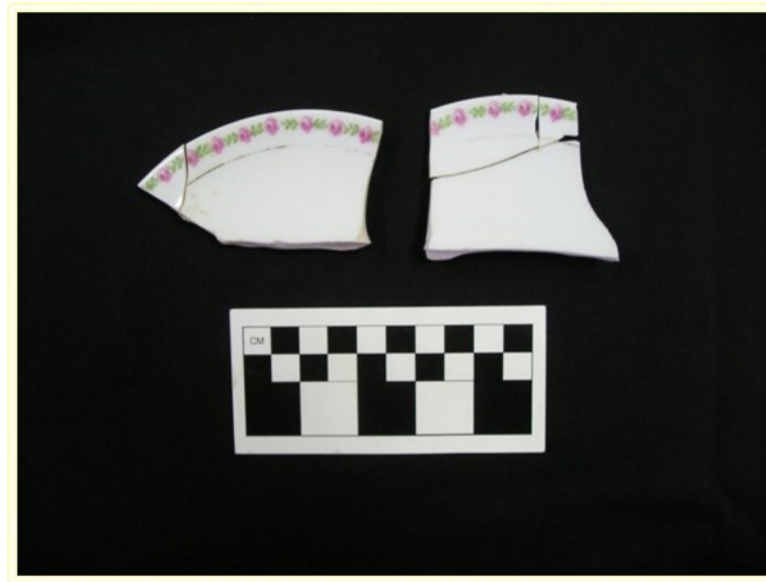
The glass recovered represents a wide range of commercial products and vessel types. Twenty-one jars are present, as are two wine/champagne bottles, 14 pharmaceutical bottles, three personal hygiene bottles, and elements of decorative tableware. Among the pharmaceutical bottles is Lydia E. Pinkham's Medicine (Figure 5), a medicine which was advertised as being "A Medicine for a Woman. Invented by a Woman. Prepared by a Woman." as well as other nationally recognized brands such as the pharmaceutical company, Watkins (Fike 1987:150; Jones 1959:24).



Figure 5: Recovered portions of Lydia E. Pinkham's Medicine.

Ceramics from the site yielded vessels of various wares such as porcelain, stoneware, and earthenwares. Twenty-nine plates are present along with 19 cups, 16 bowls, two crocks (Figure 6), three crock lids and one crucible. In total there are nine different decorative matches of ceramic in the collection (Figure 7, 8, 9).





Figures 6-9: Ceramics recovered from the Nora Creek Site.

Both the glass and ceramic assemblages reflect elements of class and gender at the Nora Creek site. Gender was analyzed using Catherine Spude's (1997) model in which transient male residences tend to not reflect any cooking, eating, or drinking related materials because without a family at home these eating activities would have occurred in social settings outside the home. Forty-two glass vessels, as well as the majority of the ceramic assemblage, are associated with kitchen and food related materials indicating a familial and female presence within the Johanson household. The identification of the Lydia Pinkham medicine for women corroborates a female presence at the Nora Creek site. The canning jars and the presence of matched sets within the ceramic tablewares at the Johanson homestead reflect the daily routines and consumer choices of Anna Johanson.

The glass assemblage also sheds light on the socioeconomic status of the Nora Creek residence. While Nora is located in a rural community with access to the local markets of Troy and Moscow, Idaho, and even Spokane, Washington, the Johansons made consumer choices to purchase items that come from all over the US. And they chose nationally known brands such as Watkins and Lydia Pinkham's.

In addition, the lack of alcoholic beverage containers may also be indicative of a higher-class status. In a 2002 analysis of materials excavated from a Swedish labor community in Michigan called Swedetown, it was found that laborers had a high percentage of beer and liquor bottles present in the assemblage with 22% from one area of excavation and 44% in another (Pappas 2002:106-108). The alcohol from Nora is wine/champagne and comprises only 1% of the collection. While this may just be indicative of the Johansons consuming alcohol mainly away from home, it may also be an indication of their relative affluence.

The ceramic assemblage also reveals the socioeconomic setting of the Johanson household. In the analysis of Swedetown, Pappas argued that a higher percentage of hollowware vessels at the site was

indicative of lower class eating habits in which simpler meals were served in a single dish, such as stews. In contrast a larger amount of flatwares may indicate a higher economic status with the variety of dishes and courses served on many different plates (Lucas 1994:84; Pappas 2002:79). The Nora Creek assemblage is 7% hollowware and 12% flatware. The Nora assemblage also suggests greater wealth than Swedetown when George Miller's (2000) mean ceramic index is applied to the collections. Nora displays a higher percentage of decorated ceramics when compared to the ceramics of Swedetown. Although Miller's mean ceramic index should be used judiciously, one of the basic points identified is that decorated ceramics were more costly than undecorated, utilitarian, materials.

While there is evidence of the Johanson's economic well-being in the recovered ceramic and glass materials, it should also be noted that inferring evidence of Swedish cultural identity from these two material types is less clear. For example, it is uncertain if the high amount of preservation jars found is indicative of Swedish identity or rather a reflection of a common practice for homesteads in general. The ceramics found at Nora come from locations across the US and England and do not reflect any ties with Sweden. When the assemblages are compared to Swedetown mentioned earlier there is nothing in either site that clearly indicates Swedish identity among residents beyond a few discarded fragments of Scandinavian ceramics from Swedetown. No Swedish-produced ceramics were found at Nora. The lack of Swedish indicators of identity within these assemblages reflect collections that are most likely typical of generic households throughout their respective regions.

While identity was again elusive within the Nora Creek faunal assemblage, the Johanson's diet sheds more light on the family's economic status. Sixty-five bones from Nora Creek were identifiable to species, genus or family. Out of that total, 44.6% of the identified bones are cow and 15.3% are pig. The biomass was calculated and beef comprised 15.4 kg. or 94% of the total meat weight of the identified assemblage, whereas pork comprised of 0.34 kg. or 1% (Table 1). It is clear that the Johansons had a preference of beef over pork. By the turn of the century, beef was considered a status meat over pork and when compared to Swedetown, both sites indicate a preference for beef over pork. However, Swedetown has a higher percentage of pig present in the faunal assemblage and reflects that while beef was consumed, pork was consumed at a higher rate at Swedetown than at Nora thus suggesting a class difference. The preference for beef over pork can be seen throughout America during this time. Unfortunately the food remains from Nora provide no evidence of a particularly Swedish cultural identity.

Table 1: NISP, MNI, and biomass totals for identified taxa from Nora faunal.

Taxa	NISP	MNI	Biomass (Kg)	Percentage (%)
Mammals				
<i>Bos Taurus</i>	29	2	15.4 Kg	94.0%
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	10	1	0.34 Kg	1.0%
<i>Capridae</i>	1	1	0.11 Kg	1.0%
<i>Odocoileus sp.</i>	1	1	0.08 Kg	1.0%
<i>Canis familiaris</i>	1	1	-	-
Large mammal	4	1	0.36 Kg	1.0%
Intrusive mammals				
<i>Spermophilus beldingi</i>	1	1	-	-
<i>Thomomys talpoides</i>	8	3	-	-
Small rodent	4	1	-	-
Aves				
<i>Meleagris gallopavo</i>	1	1	0.1 Kg	1.0%
<i>Gallus gallus</i>	2	1	0.04 Kg	0.5%
Small aves	3	1	0.01 Kg	0.5%
TOTAL	65	15	16.4 Kg	100.0%

The material culture recovered from the Nora Creek site clearly sheds light on both gender and class within the Johanson household. The glass and ceramics show a gendered space and give a glimpse of the daily activities of Anna Johanson, while the glass, ceramics and faunal all indicate a higher socio-economic status for the entire household through the foods they ate and what they ate it on.

When it comes to an indication of cultural identity, however, Swedish cultural identity was not observed in the archaeological record of Nora Creek. The glass and ceramic items recovered are items manufactured in the US or England and are readily available in catalogs such as Sears, Roebuck, and Company. These assemblages along with the faunal remains appear to be more indicative of market-driven, western American consumer practices. For the Johanson homestead then, the question of whether and how a Swedish cultural identity is manifested within the assemblage transforms to why a Swedish cultural identity is not reflected in the archaeological record.

Historical records show that the Johansons lived in a Swedish community where Swedish was the common language. For Swedish cultural identity to be evident in the archaeological record an object reflecting that identity would have to have been discarded or lost. The lack of such material culture within the Nora assemblage could be an indication that instead of shedding a Swedish identity, the Johansons held fast to their culture and did not discard items from Sweden simply because they were chipped or broken. There are also many other ways in which the Johanson family may have reflected their Swedish identity, through writing, clothing, music, and organic items such as wooden objects that may not have survived the elements to make it into the archaeological record.

Moreover, Swedish immigrants brought very little with them that would indicate a Swedish identity and in fact were encouraged by other immigrants already established in America to not “bring any more household items than were needed for the journey” (Barton 2007:117). Historian Arnold Barton observed it is “striking how mundane, utilitarian, and unsentimental [Swedish immigrants] are concerning the material objects of everyday life” – a mindset that should alert archaeologists that people do not put the same level of symbolism into their everyday objects as others (Barton 2007:117).

Another possibility to consider with regards to the lack of a Swedish identity in the Nora Creek assemblage is simply that Swedish immigrants “Americanized” faster than other immigrants of the time (Stephenson 1926:7-9). If this is true, then it is no surprise that the archaeological record at Nora does not contain evidence of Swedish identity. Remnants of the Johanson’s Swedish heritage could have then been discarded in Dassel before the family’s journey to Nora. However, this quick change in identity is not supported by the fact that Swedish was the language spoken at the Johanson home in Nora, Idaho (Oslund-Cox 1992:78). The community of Swedes the Johansons lived among is also an indicator that the family was not quick to hide their ties to the homeland.

All-in-all the results and conclusions drawn here serve as a reminder that a well-rounded and complete picture of the past needs to incorporate the interpretations of archaeological data with historical documentation and oral histories. While identity may not have been clear in this assemblage, the research here establishes a method to use Swedish history resources to create a context for an archaeological research agenda dedicated to cultural identity. This methodology, of using historical documentation and historian research to set a backdrop for the analysis of cultural identity within the archaeological record can be a starting place for future research of different cultural identities.

This research may have not been able to establish a Swedish cultural identity within the archaeological record, it is intended that the information, analysis, and interpretation serve as a building block in the archaeological research of homesteads in the West and as a point of comparison with other Swedish sites on American soil. Further archaeological research in the lives of Swedes in the American West will aid in the overall picture of immigrant life amid the context of Euro-American colonization of the “New World.”

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ARTICLE

The Little Town That Could: The Railroad in Sandpoint, Idaho 1880-1935

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Abstract

This paper investigates the history of Sandpoint, Idaho and the impact of the Northern Pacific Railroad on Sandpoint from 1880 until 1935. Sandpoint was not only a stopping point for the Northern Pacific, but for the Great Northern Railway as well. The railroad shaped the course of the United States by providing easier and safer transportation of goods and people, facilitating the growth of the national economy. Cities and towns began to import goods from all over the world, global became more local. More importantly, railroads provided avenues for towns like Sandpoint to grow and prosper. Archaeological evidence shows the people of Sandpoint received a variety of goods from all over the world, from imported alcohol to bric-a-brac, largely via the railroads.

KEYWORDS: Railroads, Markets, Western Expansion, Consumption

Introduction

This article is based on a master's thesis that examined the impact of the railroad on small towns of the American West, using Sandpoint, Idaho, as a case study (Cavender 2014). The Sandpoint Byway archaeological collection and a variety of primary source documents contributed the most information to this project. This article focuses on the history of Sandpoint, Idaho between the years 1880 and 1935, a time span that covers the town's founding and the first 55 years of the town's history.

Several historical moments help put the railroads and Sandpoint in context within the larger history of the United States. First, the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 doubled the size of the United States, which then opened up that newly-acquired territory to systematic exploration, a process greatly aided by the railroads (White 1991). Before the American Civil War, the United States had many smaller railroads that dotted the landscape. During the War, many lines continued competing to provide the same services until Tom Scott, Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Railroad, “reorganized and rerouted the railroads serving Washington, forging the competing northern lines that served the capital into a coherent system,” (White 2011:4). This was something that the Southern railroads had not done and that provided a distinct advantage to the North. It can be argued that the North’s subsequent victory was at least partially due to the less complicated railway system, which allowed for easier transportation of goods throughout the North. However, the North struggled with regulation rates, particularly when charging the Federal government during the war. This was resolved in 1862 by Secretary of War, Stanton; the end result was that the Federal Government would receive a ten-percent discount on all freight (White 2011:7). Other administrative issues were straightened out during the war and included issues such as safety measures, uniform track gauges, regulation of prices of goods, and, finally, railroad land grants, all key aspects of this fledgling industry.

The Industrial Revolution emphasized both the rise in factories and production, and those involved in mining, manufacturing, and transportation via the railroad became wealthy. The railroads were a product of an Industrial Revolution, as were the many improvements to make them more stable. In addition, while the wide variety of Sandpoint dwellers who were involved in the railroads and the mining and timber industries did not typically become wealthy, they also fit the mold of the Industrial Revolution (Husband and O’Loughlin 2004, Wolmar 2010, DuBois and Dumenil 2005).

The Northern Pacific Railroad was the first transcontinental line to go through the northern United States. Surveyors were sent into the Northwest to chart the route and this established the town of Sandpoint. Several settlers arrived with businesses in anticipation of the line, which was completed in 1883. The Great Northern arrived in Sandpoint in 1893 and is considered to be the most successful of the Transcontinentals, due mainly to its founder, James J. Hill. The Great Northern not only added competition for shipping raw materials such as lumber that the Northern Pacific previously had exclusive access to, it also motivated the Northern Pacific to become a more active line, which can be seen in later advertisements. The Great Northern still exists today as the Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railroad (Sandpoint Marker 1892-Feb 27, White 2011, Riegel 1926, Cooke 1873, Great Northern Railway Historical Society 2001).

While the railroad allowed goods to be moved in and out of the Pacific Northwest quickly and allowed a more rapid rate of growth within the economy; the railroad also created dependencies. In more isolated parts of the United States that relied on trading unfinished products for finished ones, the railroads were often allowed to form monopolies, charging any prices they wished due to a lack of competition for finished goods. Sandpoint, as a rural part of the Pacific Northwest surrounded by raw materials, is an excellent example of this phenomenon.

The Great Northern Railroad, the Northern Pacific Railroad, and the smaller Spokane International Railway all intersected in Sandpoint. As a town created in large part by the railroad, railroad companies clearly had a lasting impact on it (Rechnitzer et al. 2007). These railroads tied the east and west coasts together as well as linking the cities in the Inland Northwest together through trade. Because of the timber available both nearby and farther north and its proximity to several mineral deposits, Sandpoint was a logical location for two major national railroads. The Spokane International Railway served as a link between Spokane, Washington and the northern towns of Idaho.

In 2005, the Idaho Transportation Department began work on a byway around the town of Sandpoint, running through the historic townsite area lying across Sand Creek to the east of the current town (Weaver et al. 2006). The Byway was a re-route of Highway 95, the major north-south route through the state of Idaho. Completed in 2012, the Byway gives automobile traffic the option to drive through downtown Sandpoint or pass around it, thus minimizing congestion in the downtown area (Weaver 2014a:1, 3). From 2006 until 2014, archaeological testing and mitigation was performed. Since the byway was planned over the original townsite, extensive archaeological excavation was required to document the cultural resources before they were destroyed by construction (Figure 2). The investigations yielded approximately 600,000 artifacts dating to Sandpoint's early days, making it the largest historic archaeological excavation in the state of Idaho. A diverse array of materials was recovered from several different locations of the original townsite. When comparing Sandpoint's collection to other towns without a railroad connection, it is clear that Sandpoint's residents had greater access and exposure to goods and services.

The Sandpoint Byway Archaeological Project was comprised of a variety of smaller sites and included a red-light district (known locally as "the Restricted District"), several businesses, a blacksmith shop, and a small area of Chinese businesses combined with a residence. Each area was tested, some more extensively than others, because of the complexity of deposition and the area's historical significance. The Restricted District, for example, contained a brothel, a bordello, and saloon with a dance-hall (Weaver 2014a). Although there was no permanent settlement in what would become Sandpoint until 1880, there had been Euroamerican activity in the region since 1808 when the fur trader David Thompson arrived. The US Boundary Commission had also come through the future town in 1859. The most valuable evidence for prior settlement, however, is the building of the steamboat Mary Moody on Lake Pend d'Oreille in 1866, when the region was used as a post to assist people heading north to the newly discovered gold fields (Weaver 2014b:18, White 1991:191).

The Great Northern, although a decade behind the Northern Pacific in the building of their trans-continental line, built the railway line that is most utilized today (Minnesota State Historical Society). They also chose to put their station in Sandpoint, Idaho. These decisions played a major role in Sandpoint's position in the economic climate of the late 19th Century, both locally and nationally. The railroad, in addition to bringing to Sandpoint new peoples and new ideas, also brought in new goods and the opportunity for industry. The abundance of nearby resources, as previously stated, made Sandpoint an ideal place for a railroad line. While there were rich mineral deposits nearby, a major industry of Sandpoint during its formative years was the lumber industry. Even as early as 1900, Sandpoint was known as the Northwest's largest producer of cedar products, mainly poles and pilings, of which they exported an estimated 4,000 carloads yearly. Several different sawmills served Sandpoint until the Humbird Lumber Company, owned by the Weyerhaeuser Group, purchased the Sand Point Lumber Company in 1900 and ran a successful business for 30 years (Renk 2013, Fahey 1965).

The rail cars, which shipped and received goods from all directions, arrived every day (Polk 1912:325). By 1918, the Great Northern had nine trains coming into or leaving Sandpoint daily, all of which took passengers. In the early twentieth century, the town of Sandpoint began to spread out over the other side of Sand Creek, slowly abandoning the town's original location. Further changes came through societal change. By 1916, Prohibition passed in the city, exacerbating the demise of places like the Restricted District which by the 1910s consisted of solitary businesses that were gone by 1921.

