

**THE LANDSCAPE ARCHAEOLOGY OF SALOONS IN
WALLACE, IDAHO**

A Thesis

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Authorization to Submit Thesis

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Abstract

This thesis maps changes in the locations of saloons and other social establishments in the town of Wallace, Idaho between 1890 and 1916. Using ArcGIS, this project records the locations of all of the saloons, brothels, hotels, restaurants, tobacconists, and barbers in Wallace. The intent of the project is twofold. First, through the systematic identification of saloons and other related businesses this work illustrates specific changes in the landscape of the town over time, in particular a pattern of increased clustering of saloons and other social businesses. Second, the databases and interactive maps that are produced for the thesis will contribute to an ongoing community history projects run by the Wallace District Mining Museum. The end result of this thesis is a product that contributes to an understanding of Wallace's past while helping the contemporary community endeavor to record and preserve the town's history.

Acknowledgments

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Chapter 1: Context of Saloons and the Silver Valley

Introduction

When travelling along the Interstate 90 corridor from Coeur d'Alene to the Montana border, the remnants of North Idaho's mining past are readily apparent. Collapsed shafts, tunnels, and rusting equipment can be seen through trees on clear days. Advertisements tell travelers about the vast silver wealth of the region. Those tempted by the allure of silver souvenirs can stop in Mullan, Wallace, Kellogg or any number of small towns that sit in the shadow of the interstate (Figure 1). One such town, Wallace, boasts historic structures and an ambience of Wild West intrigue. Modern businesses incorporating the phrases 'red-light' and 'saloon' are not uncommon, while small boutiques offering wine bars and scented candles appear next door.

Saloons and prostitution are often the first things people bring up when discussing Wallace. Brothels were active in Wallace until 1991 and one such establishment has been preserved as a museum complete with souvenirs featuring rates (Oasis Bordello Museum 2013). Alcohol culture is an integral part of the town's history. A variety of breweries operated out of Wallace prior Idaho ratifying prohibition in 1916 including the Sunset Brewing and Malt Company and a branch of the Olympia Brewing Company (Polk&Co 1914-1915). Today, the Wallace Brewing Company on Bank Street and North Idaho Mountain Brew

on Nine Mile Creek maintain the brewing tradition in a town of less than 1000 people (Wallace Brewing Company 2013).

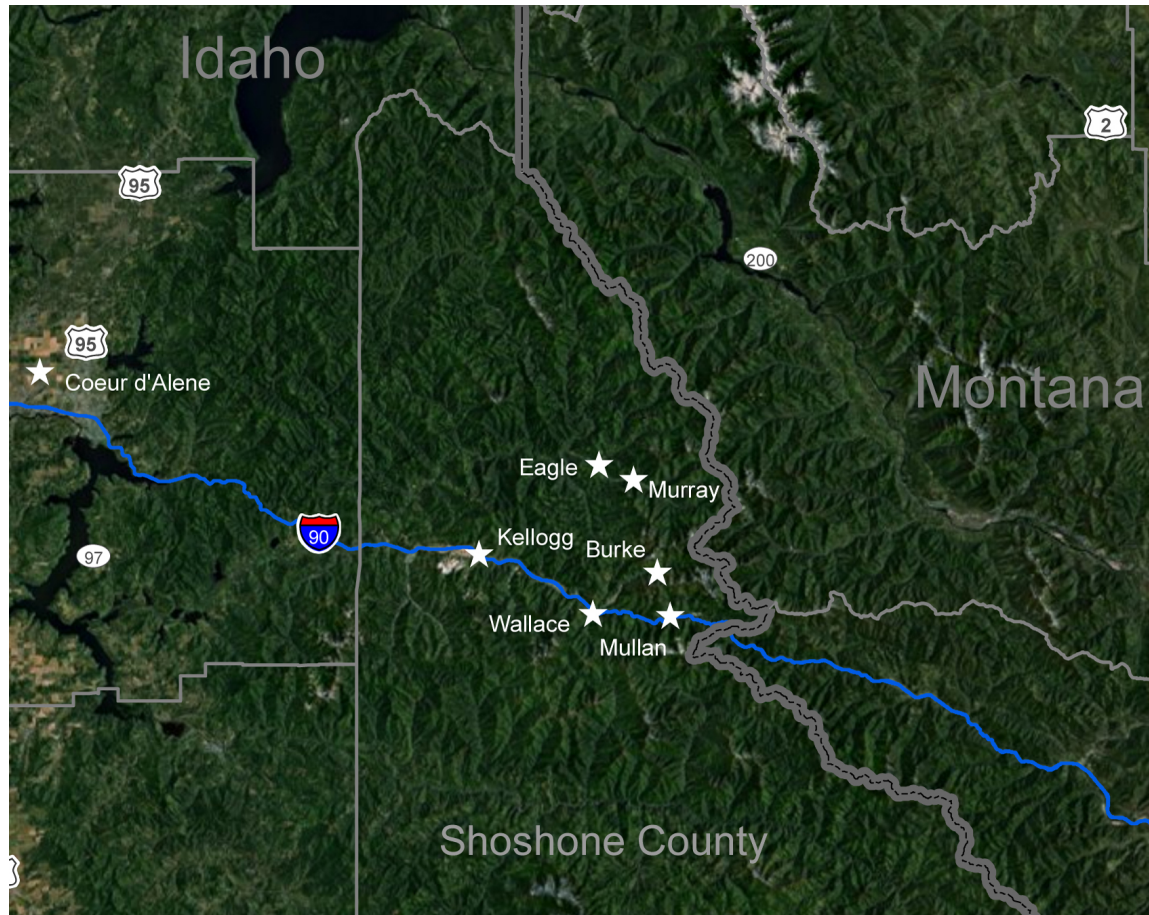


Figure 1: Northern Idaho featuring Wallace and nearby towns.

While the saloons of Wallace advertised today are meant to transport the consumer back in time, the original institutions operated differently. Wallace was a hub for the working class, merchants, and investors in mining claims. Saloons functioned as social institutions where men could come together on breaks or after work to create bonds (West 1979:73; Powers 1998:3). Between 1890 and 1916 at least 60 saloons operated in Wallace. By studying how these

businesses moved on the landscape of Wallace, we can better understand how the town has changed over time.

The purpose of this thesis is threefold; analyze the meaning of saloon positionality on the urban landscape of Wallace, create maps and associated documents useful to the Wallace District Mining Museum, and produce a final product that can be used by the public for a better understanding of Wallace between 1890 and 1916. The educational maps created for the Wallace District Mining Museum illustrate how Wallace changed over time from a mining town whose economy focuses on the tourism associated with historic gambling, prostitution, and alcohol. Identification, mapping, and movement of saloons combine to identify how saloons operated as social centers. Ultimately this thesis provides a research and engagement tool for contemporary Wallace and can serve as a foundation for future archaeological investigations.

Geography of Wallace and Mining in the Silver Valley

The Silver Valley of North Idaho is named for the proliferation of silver-lead ore that can be found particularly near Wallace and Kellogg (Abraham and Davis 1992:1; Aiken 2005:3). Both towns lie along a mountainous pass called the Bitterroot Divide and the South Fork of the Coeur d'Alene River, between Coeur d'Alene, Idaho and the border of Montana. Before grading and development, the site where Wallace now sits was described as a "large cedar swamp" surrounded by mountains at the intersection of five canyons (Magnuson

1968:23-24). Access to mining claims was difficult, requiring prospectors to take pack trains, pole-boats, or dog sleds over areas with names like Jackass Trail or Trout Creek (Magnuson 1968:13-14).

While placer gold mining originally brought prospectors to the Coeur d'Alenes, silver is what kept many of them there (McKay 2011:48). Since 1884, the Silver Valley has produced 45% of the United States' silver and 11% of its lead (McKay 2011:48). Large-scale corporate operations, such as Bunker Hill & Sullivan in Kellogg and Harry Day's Hercules Mine near Burke and Wallace were hallmarks of the industry (Fahey 1978:5-6; McKay 2011:48-49). Mining is still active in the Silver Valley today, however the industry has decreased with the closure of Bunker Hill and increased pressure from the Environmental Protection Agency beginning in the 1970s and a drop in the price of metals commodities in the 1980s (Aiken 2005:189-200).

Historical Context of the Silver Valley

After years of westward expansion by settlers and prospectors, gold was discovered along Prichard Creek, west of Coeur d'Alene in 1880, leading to a boom in 1883 and the rapid expansion of towns and settlements previously scantily occupied (Barkson and Harrison 1966:47). While gold mining was active in Idaho as early as 1860, operations were centered in the Salmon River, Clearwater River, Orofino, Boise Basin and Snake River areas (Smith 1932:19).

To understand the development of Wallace, the initial mining boom with the development of the Silver Valley must first be detailed.

Prospector AJ Prichard filed a claim at Evolution in 1878, however the area was relatively unproductive until a large discovery was made in 1882 at the intersection of Eagle and what is now called Prichard Creeks (Western Historical Publishing Company 1903:985-986; Silver Valley Economic Development Corporation 1995:12). As word spread that gold had been discovered, small towns began to appear along valleys scattered through the Coeur d'Alene Mountains. Eagle City, approximately 20 miles north of Wallace, is now gone but was once the center of the initial mining boom (Abraham and Davis 1992:1). The towns had a variety of names, including Watie, Hayes City, Union and Walker and expanded rapidly with the influx of prospectors. Newspapers of the time stated Eagle expanded to upwards of 10,000 people, though this was likely exaggerated and the total population was probably closer to 5,000 (Smith 1932:31-33).

Eagle newspapers, the *Eagle* and the *Nugget* regularly reported on activities in the saloons, dance halls, and similar forms of entertainment. Some establishments were permanent structures, while others were simply tents with wooden foundations (Smith 1932:33). Even with reports of a constant flow of gold in town and Eagle's general prosperity, merely two years after its expansion, Eagle City was almost entirely abandoned (Smith 1932:55). As in many such rushes, the strongest claims had already been staked before the first

prospector reached town, and the limited access to serviceable claims led to the majority of the population migrating to Murray (Figure 2). Its location offered miners easier access to the gold. By 1884, Murray boasted a population of approximately 5,000 (Smith 1932:53).



Figure 2: An early photo of the town of Murray from the late 1800's, facing West (Barnard and Stockbridge 1894-1964).

Hundreds of mining claims were established in the area around Murray, and the town saw steady mining activity until the early 1920's, when much of the gold had been exhausted (Smith 1932:62). As ease of access to gold deposits decreased, the complexity of mining operations increased. In 1922, the Yukon Gold Dredge destroyed over half of the town and many of the original streets in a last ditch effort to maximize gold returns, with dredging ending in 1926 (Smith

1932:62). Today, the town is fraction of its original size. It still caters to those working the claims in the surrounding mountains, the local population, and travelers.

Small towns such as Raven and Murray were scattered throughout the region during this time period and are now only remnants of their past size or non-existent (Randall n.d.:18). Much of the area is now vacant, with scatterings of modern housing. Murray still features several original buildings including the Spragpole Museum and Bar, the original Post Office, and County Courthouse. Towns that were able to survive the initial mining boom were sustained through long term resource extraction projects and later tourism, such as the Hercules mine near Burke and the Morning mine near Mullan (Fahey 1978:ix).

Wallace

While Murray was flourishing in 1884, Colonel W.R. Wallace was building a cabin in a swampy area, originally called Placer Center, that would eventually become the town named for him (Magnuson 1968:21). Wallace was originally a gold panner, however, with the discovery of silver ore in nearby valleys, Wallace considered the area prime for settling (Figure 3). Cabins were erected near Wallace's own, and by 1886 a mill was constructed for processing lumber and expanding the town (Fraternal Order of Eagles 1906:17).



Figure 3: Wallace circa mid 1880s featuring Sixth, Bank and Hotel Streets (Harry Graff Collection 028)

While only 150 people lived in Wallace in 1887, the influx of new people along with the extension of the railroad led to rapid growth (Fraternal Order of Eagles 1906:9). Businesses and investors for mining operations in the area utilized the town's central location as a focal point or hub.

The Arrival of the Railroad

The addition of railway access to Wallace paralleled its population growth and expansion. Prior to the arrival of railroads, prospectors heading to the Silver Valley took wagon roads or trails from the nearest railroad depot.

Even though the Northern Pacific Railroad had yet to reach the Silver Valley, they advertised the 1883 rush in a romantic pamphlet with an idyllic vision of mining (Magnuson 1968:13). The Northern Pacific completed a rail line to Spokane in 1883 (Taylor and Taylor 2008:73), however it was not until September 30th of 1887 when the Northern Pacific subsidiary Coeur d'Alene Railway and Navigation Company reached Wallace (Taylor and Taylor 2008:72). Those heading to Murray from Wallace traversed Dobson Pass along a wagon road through Nine Mile Canyon completed in 1888, however many still arrived from over the Bitterroots via Belknap and Thompson Falls or from the North Fork via Enaville (Magnuson 1968:12; Wood 1983:11)

Railway expansion in the Pacific Northwest was a complex race between Northern Pacific and Union Pacific owned railway interests, each vying for lines that provided access to Missoula from the east and west (Taylor and Taylor 2008:78). In 1890, the Union Pacific reached Wallace via the Oregon Railway and Navigation Company that would stay in operation there until 1909, when it was replaced by the Oregon-Washington Railroad and Navigation Company (Figure 4)(Wood 1983:11,41; Taylor and Taylor 2008:98). The Union Pacific's route would terminate at Mullan and never reach Missoula (Taylor and Taylor 2008:95). That same year, the Northern Pacific completed a standard gauge line from Wallace to Missoula via Mullan (Wood 1983:46).

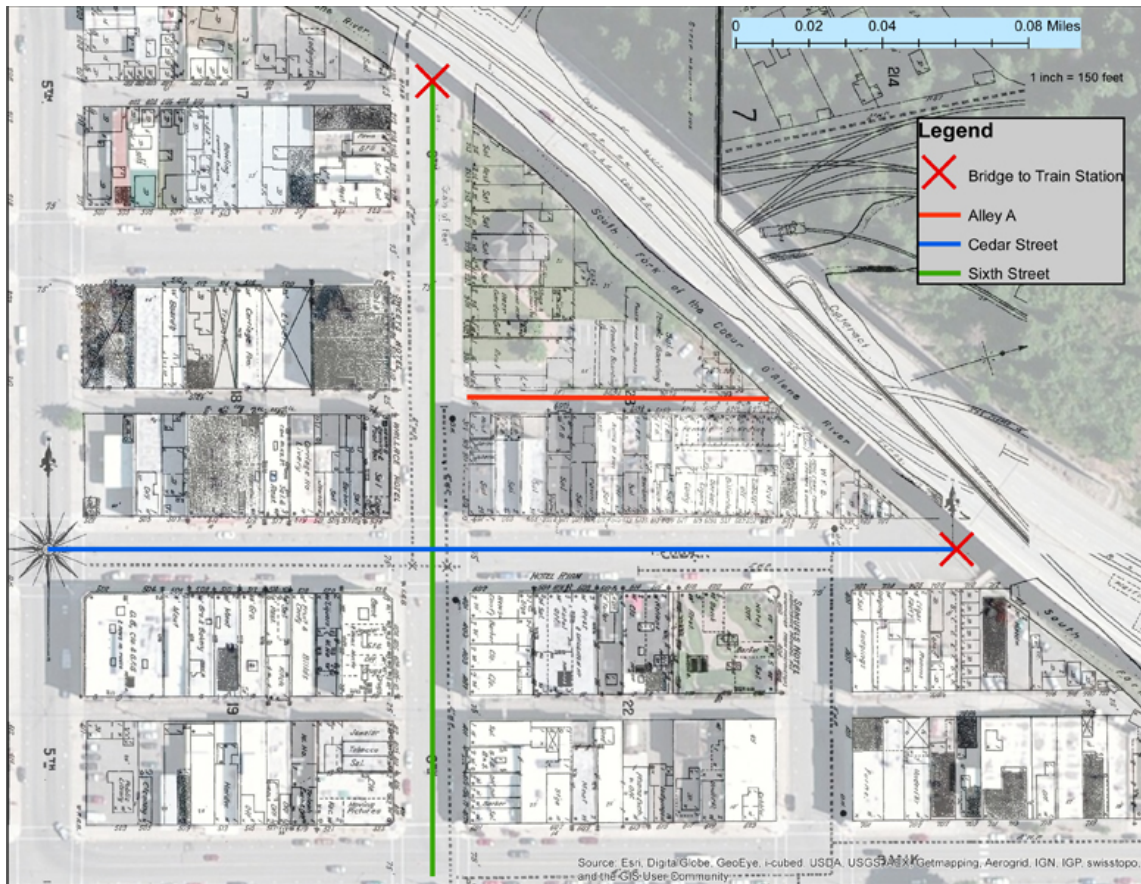


Figure 4: Sixth and Cedar Streets with the two train stations leading into Wallace.