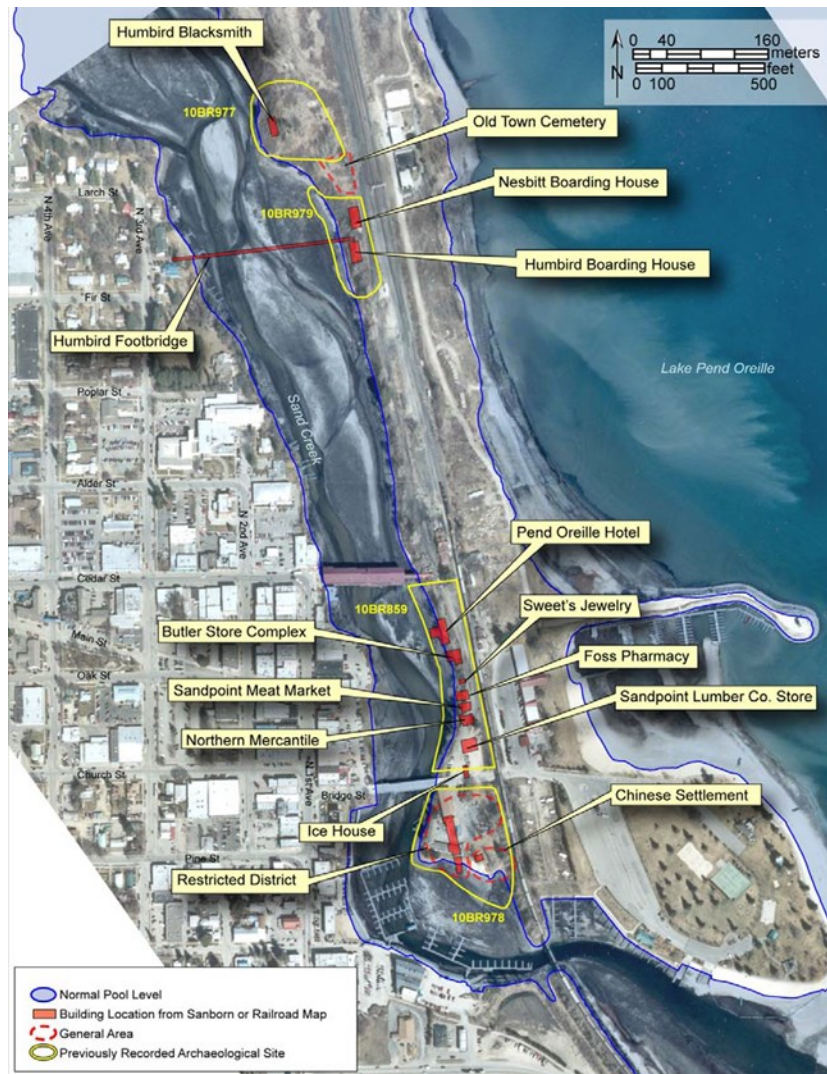


Figure 1: Map of the Sandpoint Site with Locations Marked (Swords 2014:8)

Artifacts recovered from the Sandpoint Byway Archaeology Project provide considerable insight into the importance of the railroad and the early history of the town. It is way beyond the scope of this article to discuss the full array of materials recovered (see Swords 2014) but I will highlight some classes of materials that illustrate the importance of the railroads to the town's growth.

Pharmaceutical artifacts, common finds in historical archaeology, shed a great deal of light on the way people lived. Not only do they tell researchers what ailments were common, or at least what was being treated, they also offer a unique glimpse into market networks. At Sandpoint, we saw that a wide variety of pharmaceuticals made locally and nationally found their way to Sandpoint. What is intriguing is the fact that there was a rich mixture of locally produced medicines in the assemblages along with nationally marketed brands (Haught-Bielmann and Biemann 2014:18). Approximately 45 percent of the pharmaceuticals recovered were local brands, although those bottles were generally produced in other parts of the country, such as Illinois. Clearly the pharmacists were manufacturing local products to compete with the nationally advertised products of the era.



**Figure 2: Samples of Allen Brothers Druggist Bottles
(Haught-Bielmann and Bielmann 2014:20)**

Overall, Sandpoint had goods from 36 different states and 16 different countries (Warner et al. 2014:105). The single largest category of foreign-produced objects were ceramics from China. Not surprisingly, most of the ceramics were found in the small area of Chinese businesses and residences. These ceramics came from China, potentially by way of Hope, Idaho, or one of the port towns on the West Coast like San Francisco. The goods were largely food related such as bowls or storage vessels that contained liquor, ginger and other foods. They also reiterate that people in Sandpoint had access to goods from Asia. Whether the goods came from China itself or a community of immigrants already in the States cannot be determined, but it is certain they did not originate in Sandpoint (Camp 2014:75; Warner et al. 2014:59).

A wide variety of alcohol-related artifacts were also uncovered during excavation. These ranged from Mumm's Champagne from France and Gordon's Gin from London to local and semi-local brewing companies, such as Durkin's Wines and Liquors (Figure 5), Spokane Brewing and Malting Company, and the Seattle Brewing Company. At the turn of the century, the most popular champagne in the United States was G.H. Mumm, manufactured in Riems, France. It was also the most popular champagne in Sandpoint's Restricted District, champagne being a very popular drink in brothels. In fact, neither Mumm's nor any of the other champagnes were found anywhere but the Restricted District. The total number of Champagnes/Wine Bottles found at Sandpoint number 676.

Another popular alcohol product recovered were multiple bottles of Gordon's Gin from England. Unlike the French champagne, Gordon's Gin was not merely found in the Restricted District. This implies that Gordon's Gin was more widely accepted throughout the community, as 44 vessels that contained Gordon's Gin were unearthed across the entire site rather than relegated to a certain area. While examining gin and champagne may not seem significant, for a city in a land-locked state to have access to champagne from France or gin from England is noteworthy. This transfer of goods can be seen as part of the growing global economy, and one that was helped to grow by improved technologies, including the railroads (Petrich-Guy et al. 2014:63, Brown 2014:67).



**Figure 3: James Durkin Stopper/Closure
(Swords et al 2010, photo by Molly Swords)**

One of the largest manufacturing bases for goods that arrived in Sandpoint was the eastern United States, particularly from the original thirteen states. This can be attributed to the fact that the manufacturing centers on the East Coast would have been producing goods for longer than those on the West Coast, and that their bases of production were more established and potentially more efficient. This fits well into the typical western town economy of extraction and trading unfinished products for finished products from the east. The results of excavations in Sandpoint provide evidence of this exchange. Ideas and movements from the East Coast and other places around the world were also transported through the railroad and, in some cases, this can be seen in the archaeological record as well.

One thing that was transported from east to west via the railroad was the growing labor movement. The first railroad strike, called “the great railroad strike of 1877” by historian Richard White, took place on the Baltimore & Ohio and Pennsylvania lines (White 2011:279; Wolmar 2010:290). This made the Baltimore & Ohio both the first railroad in the country and the first to have a strike (Wolmar 2010:12). The strike began in the summer of 1877 among railroad workers and spread through the nation, leaving over 100 people dead and costing over a million dollars in damages to property (Husband and O’Loughlin 2004:66). Although significant, the strikers did not, in the long run, succeed in their goals. The strike took place during the depression following the Panic of 1873. When four eastern railroads (the Pennsylvania, New York Central & Hudson, Erie and the Baltimore & Ohio) decided together to cut wages, their workers went on strikes. After Federal troops were sent in, the strike spread across the nation, and shipments of grain were stopped nationwide (Husband and O’Loughlin 2004:67-8).

The railroad companies often tried to break the unions of railroad workers with bribes. They also enlisted the support of the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), to curb railroad workers’ relatively rough culture (White 2011:279). Laws were passed to prevent the use of the Federal Army to put down strikes unless Congress authorized the action. This action affected later strikes as far from Baltimore as Colorado (White 2011:280). As a response to the corruption of what would become known as the Gilded Age, people stood together to protest the unfair treatment they felt railroads were giving their employees. The siding of the Federal Government with the railroad corporations did nothing to stem the talk of corruption (Husband and O’Loughlin 2004:68). While the

strike itself began on the eastern half of the United States, not only did it spread west, but the ideas and consequences spread west as well. Indeed, the westward spread of the strike is a good illustration of how not just goods moved via rail lines, but how ideas moved as well.

As part of the transfer of ideas and movements, several lifestyles moved west. One example would be the Victorian sensibilities that shaped how people behaved. While the goods seen in Sandpoint that most closely fit Victorian ideals do not have a clear manufacturing location, they are an example of the growing national economy, made simpler by the railroad. These artifacts include bric-a-brac (Husband and O'Loughlin 2004:100).

Bric-a-brac has been defined by Mullins as “a somewhat inexact term referring to a range of primarily decorative objects that were common in American homes from about 1850 into the early Twentieth Century” (Mullins 2001:158). These could be small figurines, vases, statues and other objects that serve a purely aesthetic purpose. During excavation, 38 artifacts under the category “figurine/statue” were recorded and several others fell under the vase category (Figure 6). Bric-a-brac is not noted as only appearing in one location. It was uncovered in the Restricted District, the Chinese occupied area, and the commercial district. This shows that it was not an isolated occurrence and that Victorian ideologies permeated Sandpoint households. The little statues took several forms, including a pink rabbit with a bow, two monkeys that may have belonged to a “see no evil” set, a pink pig, numerous angels, a yellow-dressed person, and assorted limbs. These limbs probably went with similar figurines as those that were complete or nearly complete. While bric-a-brac could be seen as fitting into this Victorian aesthetic, the pieces found in the Restricted District are more likely tongue in cheek commentary since many were found in association with brothels, notably the “see no evil” monkey.



**Figure 4: Bric-a-Brac-A Pink Pig
(Haught 2011)**

While the impact of railroads waned with the growing popularity of the automobile, the railroads were resilient. Despite its decrease in popularity in modern days, the railroad impacted the course of this nation in a major way. Towns that were created because of the railroads, like Sandpoint, can be seen across the nation. The archaeological evidence tells us that Sandpoint was a town that received a variety of goods from all over the world, demonstrating the power of the railroad to make global connections in seemingly isolated settings.

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ARTICLE

The Bovill Run: History and Practice of North Central Idaho's Bar Hopping Tradition

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Abstract

The “Bovill Run” is a north central Idaho tradition that involves visiting a series of small-town bars along a 70-mile circuit connecting Moscow and Bovill, Idaho. According to local lore, the Bovill Run has been around since at least the 1940s and possibly as early as 1908. It was most popular during the 1970s and 1980s when hundreds of college students and local residents piled in overcrowded cars, trucks, and moving vans to “make the Run.” While participation has decreased in recent years, the tradition has endured in local memory and material culture. Despite the dynamic history of this tradition, the Bovill Run is not well documented. This paper explores the historical origins and changing practice of the Bovill Run through an examination of documentary, oral history, and material evidence.

KEYWORDS: Bovill, Tradition, Consumption, Landscape

Introduction

The Bovill Run is a bar hop that spans multiple communities and an excess of 70 miles between Moscow and Bovill, Idaho. It is both an historical tradition and a modern practice. As recently as 2010, the University of Idaho (UI) student-produced *Blot* magazine ran an article on a group of students doing the Bovill Run. In this article, Ross Bingham (2010:6) describes his classmates having heard the “whisperings and stories of those who had done the run” and wanting to experience the tradition for themselves. Bingham relates that he has heard about the Bovill Run from classmates, professors, and UI-alumni parents, yet he is uncertain about what to expect. This sense of uncertainty seems to

intrigue Bingham who, as an aspiring reporter, is particularly captivated by the idea of discovering the origin Bovill Run. Throughout the evening Bingham repeatedly asks the people he encounters if they know how the tradition began. Several bars into the run he gets this answer:

It started at the UI back around 1908 and it used to take a week and a half to do it because they did it on horseback. ...[but] horses today aren't like horses back then. You get on a horse, start drinkin'—the horse knew where to take you. If you fell off, the horse would stand there and wait for you. [Bingham 2010:8]

Bingham's (2010) article clearly demonstrates the sense of legend and lore that is associated with the Bovill Run. This lore persists on the campuses of UI and Washington State University (WSU), and among the more than 30 communities that punctuate its route through north central Idaho. Bingham's (2010) work also illustrates that, despite its continued practice, the Bovill Run remains poorly documented. In this paper, we examine sources from historical documents, personal interviews, and enduring material evidence to better understand the history and evolving practice of the Bovill Run, and we attempt to answer Bingham's question, when did the Bovill Run begin?

Research Design and Methods

This research began as a project for Dr. Rodney Frey's Qualitative Research Methods class in 2016. The project research design was based on our understanding of the Bovill Run as a long-standing local tradition that has received very little documentation over the years. Our two primary research goals were to identify the historical genesis of the Bovill Run and to document the changing iterations of the practice over time. We also hoped to explore the relationship between Bovill Run participants and the communities that host the Run.

Primary research was a major component of our research design. Because they involved human subjects, primary research activities were first reviewed by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at UI, which approved our project protocol, preliminary interview questions, informed consent, and photo release forms under application number 16-1144. The largest portion of project research was a series of semi-structured interviews, which were conducted with individuals who were either involved in past Bovill Runs or who were owners of establishments along the run. Semi-structured interviews were based around a standardized set of questions that asked interviewees to share the oldest Bovill Run account they had heard and to describe specific aspects of their experience as a participant or observer of Bovill Runs. Interviews were conducted conversationally and, despite relying on a standardized question template, attempted to encourage interviewees to share the stories and information they felt was most relevant. In addition to these semi-structured interviews, researchers also conducted unstructured interviews with owners, bartenders, or patrons of ten establishments still associated with the Run. In these interviews, we did not rely on a pre-determined set of questions, but instead struck up conversations with individuals in Bovill Run-related establishments and asked them to share their opinions on the tradition.

Primary research also included documentation of material culture associated with the Bovill Run. As we interviewed bar owners, we asked them to share any souvenirs they had kept of past Bovill Runs. The most commonly shared items were signatures of past participants and photographs. As will be discussed later, the owners of the Elk Saloon in Bovill, have also created several modern souvenirs for participants.

Documentary research was another major component of this project. Researchers visited the Latah County Historical Society and the University of Idaho Special Collections in search of primary source materials including maps, newspaper/newsletter articles, photographs, city directories, and historic phonebooks. The digital archives of UI and WSU student newspapers were also important sources of information. Both primary and secondary sources were combined to address the project's primary research goal: to documenting the history and practice of the Bovill Run.

History of the Bovill Run

The tradition of the Bovill Run is tied to the unique character of each of the communities that exist along its route (Figure 1), to their historical development, and to broader patterns regional and National history. European American settlement of Bovill Run communities on the traditional homeland of the Nez Perce, or *Nimi-ípuu*, people, was initially driven by incoming agriculturalists. In the mid-nineteenth century, these newcomers sought proximity to grass prairies for cattle, rivers for irrigation and agriculture, and forests for lumber. Later, railroads and the expanding influence of the Potlatch Lumber Corporation would become the dominant economic and social influences in the region (Monroe 2006:7; Meinig 1950:45; Peterson 1987:4-5).

Moscow, initially called Hog Heaven and Paradise Valley, was one of the first permanent European-American settlements on the Palouse. It became the second town (after Colfax) to establish a post office in 1873 (Boone 1988:262; Monroe 2006: 65). Early establishment allowed Moscow to develop into a supply and trade center for the smaller communities in the region. A sawmill was established to the northeast of Moscow Mountain that provided most of the lumber for Moscow homes and buildings in the "population boom" of the 1870s (Meinig 1950:131; Peterson 1987:6-7). Moscow's prominence was secured by the acquisition of a Northern Pacific railroad connection in the 1880s; it became the county seat in 1888 and home to the University of Idaho in 1889 (Meinig 1950:117-118; Monroe 2006:65). Several years later, in the 1890s, the Spokane and Inland Empire Electric Railroad was constructed. This line offered faster and more frequent freight and passenger service between Latah County and Spokane. These railroads helped connect rural Palouse settlements to National markets and to one another (Meinig 1950:122).

Settlement on the Palouse created a demand for lumber. At first, logging was done on an individual or local basis but as population increased and railroads connected towns to larger markets, sawmills began to appear in many communities (Peterson 1987:6). One such mill was established in the community known first as Huff's Gulch, later Vollmer, and finally Troy. Huff's Gulch was homesteaded as early as 1885 and a post office was established in 1898. In 1890, the town was renamed Vollmer by a local banker, John P. Vollmer, who had helped get a line of the Spokane and Palouse Railway extended to the town (Boone 1988:380; Monroe 2006:99). With the arrival of this line, Troy (then Vollmer) became an important export point for locally-produced lumber, grain, hay, and beans (Monroe 2006:100-103).

Two other historical settlements along the Bovill Run route have histories tied, in part, to the early period of railroad construction. These are the currently unincorporated communities of Joel and Cornwall, both located between Moscow and Troy along present-day State Highway 8. Joel, the closest to Moscow, was established as a Northern Pacific Railroad station in 1891 and had an operating post office from 1892 to 1893 (Boone 1988:201; Monroe 2006:109). Cornwall, a small agricultural community located just beyond Joel on the Northern Pacific Railroad line, had an operating post office from 1887 until 1901. First known as Bronta Cabin and then Otto, this town was finally named Cornwall after local homesteader Mason Cornwall (Boone 1988:92; Monroe 2006:108).

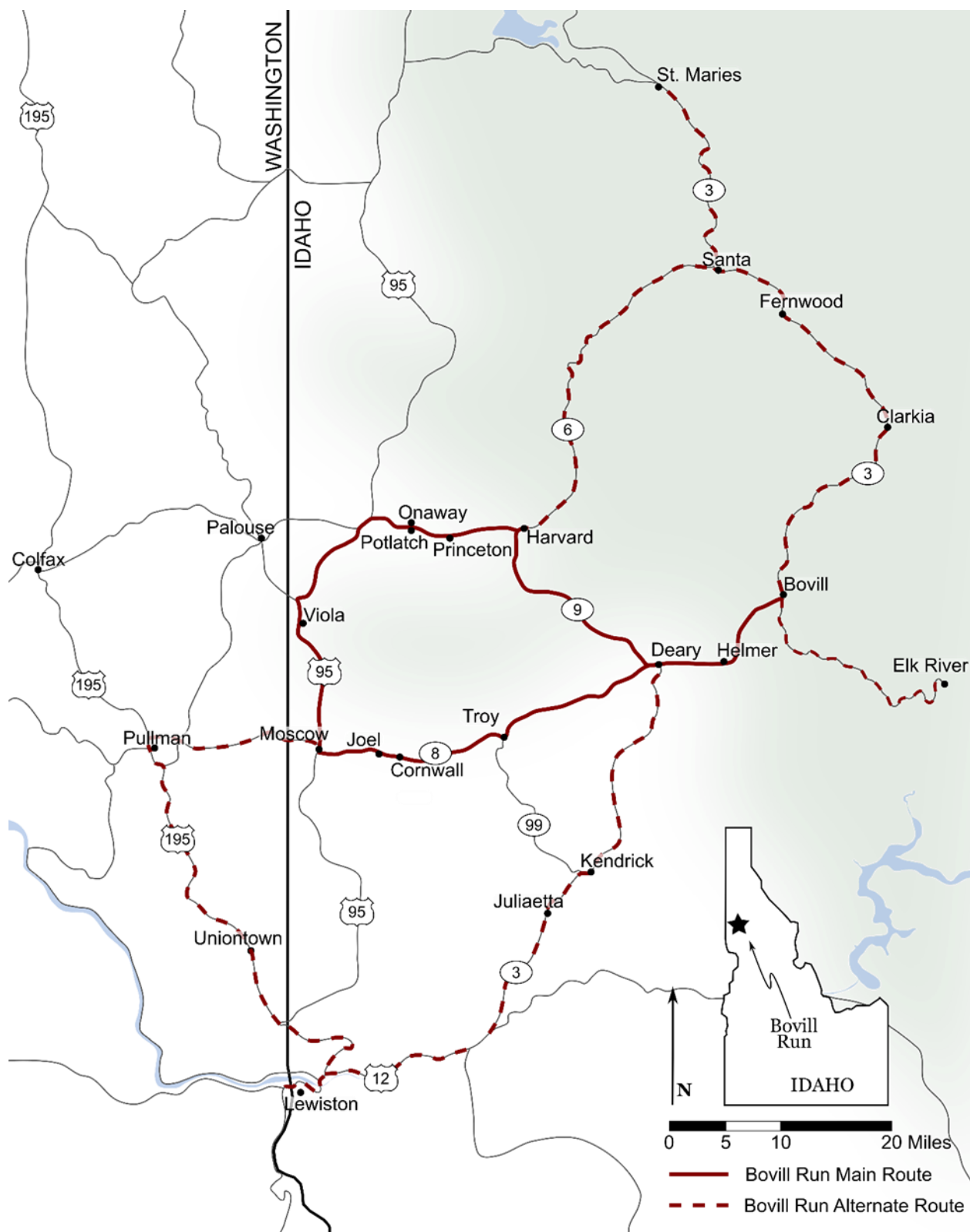


Figure 1. Map of communities mentioned in the text along with possible Bovill Run routes.

Potlatch Lumber Corporation

Idaho's white pine forests attracted the attention of Midwestern logging tycoon Frederick Weyerhaeuser in the 1890s. Inspired by a Mid-West timber shortage and the large amount of Northern Pacific Railroad scrip available for purchase, Weyerhaeuser used his already substantial connections and wealth to begin purchasing large tracts of land in Latah County (Peterson 1987: 16-17, 21, 32). The Potlatch Lumber Company was formed in 1903 from Weyerhaeuser properties and through consolidation of holdings from several smaller logging companies. The new lumber company included over 40,000 acres of land in Latah and Shoshone counties, and logging quickly became a large-scale industry in north central Idaho (Peterson 1987:33-36). By November 1905, Potlatch employed nearly 850 men, operated 15 logging camps, cut 175,000,000 feet of timber, and paid nearly a million and a half dollars in wages annually (Peterson 1987:99).

The influence of the Potlatch Lumber Company was most dramatic in Potlatch, which was established as a company town in 1904 and became the location of the lumber company's main office in 1906 (Boone 1988:303; Peterson 1987:100). The Potlatch Mill, also in Potlatch, at one point claimed to be the "largest white pine sawmill in the world" and operated until 1981 (Monroe 2006: 84). Potlatch officials laid-out the town around the mill, constructing two residential districts (one for company managers and one for workers) on hills separated by a central business district (Figure 2). Housing was restricted to current Potlatch employees, and ownership of all town property was held by the Potlatch Lumber Company until 1952 (Monroe 2006:84; Peterson 1987:88). The Potlatch Lumber Company is known to have favored families; Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes; and younger to middle-aged employees. On occasion, the company hired single men, or Italian, Greek, or Japanese workers who were housed in bunkhouses that were physically segregated from Potlatch's family homes (Peterson 1987:118-120, 145).

Like the surrounding logging camps, Potlatch was a dry community. Regulation of alcohol by Potlatch Lumber Company management was reinforced by a state law that prohibited new saloons within five miles of a railroad. Because the towns of Harvard, Deary, and Helmer all sprung up around Potlatch's Washington, Idaho, and Montana (WI&M) railroad, these towns were also dry by law (Monroe 2006:84; Peterson 1987: 83-88). The Harvard townsite had been an early alternate to Potlatch for the placement of a company town and mill. Although it was not chosen, the Potlatch Company platted the town. Harvard received a post office in 1906. The name, which was chosen by a local landowner, was perhaps in rivalry with nearby Princeton, and initiated the practice of naming WI&M railroad stops after college towns. Further along the railroad to Bovill, stops were named Cornell, Purdue, Stanford, Vassar, Wellesley, and Yale (Boone 1988:172; Peterson 1987:110).

Deary, a small agricultural community of mostly Scandinavian settlers from the American Mid-West, was platted by its namesake William Deary, the general manager of Potlatch Lumber, in 1907. Unlike Potlatch, lots in Deary were sold to the public and the town was incorporated in 1912 (Boone 1988:106; Monroe 2006:9; Peterson 1987:110-111). Helmer, four miles east of Deary, had a post office between 1907 and 1929 and was named for William Helmer, Chief Cruiser for Potlatch Lumber and a friend of William Deary (Boone 1988:177; Peterson 1987:29-30).

Ten miles beyond Deary and Helmer, the WI&M railroad terminated in Bovill. Unlike many of the other towns along the WI&M, the community of Bovill predated the arrival of the railroad. Bovill was originally called Warren Meadows for the homestead of cattle rancher R. Francis Warren. Hugh Bovill, the youngest son of an English lord, purchased Warren's homestead in 1899 and used the property to open the Bovill Hotel and general store. He and his wife Charlotte ran the Bovill Hotel as an outdoors



Figure 2. Looking east at the Potlatch Lumber Company sawmill and town of Potlatch, April 17, 1906. PG 90-05-019, Clifford M. Ott Collection, University of Idaho Library Special Collections and Archives.

resort that could house from 50 to 75 people during the summer seasons and that provided opportunities for hunting and fishing in the surrounding area. In the early days, guests and supplies were packed in from Troy on horses because of the difficulty in navigating wagons down notoriously rough roads (Boone 1988:47; Miller 1972:39, 44; Monroe 2006:9; Peterson 1987:111).

A line of The Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul railroad was completed to a terminus just beyond Bovill in 1910. Railroad construction workers added to the population of loggers already employed in the area, and Bovill became Latah County's third largest town after Moscow and Potlatch. Into the 1920s, Bovill functioned as the main point of Potlatch's logging activity, the switchpoint for logs destined for the Potlatch mill, and a railroad hub through which most loggers past on their way to camps. Although most loggers lived at camps in the woods, crew bosses, skilled workmen, and Potlatch business officials often built homes in Bovill in order to be closer to its relative abundance of amenities (Miller 1972:81; Peterson 1987:111).

In 1911, the Potlatch Lumber Company established another incorporated company town twenty miles east of Bovill. Potlatch purchased this land to build a mill and a town for over one thousand people, which was named Elk River. Elk River never grew as large as Potlatch, however. When the mill opened for production in 1911, it employed only around 250 workers. In 1927, a new mill was opened in Lewiston and the Elk River mill closed. The Elk River mill was dismantled and former employees moved to Lewiston or elsewhere for work (Boone 1988:125; Peterson 1987:112-113).

By the 1920s, the population in most eastern Latah County towns had begun to decline. In fact, most Bovill Run towns had population peaks in the 1910s that were not reached again for many decades, and sometimes not reached at all (Peterson 1987:106). By 1920, much of the accessible timber in Latah County had been logged over and, with the completion of the Panama Canal in 1914, the cost of shipping lumber from Oregon or Washington fell. Idaho lumber was no longer as nationally competitive, and the depression of the 1930s closed many businesses in local communities. As the overall population fell, many of the remaining people consolidate into a few towns; communities like Troy, Deary, and Bovill became small trading centers in an otherwise rural area (Peterson 1987:111, 116).

Alcohol Laws

Among the historical trends outlined above, two emerge as central to the development of the Bovill Run. The first of these is the changing legal context of alcohol consumption. Beginning in the early twentieth century, the Potlatch Lumber Company's anti-alcohol policy impacted all Bovill Run communities in way or another. Company policy prohibited alcohol in the lumber camps and company towns operated by Potlatch (Peterson 1987:83). But while this policy limited the availability of alcohol, it was not a ubiquitous ban. Moscow and Troy, communities not associated with the Potlatch Lumber Company's holdings, faced no such prohibition and are known to have contained several saloons by the early 1900s. These establishments likely benefited from an increased client base being drawn from neighboring towns and lumber camps (Figure 3) (Monroe 2006:102).



Figure 3. Facing east across Moscow's Main Street in 1885. Building 2 is described as "Saloon, one of several." PG 90-02-109a, Clifford M. Ott Collection, University of Idaho Library Special Collections and Archives.

The state law prohibiting saloons within five miles of a railroad, which helped reinforce Potlatch policy, had an exception for establishments operating six months prior to railroad construction. Because of this exception, Potlatch Lumber Company general manager William Deary kept railroad plans secret until crews were ready to move into an area and rapidly construct a segment of line. Deary is also known to have pressured county commissioners to deny liquor permits or renewal licenses for saloons located adjacent to Potlatch holdings (Monroe 2006:12; Peterson 1987:83). The combined effect of these efforts was that in the early twentieth century, most north central Idaho communities were “considerably drier than normal in a region catering largely to lumberjacks” (Peterson 1987:83).

The community of Onaway, located just one mile north of Potlatch, was founded in the 1880s as a stage coach stop along the Wells Fargo line between Palouse City and the Hoodoo mines. As such, it predated both the arrival of the railroad and the founding of Potlatch (Boone 1988:277; Peterson 1987:109). Although it never grew very large, Onaway's proximity to Potlatch created tensions. In 1907 an Onaway druggist was arrested for selling liquor, apparently after being identified by Potlatch employees (Peterson 1987: 84,109). The Potlatch company also reported identifying “bootleggers” in the nearby town of Princeton. Like Onaway, Princeton was founded as a stagecoach stop between Palouse and the Hoodoo mines. Its post office was established in 1894 but, because of its proximity to Potlatch's WI&M line, it felt the pressure of Potlatch's anti-alcohol policy (Boone 1988:305; Peterson 1987:84).

During this era, the community most able to resist the anti-alcohol laws of the Potlatch Lumber Company was Bovill. As the namesake and eastern anchor point of the Bovill Run, this town's early association with saloons does not seem entirely coincidental. Letters from Potlatch assistant manager Allison Laird demonstrate attempts to keep saloons out of Bovill (Monroe 2006:12), yet many sources document their presence and popularity (e.g. Miller 1972, Monroe 2006, Peterson 1987) (Figure 4). In a local history of Bovill collected largely from primary sources and community members, author John B. Miller describes three saloons in the early 1900s. “These structures, on Pine Street—with



Figure 4. Road to Bovill, 1909. Several saloons can be seen to the right fronting Pine Street. PG 90-05-130, Clifford M. Ott Collection, University of Idaho Library Special Collections and Archives.

backdoors along the alley off Main—faced southwards toward an open pasture. And southward in this pasture, along the tracks, were two bawdy houses. It was a Western town in real story-book tradition” (Miller 1972:45).

These three saloons were relatively short-lived, however. Part way through 1910 local option laws established Prohibition in Latah County, a full nine years before National laws went into effect. Prohibition, which lasted until 1933, probably did not end alcohol consumption in Bovill Run communities any more than it ended National alcohol consumption. Miller (1972:89-90, 111) suggests that liquor was smuggled over the “Montana Trail” by way of Clarkia and Bovill, but certainly legal saloons did not exist during this time.

When Prohibition was repealed, the legal minimum drinking age became 21 in all US states. This law held for nearly 40 years until the 1970s when the National voting age was lowered to 18, sparking a debate about other mandatory minimum ages. In June of 1972, Idaho changed its legal drinking age to 19. Washington State maintained the higher minimum age of 21 (*Lewiston Morning Tribune* 1972:3; Toomey et al. 2001:213–214). For the second time, Bovill became a refuge for those seeking to legally evade anti-alcohol laws. The period between 1972 and 1988, when all states returned to a legal drinking age of 21, is generally agreed upon as the height of the Bovill Run for both UI and WSU students.

Roads and Highways

As the physical link between communities, transportation routes had an undeniable influence on the development of the Bovill Run practice. North central Idaho transportation systems reflect National trends in infrastructure development but also illustrate how these trends impacted local communities. The establishment of railroads encouraged population centers and linked people across regions. Railroads first connected Moscow and Troy to larger national markets in the 1880s. The Spokane and Inland Empire Electric Railroad then connected local populations to other communities on the Palouse with increasing frequency (Meinig 1950: 117-118,122). Potlatch's WI&M railroad transformed life in eastern Latah County and created many Bovill Run communities. Although built primarily for Potlatch's logs and lumber, this railway also transported people, products, and capital between burgeoning towns. In 1937, the WI&M even had a designated mail car known as the Potlatcher (Monroe 2006:97). Trains represented the preferred method of transportation in eastern Bovill Run communities for many years, although automobiles gained popularity. For example, beginning in 1917 and continuing into the 1920s, Potlatch ran an employee bus between Palouse, Washington, and Potlatch, Idaho (Peterson 1987:108).

The first paved roads along the Bovill Run route were the present-day Interstate 95 and State Highway 8 (see Figure 1). According to Latah County Atlases, by the 1930s, paved highways connected Moscow to Potlatch and extended about one mile past Cornwall. Beyond Cornwall, the road to Bovill was unpaved and consisted only of crushed rock. This was also the case for the road extending east of Potlatch to Princeton and Harvard. Roads between Bovill and Santa were even less developed and are depicted as dirt roads on maps from 1937 and 1938. In this period, dirt roads were also the only option between Harvard and Deary (Metsker Maps 1938, Moscow Publishing 1937). By 1940, however, the highway to Bovill had been paved in its entirety, as had the highway between Potlatch and Harvard (Metsker Maps 1940). Highway 9 between Harvard and Deary appeared but remained unpaved during this decade. Surprisingly, the route to Clarkia from Bovill appears to have been paved in this two-year interim, at least as far as the county line (Metsker Maps 1940). Thus by 1940, most of the route of the Bovill Run had been paved. State Highway 9 between Deary and Harvard would be the of the Bovill

Run had been paved. State Highway 9 between Deary and Harvard would be the last section of the Bovill Run to be paved, sometime in the late 1960s or 1970s (Metsker Maps 1960, 1980).

Practice of the Bovill Run

The Bovill Run can be described as a bar hop or a pub crawl spread out over as many as 20 bars and more than 70 miles. Tradition dictates that the Run is a group activity, that participants consume at least one drink per stop, and that at least one stop is made in Bovill. Beyond this, the practice appears fluid and dependent on who is participating, what establishments are visited, and what route is taken. The main route of the Bovill Run is often described as some version of Moscow-Troy-Deary-Bovill (Ireton 5 November 1993:15; Bingham 2010; Stoffer 5 October 1989) but, beyond this, routes are highly variable. In a 2015 Alumni Newsletter, UI alumni Allan McDonald documented his 1967 Bovill Run as hitting bars in Moscow, "County Line" (likely Joel), Troy, Deary, Bovill, and Clarkia. At this point, McDonald (2015:3) reports that his group "hit our limit and went home-Fernwood, Saint Marie's, Harvard, Potlatch, Y-Tavern, and Viola will have to be filled in by others." A 2001 Bovill Run largely followed the same route but added Fernwood, Santa, Potlatch, and a final Moscow bar in a return loop (Roach 2016). Conversely, a version of the Bovill Run taken by WSU students in the 1980s went through Troy, Deary, and Bovill before turning south to Lewiston, and then returning through Uniontown (Goins 4 October 1985:8-9; Stoffer 5 October 1989; WSU 1985:63).

Routes and Stops

Even the starting point of the Bovill Run is debated. While most participants from Moscow seem to have begun there, others contend that the bars in Moscow were saved for last, as a final victory lap. According to Don Shelton (2016), "You started going out toward Bovill ... and if you made it through all that, you had to go through the main street of Moscow at the end." Bars in Joel, the small unincorporated community 6 miles east of Moscow, alternately called themselves the first and fifth stop along the Bovill Run in advertisements from the 1960s and 1970s (*The Argonaut* Oct. 28, 1975:11; *Evergreen* 26 September 1969:13). WSU students sometimes skipped Moscow all together and started in Troy (Stoffer 5 October 1989).