Access to Nine Mile Canyon was completed in 1891 via the Wallace Sunset Railroad (Wood 1983:89-92) and finally a route to Murray was achieved via the Idaho Northern Railroad in 1908 (Wood 1983:96-99). Proceedings of the Wallace City Council in September of 1892 reference both a Northern Pacific and Union Pacific Depot during a discussion regarding cleaning the South Fork of the Coeur d'Alene for garbage (Figure 5)(Wallace City Council Proceedings, 1892:8).



Figure 5: An 1888 photo of Wallace featuring the original Northern Pacific Depot with an arriving train. (Harry Graff Collection)

The City Council began taking bids for the construction of a bridge crossing the South Fork of the Coeur d'Alene from Cedar Street in October of 1899 creating direct access to the Union Pacific Depot on the other side (McDiarmid 1899:91). Today, the brick Northern Pacific Depot moved location and was turned into a museum. It was constructed in 1901-1902 and was located at the northern terminus of Sixth Street, replacing an earlier wooden structure (Taylor and Taylor 2008:112). As early as 1903, the N.P. House saloon was directly adjacent the Northern Pacific Depot on the south side of the river (Polk&Co 1903-1904).

Seasonal closures and disruption to rail service were not uncommon, with the “Great Panic” of 1893 closing mines and reducing rail routes by decreasing silver and lead prices. The Union Pacific and Northern Pacific Railroads declared bankruptcy that same year, causing the companies to be mired in legal trouble (Taylor and Taylor 2008:110; Wood 1983:41). Flooding in 1894 and 1906, fires in 1892, 1895, and 1910, and an avalanche in 1903 all served to limit rail service for periods of time (Figure 6) (Barnard and Stockbridge 1894-1964; Taylor and Taylor 2008:112-114; Wood 1983:41).



Figure 6: The Northern Pacific Depot during the 1933 flood; depot at top left corner (Harry Graff Collection).

Fire and Tumult

All of the original buildings in Wallace were constructed from wood, and in July 1890 the entire town burnt to the ground. Local lore holds that the town

began rebuilding while the ashes were still smoldering (Fraternal Order of Eagles 1906:23). Historic photographs after the fire confirm this as well (Figure 7). Several buildings were rebuilt with brick, which proved a valuable investment due to their fire retardant nature.



Figure 7: Wallace the day after the 1890 fire (Anderson Collection).

In 1892, Wallace and the Silver Valley saw signs of growing dissent over the working conditions faced by miners, causing troops to be summoned to enforce martial law (Figure 8) (Magnuson 1968:190-197). By 1899, further discontent over low wages and poor conditions, particularly by miners of the Bunker Hill & Sullivan company in Kellogg, led to a strike and the detonation of dynamite in the Bunker Hill Mill (Aiken 2005:27-32). Troops were summoned

away from the Spanish-American War effort and stationed throughout the Silver Valley to quell union based uprisings (Stockbridge 1894-1964). By 1903, the labor wars had been silenced with Bunker Hill & Sullivan coming out on top (Aiken 2005:40). According to stories from his father, Richard Magnuson states that the Bi-Metallic Hotel and Bar in Wallace were where union men organized and had meetings regarding the strikes (Magnuson 2013).

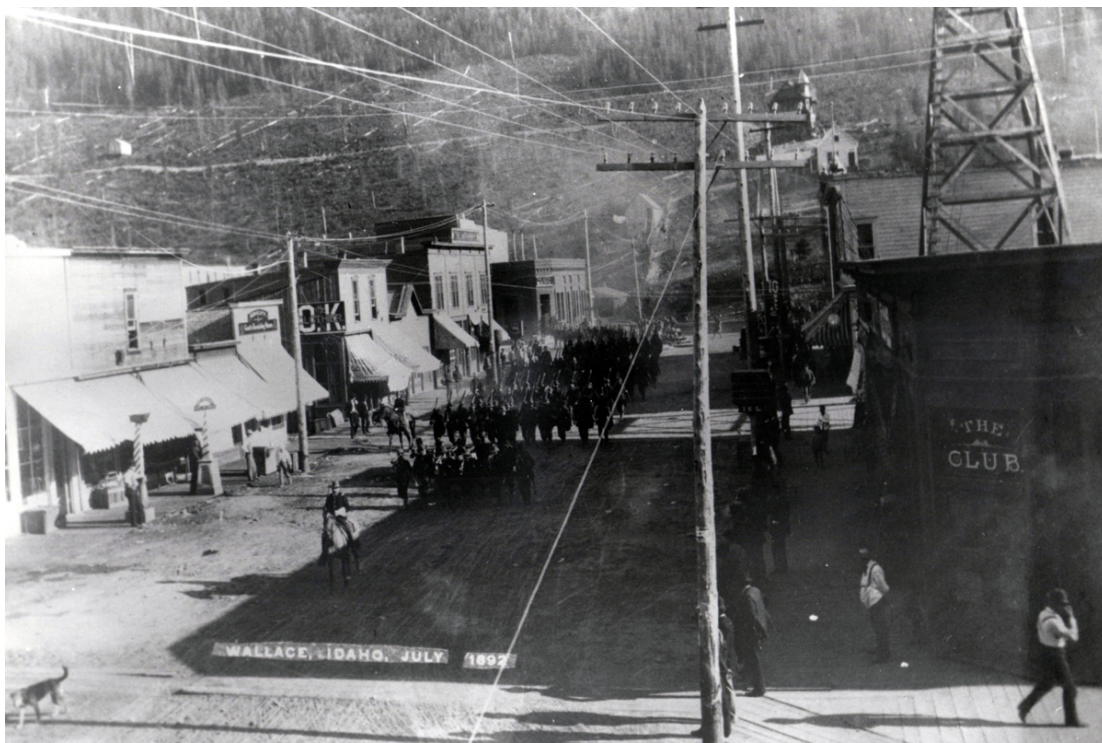


Figure 8: Sixth Street during troop occupation from the earliest labor wars in Wallace during 1892 (Harry Graff Collection).

In 1898, county documents were floated downstream from Murray to Wallace so that the county seat could be relocated to the town of Wallace with its rising prosperity (Anonymous 1937:15). By 1906, the town had nearly grown to its peak population of 3000 people (Bureau of the Census 1921:196). Wallace was constrained by the surrounding mountains and subsequently residents

were forced to populate nearby canyons and hillsides, leaving the original town layout intact (Figure 9)(Hughes Collection 2013).



Figure 9: Looking north at the intersection of Sixth and Bank in Wallace in 1917. (Harry Graff Collection 637-19)

Advertisements in a Fraternal Order of the Eagles souvenir handbook from the same year illustrate the diversity of resources available to those visiting Wallace. Hotels advertising fine wine, tobacconists peddling imported cigars, and jewelers offering both men and women's adornment are numerous (Fraternal Order of Eagles 1906). However, in 1910, the town was nearly destroyed again.

Now called the 'Big Blowup,' the great fire of 1910 was a part of a series of fires that sprung up across the Pacific Northwest, destroying approximately

three million acres (Forest History Society 2013). When the fire hit the town on August 20, brick buildings served as firebreaks, isolating burnt areas to the east of Seventh Street (Figure 10).



Figure 10: An angle of the devastation caused by the fire of 1910 featuring the destroyed Union Pacific Depot at the top center. (Wallace District Mining Museum 2010)

Approximately 30 percent of Wallace was destroyed in the blaze, causing nearly \$1,000,000 in damages, however the vast majority of the damage was insured (Figure 11)(McReynolds 2010).



Figure 11: Wallace in late 1910 looking West following the fire. Brick buildings at Seventh Street mark the stopping point for the fire (Wallace District Mining Museum 2010:0333-06).

Social Businesses of Wallace

Through the years, brothels, saloons, and other businesses dealing in forms of social entertainment expanded in numbers and location. The majority of these types of businesses occupied the northern most portion of town near the entrances to town and the South Fork of the Coeur d'Alene. Prior 1905, official records of 'Female Boarding' showed brothels scattered on the outskirts of the downtown area, however they were relocated sometime in between 1901 and 1905 to the area between Sixth and Cedar Street adjoin Alley A (Sanborn-Perris

1891; Sanborn-Perris 1892; Sanborn-Perris 1896; Sanborn-Perris 1901). The last brothel closed in 1991 (Caron 2013). Restaurants, hotels, barbers, tobacconists, and brothels all shared similar locations to saloons and quite possibly clientele. These businesses operated in the same northeastern portion of town and changed positions frequently through the years. The implications of these businesses congregating in the north end of town will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 (Figure 12).

Today, the town still exists along the Interstate 90 corridor as a waypoint for travelers, outdoorsmen, and those involved in resource extraction. While many of the buildings from 1890 are still standing, their functions have almost all changed, with most occupied structures lining Bank Street.

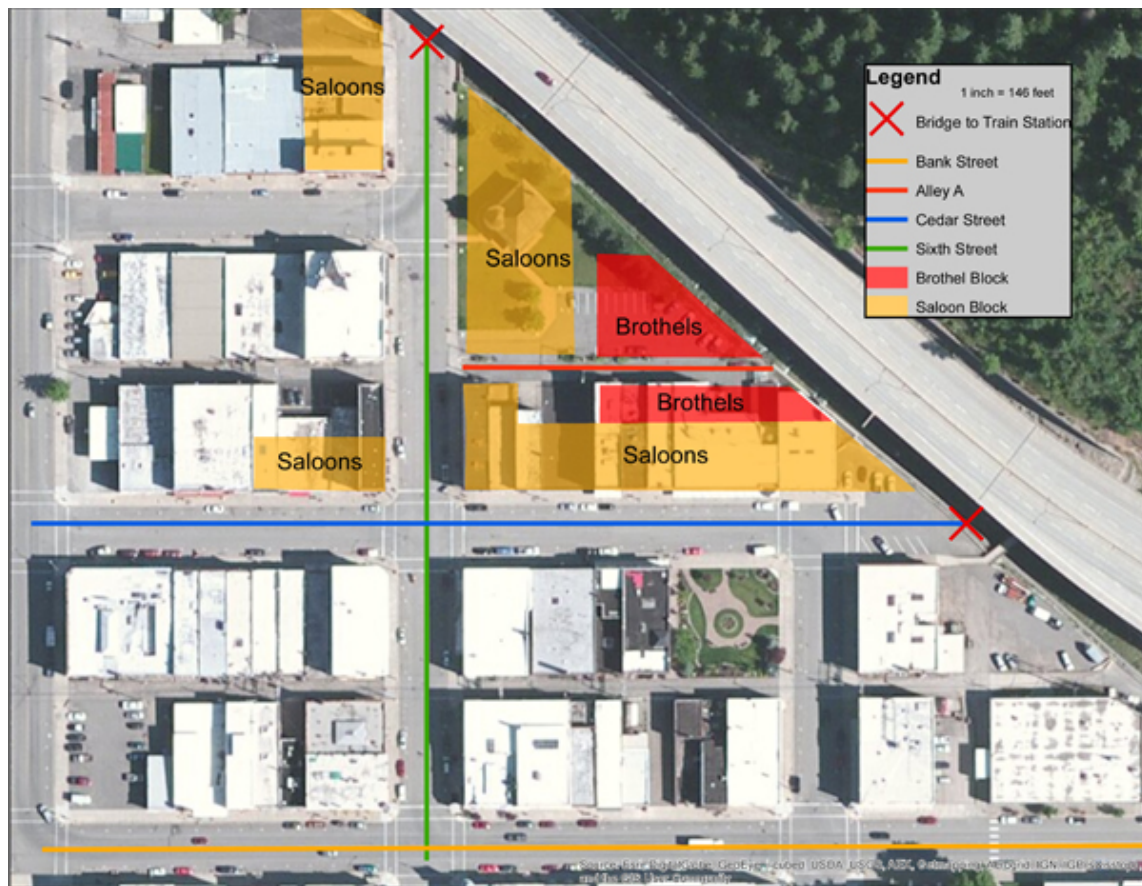


Figure 12: The general locations of brothels, saloons, and hotels between 1890 and 1916.

The Workingman's Saloon

While drinking establishments have occupied a place in the United States since its creation, what can be defined as a saloon existed for a finite period of time. For the purpose of this project, businesses marked 'Sal., Saloon, Bar, Beer Hall, Wine Room, or Sample Room' on Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps were included in the tabulation of businesses studied as 'saloons,' or places where social drinking occurred (Sanborn-Perris 1905). Saloons were first and foremost socio-cultural centers for the working class (Dixon 2005:26). Modeled after the French idealized 'salon,' the saloon boasted food, camaraderie, networking

opportunities, connections to other businesses, and foremost some form of drink (Powers 1998:11).

Some scholars have characterized the time frame between 1870 and 1920 as the 'saloon period' (Powers 1998:2). During this time, workingmen throughout the west and United States put up with egregiously long shifts, tough working conditions, and often times poor wages. For many, the saloon acted as, "The Social Heart-Centre of the Camp" (West 1979:73). If located near places of employment, workers went to saloons for lunch and a schooner of beer (Powers 1998: 51). Unions and clubs would meet in the back of saloons, business deals and raffle tickets sold in the front, and throughout the establishment men would bond over their shared struggles (West 1979:79). Many establishments were affiliated with a specific business or ethnic background (Powers 1998:49). Italian saloons may have served wine and Irish saloons whiskey, but all brought people together and served as cultural hubs. When men lived in boarding houses near their work sites or mines, town saloons were where they cashed their checks on the weekend (Magnuson 2013).

While saloons were focal points for entertainment, commerce, and socialization, their primary mission was to sell alcohol. Whiskey could be purchased by the jug and beer by the pail (Powers 1998:33). Rather than consuming small amounts of alcohol all day long, men would consume large quantities when they got their paychecks at the end of the week as a form of communal celebration (Powers 1998:53).

In Wallace, a multitude of bars particularly on Cedar and Sixth Streets characterized the town's social center between 1890 and 1916. Wallace's first saloon was owned by John Cameron and established on Sixth Street in 1886, in a location chosen for its access to other businesses as well the fact that much of the other flat land was a swamp (Magnuson 1968:23). Businesses began proliferating around the saloon in 1887 and business was good, spurring the addition of another saloon owned by Dave Cox (Magnuson 1968:31). Saloons were founded by owners from all over the world and catered to the diverse clientele of both Wallace and the surrounding area.

Liquor licenses were scant prior the passing of City Ordinance 20 on March 30, 1908 (Boomer 1908:157-161). *An Ordinance to Regulate the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors* detailed licensing restrictions, cost, and punishment for violating town law and was consequently revisited and amended on April 25, 1910 (Leighty 1910:440-442). Beginning in 1908, businesses applying for a license were listed in the City Council Minutes, generally in March or April. While notations from 1897 assess a yearly income from four liquor licenses, it is likely that this relates to wholesalers as is mentioned in a 1904 report, rather than saloons (Ermud 1897:21; Wallace City Council 1904:236).