Routes often depended on which bars were open and welcomed Bovill Runners. Our research indicates that Bovill Run communities offered a variety of options (Table 1). A decade after the repeal of prohibition, only two bars are known to have existed along the Bovill Run. One of these was in Bovill (Interstate Telephone Company 1945), the other in Troy (Krahe and Julin 2001:8-2). By 1950, the number had grown to over ten, as bars sprung up in Joel, Deary, Princeton, and Onaway (Interstate Telephone Company 1950a, 1950b). In the 1960s Bovill, Clarkia, Deary, Joel, Moscow, Potlatch, and Troy boasted at least 18 bars between them (*Evergreen* 26 September 1969:13; General Telephone Company of the Northwest 1960, 1961; McDonald 2015:3). Documented accounts of the Bovill Run from the 1960s through the 2010s provide an overview of some of the bars frequented by participants (see Table 1). Colorful names like Fuzzy's (Deary), Dirty Ernie's (Moscow), Ol' Joe Hall's (Joel), Hump-in' Hannah's (Lewiston), and the Slurp n' Burp (Moscow) punctuate the bars and taverns on this list.

Although not a bar, the Helmer Store is mentioned in several accounts as a common stopping place for "road beers" to consume in between bars (Ireton 5 November 1993:15; Roach 2016). According to Kevin Roach (2016), in the early 2000s, cans of Heidelberg cost as little as 25 to 50 cents a can at this store. UI alumni Allan McDonald (2015:3), relates that in 1967 the price of beer along the Bovill Run ranged from 25 to 35 cents per can. Jeff Garbardi remembers pitchers being more popular than

Table 1. Bars Along the Bovill Run Route by Location and Decade.

Decade	Town	Bar	Reference	Documented Bovill Run?
1940s	Bovill	Bob's Tavern	Interstate Telephone Co. 1945:28	No
	Troy	Troy Tavern	Krahe and Julin 2001:8-2	No
1950s	Bovill	Bailey's Tavern and Club	General Telephone Co. 1959:63	No
		Bob's Place	Interstate Telephone Co. 1950b:9	No
		Bob's Tavern	Interstate Telephone Co. 1950b:9	No
		Bovill Bar	Interstate Telephone Co. 1950b:9	No
		Mag and Em's	Interstate Telephone Co. 1950b:9	No
		Jim's Place	Interstate Telephone Co. 1950b:9	No
		Bob and Dora's Place	General Telephone Co. 1959:63	No
	Deary	Deary Tavern	General Telephone Co. 1959:63	No
	Joel	Ben's Tavern	Interstate Telephone Co. 1950b:9	No
	Moscow	Corner Club	Interstate Telephone Co. 1950b:9	No
		The Plantation	Interstate Telephone Co. 1950a:18	No
		Spruce Tavern	General Telephone Co. 1959:63	No
	Onaway	Onaway Tavern	Interstate Telephone Co. 1950b:9	No
	Princeton	Bechtel LL	Interstate Telephone Co. 1950b:9	No
1960s	Bovill	Bailey's	General Telephone Co. 1960:56; McDonald 2015:3	Yes
		Don's Tavern	General Telephone Co. 1961:55	No
		Harris' Tavern	General Telephone Co. 1960:56	No
		L-O	McDonald 2015:3	Yes
	Clarkia	Mary's and Peggy's	McDonald 2015:3	Yes
	Deary	Bob & Dora's	General Telephone Co. 1960:56	No
		Deary Tavern	General Telephone Co. 1960:56	No
		Strut's Place	General Telephone Co. 1960:56	No
		Fuzzy's Tavern	McDonald 2015:3	Yes
		Vera's Tavern	McDonald 2015:3	Yes
	Joel	Ben's Tavern	<i>Evergreen</i> 26 September 1969:13; McDonald 2015:3	Yes
	Moscow	Hi Way Tavern	General Telephone Co. 1960:56	No
		Mort's Club	McDonald 2015:3	Yes
		Mug Tavern	General Telephone Co. 1960:56	No
		Spruce Tavern	General Telephone Co. 1960:56	No
	Potlatch	Gladys's Place	General Telephone Co. 1960:56	No
	Troy	The Smokehouse	McDonald 2015:3	Yes
		Troy Tavern	McDonald 2015:3	Yes
1970s	Bovill	Bailey's Bar	General Telephone Co. 1970:85	No
		Elk Tavern	General Telephone Co. 1970:85	No
		Bovill Inn	General Telephone Co. 1978:134	No
	Deary	Deary Tavern	General Telephone Co. 1970:85	No
		Fuzzy's Tavern	General Telephone Co. 1977:13	No
	Elk River	Lamb's Bar	General Telephone Co. 1970:85	No
		Tom's Tavern	General Telephone Co. 1972:91	No
	Harvard	Harvard Tavern	General Telephone Co. 1973:97	No

Table 1. Bars Along the Bovill Run Route by Location and Decade (Cont.).

Decade	Town	Bar	Reference	Documented Bovill Run?
1970s (cont.)	Joel	Dirty Ernie's	Dammerman et al. 2016	Yes
		Ol' Joe Hall's	<i>The Argonaut</i> 28 October 1975:11	Yes
	Moscow	Slurp 'n Burp	Gabardi 2016; Shelton 2016	Yes
		The Alley	General Telephone Co. 1970:85	No
		Corner Club	Shelton 2016	No
		Dr. Jekyll's and Mr. Hyde's	General Telephone Co. 1972:91	No
		DR's Alley	Shelton 2016	No
		Mort's Club	General Telephone Co. 1977:12	No
		Rathskeller Inn	General Telephone Co. 1970:85	No
		The Spruce	Shelton 2016	No
		Yarno's End Zone	General Telephone Co. 1978:134	No
	Onaway	Onaway Tavern	General Telephone Co. 1973:97	No
	Potlatch	C & J Lounge	General Telephone Co. 1970:85	No
		Eldorado Tavern	General Telephone Co. 1973:97	No
		Silver Saddle	General Telephone Co. 1978:134	No
		Wagon Wheel	General Telephone Co. 1973:97	No
1980s	Bovill	Bailey's	Stoffer 5 October 1989	Yes
		Bovill Inn	WSU 1985:63	Yes
		Elk/Elkhorn Tavern	Stoffer 5 October 1989; Goins 4 October 1985:8–9	Yes
		June's Place	Stoffer 5 October 1989	Yes
	Deary	Busy Corner	Stoffer 5 October 1989	Yes
		Fuzzy's	Stoffer 5 October 1989; Goins 4 October 1985:8–9	Yes
	Juliaetta	Juliaetta Tavern	Goins 4 October 1985:8–9	Yes
	Kendrick	Antelope Inn	WSU 1985:63	Yes
		Kendrick Tavern	Goins 4 October 1985:8–9	Yes
	Lewiston	Humpin' Hannah's	WSU 1985:63	Yes
		The Arbor Lounge	Goins 4 October 1985:8–9	Yes
	Moscow	Spruce Tavern	Goins 4 October 1985:8–9, WSU 1985:63	Yes
		The Moose Lodge	Goins 4 October 1985:8–9	Yes
	Troy	"the cowboy bar"	WSU 1985:63	Yes
		Club Troy	Stoffer 5 October 1989; Goins 4 October 1985:8–9	Yes
		The Greek 'n Swede	Stoffer 5 October 1989	Yes
		The Troy Tavern	Stoffer 5 October 1989	Yes
	Uniontown	Eleanor's	Goins 4 October 1985:8–9	Yes
1990s	Bovill	Bailey's	Ireton 5 November 1993:15	Yes
		Elk Tavern	Ireton 5 November 1993:15	Yes
	Deary	Fuzzy's	Ireton 5 November 1993:15	Yes
	Helmer	Helmer Store	Ireton 5 November 1993:15	Yes
	Moscow	Slurp n' Burp	Ireton 5 November 1993:15	Yes
	Troy	Betty's Troy Tavern	Ireton 5 November 1993:15	Yes
		Greek n' Swede	Ireton 5 November 1993:15	Yes
		Smoke House	Ireton 5 November 1993:15	Yes
		The Club	Ireton 5 November 1993:15	Yes

Table 1. Bars Along the Bovill Run Route by Location and Decade (Cont.).

Decade	Town	Bar	Reference	Documented Bovill Run?
2000s	Bovill	Bailey's	Roach 2016	Yes
		Elk Saloon	Roach 2016	Yes
	Deary	Fuzzy's	Roach 2016	Yes
	Fernwood	Silver Nickel	Roach 2016	Yes
	Helmer	Helmer Store	Roach 2016	Yes
	Moscow	Corner Club	Roach 2016	Yes
		Slurp n' Burp	Roach 2016	Yes
	Potlatch	Silver Saddle	Roach 2016	Yes
		Wagon Wheel	Roach 2016	Yes
	Santa	Santa Bar	Roach 2016	Yes
	Troy	Diane's Troy Tavern	Roach 2016	Yes
		The Dog House	Roach 2016	Yes
2010s	Bovill	Bailey's	Bingham 2010	Yes
	Deary	Bear Den	Bingham 2010	Yes
	Moscow	Plantation	Bingham 2010	Yes
	Santa	Santa Resort	Bingham 2010	Yes
	Troy	The Horsehoe	Bingham 2010	Yes

canned beer, which could be purchased for less than three dollars in the late 1970s. A 1993 Argonaut article (Ireton 5 November 1993:15) on the Bovill Run noted that the price of beer was about \$1.25 per glass and around 3 or 4 dollars for a pitcher at most of the bars. While frequent turn-over is evident from the bar names in Table 1, the price of beer along the Bovill Run appears to have remained remarkably consistent.

Material Evidence

In 2016, the authors were able to relocate eleven bars mentioned in accounts of the Bovill Run (Figure 5). Of these, one was under construction but has since reopened (Bailey's Bar, Bovill) and two have been demolished or closed (Diry Earnies and Ol' Joe Hall's, Joel). Two of the seven remaining establishments retain material evidence of their participation in the Bovill Run.

The Troy Tavern has gone through several name iterations but is recorded to have been in operation since 1940 (Krahe and Julin 2001:8-2) (Figures 6 and 7). This likely makes it the longest continuously operating bar along the route of the Bovill Run. The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) nomination form prepared for the Rietmann Hotel building that houses the Troy Tavern, cites the building's significance to the local community, highlighting that it "served as a community gathering spot, serving hot meals in the dining room and spirits in the hotel tavern" (Krahe and Julin 2001:8-1). The Troy Tavern's later association with the Bovill Run is not mentioned in the NRHP nomination form but is recorded in both documentary and material evidence. The Troy Tavern is referenced by Bovill Run participants as far back as the 1960s (see Table 1) and it appears to have maintained a tradition of allowing Bovill Run participants to sign several interior walls. Participant signatures and the dates of previous Bovill Runs layer these walls to the degree that all but the most recent dates are illegible.

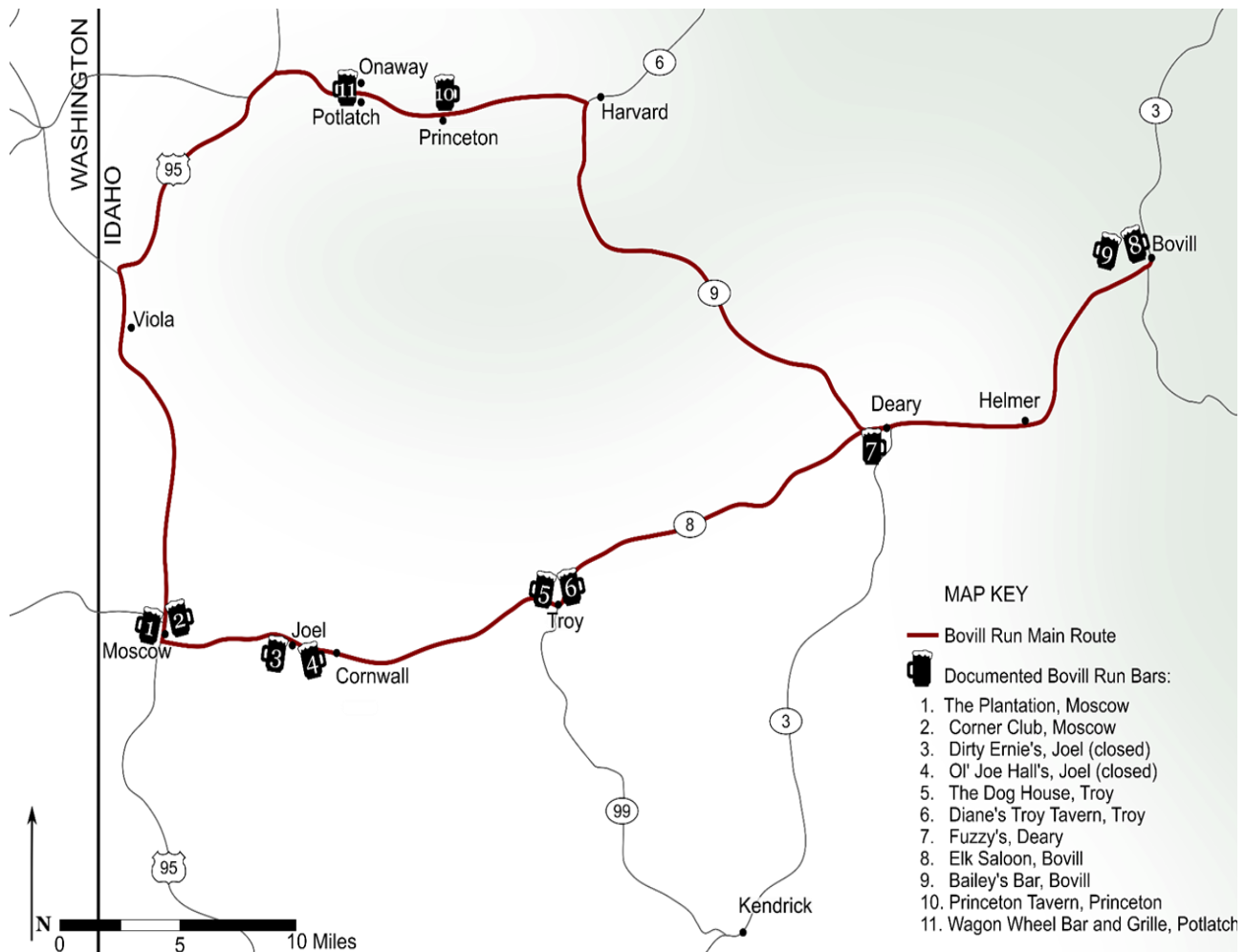


Figure 5. Map of Bovill Run bar locations visited by authors. Nine of these establishments are currently open and participate in Bovill Runs.

The Elk Tavern/Saloon in Bovill has also been a long-standing fixture of the Bovill Run (Figure 8). Housed in a brick bank building that was built in 1914, what is now the Elk Saloon has been a bar since at least the 1950s (Dammerman et al. 2016). In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the Elk Tavern was known for a wagon wheel “chandelier” draped with bras left by female participants to commemorate the Bovill Run and for its walls covered with photographs and signatures. When the bar changed hands several years ago, becoming the Elk Saloon, the new owners renovated the building and restored many of its historical features. As part of these renovations, a dropped ceiling was removed along with the wagon wheel chandelier (Dammerman et al. 2016). The photographs and signatures that adorned the walls have also been removed, but in their place the new owners have hung a large Bovill Run banner that participants are encouraged to sign instead of the walls (Figure 9). Within two years, this banner was so filled with signatures and a second banner had to be added. The owners of the Elk Saloon have also created other modern memorabilia: they now have Bovill Run shot glasses and offer t-shirts for sale advertising themselves as the “home of the famous Bovill Run.”



Figure 6. The Inland Hotel in Troy, ID, photo taken between 1920 and 1930. By 1940, the building would hold a liquor store and a tavern. Courtesy of the Latah County Historical Society, 15-03-43.



Figure 7. Diane's Troy Tavern in the lower right corner of the Rietmann Hotel, 2015. By Ian Poellet (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>)], via Wikimedia Commons.

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Figure 8. The Elk Saloon in Bovill. Photo by author, 2016.

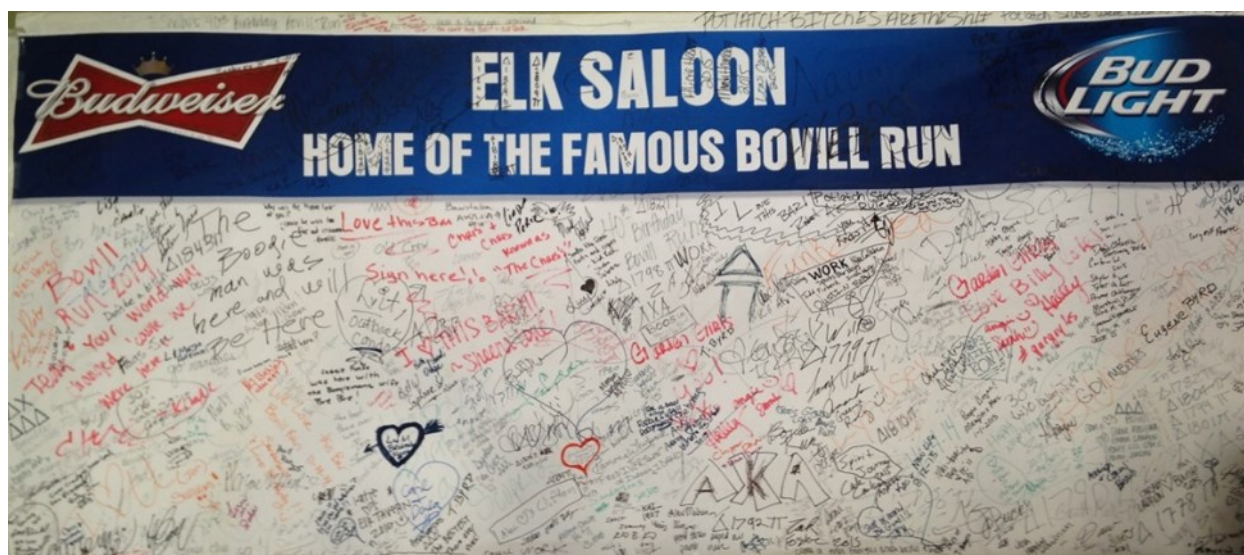


Figure 9. Banner signed by Bovill Run participants at the Elk Saloon. Photo courtesy of Pam and Brad Dammerman.

Transportation

Bovill Run participants describe taking a variety of vehicles on the Bovill Run. Car, truck, and van convoys were common, but participants also describe taking limousines and renting U-Haul vans (Bingham 2010; Roach 2016). On one Bovill Run in the 1970s, Jeff Gabardi recalls that local police somehow “got word that people were on the Bovill Run, and so they would stop just to make sure there was a good driver...looking back on it, that was great that they did that. Because you get 10 people in a Chevy van and it's crazy as hell.” Even more outrageous are accounts of groups renting U-Haul trucks and stocking the back with kegs and couches (Dammerman et al. 2016; Roach 2016). Even though drinking and driving undoubtedly happened on the Bovill Run, most past participants describe designated drivers as essential, given the distance covered and the number of establishments visited. Kevin Roach (2016), who was once a designated driver for a fraternity-organized Bovill Run, shared this responsibility with two other members to “make sure we had enough people to stay awake for the whole shin-dig.”

Local Impacts

Bovill Run antics sometimes resulted in criticism of the practice and not all establishments welcomed participants. In 1989, a bar tender at Fuzzy's told the *Moscow-Pullman Daily News*, “It seems that in the last 10 years there's been more vandalism. They [Bovill Run participants] have to take a souvenir or spray paint their year on the wall” (Stoffer 5 October 1989). The owner of the Elk Tavern, told us that in the 1990s and 2000s he, “had very little trouble with any of them [Bovill Run participants] stealing anything.” But he did acknowledge that theft was sometimes part of the tradition, “I've had a girl come up to me one time and say, ‘Look, I'm supposed to steal stuff from here—take something from every bar—and I'm not a thief, could you just give me something?’ I gave her a t-shirt” (Dammerman et al. 2016). Vandalism and stealing have been issues for other Bovill Run establishments. Because of these negative experiences, the owner of the HooDoo Café in Harvard now actively discourages Bovill Runs from visiting her family-friendly establishment. The former owner of the Princeton Tavern is reported to have turned out the lights and locked the door when a Bovill Run was coming through, apparently feeling that the economic incentive was not enough to outweigh the potential for theft and vandalism (Roach 2016).

For establishments that do encourage the practice, the challenge of how to deal with the influx of customers has led to some creative solutions, which often involve pooling resources and inter-community cooperation. Bar employees in Deary and Bovill report keeping extra staff on-call in case Bovill Runs come through. If extra staff is not available, bar regulars are often willing to give assistance. According to Pam Dammerman (2016), “people are so awesome in these little towns that someone will help out the bartender. Someone will check IDs, and someone always helps the bar tender.” Many employees also reported that it is common practice for establishments along the run to call and warn subsequent bars when a large Bovill Run comes through so that staff can prepare.

While in the Princeton Tavern, the authors had the opportunity to observe a Bovill Run in progress. Although this group was small (5 to 10 members) and outside of normal Bovill Run hours (it occurred in the early afternoon), they were immediately identified as a Bovill Run by customers who excitedly called out to warn the bar tender. Because most patrons in Bovill Run bars know one another, outsiders are easily detected. Even small Bovill Runs represent a change of pace in Bovill Run establishments that, weather welcomed or not, represents a marked divergence from the normal day-to-day atmosphere.

Conclusions and Discussion

One of the central research questions of this project was to determine when the Bovill Run began yet, separating myth from fact on this point turns out to be an unexpectedly complicated task. Bingham's 2010 article, quoted in the introduction, offers one version of the Bovill Run origin story. The 1908 date cited in this article is among the earliest accounts identified in primary or secondary sources (Bingham 2010:8). Although several interviewees had heard some version of the horse-back genesis story, few remembered where they had heard it and most were uncertain about how much credibility to attribute to it. Historical research indicates that Moscow, Troy, and especially Bovill were known as places exempt from Potlatch Lumber Company's anti-alcohol laws in this period, making a Bovill Run between these three towns at least possible in 1908. These sources agree that the road connecting Troy and Bovill was notoriously bad, however, and Potlatch Lumber Company trains would not reach Bovill until 1910, the year Latah County passed a local option enacting Prohibition (Boone 1988:47; Miller 1972:39, 44). If the Bovill Run existed in the two years before Prohibition it would have been an arduous journey with few stops, and a practice with little resemblance to the modern tradition.

Several sources suggest that the Bovill Run began in the 1940s or 1950s. In a 1989 interview with the *Moscow-Pullman Daily News* (Stoffer 5 October 1989), a Troy local is quoted saying that the Bovill Run was at least 42 years old, which places the start date in 1947. This is certainly plausible since both paved roads and bars existed along the route by this time. The tavern in Troy's Rietmann Hotel opened in 1940 (Krahe and Julin 2001:8-2) and, according to local telephone directories, the Corner Club and the Plantation in Moscow were both open by the late 1940s (Interstate Telephone Company 1950a:2). Although it has not been mentioned in any known accounts of the Bovill Run, Bob's Tavern in Bovill was also open by 1945 (Interstate Telephone Company 1945:28). Travel to and from these bars, along State Highways 8 and 3, would not have involved driving on dirt or gravel roads after 1938 (Metsker Maps 1938). The 1950s saw a dramatic increase in the number of bars in Bovill Run communities; at least 15 taverns or bars existed in Bovill, Deary, Joel, Moscow, Onaway, Princeton, and Troy during this decade (General Telephone Company of the Northwest 1959:63; Interstate Telephone Company 1950b:9; Krahe and Julin 2001:8-2). The addition of bars in Princeton and Onaway would have made a longer circuit through Potlatch possible, although it would have involved driving several unpaved roads (Metsker Maps 1960, 1980).

Confirmed accounts and historical documents from the 1960s and 1970s possibly support a 1940s or 1950s start date for the Bovill Run, but certainly indicate that by the 1960s it had begun (*Evergreen* 26 September 1969:13; Garbardi 2016; McDonald 2015:3; Shelton 2016). Both Garbardi (2016) and Shelton (2016) describe the Bovill Run as well-developed and already somewhat legendary at this time. It was during this period that several bars now associated with the Bovill Run opened and that the road between Deary and Harvard was paved, making a return loop through Potlatch more accessible (Metsker Maps 1960, 1980). By 1960, both the Spruce (Moscow) and Bailey's Tavern and Café (Bovill) were open for business; by 1967 Fuzzy's (Deary) and at least one bar in Clarkia were receiving Bovill Runs; and between 1970 and 1977 the Elk Tavern (Bovill), the Wagon Wheel (Potlatch), Ol' Joe Hall's (Joel), Fuzzy's (Deary), and the first bars in Harvard and Elk River appear in local phonebooks (General Telephone Company of the Northwest 1960:56, 1970:85, 1973:12, 1975:118-119, 1976:103, 1977:13; McDonald 2015:3).

Between 1972 and 1988, Idaho's lower drinking age relative to neighboring states helped popularize the tradition. By the 1980s, at least 19 bars were being visited by Bovill Runs (see Table 1) and

articles about the tradition appeared in UI's *Argonaut* newspaper (28 October 1975:11), the *Moscow-Pullman Daily News* (Stoffer 9 October 1989), WSU's *Chinook* Yearbook (WSU 1985), and *WSU's Evergreen* newspapers (Goins 8 October 1985:8-9). Jeff Garbardi (2016), who was a UI student in the 1970s, remembers that on Friday nights he could look out his dorm window and see a string of cars "clear to the Washington border." While not all these cars were full of Bovill Run participants, the articles in WSU papers indicate that at least some of them were.

In recent years, the number of Bovill Runs has dropped dramatically. When asked about this decline, bar owners and past participants offered several possible reasons that included stricter enforcement of drunk driving laws, the adoption of a National minimum drinking age, increased scrutiny of fraternity and sorority activities, instances of vandalism and theft, and the closure of many bars along the route (Dammerman et al. 2016, Garbardi 2016, Roach 2016, Shelton 2016). It is likely that many of these factors are in fact intertwined. Table 1 indicates a steady drop in the number of bars along the Bovill Run beginning in the 1980s that appears to coincide with Idaho's raised minimum drinking age in 1988. By the time Bingham completed a Bovill Run in 2010, he visited only five bars and found only one bar open in Bovill. Shortly after Bingham's visit, ownership changes closed Bovill's remaining bar. For at least a year, Bovill didn't have a single open bar (Dammerman et al. 2016).

In 2014, Brad and Pam Dammerman reopened the Elk Saloon in Bovill. They report that Bovill Runs have resumed visiting their establishment, though their frequency and size both seem to have fallen. The former owner of the Elk Saloon recalls that he could expect at least one Bovill Run every Friday and Saturday night throughout the late 1990s and early 2000s and that he sometimes served as many as 140 Bovill Run participants in a single night. The current owners estimate that they receive Bovill Runs about once a month and that their busiest nights reach only about 60 participants (Dammerman et al. 2016). While these numbers clearly indicate a decline, they also offer evidence of an enduring, albeit evolving, practice. This seemed an especially important point for Bovill Run establishments like the Elk Saloon that continue to encourage Bovill Runs and the customers they bring. In a town of with a population of approximately 260 people (US Census Bureau 2012: 15 Idaho), 60 Bovill Run participants still represent a significant customer influx. The Elk Saloon's adoption of designated posters for Bovill Run participants to sign and complimentary Bovill Run shot glass souvenirs offer an example of the way that bar owners are influencing the evolution of the tradition. These measures are intended to encourage Bovill Run participation while moderating less desirable aspects of the tradition like theft or vandalism (Dammerman et al. 2016).

At the close of our Elk Saloon interview, Pam Dammerman related her frustration that a recent Google search on the Bovill Run produced several webpages claiming that the practice no longer exists in north central Idaho (Dammerman et al. 2016). While the days of U-Haul trucks and lines of cars backed up across the Idaho-Washington border may be over, for the communities along the Bovill Run and those who still participate, the Bovill Run tradition is far from dead. The history and practice of the Bovill Run remains relevant in north central Idaho where the communities linked by the tradition continue to debate its origins and negotiate its impacts.

All of the past participants interviewed for this research cited the stories they had heard about previous Bovill Runs as a primary motivation for their participation (Garbardi 2016, Roach 2016, Shelton 2016). Most heard these stories from peers, but Bingham (2010:6) also mentions hearing accounts from UI professors and alumni. Kevin Roach (2016), who attributed his knowledge of the Bovill Run tradition to stories he had heard from his family, suggested that he was likely the third generation to participate. Although interviewees did not directly cite tradition or myth as a motivating factor, their descriptions are highly suggestive. Echoing the language used by Bingham's (2010:6) classmates' description of their 2010 Bovill Run, Don Shelton (2016) characterizes his 1970s experience as the

the following:

It was sort of legendary. It was sort of whispered and talked about. I heard people talk about it in these legendary ways, like they knew somebody who had gone on the Bovill run or had claimed to go the Bovill run. It was a sort of epic thing, back in those days. It was the 70s, it was different era then, and we drove around without seat belts. If a cop pulled you over for drunk driving, they sent you home. It was a different era...a much stupider era probably. It was a thing, and people wanted to go on it.

Perhaps one reason that the Bovill Run is so persistent is because it embodies aspects of so many Western myths—the imposing and evading of alcohol legislation; the endurance of rural landscapes, small-town saloons, and taverns; the cooperation of close-knit communities; and the sometimes impudent or illicit behaviors of outsiders. Like so many historical myths, the Bovill Run tradition is undoubtedly rooted in historical fact. Through repetition and practice, however, the Bovill Run has taken on an aspect of legend that simultaneously reinforces and obscures its own origin. Over the years, the Bovill Run has fostered a changing constellation of routes, bars, participants, and perceptions, yet we have found evidence that both the stories and the tradition endure. Long-standing bars like the ones in Moscow, Troy, and Bovill continue to serve as anchors for the Run. These buildings, and the material evidence within them, help make the “whispers” and “legend” tangible.

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ARTICLE

The Cyrus Jacobs-Uberuaga House Archaeology Project: A Study in Class, Gender, and Place in Nineteenth Century Boise, Idaho

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Abstract

The Jacobs family moved to Boise in 1863 and helped establish its economic, political, and social foundation. Their home stands today as the oldest extant brick building in the city, and is owned and operated as a house museum by the Basque Museum and Cultural Center. In 2012, the unexpected discovery of an abandoned well on the property prompted an archaeological excavation, which resulted in the recovery of approximately 16,000 artifacts related to domestic refuse. Analysis of these artifacts, paired with thorough documentary research, provided an extensive look into the intimate lives of the Jacobs family. This family carried with them to Boise certain principles that governed their material consumption and helped to maintain their social standing. These Victorian principles, centered around ideas of domesticity and gentility, were manifested in the artifacts recovered during the excavation. These artifacts included various styles of ceramic and glass tablewares, girls' dolls, and items necessary to maintain health and hygiene. The Jacobs' house, as well, with its imported materials and lavish furnishings, stood testament to their effort to maintain social status. Analyses of these artifacts and historical research concluded that the Jacobs family used material consumption, along with proper social interaction, political influence, and entrepreneurial achievements, to build and maintain their status as part of Boise's elite.

KEYWORDS: Class, Consumption, Household Archaeology, Boise, Gender

Introduction

The Cyrus Jacobs-Uberuaga House is the oldest extant brick building in Boise, and it stands today as a symbol of the city's early history and success, as well as one of Basque community and pride (Mackey 2010). Built in 1864 by Cyrus Jacobs, the house has been host to several families and many events throughout its lifetime. The house presently serves as a historic house museum, owned and operated by the Basque Museum and Cultural Center, and it demonstrates a unique aspect of Boise's history. First, the house was occupied by one of the city's prominent founding families and then, starting in the early 1900s, it served as a Basque boarding house.

The Cyrus Jacobs-Uberuaga House is located on Grove Street in the center of the city's "Basque Block." The house is a well-known tourist attraction due to its renovation into an historic house museum and its importance to the city's history. The house was occupied until 1907 by the Jacobs family; after that it became a Basque boarding house operated by the Uberuaga family until the 1970s (Figure 1). The house eventually became vacant and began to fall into disrepair despite its placement on the National Register of Historic Places in 1975. In the 1980s, Adelia Garro Simplot, the daughter of a Basque immigrant, purchased the house and spearheaded the establishment of the neighboring Basque Museum and Cultural Center. Over the next several years, great pains were taken to renovate the house and the neighborhood. The house, through architectural work and historical research, was restored to depict both Jacobs-era and boarding house occupations (Mackey 2010: iv).

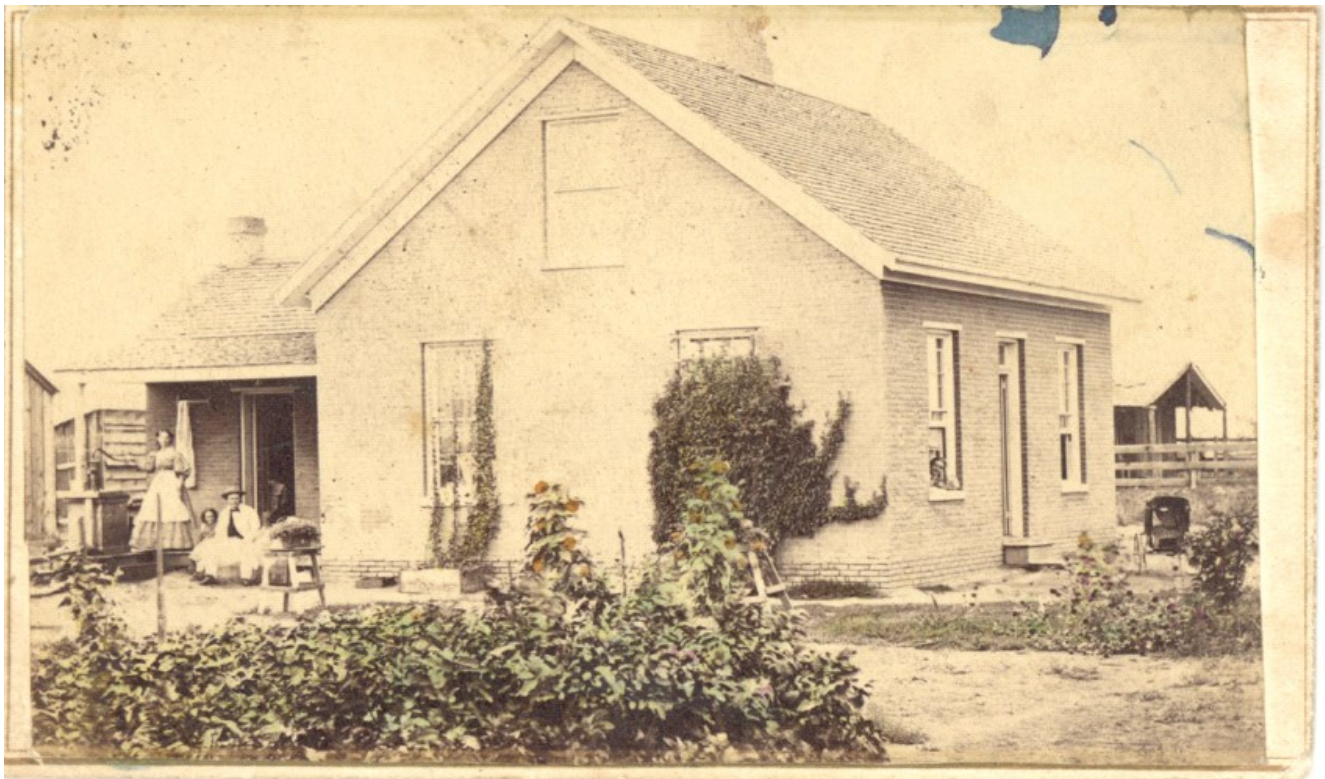


Figure 1. Earliest known photo of the Jacobs and their Grove Street home, c.1870. Note the woman (Mary Ellen Jacobs) with her hand on the pump of the well at the left of the photo. ISHS archives, photo #2092-4.

The Basque Museum and Cultural Center has taken great efforts to restore the house and present a comprehensive perspective of its history and has worked collaboratively with archaeologists in this work. In 2004, renovations in the house led to the discovery of artifacts beneath the floorboards, and a team of archaeologists was invited to conduct a brief excavation (Münch 2010). In the spring of 2012, restoration work on the house's covered porch prompted the discovery of a previously unknown, abandoned well filled with artifacts. The University of Idaho was invited to conduct an archaeological excavation of the well, and within two months, the project was underway.