Stories regarding alcohol consumption in Wallace are not unusual, especially when relating to the fires of 1890 and 1910. Immediately following the fire of 1890, the *Spokane Spokesman* reported that 600 Wallace residents commandeered a barrel of whiskey, rolled it up the valley by the Northern

Pacific Depot, and proceeded to get very drunk (Magnuson 1968:101). A letter from the citizens of Wallace refuted the claim, and stated that, "...some fifty men were drunk in the vicinity of the Northern Pacific Depot, but everything was orderly and city proper" (Magnuson 1968:101). During the 1910 fire, purportedly kegs from the Sunset Brewing Company burst when flames hit, and fire fighters were forced to wade through streets clogged with beer (McReynolds 2010). Not all beer was lost, however as the Mayor personally reopened a Wallace saloon so that firefighters could refresh themselves, as the water was deemed unsanitary.

Studies of saloons are common in the fields of history and archaeology. Kelly Dixon's *Boomtown Saloons* (2005) and Madelon Powers' *Places Along the Bar* (1998) are representative of the analytical scholarship on saloons. While much has been done in the southwest, Alaska, and east of the Mississippi, studies related to the Pacific Northwest are somewhat lacking (West 1979; Dixon 2005; Hardesty 2010:126; Spude 2011). Elliott West's *The Saloon on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier* discusses areas in southern Idaho, but does not expand northward (West 1979). Archaeologist Frederick Smith cites saloons as being places to socialize and express masculine ideals (Smith 2008:64).

Summary

Few urban landscape studies have focused on saloons, especially in the West. The tumultuous history of Wallace, coupled with the unchanged layout of the town makes it an opportune place to study. Many residents of the town regard the saloon and bar history of Wallace with pride and would like to learn more about it. By analyzing why saloons were in a given location, a new understanding of western town growth can begin to take shape. This thesis illustrates that business placement in Wallace was fluid year to year over a 26-year period from 1890 to 1916, but broader social forces associated with saloons and other businesses ultimately shaped where they were established.

Chapter 2: Research Methodology

Introduction

During the course of this investigation, a variety of different sources, artifacts and techniques were used including maps, artifacts, oral histories and other historical records. The Wallace District Mining Museum, University of Idaho Special Collections, and the Idaho State Historical Society were instrumental in the compilation of research materials.

Landscape Archaeology

Landscape archaeology has long been an important part of Historical Archaeology (Beresford 2009; Lewis 2011). Landscape archaeology seeks to understand the context in which a site exists, whether that be environmental, ethnographic, or ideological (Hood 1996; Kryder-Reid 1996). Landscape archaeology consists of three spheres of analysis: topographic, vegetative, and architectural (Matthews 2002:308-309). Topographic analysis deals with analyzing the terrain in relation to an archaeological site on a broad physical scale, while vegetation studies focus on plants, seeds, and pollen. The placement, construction, and appearance of human created aspects on the landscape are covered under architectural analysis (Matthews 2002:309).

Visual analysis is common in archaeology, striving to understand how human manipulation of the landscape relates to an aesthetic understanding of the environment (Matthews 2002:309). Cultural theorist Michel Foucault stated,

“The space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs, the space that claws and knaws at us, is also, in itself, a heterogeneous space.” (Foucault and Miskowiec 1986:23)

Landscapes hold varying forms of memory represented through commemoration, intentional destruction, or restoration (Holtorf and Williams 2006:236-237). Essentially, landscapes hold fragments of the actions that took place there in some form or capacity.

Cultural geography is similar to landscape archaeology and works by authors like Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, and Edward Soja can serve as points of comparison for sites such as Wallace. Lefebvre worked directly with how social actions manipulate and create culturally relevant space in society (Lefebvre 1974:53). Foucault’s critique of the political structuring of geographic terms, coupled with his deconstruction of how the illusion of being monitored within the landscape through panoptism reflect society’s ability to manipulate our perceptions (Foucault 1980:63-77). While often working with contemporary landscapes, Soja identifies physical changes in city restructuring in the United States through the intensification of capitalistic enterprise in the late nineteenth century (Soja *et al.* 1983:197). Subsequent labor discontent was the first sign of a capitalistic restructuring, which could be reflected in the Coeur d’Alene labor wars of 1892 and 1899 (Soja *et al.* 1983:197-198).

Annapolis, Maryland has been a center for landscape archaeology for some time. Mark Leone's work at William Paca's Garden is foundational in American landscape archaeology. Leone argued that the design reflected garden planning of the time and ultimately emphasized a power dynamic that could be perceived by visitors (Leone 1984). Another study focusing on Annapolis by Christopher Matthews analyzes how the cityscape changed over time with labor reformation, such as the transformation of aesthetic gardens into cultivated utilitarian plots (Matthews 2002:311)

Farmstead sites have also been analyzed by archaeologists who study how the local environments were utilized (Beaudry 1996; Yamin and Bridges 1996; Weber 1996; Groover 2008). Irrigated terrace gardens in Warren, Idaho and in Western Montana built by Chinese miners reflect the role of traditional farming technologies that can still be seen on the American landscape today (Little 2007:40; Merritt 2010:35-36). Matthew Johnson has studied the role of fences, ditches, and walls of farms across the world as an act of creating a controlled boundary on the land (Johnson 1996:70-71). The process of 'enclosure' varies between cultures, whether planned or rapid, but had both an impact on economics and the distribution of power by those controlling the land (Johnson 1996:72, 75). The cultural, and often arbitrary, act of delineating boundaries on the landscape not only reflects the ability to control nature, but more concretely argues for property rights and the benefits related to them (Johnson 1996:75-76).

In the American West, scholars archaeologists such as Hardesty and Adams, look at how small communities of farmers and miners interact with regional and national economies (Adams 1977; Hardesty 2010). Hardesty cites Eric Wolf's discussion of modern systems theory to elucidate the availability of resources to mining towns (Hardesty 2010:171). Large-scale access networks, such as railroads, greatly affected the goods available to isolated communities. Hardesty argues that mining camps in the west could be considered similar to an islands, cut off from resources and reliant on trade networks for new supplies (Hardesty 2010:179).

In the realm of urban landscape archaeology, archaeologists have delved into concepts of race, poverty, and class reflected in the landscapes occupied by people. Varying conceptions of class in relation with hygiene and cleanliness in late 19th century Minneapolis can be discussed across an urban landscape through the discussion of plumbing (McCarthy 2001:146-147). By comparing the parasites left behind in sanitation systems at two different sites, archaeologists can better understand both ideas of cleanliness and choices related health (McCarthy 2001:146-147). Archaeology related to race is reflected in efforts undertaken to understand how the systematic destruction and removal of a neighborhood known as District 6 in South Africa reflects the importance of acknowledging what it means for something to be removed from the landscape (Malan and van Heyningen 2001:53).

Landscape can be as wide-ranging as a thousand acre ranch or as small as a one-room building, relevant to both historic and prehistoric archaeology. Keith Basso analyzes how landscapes and a sense of place hold symbolic cultural meaning for the Apache on the Fort Apache Reservation (Basso 1996). Greg Burtchard studies the concept of seasonal rounds for Native Americans who once visited Mount Rainier in Washington State (Burtchard 2003). Within the confines of an asylum, scholars have identified hierarchies between rooms and how women were able to subvert created structures through theft and refused participation (De Cunzo and Ernstein 2006:267). In New South Wales, Australia, studies show how different industrial activities affected the creation of communities, manipulation of the environment, and furthered themes of colonization and imperialism (Lawrence 2005:280-282). Natural resource locations drove settlement placement, the addition of rail networks, and the affiliated growth of Victoria as a center for trade to mining towns (Lawrence 2005:283-284).

Landscape archaeology is multi-scalar and diverse. Within the confines of this research, 'landscape' should be understood as the urban landscape. Understanding the growth and movement of saloons in Wallace helps create a more complex understanding of town's urban landscape. The impact of the expansion of the railroad and connection with national trade systems, coupled with Wallace's role as a central hub for outlying mining activity are important factors in the development of the town's infrastructure.

This analysis looks at business organization with an emphasis on saloons. In doing so, relationships with other businesses across space and time, as well as possibly models for future analysis for similar towns, will be created. The stability of the layout of Wallace throughout its history creates a framework for study over time. Contextual environmental hazards, such as fires, seasonal flooding, and avalanches, reflect the instability of access to Wallace and illustrate some of the difficulties faced by residents of the town. Ultimately, landscape archaeology is a strong foundation for understanding change across space and time in the saloons of Wallace.

Maps

Historical maps of Wallace were readily available through the Wallace District Mining Museum, however the most useful maps were digitized black and white Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps. Sanborn maps have been produced since 1866 (Sanborn GIS Services). As their name implies, they were produced for insurance purposes, assessing fire risk in thousands of U.S. cities. Sanborns are archaeologically important because they often indicate stairwells, basements, outhouses, and building function for the sake of identifying insurability of businesses and homes. Wallace was mapped regularly by the Sanborn-Perris company between 1891 and 1948 (Sanborn-Perris 1891; Sanborn-Perris 1892; Sanborn-Perris 1896; Sanborn-Perris 1901; Sanborn-Perris 1905; Sanborn-Perris 1908; Sanborn-Perris 1927). Original maps were color coded to indicate the building construction materials (Sanborn-Perris 1905). Ultimately, over 12,000

towns were documented into the present (Figure 13). The Sanborn Company still exists today (Sanborn GIS Services 2013).

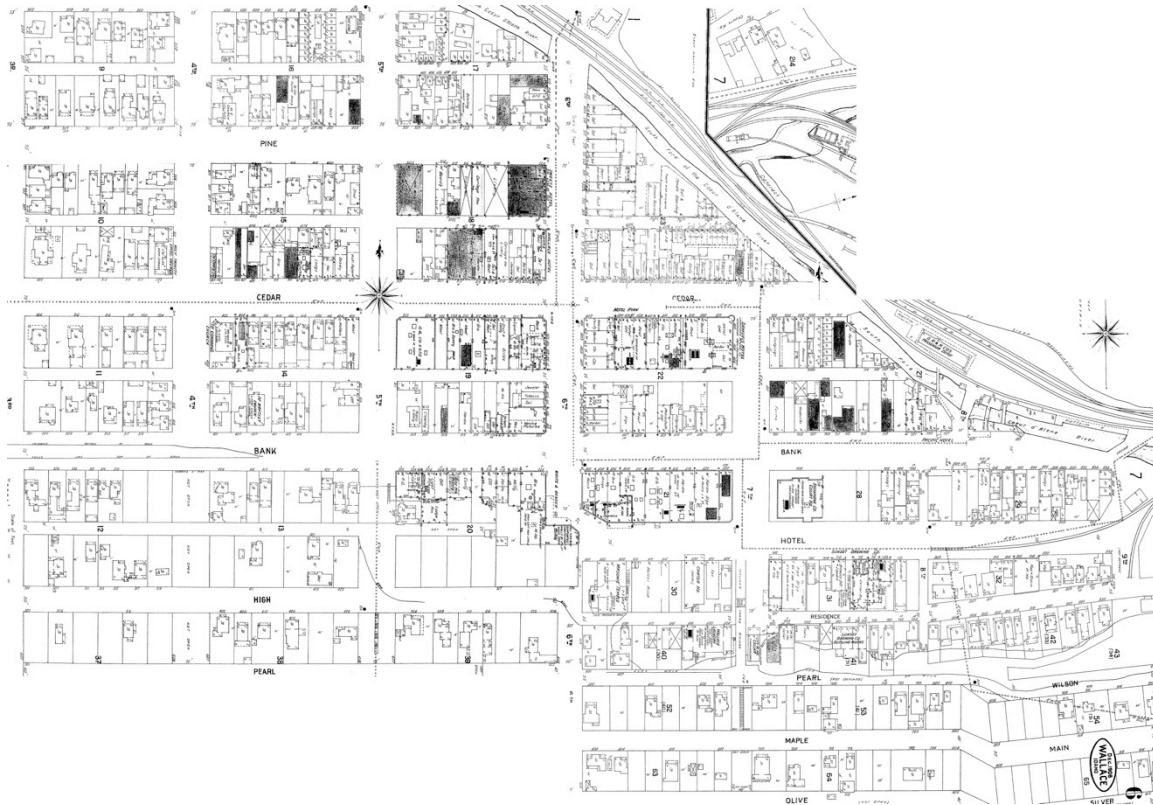


Figure 13: Composite of the 1908 Sanborn for Wallace (Sanborn-Perris 1908)

Eight different maps exist, with six occurring between 1891 and 1908. The last two, 1927 and 1927-1948 are very similar and only differ in the notation of several additional structures and changes in building composition, it appears that the town was not resurveyed for the 1948 map (Sanborn-Perris 1927). For the sake of analyzing saloon location, 1927 and 1948 Sanborns were excluded and only utilized in the Cataloging Historic Wallace Project.

All businesses feature abbreviations indicating the type of business present at a given location. For example, 'Female Boarding' is a term

synonymous with brothel (Ee 2014). Only the largest businesses or structures were identified on Sanborn maps with their proprietary names. Two examples are the Masonic Opera House on Hotel Street and the Samuels Hotel on Cedar Street. It should also be noted that Sanborn Maps only capture a snapshot in time. Business changes could have occurred directly prior or after the completion of mapping by Sanborn cartographers. This is illustrated by the lack of any reference to the 1890 fire that completely destroyed Wallace in the 1891 Sanborn published less than a year after the event (Sanborn-Perris 1891).

Directories and Advertisements

Over the course of North Idaho history, several different companies have produced directories listing businesses and individuals. Common formats include gazetteers, county business directories, and documentation of taxpayers. The most frequently used directory for this project was published by the RL Polk Company and features a gazetteer and business directory (Polk & Co 1891-1892). Consequently saloon locations between 1890 and 1900 have been identified by address on Sanborn maps, but are not necessarily concretely linked to an owner or business name for this time period (Polk & Co 1901-1902).

Taxpayer directories have proved less useful in identifying location, as no address seems to ever be included within the alphabetical entries for each township. Directories were consulted from 1886 to 1916, the advent of prohibition in Idaho. Saloons or bars cease to be listed in the 1916 directories.

Directories throughout the years vary their organization from a full alphabetization of the town to sections featuring like businesses, the latter most often occurring within 'Business Directories.' While initially directories seem to be comprehensive, comparison with Sanborn Maps illustrates that some saloons may not have been listed (Polk & Co 1908).

More often than not businesses are listed under the owner's name, rather than the business name, making it difficult to differentiate between the two. Some businesses, such as Zeitfuch's and Co, featured the owner's name. Often times directories listed owner's as synonymous with the business name, which may have not been the case. In a 1915 Polk's directory Joe Ghirardi is listed under the saloon category, while Wallace City Council Minutes identify him as the owner of the Miner's Home Bar (Polk&Co 1908; Leighty 1915a:166). For this reason, directories are limited in their ability to solely be trusted as purveyors of accurate information. It must also be considered that, like Sanborns, directories are synchronic, not diachronic in the information they provide.

Advertisements, found in newspapers, flyers and directories provide insight into activities that were taking place in an establishment. Featured goods, such as candy, tobacco and ice cream are seen in stores while saloons will sometimes indicate the brand of beer or whiskey they carry (Fraternal Order of Eagles 1906). Photographs in advertisements are rare, only occurring on the largest advertisements for businesses such as Sunset Mercantile and the Samuels Hotel. Addresses are generally landmark based rather than specific. For

example, an advertisement may say 'Find us on the corner of 6th and Cedar' rather than 527 Cedar Street (Fraternal Order of Eagles 1906). When coupled with directories and other documentary materials, advertisements assist in identifying names of businesses otherwise absent.

Historic Photographs

Several professional photographers lived and worked in Wallace around the turn of the 20th Century. Some of the most prominent are T.N. Barnard and Nellie Stockbridge. Their photos from the time period 1894 to 1964 are landscape or cityscape centric rather than people focused. Stockbridge was purportedly quite shy and disliked photographing people outside of a portrait studio (Barnard and Stockbridge 1894-1964). Major events, such as the flood of 1906 and the 1910 fire are heavily documented and their photographs also provide some of the best depictions of bars from this time period (Figure 14).