The 2012 excavation took place over two weeks and produced over 16,000 artifacts. It was a collaborative excavation, with funds, supplies, and almost sixty volunteers from the University of Idaho, the Basque Museum and Cultural Center, Idaho Archaeological Society, the Idaho Transportation Department, the Boise National Forest and the local community. The project was also open to the public, and over 1,000 visitors toured the site. The primary feature—the abandoned well—was excavated to approximately 11 feet below the surface, with the brick lining left intact (Figure 2).



Figure 2. The well during excavation. Photo credit: Ana Overgaard.

So why did the well end up filled with trash? The answer lies in urban infrastructure changes – namely the introduction of indoor plumbing. By 1893, municipal water was piped to the Jacobs house, and after this point the artesian well was likely no longer in use (Kent 2004:3; ProQuest Digital Sanborn Maps, 1867-1970). If it was no longer needed for water, it became nothing more than a convenient place to dispose of the rubbish. The diversity of artifacts in the well suggest this while the cross mending of artifacts provided further evidence of a rapid filling of the well. As part of the lab analysis several artifacts from multiple excavated levels throughout the well were later re-fitted into

single vessels. This indicates a very short-term deposition event, likely in the early 1900s (based on datable artifacts). Our working hypothesis is that around the time the house left the Jacobs' hands household refuse was dumped into the well as part of a broad-scale house cleaning.

Boise, Idaho, and the Jacobs Family

The Boise Basin was occupied by various Native American groups before it was flooded by Euro-Americans after the 1862 discovery of gold in the area. In 1863 Boise had a population of 725; in 1864 a population of over 1,600 (ISHS Reference Series No. 129 and 130). Early Boise thrived due to its position supplying miners from the various surrounding towns and camps - the largest of which was Idaho City - and the Jacobs family took full advantage of this early growth.

Cyrus Jacobs was born in Pennsylvania and moved west with his family in 1849, eventually settling in Walla Walla with his wife, Mary Ellen. Mary Ellen Jacobs was born in Indiana and was daughter to General Joel Palmer, one of Oregon's earliest pioneers. In Walla Walla, Cyrus formed a pack train company, the Walla Walla Trading Co., with his brother in 1858, which eventually began supplying miners in Idaho City. In 1863, Cyrus was en route to Idaho City when his pack train came across the newly established Fort Boise, and he was asked to act as the fort's official sutler and subsequently set up a small tent store (IDS 1891:7).

Cyrus, along with Fort Boise officials and other settlers, helped plat and survey the Boise town site. During this process he also secured land for himself (IDS 1891:7). In July of 1864, Cyrus sent for his wife and children from Walla Walla and they made the trip in eleven days, riding in a carriage and accompanied by a baggage wagon (Mackey 2010:26). The family lived in a tent for six weeks while their Grove Street home was built, which was no easy task. Only brick was available locally; all other supplies were transported from Walla Walla (French 1914:1296).

Cyrus expanded his tent store and eventually established C. Jacobs and Company, while his brother remained in Walla Walla to transport goods to Boise. This venture was very profitable and in 1865, Cyrus constructed a permanent brick building on the southwest corner of 7th and Main Streets for his mercantile (Figure 3). Local newspaper accounts indicate the large quantity of goods he was importing for this business—one freight shipment was reported containing over 25,000 pounds of supplies (ITS 1865:3). Cyrus's business success prompted him to begin several other ventures in the following few years, including a flour mill, a stockyard, a sawmill, a distillery, a soap factory, and a cooperage (Hartman 1989:79; Hiner 2004). In 1874, his distillery was manufacturing 18,000 gallons of whiskey, 200 barrels of vinegar, and his flour mill was grinding 25,000 bushels of wheat (ITS 1874). In addition to these businesses, Cyrus also owned at least a dozen mining claims.

Jacobs's entrepreneurial success and his support of local businesses helped establish a strong economic foundation in Boise and fostered his leadership in local politics. The local paper acknowledged this: "In this way he keeps the money at home and does more for the prosperity of Idaho than any other man in it" (ITS 1880:4). Jacobs was also known to be extremely generous and charitable. "His businesses contributed daily to support poor and needy. Many of the poor families in this city received assistance from him and knew not from where it came" (Hartman 1989:79). As for politics Jacobs successfully ran for County Treasurer in 1868 and Mayor in 1879 (ITS 1877a:3). Furthermore, he helped promote the town's interests in other ways. In 1881 he was a founding member of the Idaho Pioneers Historical Society, and in 1890 he was one of the incorporators of a street car line (MacGregor 2006:195; IDS 1892:3).



Figure 3: Cyrus Jacobs in front of his store. ISHS #2092-1.

Cyrus and Mary Ellen Jacobs had five children, who were brought up with every available advantage. Most of the children married into other prominent pioneer families. All of the children attended the local school, and the oldest daughter, Edith, was sent to Philadelphia for further education—possibly to a musical academy (ITS 1877b:3). The second daughter, Fannie, was sent to New York for a year to acquire a musical education at the New York Conservatory of Music, and upon her return to Boise she was considered the "Nightingale of Idaho" (ITS 1882:3; Bauer 2004:1). The daughters were also instructed in their duties within the household—they learned to cook, sew, and entertain—but they also ventured into public life, becoming involved in social life, the arts, and occasionally politics. In 1895, Mamie Jacobs was elected to a clerk position in the state senate, and in 1896 she attended a suffragist tea party (IDS 1895:6; IDS 1896:4). She was likely inspired by both her parents' political activism, as well as a need to take on some of the responsibilities and obligations that her father's poor health had kept him from meeting. Mary Ellen attempted to help fill this role as well, and in 1897 ran for but was not elected alderman (IDS 1897:3).

The Jacobs' experiences moving to the West were not particularly uncommon, but their story does provide a useful paradigm in which to understand broader social trends. Cyrus and Mary Ellen Jacobs moved westward as young adults, following their families. They both had fathers who were entrepre-

neurial—one a businessman, the other a politician—and mothers who were responsible for raising several children. When they became a couple, Cyrus followed in the path of a businessman, yet also ventured into mining, as many other men in the West did. This eventually brought the family to Boise, where they settled, raised a family, and had a clear, though occasionally subtle, influence over the town's economic, political, and social well-being.

Like so many others who moved to small frontier towns, both Cyrus and Mary Ellen Jacobs did their part to make it comfortable and home-like. Cyrus, along with a handful of other founding Boiseans, used his business connections to import goods, and he established various enterprises that helped promote local industry. Mary Ellen participated in many social activities and some political ones, sometimes actively working to better the town's resources and institutions, and other times simply making and maintaining social connections that would benefit her children in time. The family also ensured that their lives did indeed mirror what they had been raised with, and they created a domestic sanctuary that reflected their relative wealth and social position. In these regards, they were not extraordinary, but rather follow what seems typical for a family to do when they move to the West with a certain degree of affluence.

It is fair to say that the Jacobs family was part of Boise's elite. The Jacobs women were prominent in the town's social gatherings while Cyrus was one of the town's political and economic leaders. As a household, they were held in high regard by their peers and were generous in their support of various organizations. Yet it is important to recognize that it was also a household that adhered in part to typical gender expectations of the time. Mary Ellen had the household responsibilities while Cyrus' duties were primarily outside the household. However, this was not a strict separation—Mary Ellen did, especially later in her life, become more active in the public sphere.

By looking more closely into the Jacobs family's background, several things become apparent. First, there is evidence that both Cyrus and Mary Ellen were accustomed to a certain level of social and financial status before meeting. When they moved to Boise, they were able to maintain and secure their relative comfort by moving to an area where they and their neighbors had the ability to construct an environment suitable to their status. Besides their home, the family's affluence was evidenced by Cyrus's immediate business success, which gave them a financial foothold through which they maintained their comfort levels. Further evidence of the family's place in Boise can be seen through their involvement in social activities and the way that others perceived them—through their actions, their possessions, and their constructed environment. As women and families became more common in Boise, the concept of "high society" was established, and that idea had power over nearly all types of public as well as private behaviors (MacGregor 2006:199).

The Home: Domestic Sanctuary and Social Theater

Everything from clothing, behavior, and dining etiquette was used to portray social status in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, and the Jacobs home was a physical testament to their place in society. The Jacobs home represented no specific architectural style, but it was built and adapted over time to suit the various needs of the family. The house was small, certainly by modern standards, but at the time and in the context of its location, it was considered grand.

The house was furnished elaborately and constantly improved, possibly to contrast with the somewhat harsh, still undeveloped frontier city (Figure 4). There was walnut and mahogany furniture, wall

-to-wall carpeting, goose feather mattresses, and beds so tall that the children needed stools to climb into them (IDS 1941:10). The house also had the first bath tub in Boise, which was zinc-lined and installed in a room off the kitchen so that water for the bath could be heated on the nearby stove (IDS 1941:10). An even greater sign of the family's wealth and prestige was their possession of Boise's first piano, which was hauled by wagon train to the house from Kelton, Utah (Bauer 2010:66). Pianos were widely recognized as status symbols in the late nineteenth century. It was not just the possession of the instrument that spoke to their wealth but their ability to transport it from such a distance as well. "Pianos were both a signal of cultivation in the present and an investment in the future social status of one's children," making them one of the most significant pieces of furniture an aspiring family could own (Matt 2003:17).



Figure 4: Boise, Idaho, "Main Street, 1866". ISHS Free Territorial Photographs.

Grove Street, and the surrounding cross streets, were occupied by some of Boise's most prominent citizens, and it appears to have been the center of much social activity. One of the Jacobs' daughters, Mamie, spoke of her childhood home for the *Idaho Daily Statesman* on October 18, 1936: "Grove Street was the show residence of the city." In the same article she recalled the many lawn parties held at their home, illuminated by Chinese lanterns imported from outside the city. She also remembered the evening after her father Cyrus was elected mayor; the family nailed tallow candles to boards and hung them around the windows, and the brass band that came to serenade Cyrus was invited in afterwards for cake and punch.

The local paper mentions several more events hosted at the Jacobs home over the years, including the wedding of Senator William Borah to Mamie McConnell in 1895, which took place in the parlor (IDS 1941:10). They also frequently hosted an esteemed Bishop when he visited Boise (Bauer 2010:67). The Jacobs family fulfilled the social obligations expected of them and maintained their standing by continuing to participate in these types of social events. As the family's financial situation

deteriorated in the 1890s, their social position remained respectable due to their long-standing and continued involvement in the city's social, economic, and political welfare.

An important aspect of Victorian ideology in the 19th century was that the woman of the house was responsible for creating a domestic sanctuary for her family (Fitts 1999). This, often referred to as the “cult of domesticity,” was increasingly practiced in nineteenth and early twentieth century America. The domestic retreat served to prepare children to maintain their parents’ position in society (Fitts 1999:46), yet it also gave mothers great control over their children’s upbringing. While some families created this sanctuary with gothic architecture and tableware styles, others practiced genteel dining etiquette or celebrated nature within the home. This last practice was thought to be not only healthy, but to bring one further in touch with God, and it was accomplished through gardens, indoor plants, and nature motifs on items (Fitts 1999:48).

Demonstrating Status Through Material Consumption

Gentility in nineteenth century America was a worldview that defined etiquette rules and codes of behavior that were imbued with moral connotations, which subsequently guided material consumption (Spencer-Wood 1991; diZerega Wall 1991; Fitts 1999:39). An important aspect of this concerned dining etiquette, which was embedded with ideas about respectability and civility. Genteel dining necessitated the presence of appropriate tablewares that functioned as symbols of Victorian values; they served to educate children about proper behavior, thus indoctrinating them into their respectable roles in society. Additionally, appropriate wares essentially must be matching wares, which sated the aspiration for order, regularity, and symmetry, and followed the popular post-Enlightenment views about rationality and structure (Fitts 1999:50). Finally, genteel dining dictated against food sharing, and thus communal vessels were inappropriate. Likewise, mixing different foods on a single dish was not seen as “genteel” and specialized vessels became more common in order to combat those problems (Fitts 1999:53). Matching sets of glassware and silverware might also adorn the genteel dining table.

The tablewares recovered from the Jacobs-Uberuaga house include both glass and ceramics, in various styles. At least thirteen different ceramic vessel forms were identified, including butter dishes, a muffin plate, a twiffler plate, table plates and bowls, a sauce boat, tea cups, and a serving platter. Pieces from several different sets of tablewares are present, the most common being whiteware with a blue floral transfer print, made by Henry Alcock & Co. in England, 1880–1910 (Kovel 1986:116) (Figure 5). Another set, consisting of three porcelain table bowls, was made by Haviland & Co. in England, 1876–1889 (Haviland Online). The third set, whiteware with floral decals, had no maker's marks. Several other individual ceramic vessels with different styles were present as well.

Glass tablewares were also present, and included stemware, a spice shaker, and tumblers. All were colorless glass, some with molded patterns and etching. The Basque Museum and Cultural Center also possesses a decanter and stemware set that was purchased by Mary Ellen Jacobs and donated to the museum by her great granddaughter (Whiting-Looze 2010:25). It is likely that the family had multiple sets of dishes—some of which were used by the family and others that were brought out for guests and special occasions. As trends changed, the family dinnerware may have as well. Transfer-printed wares were popular in the early 1800s until mid-century, when non-decorated white wares came to symbolize Victorian notions of purity and virtue. Around 1870, however, printed wares, including transfer-prints and decals, were once again popular (Samford 1997:59).



Figure 5. Set of matching transfer-print whiteware dishes with blue transfer print design. Photo Credit: Jessica Goodwin.

The Jacobs Girls and Their Dolls

Dolls were often given to young girls in the 1800s to teach them about their roles and responsibilities as women (Baxter 2005:43-44.). As they played, dressed, and cared for their dolls, they also learned about motherhood and domesticity. In the nineteenth century, German doll manufacturers began mass-producing their products, which were exported and made readily available in the U.S (Freeman and Freeman:1942). They could be purchased from catalogs, such as Sears Roebuck or Montgomery Ward, with prices ranging anywhere from ten cents to two dollars. They eventually became available in general goods stores throughout the country and may have even been stocked in Cyrus Jacobs' own store. Each one of the four Jacobs daughters was given a doll that matched her eye and hair color when she reached two years of age (Whiting-Looze 2010:26). Heads and arms from at least three dolls were discovered in the well during the excavation (Figure 6), and one whole doll was donated to the Basque Museum and Cultural Center by one of the daughter's descendants.



Figure 6. Bisque porcelain doll head with German maker's mark. Photo Credit: Ted Charles.

Health and Hygiene at the Jacobs Home

Was “cleanliness next to godliness” in the Jacobs home? The Victorian obsession about health and hygiene was spurred by aggressive advertising that had permeated all areas of the country by the turn of the century (Schlereth 1992:166). This important part of Victorianism (Briggs 1988:16) may have been difficult for many pioneers to new towns in the West to follow. For the family of a successful merchant, however, access to goods of this nature was likely not as limited. The Jacobs were likely accustomed to having the means to groom themselves before they came to Boise, so there is no reason to think that they would change their habits too readily.

Once their home in Boise was built, the family took care of hygiene with the help of their artesian well just outside the kitchen. Shortly after moving in, they also imported the city’s first bathtub, which indicates some concern for better hygiene. Besides these facilities, the family took care of themselves through the use of certain products imported from around the world, and possibly sold in Jacobs’ own store. While many of these products were recovered without identifying marks or labels, some did in fact leave clues about their use. Others still had residues that we could chemically analyze to determine their use.

In all, approximately 16 percent of diagnostic container glass related to health, grooming, or beauty. Three of the forty-nine ceramic vessels were cosmetic. The Jacobs’s had everything needed to take care of their teeth, hair, skin, clothing, and odor. Some of these artifacts are: toothpaste made in Manchester by Jewsbury & Brown; bitter almond shaving cream made by Ed Pinaud in Paris (Figure 7); a bottle of perfumed water made by Murray & Lanman; a bottle of Gilt Edge black shoe polish made by Whittemore Bros. & Co. and marketed specifically for women; and a bottle of Sutherland Sisters Hair Grower.



Figure 7. Lid for a pot of French shaving cream.
Photo credit: Ted Charles

In the field, multiple artifacts—primarily glass bottles or containers—were specially handled because they had some sort of material inside them. These bottles, once they reached the University of Idaho, were passed on to Dr. Ray von Wandruszka in the Chemistry Department where von Wandruszka and his students worked to identify the contents of these bottles, and report on their findings. Chemical analyses revealed the function of several otherwise unidentifiable glass containers. One small, cylindrical vial was recovered corked with a reddish and clear liquid inside, which turned out to be the remains of clove oil (Garcia, Harman, and von Wandruszka 2014). Clove oil was a common home remedy for toothaches. Another sample consisted of a crumbling white compound inside a small amber glass jar. The material was identified as zinc oxide which was a common ingredient in lip balm (Garcia, Harman, and von Wandruszka 2014). A small, colorless glass bottle with thick orange and white substances inside was analyzed and determined to be some type of skin cream or salve, due to the presence of vegetable oil and beeswax (Garcia, Harman, and von Wandruszka 2014).

The issue of health at the Jacobs home is more difficult to unravel. A large quantity of prescription and patent medicine bottles was recovered, numbering 39 individual vessels (27.3% of identified container glass). Some bottles have embossed information associating them with local drugstores, including the Nye-Galbraith Drug Co, Ltd., McCrum & Co. Prescription Druggist, W.S. Whitehead, and H.S. Myers' Pharmacy. Other medicine bottles were not prescribed, but made by companies for distribution to the masses; these patent medicines were not prescribed by doctors, but were used for people to self-medicate. There were 18 patent medicine bottles and 21 pharmaceutical/prescription bottles identified in the glass assemblage.