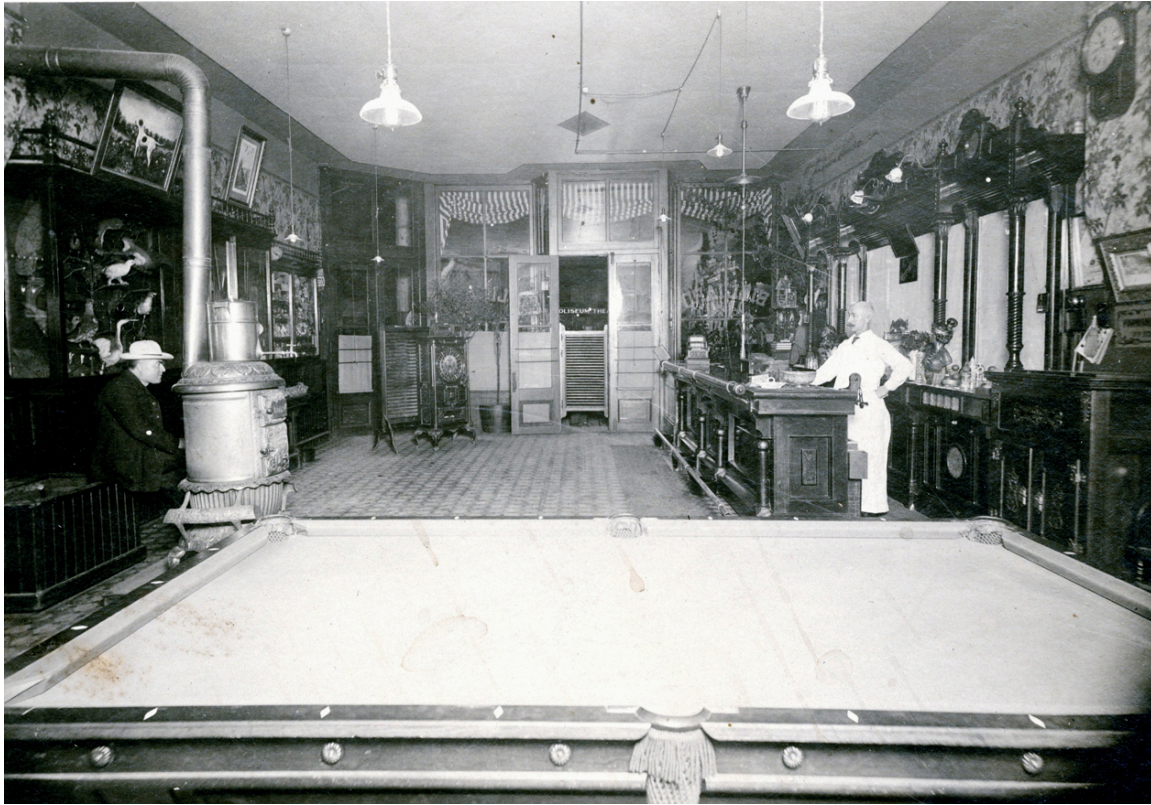


Figure 14: Interior of the Jameson Saloon circa 1900 (Harry Graff Collection 2013).

Snapshot collections from the Silver Valley are few and far between, however a recent discovery of photos by Elsie Harlow shed light on street scenes of Wallace and other Idaho cities circa 1900. While overviews and shots down the length of a street are useful, the limited angle of the image makes focusing on specific saloons difficult. For that reason, street scenes and candid shots have proven the most important visual aids for mapping saloons through space and time. Photographs of saloon interiors do exist, however it is difficult to identify exact dates and locations unless otherwise indicated by signs or inscription by the photographer (Figure 15)(Hughes Collection 2013).



Figure 15: The northern end of Sixth Street, Wallace during the flood of 1906. The Northern Pacific Railroad Depot can be seen to the far left, as well as several saloons such as the El Rey and NP House (Hughes Collection 2013).

Visual temporal markers related to construction and special events are key to dating the photographs found in collections without provenience. Permanent sidewalks were finished in Wallace in 1911, replacing the boardwalk system present since the 1880s. Two major fires struck Wallace, first in 1890 and 20 years later in 1910. In 1890 the entire town was destroyed as there were no brick buildings and in 1910 the east end of town was damaged (Magnuson 1968:100; McReynolds 2010). In 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt visited Wallace, resulting in photos featuring large American flags, streamers and a parade celebrating this event (Figure 16) (Harry Graff Collection 2013:388-11). Floods struck the town in 1894 and 1906 and several iconic shots of water rushing past and over boardwalks near operating wooden businesses are

present in the Barnard Stockbridge Collection (Stockbridge 1894-1964; Wood 1983).

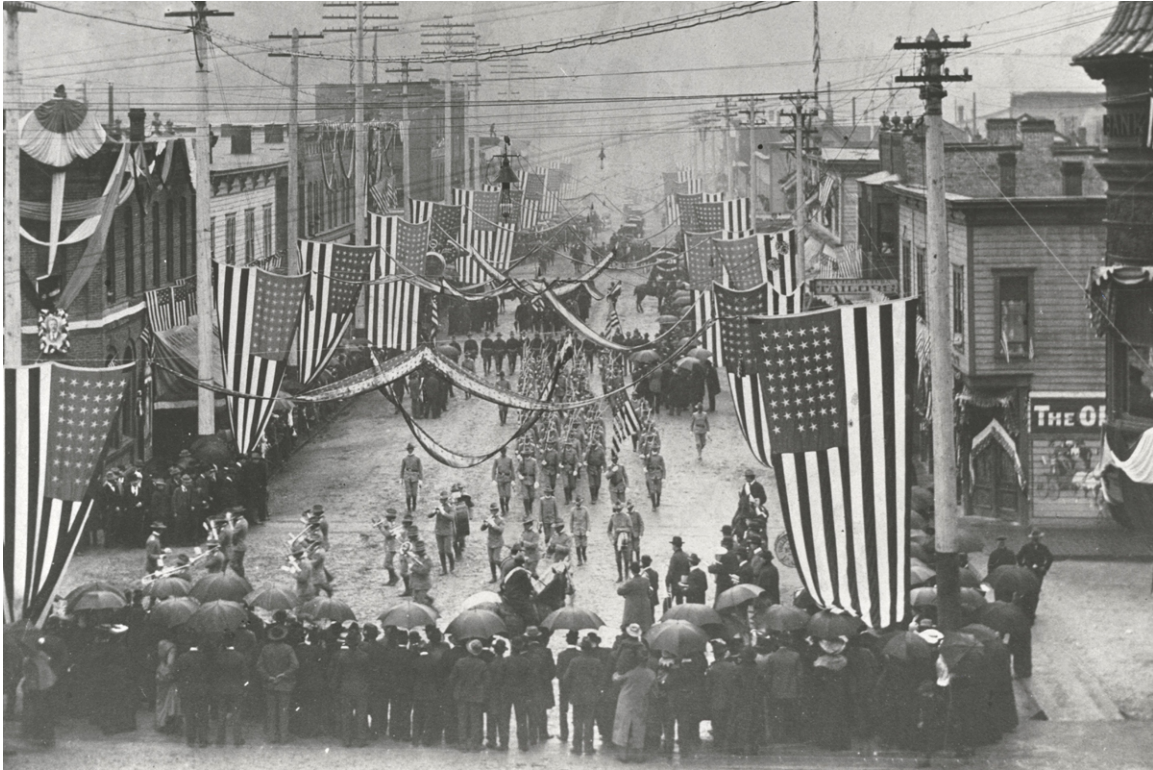


Figure 16: President Theodore Roosevelt's 1903 visit looking north up Sixth Street. (Harry Graff Collection 2013)

Photos featuring soldiers encamped outside of the city date between 1892 and 1899 during the Coeur d'Alene Mining Wars (Aiken 2005:28). Soldiers can be identified by period uniforms used during the Spanish-American War in 1898 (Wallace District Mining Museum 2010).

Oral Histories and Memoirs

Three resources that have contributed to the project are oral histories of Dick Caron, Richard Magnuson, and an unnamed woman's typed memoir of her childhood in the Coeur d'Alenes. Although Caron and Magnuson were born after 1916, they know stories or early Wallace history from relatives and past residents of the community.

Dick Caron is a long time resident of Wallace and one of the founding members of the Historic Wallace Preservation Society. Caron has collected everything related to Wallace history over the course of his life and is a major contributor to the Wallace District Mining Museum and Northern Pacific Railroad Depot Museum. His research interests are focused on the evolution of brothels in Wallace, however he has explored saloons indirectly through their relationship to prostitution. Caron is in his early 70s and has a substantial amount of anecdotal information related to saloons passed down to him by residents who have passed (Caron 2013).

Dick Magnuson, known locally as 'The Judge' because of his past profession, grew up in Wallace and has dedicated a great deal of his life to preserving Wallace's history. The Barnard Stockbridge Collection at the University of Idaho is preserved largely because of his efforts. He is in his late 80s and has substantial anecdotal information related to saloons from both his memories and his father's experience growing up in Wallace (Magnuson 2013).

The unnamed woman's memoir was typed and provided to me by Dick Caron. While the vast majority of the narrative discusses her childhood prior the turn of the century, several paragraphs detail her experiences with saloons and brothels and how they played roles in the Wallace community (Anonymous 1900).

Chapter 3: Museum Project and Public Outreach

The Cataloging Historic Wallace Project

Recently, the Wallace District Mining Museum had been compiling data to begin a trial project titled “The Cataloging Historic Wallace Project” (CHWP). The intent of the CHWP is to take every address in the town and assign a unique number using the PastPerfect museum cataloging system. In addition to the normal key word/material type cataloging system, resources are associated with spatial data that identifies the history of the town by location. For example, historic photographs featuring businesses will be linked to PastPerfect access points that are organized by address. If there are four businesses visible on a Cedar Street image, the photograph will be linked to four different addresses.

While the integration of existing digital data is the primary objective of this phase of the project, the expansion of the Wallace Mining District Museum collection is also a priority. Thousands of photographs can currently be accessed digitally within the museum, however countless more items in the archives have yet to be cataloged or scanned. Identifying key materials pertinent to the CHWP and adding them to the digital databases has greatly expanded the number of buildings and businesses accessible for research prior to Prohibition. The CHWP is a pilot project that could ultimately include all of Shoshone County. The large volume of mining related materials at the museum would lend themselves to a similar mapping of local mining claims.

Saloons and Cataloging Historic Wallace Project

This thesis contributes to the greater Cataloging Historic Wallace Project in several ways. A partnership with the Wallace District Mining Museum expanded both access to research materials and the audience this thesis would reach. Through the identification and mapping of historic saloons, spatial information has been gathered on historic resources that can now be entered into the Wallace District Mining Museum database. Essentially, this project tackles street addresses associated with saloons from 1890 to 1916. Businesses have been identified by address and filed under a special naming protocol specifically setup for this project in cooperation with the museum.

Map Creation and Methodology

Seven maps were created for this thesis. The maps are composite overlays of several different sources. They are digital maps that allow users to work with a variety of different overlays and datasets compatible with a wide range of projects. Of the seven maps created for this thesis, each is made up of three distinct layers blended together with the use of Esri ArcMap 10.1. ArcMap is a GIS processing software that is currently the industry standard in digital map creation and modeling (Sanborn GIS Services 2013). In order to juxtapose various types of data, ArcMap has a system of 'layers' that allows the users to manipulate data without permanently altering other aspects of the map not in use. The layers incorporated in the mapping process are as follows: satellite

imagery, Sanborn Fire Insurance map, and polygon data representing historic businesses.

Satellite imagery supplied by MDA Information Systems Inc. was chosen as the base layer of the map for readability (Figure 17). The town grid of Wallace has changed very little since its founding in the 1880's (Sanborn-Perris 1891). The town sits in a narrow valley surrounded by mountains and smaller valleys leading to mining claims and adjoining towns. This means that expansion or changes in town planning had to occur up the sides of mountains or down neighboring valleys outside of the town center. When comparing historic maps to modern imagery it is not difficult to imagine what the town may have looked like 100 years ago.



Figure 17: Basemap imagery of the study area. Updated Nov. 2013.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps provide building locations and use over irregular intervals of time. Maps were created for the following years in ArcMap: 1891, 1892, 1896, 1901, 1905, 1908, and 1927 (Sanborn-Perris). Using Photoshop Creative Suite 5, maps were recombined from dozens of fragments stored in the online database.

Information gleaned during the course of this investigation defines saloon occupation on a year-to-year basis, however location corroboration is highest for the years containing Sanborns and consequently those years were chosen for display. All data for intervening years has been compiled in a

spreadsheet that will be integrated with PastPerfect software at the Wallace District Mining Museum. For comprehensive displays of how the town has varied, the 1908 Sanborn was chosen to illustrate Wallace at its peak. The analysis portion of the project goes into more depth on how the saloon businesses moved and is complemented by the completed maps.

After compilation, digital Sanborns for Wallace were placed over modern satellite imagery base layers. The Sanborn was given a 45 percent transparency that allowed colors and details of the modern images to be seen through the white background of the historic map (Figure 18). Using the Georeferencing extension of ArcMap, points were established on both historic maps and modern images to rectify differences in scale, aberrations created in the compilation and from the scanning processes. The purpose of this tool is to take static data, like a photo, and attach GPS points to it. Several points were consistently used to match the two maps in all seven cases.

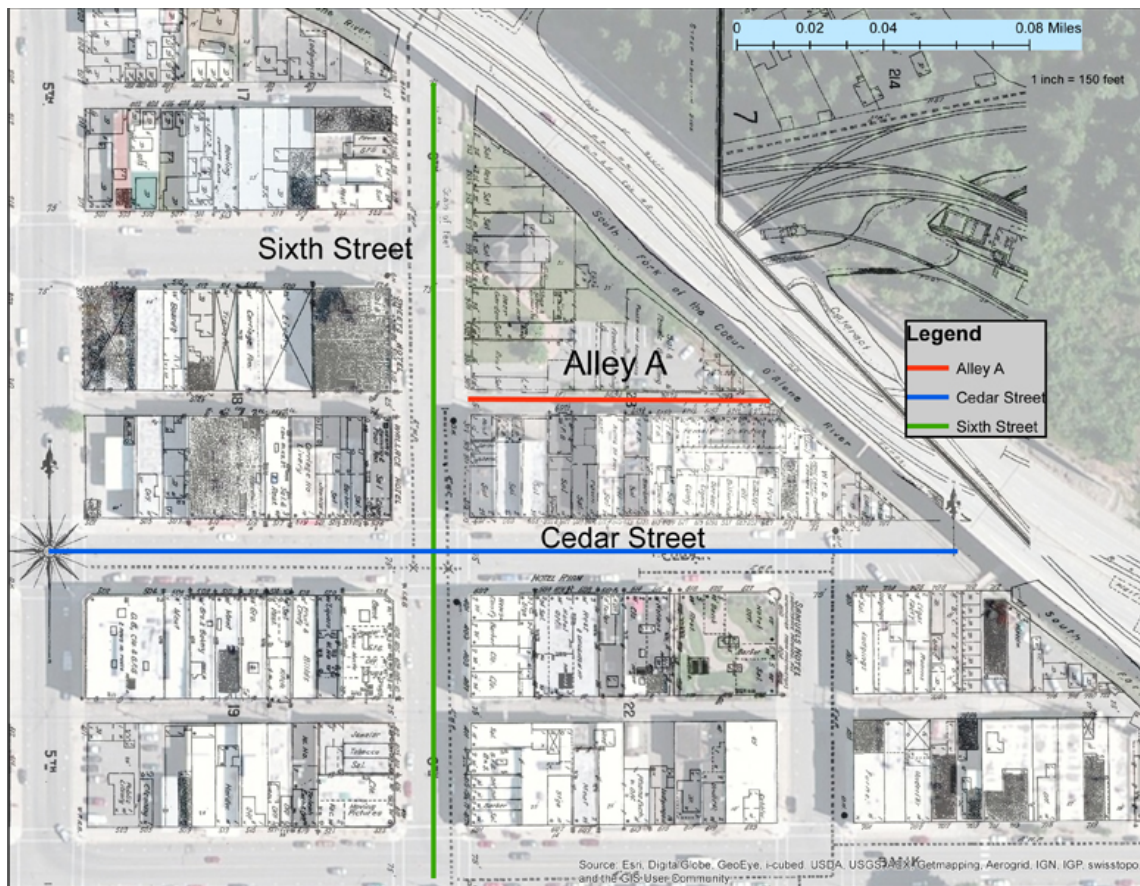


Figure 18: Streets comprising the downtown area of Wallace

Bank Street and Sixth Street are colloquially referred to as the ‘main drag’ and spatially reflect the layout present on maps from 1891. Intersections are usually good points for georeferencing, however, the level of detail and scale required by this project necessitated more specific locations (Figure 19). While not present in 1891, the location of the spire on the White and Bender Building and Wallace National Bank Building can be seen in the earliest maps of Wallace and were consistent starting points that could easily be rectified. Triangulation, or the identification of three points in a triangular pattern, is an accurate way to overlay scanned imagery onto satellite photos (Kimmerling *et al.* 2009). To complete the georeferencing process, corners of blocks at intersections were

matched up throughout the town, totaling approximately a dozen separate points. The specific points outside of the initial two varied between map, however common ones utilized were the northeast corner of Bank and Sixth and the southwest corner of Sixth and Cedar. Upon completion and rectification, the accuracy of the Sanborn was verified visually to negate flaws in the referencing process before proceeding further.