The illnesses that the Jacobs were self-medicating for included consumption, cold, or cough, and digestive and urinary disorders. Some medicines were also preventative, such as the two bottles of cod liver oil, made by different companies. Some of these medicines were also potentially harmful to consume. One bottle, made by L.M. Green, was one of two possible products, both of which were made with high quantities of alcohol and morphine and possibly laudanum. Three other bottles—Acker's English Remedy, Ayer's Sarsaparilla, and Dr. Vanderpool's Cough and Consumption Cure—were each listed in a 1912 Pure Food and Drugs Act document presented to Congress that was aimed at curtailing the use of "cure-all" products (US Congress 1912:182-183). These companies were cropping up more and more often with claims that their product could cure diseases without consultation with a doctor, yet they in fact were often harmful to ingest.

Illness is difficult to infer from bottles, especially at a site that was occupied for four decades by a single family who undoubtedly suffered from the occasional common sickness, as well as other more serious conditions. Some of these occasions were reported in the local newspaper, but typically not by specifically identifying the illness. Of all the pharmaceutical and patent medicine bottles, few had marks identifying their contents. Of those that did, the only type that was present more than once or twice was cures for cough and consumption.

Conclusion

Historian Earl Pomeroy hypothesized that "the West did not desire to be 'wild'" (MacGregor 2006:81). An exploration into the Jacobs' historical and material life serves as an example for how Victorian ideals migrated to and took hold among frontier towns. The Jacobs family was not necessarily an extraordinary example—rather they represented a common trend among the upper tier of early Boise residents. They were one of the earliest to settle in Boise, and Cyrus Jacobs was one of a handful of entrepreneurs that helped establish a base of economic independence. This same group of men helped

plat out the city and, in the coming years, were involved in its political process as well as economic prospects that would further benefit the growing community. Mary Ellen Jacobs did her part as well, along with the other wives of this early group of settlers. The increasing presence of women and families was a crucial step in Boise's development. It led to an increase in the number of children, as well as the need for establishing or bettering social institutions and community ties. The Jacobs children were brought up to maintain the social position of their parents, and they did this by being active with others in that tier and marrying into it.

The material and documentary evidence indicate that the Jacobs family attempted to replicate genteel ways of life. Whether this was for ideological and religious reasons because they were brought up to do so, or because it was the trend of the time, is unclear. Whatever the reason, their actions certainly improved and made more comfortable their life in Boise. Especially in the city's early years, when its citizens were primarily composed of working men, the successful merchant and his socialite wife likely sought out ways to make their life more comfortable. Doing so included socializing with others of comparable status, furnishing their home properly, raising their children in a particular way, caring about their personal hygiene, and spending money on things luxurious, exotic, or simply necessary for perpetuating the role in society that they belonged in.

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ARTICLE

Top Shot: Recreational and Military Firearms of Fort Boise, Idaho

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Abstract

Multiple archaeological investigations on the grounds of Fort Boise, Idaho (1863-1913), now the site of the Boise Veterans Administration, recovered over 1,500 munitions related artifacts. Analysis of two assemblages, one from a historic dump and the other from Fort Boise's Surgeons Quarters, indicates technological development of the United States Army from the Civil War to the years just before the First World War. The munitions recovered also identify the use of recreational firearms at Fort Boise, which was a popular pastime on the post. Munitions recovered from domestic contexts, such as the Surgeons Quarters, also suggest children were instructed on firearm use and etiquette.

KEYWORDS; Historical Archaeology, Munitions, Military Life, Boise, Idaho

Introduction

Munitions related artifacts recovered from two contexts on Fort Boise, Idaho (1863-1913), now the site of the Boise Veterans Administration, evidences both military and recreational firearm use. Despite largely pertaining to military firearms development from the Civil War to the eve of the First World War, the munitions assemblage also evidences recreational activities of Fort Boise's occupants. Oral tradition held that target practice was a popular pastime of Fort Boise with several cartridges and bullets indicating said pastime. Munitions recovered from a domestic context, such as the Surgeons Quarters, also suggests children were instructed on firearm use and etiquette pertaining to both recreational and military rounds.

History of Fort Boise

Fort Boise was founded on July 4, 1863 by Oregon and Washington Volunteers along the Oregon Trail in the Boise River Valley. The primary purpose of Fort Boise was to guard the Oregon Trail, aid in law enforcement, and protect the mining camps (Ferris 1971:124). Despite a growing military presence in the West, violent confrontations between settlers and Native Americans continued and eventually led to several open conflicts; the first, and longest, of these conflicts was the four-yearlong Snake War (1864-1868). Military efforts stalled at the start of the Snake War necessitating command and structural changes that resulted in famed fighter General George Crook being brought to the region and Fort Boise being designated as a military district. Upon arrival, Crook immediately set out on a hard-hitting winter campaign in 1866, resulting in a shift of the primary conflict to what is now eastern Oregon. Crook's tactics were effective, and by January of 1867 the military district of Fort Boise was discontinued; the following year the Snake War would come to an end and calls to close Fort Boise began (NPS 1971:124). Fort Boise was not closed and continued as a staging point for the regions' other conflicts offering supplies and troops in the Nez Perce War of 1877, the Bannock War of 1878, the Sheepeater Campaign of 1879, and the labor wars of the 1890s in Northern Idaho (NPS 1971:125).

Despite its military exploits, Fort Boise endured in large part because of its close connections to the community and the city of Boise. Officers, enlisted men, and their families contributed heavily to Boise's social life, hosting a myriad of parties, parades, musical acts, and recreational competitions (Schwantes 1991:171). When not engaged with the rigors of patrolling the frontier enlisted men and officers alike engaged in several activities. Officers often found excuses to throw parties, so much so that one enlisted man remarked they always had "Something new to keep the whiskey running," (Hilleary et al. 1965:154). Fort Boise came to mean home for the many families that accompanied officers and enlisted men throughout the West. Children of the post were often roving about the military reservation and beyond. Family events were often at the center, or cause, of celebration; on February 17, 1878, Emily Fitzgerald, wife of post surgeon John Fitzgerald, recalled her daughter's birthday party in which all the children of the Fort Boise gathered and devoured the cake, proceeding to have a regular spree (Fitzgerald and Laufe 1962:325). Domestic life at Fort Boise would continue to provide regular sprees until its inactivation as a post. After its inactivation in 1913, the grounds passed into the hands of the Public Health Service. In 1938 the former grounds of Fort Boise passed hands again to the Veterans' Administration (NPS 1971:125). The former grounds of Fort Boise continue to serve under the Veterans Administration to this day.

Archaeology of Fort Boise

Over the past 40 years there have been roughly a dozen archaeological investigations on the former grounds of Fort Boise with the most recent being in 2016 (Campbell et al. 2017). The projects have varied in length and scope (see Campbell et al 2017:16-20 for a summary of the projects). Most have been short term projects; however, the cumulative result is a large collection (approximately 40 boxes of artifacts) of excavated materials from the fort in state repositories.

The dozen or so excavations have resulted in a significant collection of materials reflecting life at the fort. For the purposes of this investigation the data is drawn from two projects. The first project was a survey and limited testing of two historic dumps associated with Fort Boise; One dump, 10AA112, was held to be the earliest dump of Fort Boise while the other, 10AA113, was believed to date around the early 1900s (Davis 1988). The assemblages recovered held ceramics, glass, and

military accoutrements and a significant collection of munitions artifacts. The second collection comes from a 2014 excavation of Fort Boise's Surgeons Quarters. The excavation was a week-long project associated with the renovation of the front porch and resulted in the recovery of approximately 3,500 artifacts associated with domestic life at a military fort. Of relevance for this paper were the 48 munition artifacts recovered as part of the excavations. As will be discussed, the evidence from this excavation indicates that recreational firearm uses, and education was a domestic activity of the Surgeons Quarters occupants.

Munitions

The munitions assemblages were largely the result of the U.S. Army in the late nineteenth century. The assemblages demonstrate changes in caliber size, cartridges, and weapons following the Civil War. Overall, the munitions represent military training actions on the fort, but a portion of the assemblage also represents recreational firearm use on the site. One hundred and five projectiles were recovered from the dump and while most were related to the military, several rounds reflect non-military activities of Fort Boise.

Principles of firearms identification, analysis, and nomenclature help to differentiate between military and recreational rounds. Analysis of munitions includes markings on cartridges or bullets, measurements of bullet or cartridge diameter, and identification of cartridge type (Mathews 1962). For the late nineteenth century U.S. Army, identification of firearms type is discernable based on bullet and cartridge caliber. Variations in cartridge size, typically denoted by short and long categories, represents the grams of gunpowder contained within the cartridge (Herskovitz 1978:50). Recreational rounds, while occasionally using similar caliber sizes to the military rounds, are defined in this assemblage as those identified as not being standard issue within the nineteenth and early twentieth century U.S. Army; meaning, all cartridges or bullets that were procured through personal means are included in this category. Nomenclature used will be discussed as necessary. Projectiles refers to any bullet that is discharged from a firearm, while cartridges are metallic cases designed to hold the primer, powder, and bullet (Suydam 1960:14). Sprue marks refer to the caste marks left on round ball projectiles. Rifling marks are those that appear on a projectile when fired from a gun barrel that is barreled with distinct grooves.

U.S. Army surplus from the Civil War is present on Fort Boise (Table 1). Thirteen .65-caliber round ball projectiles are the largest recovered. The .65 caliber round ball was the basic projectile employed by Federal and Confederate armies during the American Civil War (Geier et al. 2014:67). The ubiquitous .65 caliber round ball represents the earliest arms of Fort Boise and were likely supplied to the Oregon and Washington Volunteers who founded the fort (Schwantes 1991:116). Several years after the Civil War the .65 caliber round ball was still in use by the U.S. Army throughout the West as surplus dominated the early frontier army (McChristian 1995:7). Another projectile that was surplus from the Civil War is a .52 caliber bullet. The wildly popular, and reliable .52 caliber Sharps percussion rifle was used with some regularity by the U.S. Army for several years after the Civil War (McChristian 1995:7). Six land and groove impressions, left by rifling, present on the projectile indicate that this bullet was fired from a Sharps rifle dating to the early period of Fort Boise (Figure 1) (Carlson-Drexle et al. 2008:27). The distinct rifling pattern present on the .52 caliber projectile indicates that it was Civil War surplus used by the U.S. Army rather than for recreation.



Figure 1. .52 caliber bullet associated with a Sharps rifle, note the groove marks in the projectile.

Table 1. Projectiles from Fort Boise's Dump

Caliber	Associated Firearm (s)	Count	Comments	Date Range	Reference
.65	Springfield Model 1842	13	One with evident sprue mark		Geier 2014:67.
.52	Sharps Rifle	1	Rifling present	1852-1902	Greene and Scott 2004:129
.45	Model 1873 Springfield Rifle	4	All fired; One mushoomed; three distorted	1873-1892	Herskovitz 1978:46.
.45	45 Colt "Peacemaker" single-action revolver	4	One with evident rifling	1873-1892	Barnes 1997:271.

.45	Ball	8	Sprue marks		Herskovitz 1978:52.
.44	Colt 1860 percussion revolver; Remington Model 1875 44 Army revolver	1	Oxidized	1875-1892	Barnes 1997:271.
.44		4	Oxidized	1871-1873	Barnes 1997:265.
.42		1	Flatnosed; Modern		
.38	38 Short and Long Colt	6	Rifling evident on five	1875-1911	Barnes 1997:253.
.35		1	Impacted; too warped to indicate what it is		
.30-03 or .30-40 Krag	M1892 Springfield or Model 1903 Springfield	5	Rifling apparent on all projectiles	1903-1906	Barnes 1997:107.
.30		2			
.30		1	Part of a Buck and Ball Load		
.25		3			Barnes 1997:97.
Unknown Projectile fragments		51	Fired; Impacted; Unidentifiable	Unknown	

By 1873, the United States Army had transitioned from an army of surplus and adopted newer firearms. The .45 caliber projectile became the standard issue for revolvers and rifles and the caliber size would thrive for 19 years before being replaced (Barnes 1997:86). Four .45 caliber bullets illustrate the change and are associated with a Model 1873 Springfield rifle. One projectile mushroomed while the other three are distorted with some rifling present indicating all four have been shot. Four additional .45 caliber bullets were from a Colt "Peacemaker" single-action revolver; all four have been fired. The .45 Colt "Peacemaker" lasted 17 years after being adopted by the U.S. Army in 1875 (Barnes 1997:271). Eight .45 caliber balls recovered indicate the use of percussion pistols at the fort and are also likely Civil War surplus. Six of the eight .45 caliber balls have sprue marks (mold seems); four are heavily oxidized. The .45 caliber ball was widely used early in the nineteenth century continuing into and after the Civil War (Herskovitz 1978: 52). Four .44 caliber conical bullets are heavily oxidized

making further analysis impossible. It is possible, however, that these projectiles are associated with the Colt 1860 percussion revolver or the Remington 1875 Army revolver. The .44 caliber bullet was introduced in 1871 but its tenure ended quickly in 1873 in favor of the .45 caliber Colt (Barnes 1997:271).

Further developments in the United States Army are demonstrated by the six .38 Long and Short Colt projectiles recovered. Rifling on five of the projectiles indicates that they were fired. The sixth .38 caliber projectile has no discernable characteristics. The .38 Long and Short Colt was used by the U.S. Army from 1892 to 1911 (Barnes 1997:253). Other rounds from the assemblage that indicate change in military weapons on Fort Boise are five .30-03 or .30-40 Krag caliber projectiles. The .30-03 and .30-40 Krag were both replaced with the .30-06 round early in the twentieth century (Barnes 1997:107). One .30 caliber ball is part of a buck and ball load; this is likely a remnant of the Civil War and was used with the .65 caliber projectile (Figure 2). The .30 caliber ball is also a likely remnant of the Civil War and continued use until the 1880s and was used by the U.S. Army, in a .65 caliber buck and ball load, for hunting (McChristian 2007:173). Recreational activities are represented by three .25 caliber bullets; the .25 caliber bullets are associated with the Stevens Rifle Company and were developed during the 1890s (Barnes 1997:101).

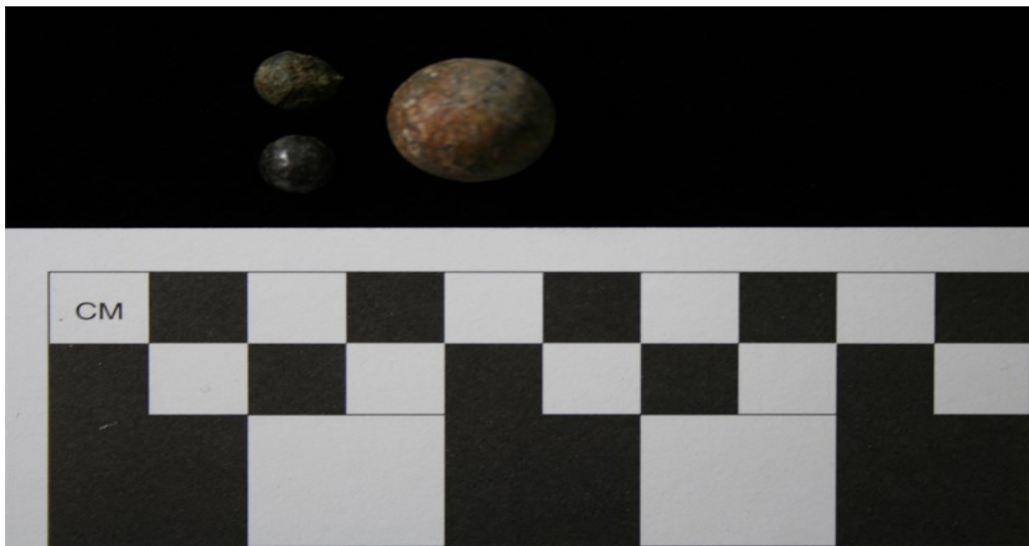


Figure 2. A buck and ball load; the two smaller balls on the left are .30 caliber ball while to the right is a .65 caliber ball.

Ninety-four cartridges were recovered that also demonstrate change in the military's use of firearms in addition to highlighting the personal firearms used by the forts denizens. Two .50 caliber cartridges fired from a Springfield Model 1866 exhibit pry marks indicate that the cartridges were jammed in the chamber and had to be physically extracted. Fourteen .45-70 cartridges are associated with a Springfield Model 1873 or a Springfield Model 1884; one cartridge has its projectile intact and a firing imprint on its primer cap indicating the cartridge misfired. Two .45-60 Winchester 1876 Centennial Model rifle cartridges were recovered with one lacking a firing imprint, indicating it was not fired, but was still missing a projectile. The Winchester 1876 Centennial Model rifle was introduced in 1879 and discontinued in 1897; the rifle was a popular amongst hunters, most famously Teddy Roosevelt (Barnes 1997:136). Two .45-55 cartridges fired from a Springfield Model 1873 Carbine were

recovered. Eleven .45 caliber cartridges that were recovered are associated with side arms. Five of these cartridges were fired from a .45 Colt, only one cartridge has a projectile intact, while six others are from a .45 Schofield or a Smith and Wesson revolver (Barnes 1997:170-171). These side arms were all military issued weapons and rounds.

Table 2. Fort Boise Military Reservation 10-AA-112 Cartridges

Caliber	Associated Firearm (s)	Count	Comments	Date Range	References
.50	Springfield Model 1866	2	Both have pry or scratch marks	1866-1873	Barnes 1997:143.
.45-70	Springfield Model 1873 or Springfield Model 1884 Rifle	14	One with projectile/misfired;	1873-1892	Barnes 1997:86.
.45-60	Winchester 1876 Centennial Model rifle	2	One unfired but missing projectile	1879-1897	Barnes 1997:136.
.45-55	Springfield Model 1873 Carbine	2	U.S. Military Round	1873-1892	Barnes 1997:86.
.45	45 Colt	5	One unfired but missing projectile	1873-1892	Barnes 1997:271
.45	.45 Schofield or Smith and Wesson	6	One unfired but missing projectile; one cartridge ruptured	1875-1892	Barnes 1997:270.
.44	Henry and Winchester rifles	12	One with missing primer; blank and dummy round; used for demonstrating rifles ability	1860s; uncommon after	Suydam 1960:97.
.44	J.M. Marlin Ballard Sporting Rifle No. 2	8	Long Ballard; centerfire; sporting	1876; only available for a handful of years.	Suydam 1960:110. and Barnes 1997:130.