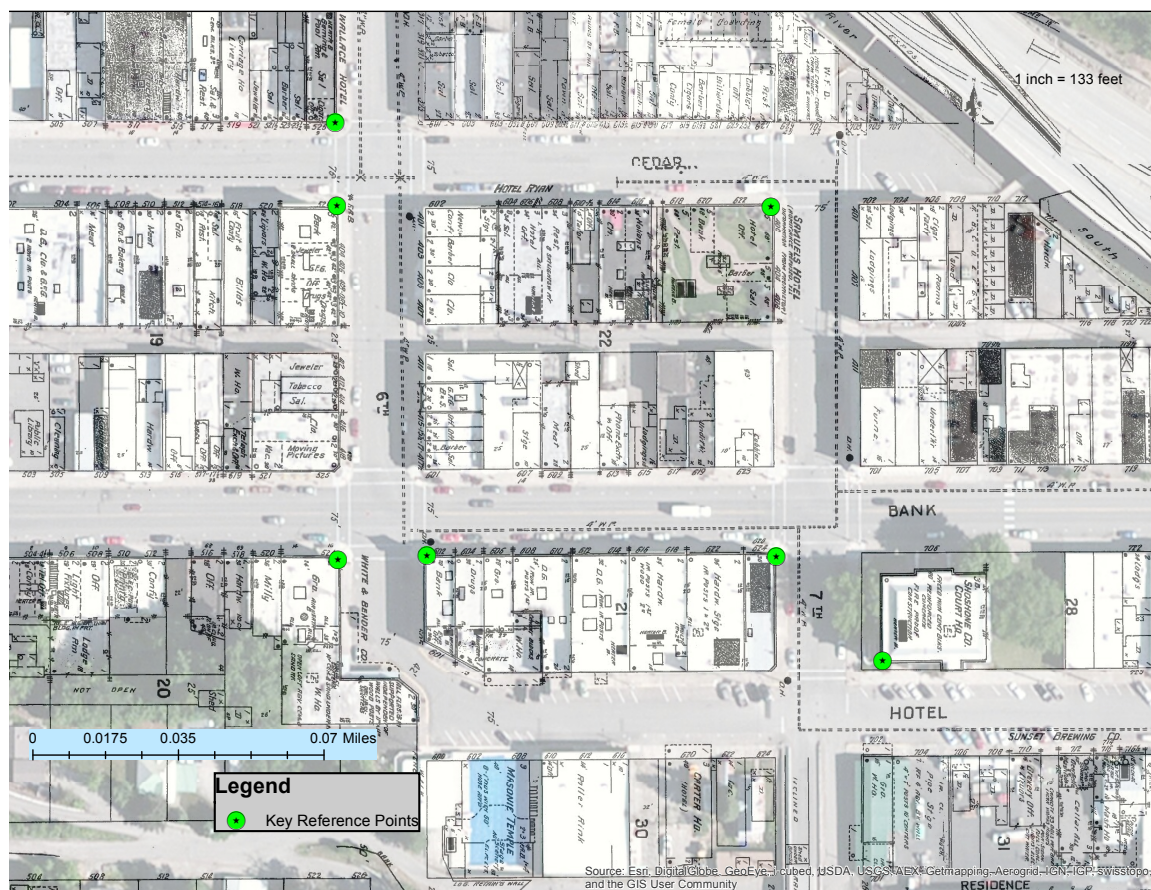


Figure 19: 1905 Sanborn Map overlaid on satellite imagery illustrating key points utilized for georeferencing (Sanborn-Perris 1905).

After combining modern and historical maps, polygons were created to designate different business types. The following key illustrates the color and

terminology employed (Figure 20). A variety of businesses were identified, rather than just saloons for comparison studies and use by the museum.

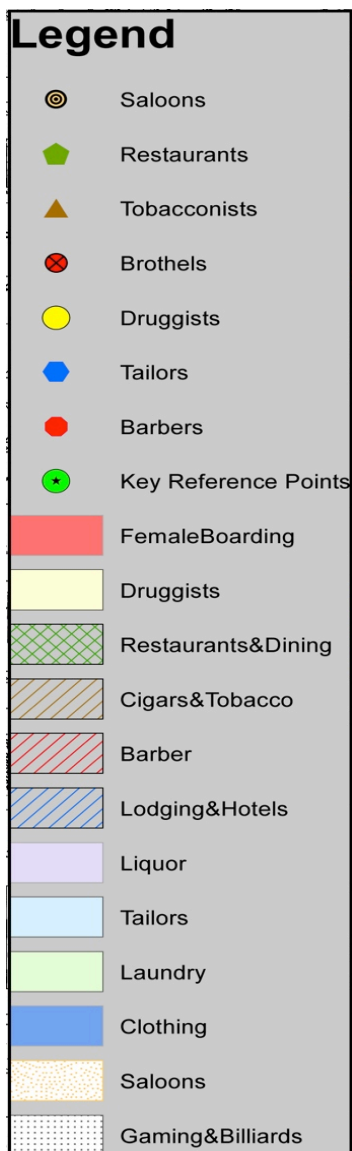


Figure 20: Legend for Sanborn Map analysis.

A standard was chosen for the style of each pattern and color throughout the map series. Solid colors were given a 40 percent transparency for blending colors with the background and allowing text present on the Sanborn to be

legible. Four business types were represented by colored crosshatching because these establishments often contained other businesses. This is most often seen in hotels and theatres where a variety of different services are offered. Businesses not identified by color include: Carpenters, Dry Goods, Grocers, and Banks. It is unlikely that these businesses sold alcohol for consumption on the premises so for the sake of clarity they were excluded from labeling. Businesses included in the study that were not purveyors of alcohol, such as tobacconists and barbers, are often in the same building as saloons and have been included to study their placement on the landscape. It should also be noted that only saloons were documented through time and space with multiple sources, so references made to locations of other businesses relies solely on analyzing Sanborn maps.

The creation of polygons, or shape files, occurred for each year analyzed. Independent templates that can be revisited and manipulated to illustrate spatial information from one year overlaid on another were created for each map. For example, the coordinates associated with the 1891 map of Wallace have been retained in the metadata, or underlying document code, so that a file associated with any other year, may be dropped on top of it. The site location of saloons from any year can be compared or overlaid on any given map with ease.

Final map products were exported from ArcMap in pdf form at 300 dots per inch (dpi) and feature a legend, scale, and title. When opened on a computer, the file size is not immense and the map has a high resolution that can be displayed easily on a projector. When printed, the maps are best

represented in full RGB color at 8.5 by 11 inches. While the scale varies, the average is one inch equals two hundred feet. Exported maps are bound by Hotel Street in the south, Eighth Street to the east, Third Street to the west, and the Northern Pacific Railroad Line, or Interstate 90, to the north.

In order to illustrate a business change over time, a second set of maps was created with stable perspective, scale and locations. All were exported as .jpgs, rather than .pdfs for ease of integration with QuickTime, a software program for the creation and viewing of videos. QuickTime assisted in the creation of a short movie, which dissolved the maps chronologically so that it would appear only the polygons representing saloon location changed. QuickTime videos are easily reproduced and publishable online, making them accessible for members of the community.

Copies of all of the processed materials, including fragmented Sanborn compilations, ArcMap metadata, and final map and video products were provided to the Wallace District Mining Museum. Everything will be integrated with the greater Cataloging Historic Wallace Project as base layers for future analysis. This further expands the capabilities of the PastPerfect spatial synthesis by creating an easily linkable reference for illustrating historic addresses and businesses.

Mapping and Public Outreach

Completion and submission of this thesis provides two resources: a compilation of research and analysis and a series of maps. The maps are both analytical research tools and public outreach pieces that can be utilized in the future for both presentations and projects by the Wallace District Mining Museum. All documents created for this project will be publicly available through the Wallace District Mining Museum upon completion.

Chapter 4: Saloons Through Space and Time: 1890-1916

Introduction

During the early 20th Century, Wallace reached a population of around 3000 and supported about 30 saloons (Bureau of the Census 1921:196). Today, less than 1000 people reside in Wallace and the number of bars has dwindled to less than a half dozen. Current Idaho law allows one liquor license for every 1500 people, however the number exceeds that in Wallace due to historically passed down licenses issued early in the town's history (Idaho State Police 2013).

While most drinking establishments in contemporary Wallace lie along Bank Street, in the past this was not always the case. Saloons were places of socialization that operated as cultural centers (West 1978; Powers 1998; Dixon 2005). During the 26 years that were analyzed in Wallace, new saloons were constantly opening, some closed, and many changed owners and were renamed. The comparative study of saloon locations endeavors to look at what those changes were, how they happened and perhaps why by looking at the urban landscape of businesses and street access around saloons.

Wallace, A Spatial Analysis

Eight years after it's founding in 1883, Wallace was mapped by the Sanborn company for the first time. At that time the population was 878 (Bureau of the Census 1921; Magnuson 1968:100). Saloons were most densely clustered at

the north end of Sixth Street and numbered 30 in 1891 (Table 1). Only one saloon was identified near the residential district to the west, all other saloons are found within one block of Sixth. Sixth Street was the primary thoroughfare leading to a bridge spanning the South Fork of the Coeur d'Alene River with access to Nine Mile Canyon's mining claim access and the Union Pacific and Northern Pacific Railroad depots (Sanborn-Perris 1891).

Table 1: Chart illustrating the flux in the number of saloons in Wallace compared with Census data indicating population for both the town and county.

Year	Saloons	Wallace Population	Shoshone County Population
1890-1891	30	878	5,382
1896	19		
1900-1901	27	2,265	11,950
1905	25		
1910	25	3,000	13,963
1915	18		

For the purpose of this thesis, Wallace was divided into four areas based on primary function. This division highlights the concentration of saloons in one small portion of the town. Residential areas are primarily in the western portion of the town, but also extend to the north, south and east and have been excluded from this thesis. The three other portions of town, the Social District, the Commercial District, and the Industrial District, are divided as such due to the Wallace City Council designating each area as "corporate districts" (Wallace City Council 1891:193). The three study areas are differentiated by space and refer to the types of businesses present (Figure 21). The highest concentration of

saloons is seen in the Social District, but they occur elsewhere as well and comparisons are made with other districts.

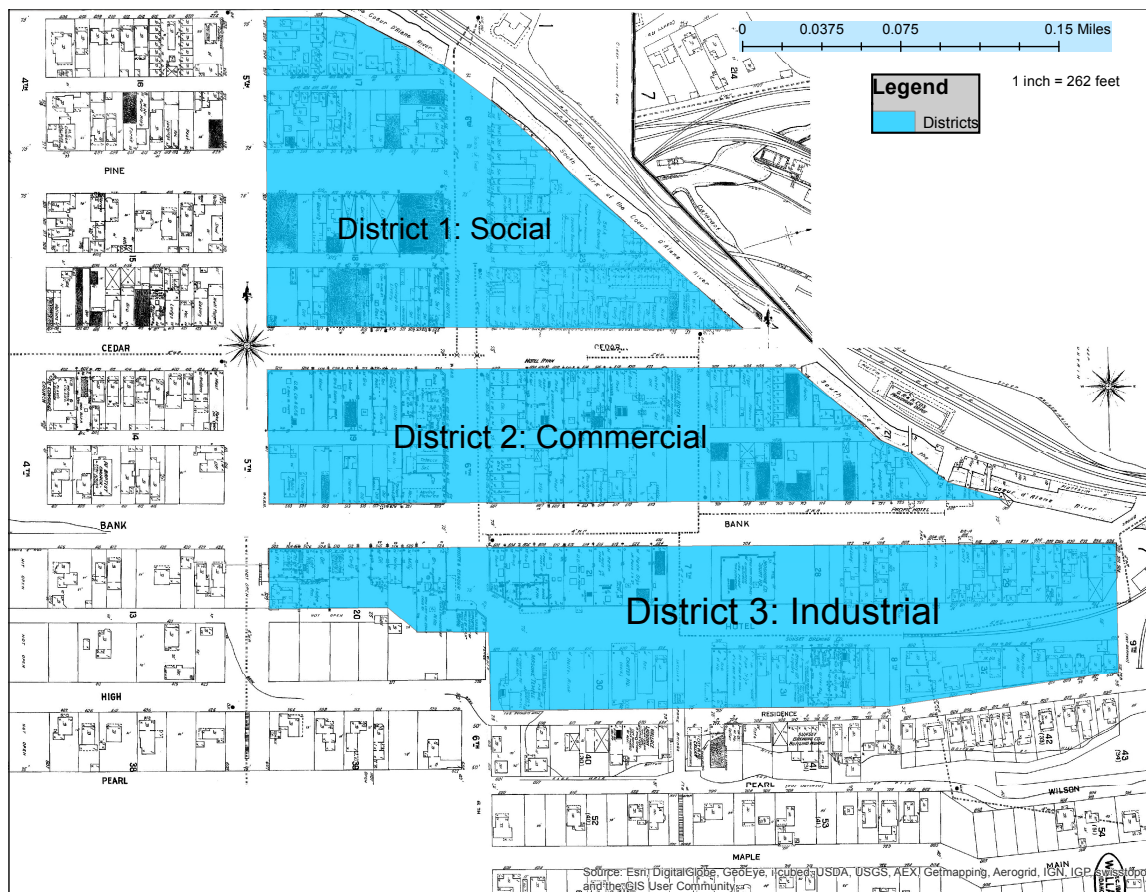


Figure 21: 1908 Sanborn indicating the three Wallace Districts

While the Social District is primarily comprised of saloons, restaurants and brothels, the Commercial District contained a menagerie of business types. Grocers, dry goods and clothiers were not uncommon, as well as saloons, hotels and restaurants. The Industrial District is named primarily for the existence of carpenters, coal suppliers, the Coeur d'Alene Hardware Company, and the Sunset Mercantile Company (also known as the Sunset Brewing Company). This area has the smallest number of saloons, however it does contain several

outlying saloons, hotels, and restaurants. Interestingly, today Bank Street is the area most populated by social businesses like bars and restaurants. This could be due to the quality of its early architecture and the new access routes from I-90 on the east and west sides of town, changing the flow of incoming visitors.

Throughout this section the term “social businesses” is used to indicate a business in the service industry, including saloons, restaurants, and brothels. Hotels, barbers and tobacconists are essentially associated ‘social’ businesses for the purpose of this thesis. While several businesses are located outside of the parameters of investigation, such as the area west of Fifth Street, they can be associated with the same district as they are directly adjacent to the particular district.

The Businesses of Wallace, 1890-1916

The businesses of Wallace were concentrated in a relatively small part of the community. Almost all businesses stayed east of Fifth Street, with a few exceptions. The aptly named Bank Street supported most of the early brick structures in town, many of which were banks. East of Seventh and south of Hotel Streets many of the structures could be considered industrial with the exception of the Hotel Stanley, Shoshone County Courthouse, and some small apartments. The Sunset Mercantile/Brewing Company had access to the railroad line that ventured halfway down Hotel Street, but so did garages, carpenters and at its earliest incarnations, a lumber mill (Sanborn-Perris 1927).

Identifying trends in business locations throughout the early history of Wallace can incorporate many stores. For example dry goods, grocers, and other suppliers occupied the southern half of the town. Hotels occupied roughly the same locations from 1890 to 1916, generally along Cedar Street in the geographic center of town. Restaurants, saloons, barbers and other establishments stayed to the north end of town (Sanborn-Perris 1927).

Several business types within Wallace appear to be associated with saloon activity so special attention has been paid to changes in their locations. These include brothels, tobacconists, restaurants, hotels, and barbers. For the sake of clarity, sections dedicated specifically to these business types have been compiled individually to discuss how they relate to saloons. The layout of Wallace has remained relatively unchanged, which helps facilitate analysis of change over time. In comparing saloons to businesses they are associated with, patterns can be identified that illustrate why they are positioned in a given location.

Saloons

Triangulation through Space and Time

In order to identify specific site locations for saloons at given points in time, a synthesis of documentary evidence was needed in order to triangulate exact businesses by address. In geography, triangulation is used by identifying three points on a map or physical surroundings to best establish a location (Figure 22)(Sanborn-Perris 1927).

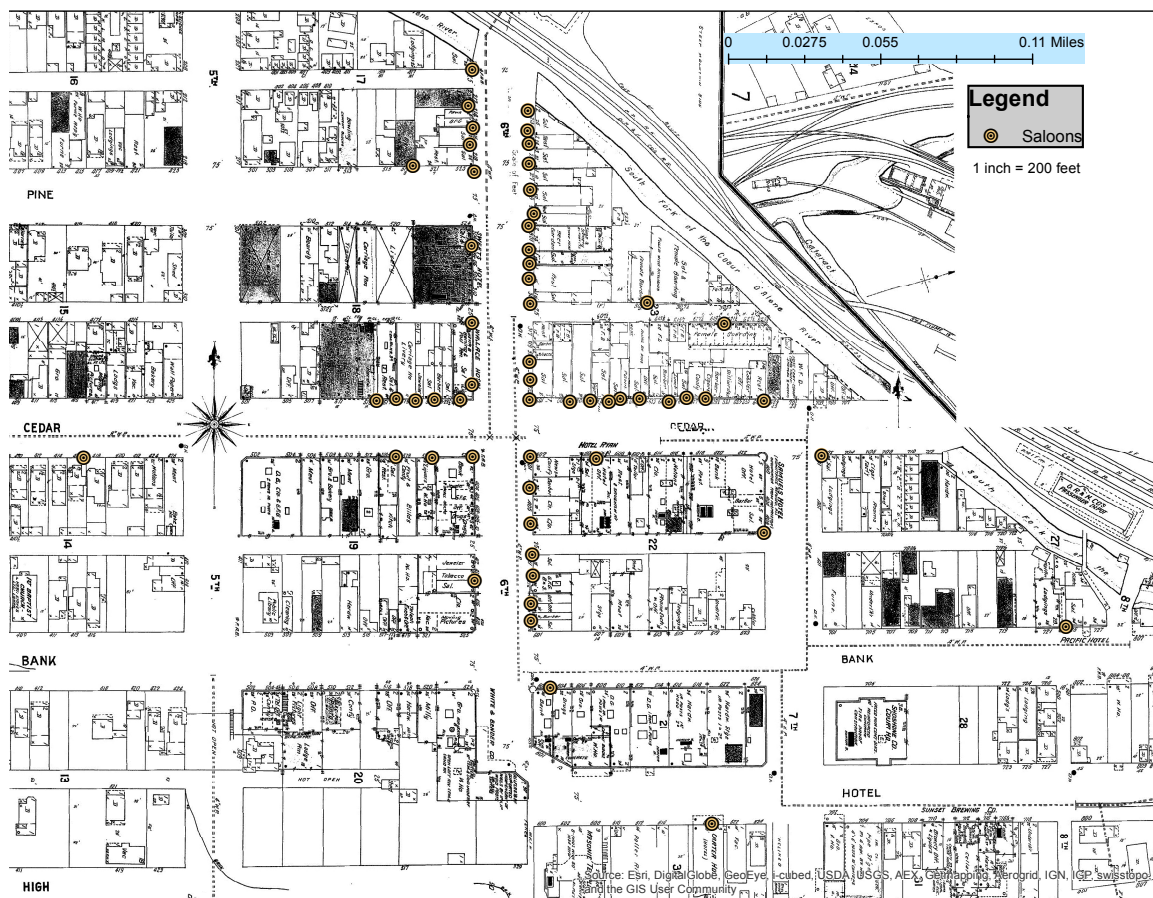


Figure 22: All saloon locations from 1890 to 1916

While this is easily done on a Sanborn, business names are rarely given. Ultimately, a variety of different resources need to be pieced together to establish business name, ownership, location, and range of occupation.

While very few wood buildings exist from the 1890s in Wallace, many of the brick buildings remain. Identifying a neighboring business could identify the potential location of a saloon. For instance, the Montana Saloon was dated past the turn of the century by looking at a photo of a neighboring barbershop (Figure 23).



Figure 23: Exterior of a Wallace barbershop adjacent to the Montana Saloon. (Elsie Harlow Collection)

It is difficult to establish whether some saloons operated under the same name with new ownership, or changed names back and forth (Kimerling *et al.* 2009:243). It is not uncommon throughout the town's history to see name reuse.

Though now closed, the Jameson saloon can still be seen along Sixth Street where it once existed around the turn of the century (Figure 24). Liquor licenses, as discussed earlier, were sometimes granted to businesses of the same name (*Idaho State Tribune* 1901-1902).



Figure 24: Exterior of Jameson Saloon circa 1900 (Harry Graff Collection)

Social District: 1891 to 1901

Following the complete destruction of Wallace in 1890, the town was rebuilt on the same street layout and continued expanding (Figure 25). While directory information exists for the 1890's, no corroborating reference data regarding addresses was published in directories. Ultimately, Sanborns are relied upon to indicate saloon location; several photographs and advertisements from this time period are also utilized in this analysis (Merchants Publishing Co. 1896).

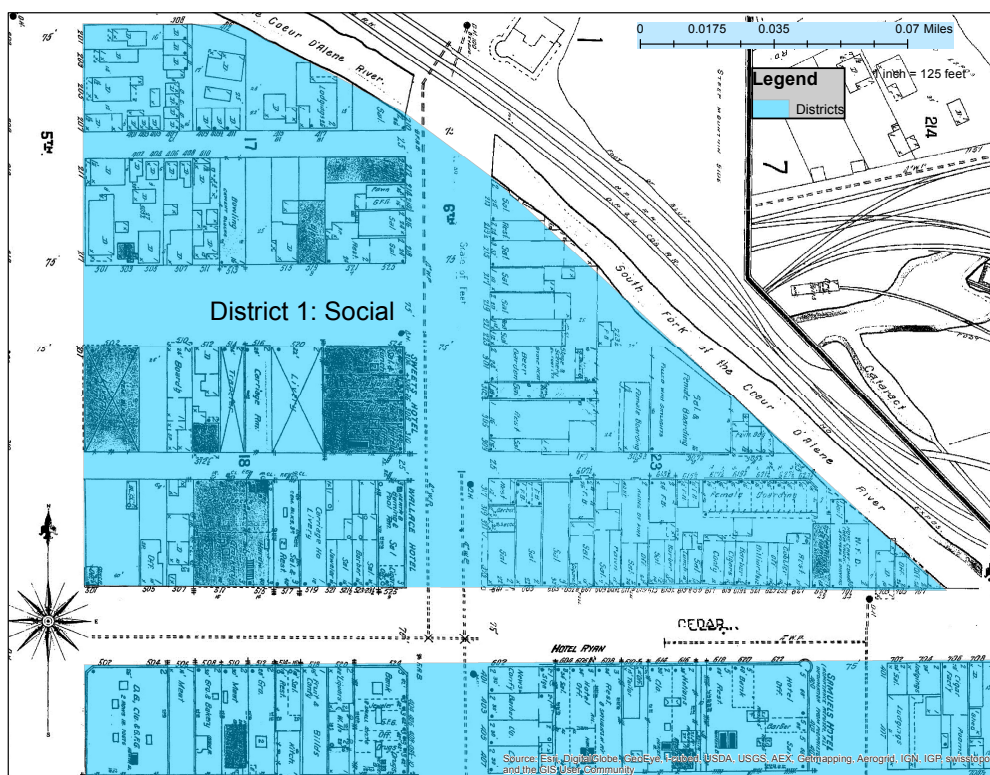


Figure 25: Social District as it appeared in 1908

The 1891 Sanborn map indicates that saloons were primarily clustered in the north end of town along Sixth and Cedar Streets while Alley A seems to

serve as a dividing point. Everything north of Alley A faces toward Sixth, while everything south, with the exclusion of the two smallest establishments identified in Wallace, face Cedar Street (*Wallace Press* 1890; Barnard and Stockbridge 1894-1964).

In the section north of Alley A, four saloons lined the west side of Sixth Street and eight the east (Figure 26). The businesses near the railroad stations were almost exclusively saloons, the sole exception being a single restaurant (Sanborn-Perris 1891). This suggests that saloons were catering directly to those leaving the train station, which is further supported by a boardwalk extending from the saloon/restaurant over the south fork of the Coeur d'Alene.

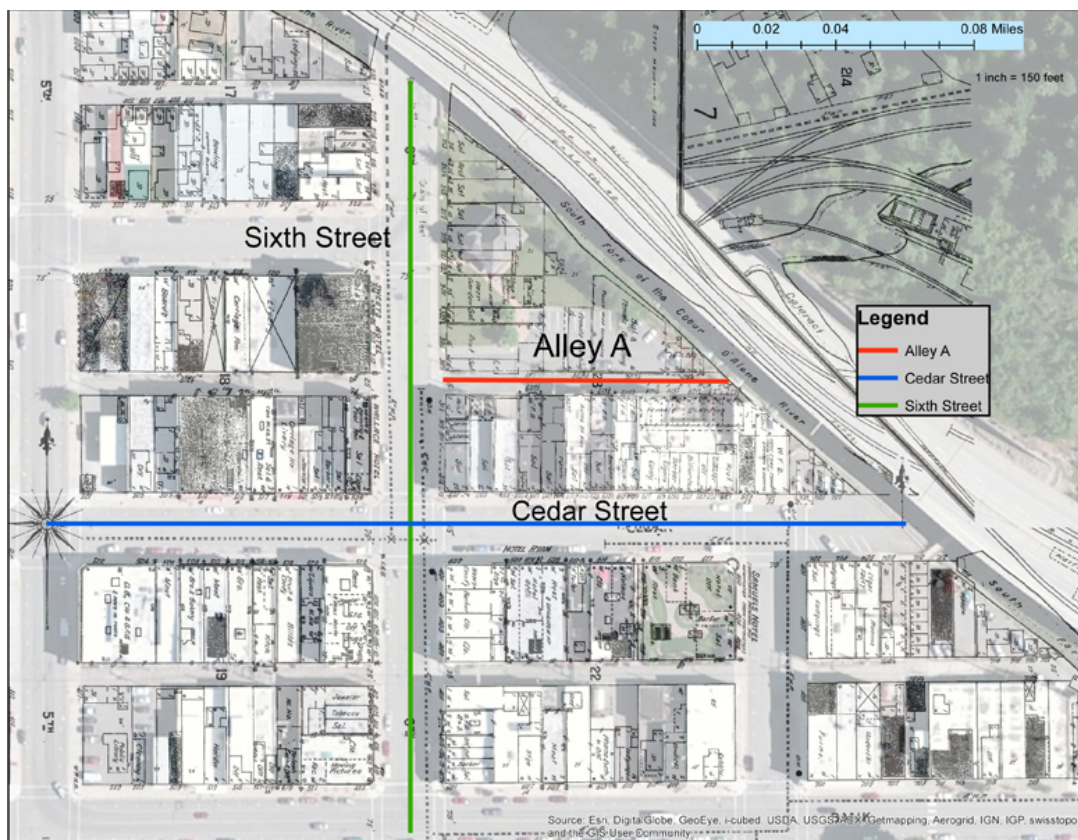


Figure 26: Streets comprising the downtown area of Wallace

The north side of Cedar Street in 1891 saw nine saloons, four of which appear to have been part of hotels or boarding houses. Restaurants co-existed in similar locations as saloons. Besides several small goods stores, saloons, hotels and restaurants made up the majority of the businesses within a block of Sixth. By 1892, transitions in business location begin to emerge. Two saloons move or went out of business on either side of Sixth Street, replaced by a hotel/brothel and a tobacconist respectively (Sanborn-Perris 1891). One may have reopened closer to Cedar after replacing an existing restaurant, but a saloon along the east of Cedar was replaced by a restaurant and one of the miniscule saloons in between Alley A and Cedar turned into a cigar store.

Further changes that took place by 1896 illustrate a shift in saloon placement to the east half of town. Two more saloons closed on the northwest end of Sixth, however one was added to the boarding house and brothel that previously replaced a saloon. A saloon and a boarding house replaced the cigar store while a saloon replaced a tailor along Alley A and one of its neighboring saloons turned into a restaurant (Sanborn-Perris 1892). Along Cedar, three saloons disappeared but the street gained two restaurants. Restaurants and saloons appear to move regularly around the landscape and consistently replace each other.

After five years, saloons saw rapid growth where previously they had been losing ground. Two establishments returned to the north end of Sixth in 1901 replacing two general stores. Along Cedar street, the east end near the

recently constructed City Hall saw three smaller saloons, a tobacconist and a barber arrive on the scene (Sanborn-Perris 1896). Four new brothels, a 50% increase, arrived while Jameson's Billiard Hall also sported a brothel. Jameson's is one of the longest-existing saloons in Wallace, with the site showing occupation since 1891 and the business existing through 1909 (Sanborn-Perris 1901).

Patterns of growth throughout the town in 1901 seem to reflect businesses positioning themselves near the new City Hall. This could reflect the fact that much of the land was unoccupied during the 1890s and businessmen established themselves in places that were available. This is also the first year that the Coliseum Theatre was identified as a business containing a saloon. Previous records indicated that it was a 'Public Hall' that contained a stage, inferring that it may have been a dance hall featuring burlesque entertainment (Polk&Co 1908-1909). Another interesting anomaly is the inclusion of a 'wine room' in the rear of a saloon along the entrance to Alley A (Sanborn-Perris 1896).

Social District: 1901-1915

With the turn of the century, datable reference materials featuring names, addresses, and activities are more available. The year 1906 is the most extensively documented year, as detailed photos from the Great Flood of 1906, a guide to Wallace created by the Fraternal Order of Eagles, and copious directory information were all published during that year. Sanborn maps for the town

effectively end after 1908 until 1927, but detailed directories that identify saloon locations are available through 1915.

In 1901, the town began to see a rise in the amount of saloons present. Research indicates that the total reached as many as 33 by 1905 (Sanborn-Perris 1905). Saloons with names like the 16 to 1 and Klondyke Saloon began expanding along the east side of Sixth (Sanborn-Perris 1901; Leighty 1915b:166). The same expansion can be seen around the north side of Cedar perpendicular to Sixth, creating a triangle consisting primarily of brothels, saloons, and restaurants (Polk&Co 1905).