.41		3	Western Cartridge Company	1908-1926	Barber 1987
.38	Colt M1982	22	21 long; 1 short. Two misfired with projectile present; one unfired but missing projectile	1875-1911	Barnes 1997:253
.32		1	Peters		
.32-7.6		1	Remington		
.30		1			
.30-03		5	Three made by Frankford Arsenal as indicated by head stamp.	1900-1908	Barnes 1997:54.
.30-06		1	Modern; recreational round		Barnes 1997:55.
.25-35	Remington Model 8 Rifle	1		1906-1940	Barnes 1997:103
.22		2	1 short and 1 long;	1885-1920	Barber 1987:48
9mm	Lugar	2	Modern	1985	Barnes 1997:251
12	Shotgun	5	4 short and 1 long; Two W.R.C.A. Co./Rival produced between 1870s-early 1900s; One Winchester—likely the earliest; One U.M.C.Co. 12 Nitro Club—Modern; One S.R.A. & Co.	1870s-early 1900s; some post-date military occupation	Herskovitz 1978:51

Twelve .44 caliber cartridges are associated with Henry or Winchester rifles; one of these cartridges is missing a primer but all twelve are dummy, or blank, rounds. These .44 caliber rounds were common in the 1860s and used to demonstrate the capability of the rifle but were uncommon after this period (Suydam 1960:97). Eight .44 caliber cartridges are associated with recreational firearms use of Fort Boise. The eight .44 caliber cartridges were made for use in a J.M. Marlin Ballard Sporting Rifle No. 2; all cartridges are centerfire and internally primed (Figure 3). Developed in 1876 for sporting purposes the cartridge was only available for a handful of years (Barnes 1997:130; Suydam 1960:110). The J.M. Marlin Ballard Rifle No. 2 was undoubtedly an individual's personal firearm and not a military issued weapon.



Figure 3. .44 caliber cartridges used with a J.M. Ballard Sporting Rifle No. 2.

The largest assemblage of cartridges recovered from Fort Boise's dump were 22 .38 caliber Short and Long Colt cartridges. Twenty-one recovered are short, indicated a smaller load of gunpowder, and one is a long, indicated a larger amount of gunpowder. The 38 Short and Long Colt is associated with the Colt M1892 produced and used in the U.S. Army between 1892 and 1908 (Barnes 1997:253). The 38 Short and Long Colt represent the later period of Fort Boise as the army transitioned from using a .45 caliber round.

Other cartridges recovered during excavations evidence recreational or hunting activities. One .25-35 caliber cartridge is associated with a Remington Model 8 Rifle which was in production between 1906 and 1940 (Barnes 1997:103). The .25-35 cartridge is likely from the later period of the fort, or even from the period of transition from military post to hospital. Two .22 caliber cartridges recovered from the dump are also from Fort Boise's later period; one cartridge is a .22 short while the other is a .22 long. The .22 short has an impressed "H" as its head stamp indicating it was manufactured by the Remington Repeating Arms Company from 1867 to 1926 (Barber 1987:55). With an impressed "U" as its head stamp, the .22 long cartridge was manufactured by the Union Metallic Cartridge Company from 1867 to 1911 (Barber 1987:48). The .22 caliber short cartridge was fired from a Sub-Caliber adapter for a 1903 Springfield Gallery Rifle; this Sub-Caliber adapter left a distinct twin-rectangular firing imprint mark (Mathews 1962:667). Other .22 caliber cartridges, from the Surgeons Quarters exhibit the same firing imprints. These rounds were not military issued and were popular recreational rounds in both hunting and target practice.

Munitions Recovered From the 2014 Excavation of the Surgeons Quarters

In total, 48 projectiles and cartridges, both recreational and military, were recovered from the 2014 excavation of the Surgeons Quarters; while unsurprising due to the Surgeons Quarters being housed on a military fort, it is surprising because it was found amongst a domestic context. The excavations took place below the floorboards of the front porch of the Surgeons Quarters that housed the fort's surgeon and family. The presence of both military and recreational cartridges is the likely result of the activities of children on a military fort.

Table 3. 10-AA-161: Surgeons Quarters Projectiles

Caliber	Associated Fire-arm (s)	Count	Comments	Date Range	References
.45-70	Model 1873 Springfield carbine	2	Extraction marks present on one	1873-1892	Barnes 1997:86.
Buckshot	Shotgun/Foraging Gun	1	Large		Herskovitz 1978:52.
Buckshot	Shotgun/Foraging Gun	9	Small		Herskovitz 1978:52.
.45	Percussion Pistol	3	Ball; cast marks		Herskovitz 1978:52.
.45	Colt .45 and Smith and Wesson Schofield	2			Barnes 1997:271.
.22		1	Shot; impacted; too damaged		
N/A		1	Impacted; too damaged		

Nineteen projectiles were recovered and are largely associated with the late-nineteenth century frontier army. Two projectiles are .45-55 caliber bullets associated with a Model 1873 Springfield carbine (Herskovitz 1978:46). One of the .45-55 projectiles recovered has extraction marks on either side of the projectile's neck. Extraction marks, like those in Figure 4, occur on projectiles and cartridges that have become lodged, typically during firing, in the chamber of the barrel. The projectile or cartridge is removed from the weapon with tools, such as a shell extractor, or with a knife which leaves distinct markings on the round (McChristian 2007:211; Scott 2013:141).

**Figure 4. .45-70 caliber projectile with extraction marks.**

Buckshot represents the largest portion of recovered projectiles from the Surgeons Quarters; in total, ten buckshot balls were recovered. Buckshot is likely the result of domestic hunting activities. Before 1881 the U.S. Army had no policy of issuing shotguns with most being furnished by efforts of the post commander or individual officers; shotguns were not inherently for combat but to supplement food supplies through hunting while on campaign (McChristian 2007:173). Buckshot likely represents personal attempts to hunt and supply fresh game. Three .45 caliber balls recovered are heavily oxidized and likely represent Civil War surplus as they are associated with percussion pistols (Herskovitz 1978:52). Two .45 caliber conical bullets recovered are also associated with side arms. Given the shape of the .45 caliber projectiles they are associated with a Colt Single Action Army Revolver Model 1873 or a Smith and Wesson revolver; both of which were U.S. Army issued (Barnes 1997:271). Two other projectiles recovered are not identifiable; both projectiles are impact rounds, that have been shot and made flat from impact, and are too damaged for analysis.

The largest portion of the munitions assemblage from the Surgeons Quarters is comprised of cartridges with 33 recovered (Table 4). Five .45-55 caliber cartridges recovered are associated with the Model 1873 Springfield carbine. Four of the five have been fired with the fifth, a likely misfire, retaining its projectile. Eight .45 caliber cartridges recovered correlate with commonly issued side arms of the U.S. Army. All have been fired and are associated with the Colt Model Single Action Army Revolver Model 1873 or a Smith and Wesson Scofield revolver (Barnes 1997:271). One Colt automatic cartridge recovered dates to 1911; this cartridge is a solitary find likely a product of Fort Boise's later period. The Colt automatic cartridge was probably military issued as it was introduced by Colt-Browning in 1911 and was adopted by the United States military (Barnes 1997:269). Another side arm cartridge, one .38 caliber cartridge, recovered evidences changing technologies and armaments in the late frontier army. The adoption of the .38 caliber round highlights changes in the late-nineteenth century U.S. Army as the .45 caliber round, fired from a Colt Model Single Action Army Revolver Model 1873 or a Smith and Wesson Scofield revolver, to the Colt M1892 (Barnes 1997:253).

Two .38 caliber rimfire cartridges were popular recreational rounds used throughout the West before adoption by the U.S. Army (Suydam 1960: 82). These cartridges differ from the centerfire military round being distinctly rimfire. The .38 rimfire cartridge was used recreationally in revolvers or sporting rifles (Barnes 1997:386). The .38 caliber cartridge has an impressed "U" head stamp meaning it was manufactured by the Union Metallic Cartridge Corporation; this particular cartridge dates to the middle period (1870-1880) of Fort Boise (Barber 1987:48). Three 30-06 cartridges recovered also date to the early twentieth century and are associated with a Model 1903 Springfield service rifle (Barnes 1997:107). One of the 30-06 cartridge has a head stamp indicating it was made in May of 1910 by the Frankford Arsenal in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; the other two cartridges are too oxidized for analysis.

Ten .22 caliber cartridges represent the largest portion of the cartridge assemblage and consequently are typically associated with recreational firearms use. Four of the .22 caliber cartridges lack any head stamp indicating that they are amongst the earliest manufactured (Barber 1987:1). Three are stamped with an impressed "H" meaning they were manufactured by the Winchester Repeating Arms Company. Two other cartridges are stamped with an impressed "R" indicating they were manufactured by the Robin Hood Ammunition Company from 1906 to 1915 (Barber 1987:69). One .22 caliber cartridge exploded and is too damaged for analysis. The .22 caliber cartridge was primarily developed for recreational purposes and not issued by the military (Suydam 1960:45).

Table 4. 10-AA-161: Surgeons Quarters Cartridge Cases.

Caliber	Associated Firearm (s)	Count	Comments	Date Range	Reference
.45-55	Model 1873 Springfield carbine	5	Four fired; one with projectile intact	1873-1892	Scott 2013:139
.45	Colt Single Action Army Revolver Model 1873 or Smith and Wesson Schofield revolver	8	All fired; seven Colt-Schofield, one Colt round.	1873-1892	Barnes 1997:271
.44	.44 Colt Auto	1	Fired; oxidized	Modern	Barnes 1997
.38	Colt M1893	1		1875-1911	Barnes 1997:253.
.38		2	Rimfire; Union Metallic Cartridge Company	1867-1875	Barber 1987:48. Barnes 1997:386
30-06	Model 1903 Springfield service rifle	3	Heavy oxidation on two; one identified as Frankford Arsenal May 1910		Barnes 1997:57.
.22		10	Four without head stamp; three with impressed "H"; two with impressed "R"; one exploded		Barber 1960

Several of the cartridges exhibit multiple firing imprints; all .22 caliber cartridges recovered are rimfire (cartridges primed with gunpowder in the rim) and cannot be re-primed. Firearms analysis of the .22 caliber cartridges with multiple firing imprints indicated that these cartridges were fired from a Sub-Caliber adapter for a 1903 Springfield Gallery Rifle. The Sub-Caliber adapter used in this model left dual rectangular firing imprints (Mathews 1969:667). One of the .22 caliber cartridges fired with the Sub-Caliber adapter for a 1903 Springfield Gallery Rifle have scratches present indicated that they were jammed and pried out (Figure 5). One .22 caliber cartridge had two sets of firing imprints from the Sub-Caliber adapter; the likely cause of the two sets was a misfire (Figure 6).



Figure 5. Rectangular firing imprints left on a .22 caliber cartridge by a Sub-Caliber Adapter for a 1903 Springfield Gallery Rifle; note the scratch marks on the cartridge head.

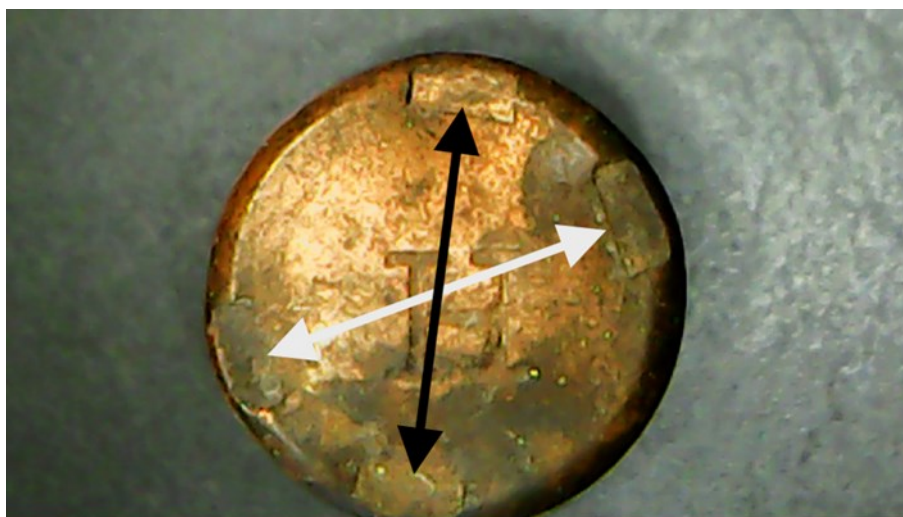


Figure 6. .22 caliber cartridge, note the correlating firing pin imprints (each color represents one set).

Conclusion

The diversity of the munitions present in the two assemblages demonstrates the changes in military armaments throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. Fort Boise's early period is characterized by Civil War surplus that lasted until the 1870s when the U.S. Army began to overhaul its weaponry. Despite supply concerns stemming from its designation in 1879 as the Boise Barracks, the post was amply supplied with the latest arms tried and adopted by the U.S. Army. Supply of new firearms is indicated by the presence of multiple sidearm calibers; .44 caliber conical projectiles, introduced in 1871, were discontinued in 1873 in favor of a .45 caliber projectile which had a span of 17 years in the U.S. Army until being replaced by the 38 Short and Long Colt rounds (Barnes 1997:271). The turnover from surplus to consistently being armed with the most recent U.S. Army adopted sidearm demonstrates how Fort Boise consistently updated with firearms.

Military armament developments are present in the assemblage but what is equally revealing are the traces of domestic activities. Oral tradition held that target practice competitions were popular amongst the citizens of both the city and fort of Boise (ISHS Number 705). Several cartridges and projectiles from the dump site provide supporting evidence. Unique sporting arms, like the J.M. Ballard Sporting Rifle No. 2, were likely used in the popular activity. Recreational firearm use, unlike military firearm use, was inclusive, with women and children participating (Grover 1992:105). The presence of recreational firearms is representative of communal activities that included all inhabitants.

The Surgeons Quarters hosted several families before Fort Boise was deactivated as a military post in 1913. The munitions recovered during the excavation of the Surgeons Quarters indicated that household members regularly used guns for non-military activities. Children were likely instructed in the etiquette of firearms use as demonstrated by the diverse munitions assemblage recovered. Children were often exposed to situational learning defined by their social context (Baxter 2005:51). The social context of Fort Boise was defined by military and recreational activities; both of which had a component that included firearms.

The presence of firearms from the Surgeons Quarters may also represent the playful activities of children who gathered military cartridges and bullets as found objects of play (Baxter 2005:58). Collecting cartridges for play by children on Fort Boise was documented. The six-year-old daughter of Sergeant Falker collected cartridges, removed the powder from them, placed them in a heap, and proceeded to light the powder with a match (*Idaho Tri-Weekly-Statesman* May 64, 1882). Sergeant Falker's daughter sustained minor injuries, but the incident demonstrates that children gathered cartridges for play. Whether from play or situational learning children of Fort Boise were exposed to a variety of firearms.

Several cartridges recovered, like the .22 caliber, would not have been used by the military but instead have been used for hunting or target practice. Hunting was a common activity throughout the frontier army as a means to supplement dietary needs (McChristian 2007:173). Hunting is a likely contributing factor to the munitions assemblage, but it is worth noting that .22 caliber cartridges were popular gallery, or target practice, rounds (Suydam 1960:45). In sum, the munitions artifacts recovered from Fort Boise provide insight into the complexities of life on a fort, providing material evidence of changes in munitions over time – but also shedding light on the role munitions played in non-military life.

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ARTICLE

EPILOGUE: WHAT HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN IDAHO HAS DONE – AND WHAT WE STILL NEED TO DO

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Epilogue

In 2017 Paul White published a first-rate volume titled *The Archaeology of American Mining* (2017). It is a volume that needs to be on the bookshelves of historical archaeologists who work in the west as it effectively summarizes the complexities of mining in the United States with a particular emphasis on what transpired in the Western U.S. The book is also a good takeoff point for examining why this thematic issue of *Idaho Archaeologist* is so important. A close read of the index to White's volume includes two single-page entries for Idaho sites (Elk City and Silver City) while a survey of the volume's bibliography incorporates a few chapters from *Hidden Heritage* (Wegars 1993) and Sam Couch's Ph.D. (1996). The point here is that Idaho is almost invisible in this book. There is no mention of the archaeology conducted in places like Pierce, Warren, Idaho City, etc.

This also prompted us to look at some other pieces of data:

- 1) According to the archaeological site files maintained by the Idaho State Archaeologist there are:
53,838 total archaeology sites recorded in the state
Of that total 23,181 are identified as historic sites (Vihlne pers. Com.)
This means approximately 43% of all the sites recorded in the state of Idaho are historical sites.
- 2) Over the past 40 years there have been 144 articles published in *Idaho Archaeologist* (not including short reports).
Through 2016 there were *nine* articles published in the journal that focus on historical archaeology.

- 3) The journal *Historical Archaeology* has published 1347 articles since it was established in 1967. Between 1967 and the end of 2017, 180 articles have focused on the American West (13.4%). Drilling further down: There have been four articles published in *Historical Archaeology* where the state focus was Idaho.

This means that of the articles that focused on the American West – only 2.2% of them focused on Idaho.

The point we make is simple—despite having a long history of engagement with historical archaeology and a large number of recorded historical sites in the state we are woefully underrepresented in many professional publications. This is somewhat understandable given the fact that much of the archaeological work conducted in Idaho has been compliance driven – the professional emphasis for many has been to get the report done and not write articles.

Today, it is fair to say that Priscilla Wegars and the Asian American Comparative Collection (housed at the University of Idaho) are arguably what the state is most well known for in historical archaeology circles - but there is so much more potential. This volume represents a step to begin to address this but it is a small step. People familiar with the archaeological history of the state know there are many, many, more archaeologically-derived stories waiting to be shared. These could include revisiting some of the earlier work that has been done in places like the Cataldo Mission or mining sites such as Pierce, Warren, Silver City and Idaho City. It should also include continuing to push out the results from more recent projects such as Sandpoint, the Kooskia Internment Camp project and the various public projects conducted in downtown Boise. Mark Plew should be commended for pushing to have us produce this volume on historical archaeology – but there should be more.

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