The west side of Sixth also had a large number of saloons, primarily Daxon&Moore's and The Jameson (Sanborn-Perris 1905). The data also identifies a relationship between hotels and saloons on this side of the street, as four of the six in 1905 operated within the confines of some form of lodging establishment (Figure 27)(Polk&Co 1903-1904). This changes slightly over time with saloon locations spreading out across town and the closure of many hotels that once lined Cedar Street. The change is illustrated in the 1908 Sanborn that records the existence of a new larger hotel called The Samuels (Sanborn-Perris 1905). The Samuels Hotel was the largest hotel in Wallace. Its establishment brought on the closure of many long-standing hotels. It also had a bar that was frequented by lawyers, judges, and wealthy mine investors that is labeled as a 'sample room' rather than saloon (Sanborn-Perris 1908).

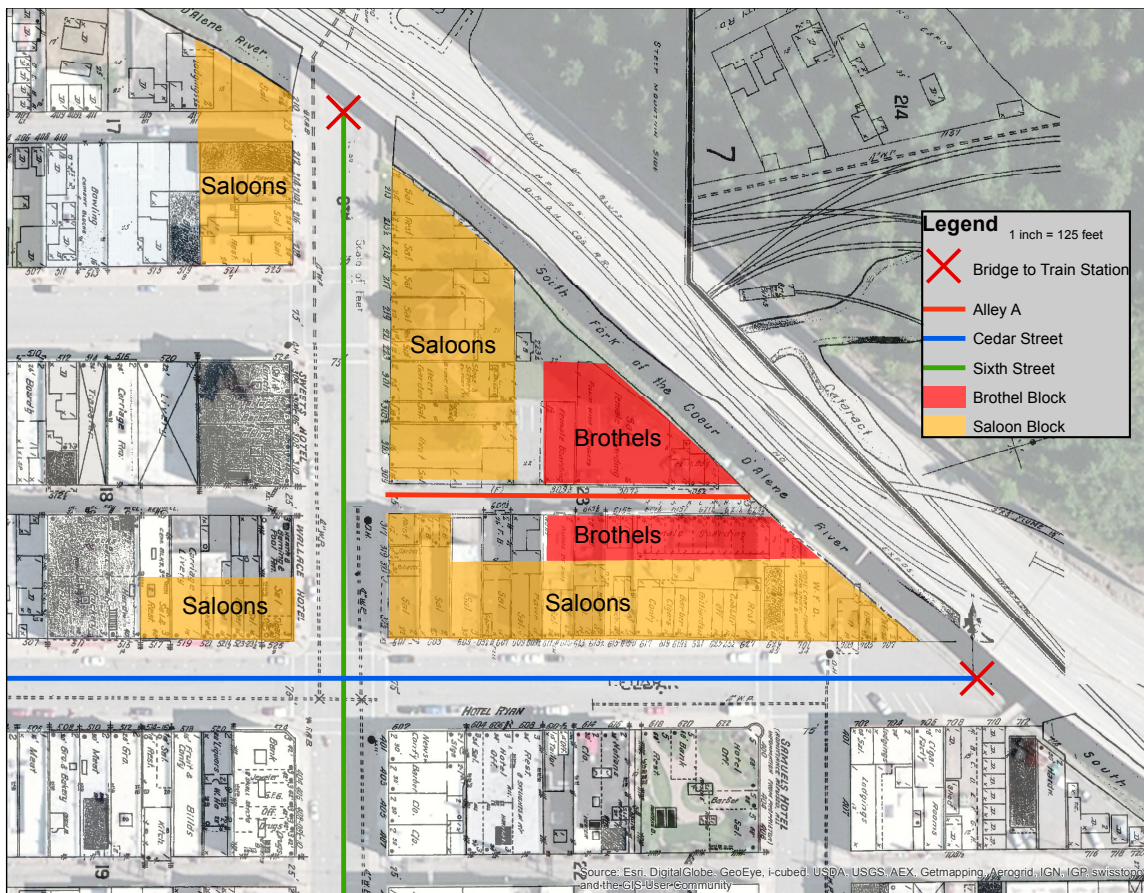


Figure 27: Map illustrating the general locations of saloons and brothels after 1903.

Commercial District: 1891-1915

While not containing nearly as many saloons as the Social District, the Commercial District held at least seven saloons in 1891 (Figure 28)(Leighty 1915b:166-167). All saloons in the Commercial District are in close proximity to Sixth and Cedar Streets, the southern portion of the Social District. The number of saloons in this area would decrease to four by 1901, mirroring a growth in saloons occupying the Social District (Sanborn-Perris 1891). By 1905, all saloons in this area were associated with lodging activities except for Moore's Restaurant on Cedar that also contained a small saloon (Sanborn-Perris 1901).

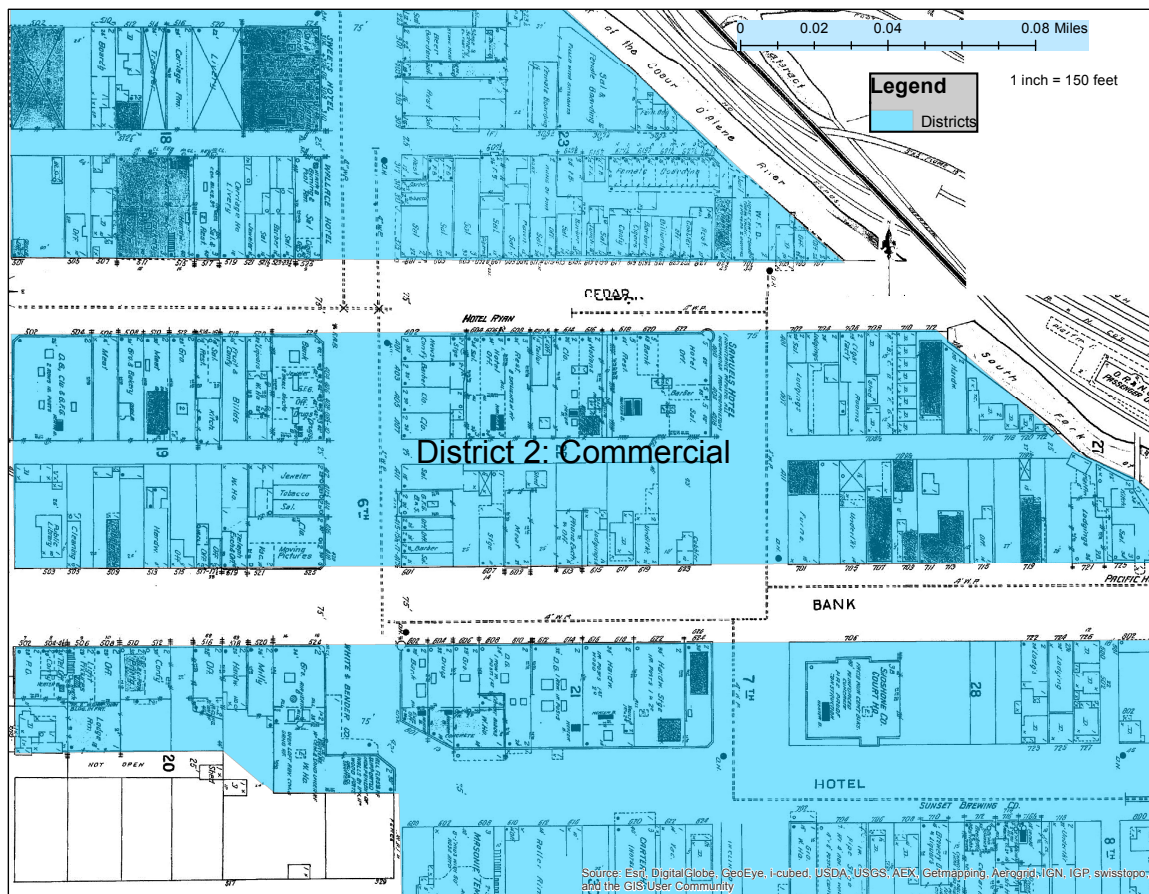


Figure 28: Commercial District as it appeared in 1908

The saloons in the Commercial District changed location relatively frequently, often lasting only one or two years. This makes it particularly difficult to track name changes and movement in years without further documentation. One establishment that cannot be fully considered a saloon but had an impact on alcohol consumption in Wallace was Zeitfuch's and Co. From as early as 1891, Zeitfuch's was a wholesale liquor and cigar store that was in business at least until 1909. SE Bohon, a saloon proprietor, is co-listed at the

address beginning in 1908 and may have purchased the business outright or taken over in some capacity (Polk&Co 1905).

Industrial District: 1891-1915

The southernmost area of Wallace supported very few saloons (Figure 29). From 1891-1892 a saloon and restaurant sat adjacent to the intersection of Bank and Sixth Streets on the southeast corner (Polk&Co 1908). It was gone by 1896 and in its stead a druggist occupied the spot from 1901 onward (Sanborn-Perris 1892). While many of the hotels in Wallace featured their own bars, for whatever reason none of the establishments featuring lodging in this area supported a bar. It is a possibility that the Carter House on Hotel Street featured a saloon as the proprietor, PJ Gearon, operated such an establishment on Sixth Street (Sanborn-Perris 1901). Otherwise, no saloons can be found in the Industrial District of Wallace from 1891 to 1916.



Figure 29: The Industrial District as it appeared in 1908

Brothels

Prior to 1901, brothels existed in two locations on either side of Sixth Street: on the southwest corner of Fifth and Pine and the southwest corner of Seventh and Cedar Streets (Figure 30). These two clusters were across town from each other and neither seems to have been associated spatially with any particular saloon. The area on Seventh only had two buildings and disappeared completely by 1901, the brothels around Fifth were identified in 1896 as well. They expanded to eleven in 1896 and thirteen in 1901.

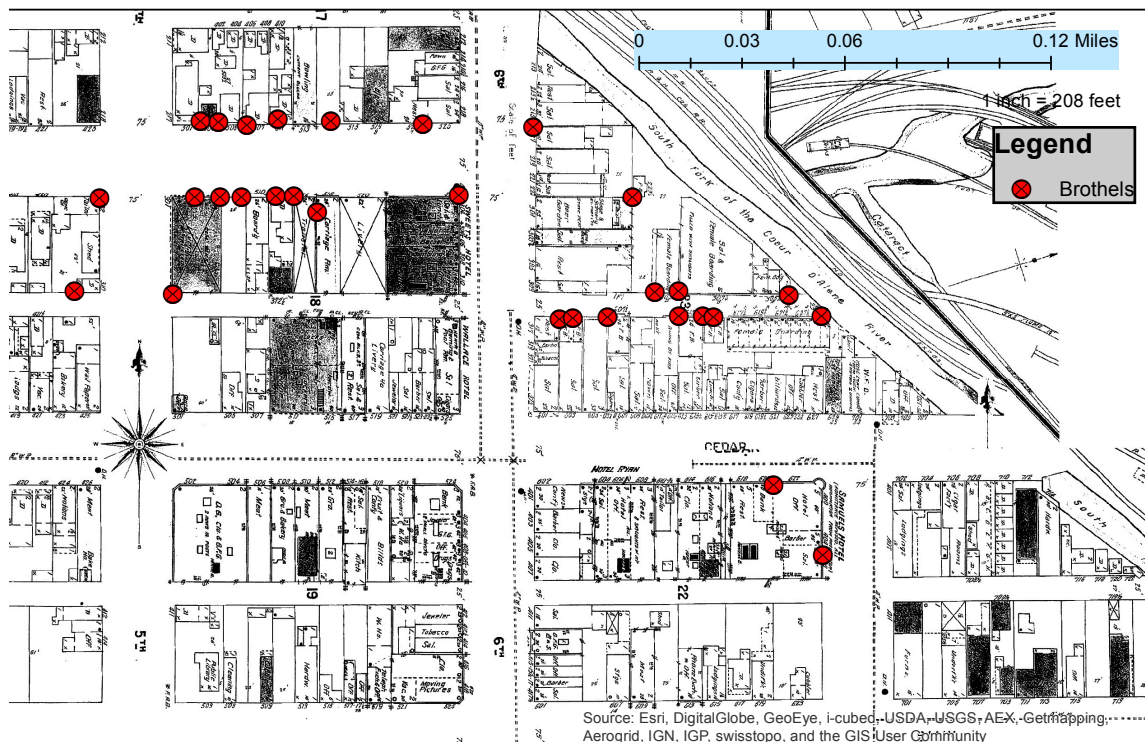


Figure 30: 1908 Sanborn illustrating all locations of brothels from 1890-1908

In 1891, a city ordinance was passed charging \$50 per quarter for ‘Dance Houses or Halls’ (Wallace City Council 1891:193). Less than a year later, the license fee was raised to \$300 per quarter while other businesses in the same ordinance, such as gambling and theatrical performing, stayed the same (Wallace City Council 1892:241). This price shift may indicate a desire to minimize the number of dance halls in Wallace, however it is more likely that it is an indicator of popularity and success. In 1905, brothels had all moved to the area known as Alley A in between Sixth and Cedar, possibly because of the visit to Wallace by President Theodore Roosevelt (Caron 2013). A gate blocked the entrance to Alley A and salongoers could no longer walk out the back door of a saloon into a brothel (Sanborn-Perris 1905; Magnuson 2013). Maps from 1908

indicate that brothels were still growing in numbers. What was once a laundry on Alley A was transformed into a bordello (Sanborn-Perris 1908).

Hotels and Restaurants

One of the more complex spatial relationships to understand in Wallace is how saloons were associated with neighboring restaurants and hotels.

Oftentimes it is hard to distinguish the difference between restaurants and saloons in historical documents due to the fact that they shared the same locations. Unless explicitly stated in directories, hotels may or may not have had saloons. Sanborn maps identified saloons at a given address; determining if the saloon was independent renting from the hotel or operated by the hotel itself is an entirely different matter (Polk&Co 1908). With the creation of city liquor licenses in 1908, some of the first applicants were hotels (Boomer 1908:157-161). In 1915, the year before Prohibition in Idaho, at least five hotels applied for licenses including the following: Ryan Hotel, Fahle's Hotel, Wallace Hotel, Samuels Hotel, and Sweet's Hotel (Leighty 1915b:166-167).

Hotels along Sixth and Cedar were not uncommon and, in some cases, featured a variety of different amenities, including barbers, tobacconists, restaurants, and saloons (Figure 31) (Sanborn-Perris 1905). While hotels were also present in other parts of town they rarely incorporated saloons or restaurants and most often only offered lodging (Sanborn-Perris 1908). These hotels could have supported long term boarders, rather than short term ones,

and subsequently specialized solely in habitation due to their location near large businesses such as Sunset Mercantile (Sanborn-Perris 1905).

Restaurants are the most common businesses in Wallace apart from saloons. In some cases the lines were blurred as some restaurants were co-owned by saloon owners. One example was Olin A Olafs, who owned both a restaurant and saloon simultaneously (Sanborn-Perris 1908). Apart from those restaurants in or associated with hotels, restaurants were highly mobile businesses that often changed on a year-to-year basis. While existing throughout the town, most restaurants during the 1890-1916 time period centered around the intersection of Sixth and Cedar Streets. It is difficult to know whether or not some restaurants operated in a similar capacity as saloons, it is readily apparent that they coexisted in the same locations. In the case of Olin A Olafs, both his restaurant and bar were titled 'Banquet Bar' and 'Banquet Restaurant' indicating that they may have occupied the same location (Polk&Co 1910-1911; Leighty 1915a:163)

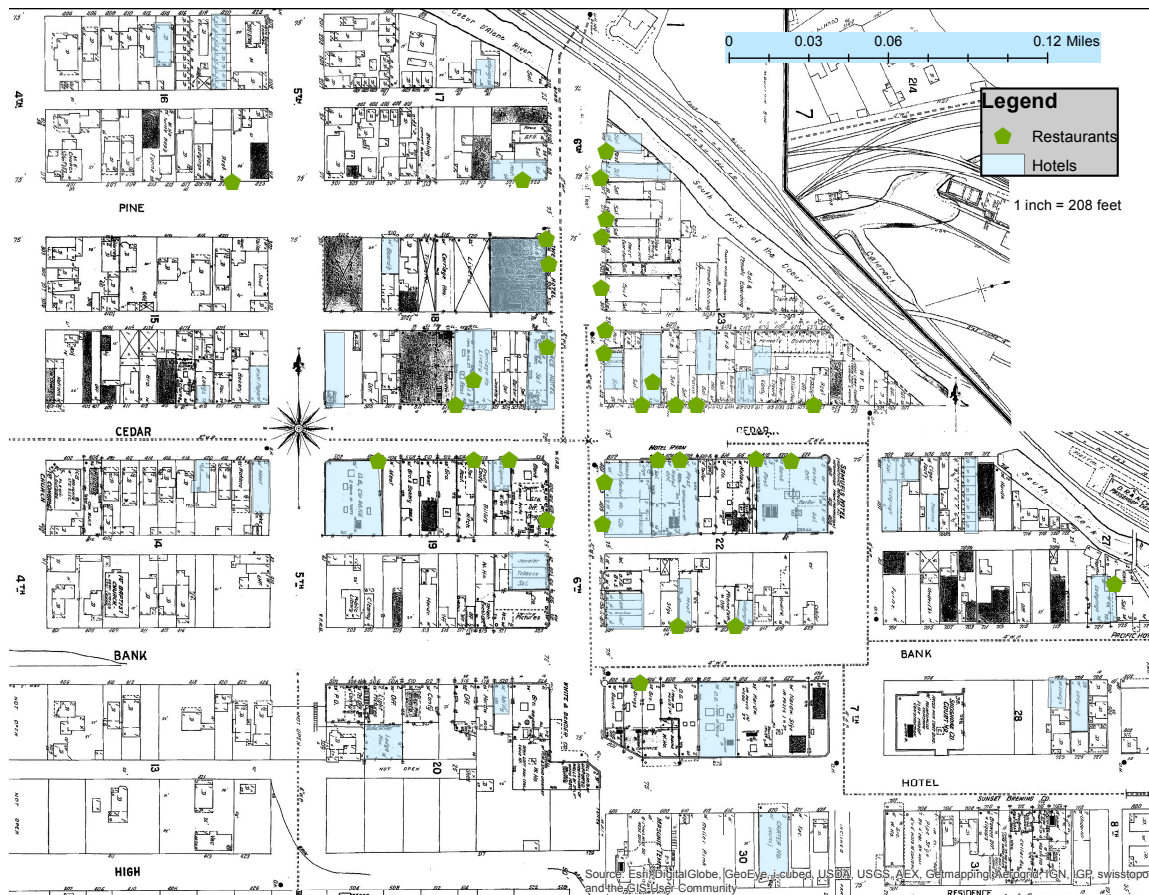


Figure 31: Sanborn illustrating hotel/boarding house and restaurant distribution from 1890-1908.

Almost every restaurant present in Wallace in 1891 was flanked by two saloons. A year later many of the restaurants had closed to make way for saloons (Leighty 1915a:163, Leighty 1915b:166). Over the years, there was an ebb and flow of restaurants opening and closing along Sixth Street that averaged five in a given year. In general restaurants served as bookends to break up long lines of saloons.

Cigar Manufacturers, Tobacconists, and Confectionaries

While few in number during the earliest years of Wallace, cigar manufacturers and tobacconists expanded rapidly with the growth of the town.

In 1891, three cigar shops existed; one on the south end of Sixth and the other across the street from a saloon along Cedar to the west of town (Figure 32) (Sanborn-Perris 1891). The third shared a space with the town's long-standing liquor store on Cedar known as Zeitfuch's. Zeitfuch's and Co. existed up until at least 1909 when SE Bohon was identified as owner. It is unclear if Bohon operated Zeitfuch's, however Freeman&Bohon was a saloon that sold ceramic alcohol jugs circa 1911, illustrating a transition in business function with a change in ownership (Sanborn-Perris 1891).



Figure 32: Sanborn illustrating tobacconist and cigar maker distribution from 1890-1908

At this point in time, all listed tobacco purveyors were nestled in and amongst saloons along or just off of Sixth. Four years later in 1896, cigar factories begin appearing. All of the cigar factories excluding one on the

entrance of Alley A move their location, two directly across the street from their previous site in 1892 (Asher 2013). By 1901, all tobacco stores changed location and now two are labeled as tobacconists rather than simply 'cigars.' (Sanborn-Perris 1892) Three of the four were located with saloons, barbers, and brothels, while the fourth, labeled 'Cig fac,' sat at the far east end of Cedar between a hotel and apartment house.

By 1905 a decrease in movement of tobacco-related businesses perhaps is associated with the addition of a cigar factory on Cedar Street. Interestingly, two stores advertise candy in conjunction with tobacco products. Period advertisements also feature cigars sold with candy (Sanborn-Perris 1901). By 1908, the number of tobacco-specific establishments grew by two, but the actual stores shrunk in size and appear to be part of saloons or barbers (Polk&Co 1905; Fraternal of Eagles 1906).

Barbers

Barbershops have always been present in Wallace, often occupying small businesses near Sixth Street. Four can be identified as early as 1891, all of which are neighbors to saloons and restaurants (Sanborn-Perris 2013). A fifth can be seen in 1892, taking up the back room of a saloon on the corner of Bank and Sixth (Sanborn-Perris 1891). It is possible that this small backroom business expanded into the neighboring building as it does not exist in its original location in 1896. Barber locations remained relatively static. The year of 1901

saw the same amount of barbers, but a movement to focus business on Cedar, rather than Sixth (Sanborn-Perris 1892). By 1905 there were four barbers. Notable changes were the reopening of a barber at Sixth and Bank, as well as a larger establishment one half block to the north also featuring baths and lodging. The largest change identified in 1908 is the presence of barbers in hotels, such as the Sweets and Samuels.

Barbers, while not as numerous as saloons, restaurants or brothels, seem to illustrate some form of spatial patterning (Figure 33). While generally associated with saloons, restaurants and hotels, each appears to have its own territory. Barbers almost always exist one per half block along Sixth and Cedar, with the exception of very small establishments that appear to be a part of other businesses. Barbers are never found more than one business away from saloons during this time period and often appear to be a part of them physically (Sanborn-Perris 1908).



Figure 33: Sanborn illustrating barber distribution from 1890-1908

Summary

Through the analysis of a variety of businesses in conjunction with saloons, it is apparent that social businesses were clustered together because they catered to a similar clientele. By synthesizing all spatial and historical data it is evident that while saloons did not move in location a great deal over time, their prosperity and numbers reflect not only the presence of customers, but intentional establishment on the urban landscape. For social businesses, particularly saloons, access to customers arriving in town appears key.

Chapter 5: Analysis and Conclusions

Synthesis of Saloon Movement

Saloons were scattered across the landscape of Wallace during its early years. Saloon locations moved back and forth around the intersection of Sixth and Cedar Streets. By 1901, however, a shift can be seen in the placement of saloons. Rather than moving location across town, growth was concentrated around the triangular half block of the northeast corner of town in between Sixth and Cedar Streets. While saloons always existed in the northeast corner of town, stability in the location did not occur until the turn of the century. After 1901, saloons continued to emerge outside the area around Sixth Street while expansion focused on the area between Cedar and Sixth Streets.

National and Regional Trends Affecting Saloons

With the “Great Panic” or depression of 1893, numerous mines and businesses closed (Wood 1983:41). The beer industry was affected nationwide with a drop in consumption by over a million barrels (Anonymous 1903:51). It was also the case that saloons would be sponsored by breweries in exchange for exclusively serving their product (Figure 34)(Ronnenberg 2011:70). Photos from throughout the saloon period in Wallace show advertising placards for Sunset Brewery, indicating that they may have had their liquor licenses paid for by Sunset [later Sunset Mercantile] (Barnard and Stockbridge 1894-1964).

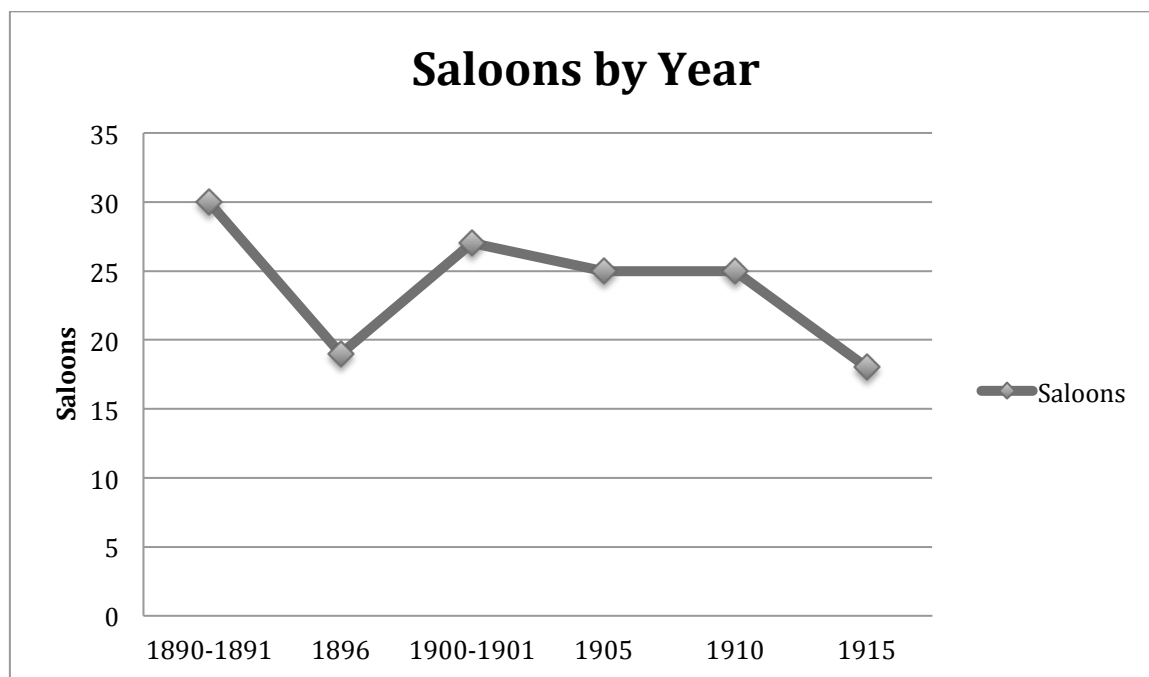


Figure 34: Photo featuring the Samuels Hotel sometime prior 1910. The St Elmo Hotel sign featuring an advertisement for Sunset Beer can be seen at the far left of the photo (Elsie Harlow Collection)

Beer taxation due to the Spanish American War in 1898, as well as the rise of the Temperance Movement led to a reduction of drinking around 1900 and consequently saw a drop in the number of saloons in operation (Ronnenberg 2011:70). These national trends likely affected the saloon economy of Wallace and consequentially the dip in the number of saloons in the 1896 Sanborn (Sanborn-Perris 1896). Due to the number of businesses that closed, the "Great Panic" may have been to blame for a reduction in saloons. Furthermore, a jump in saloon numbers following the Spanish American War in 1900 and steady decrease from 1900-1916 parallel national taxation trends associated with the

rise of Temperance until Prohibition (Sanborn-Perris 1891; Sanborn-Perris 1892; Sanborn-Perris 1896; Sanborn-Perris 1901; Sanborn-Perris 1905; Sanborn-Perris 1908). The creation of a liquor license system in Wallace in 1908 also mirrors a national trend toward reducing the number of alcohol purveying establishments (Table 2)(Boomer 1908:157-161).

Table 2: Graph illustrating the flux in the number of saloons in Wallace every five years.



Understanding Saloon Locations

Rather than being simple drinking establishments, saloons were hubs of social, commercial, and political importance (Powers 1998:3). The nature of Wallace as a small town in the Pacific Northwest by day and booming bar scene by evening and weekend pays homage to the mining industry around it (Figure

35). By isolating men in boarding houses during the workweek, saloons provided a social network for people to connect to when the day was done.

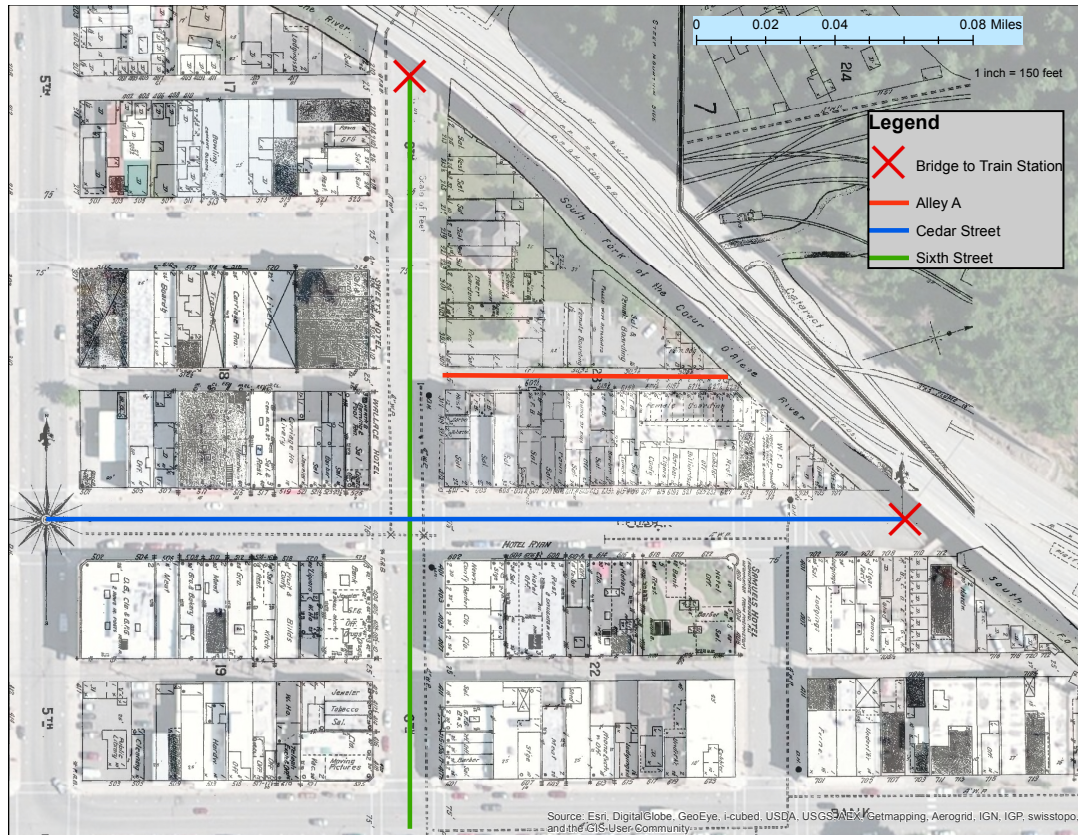


Figure 35: Map indicating the locations of bridges allowing access to the town from the railroad.

While a variety of other businesses existed in Wallace, the sheer quantity of saloons indicates that they were the social centers of the town from 1890 to 1916. Over a third of Wallace's businesses were occupied by saloons and consequently other services sprung up with them. As noted, restaurants in particular seem to serve as bookends in the midst of saloons, often trading places with them fluidly over the years (Sanborn-Perris 1908).

Intermingled with saloons and restaurants, hotels appear most frequently in the geographic center of Wallace in between social and commercial businesses. Oral history and advertisements suggest that hotel saloons, such as the one at the Samuels, catered to a wealthier selection of patrons, such as those visiting the area to visit mining investments or local lawyers (Polk&Co 1908-1909). Barbers and cigar/tobacco businesses occupied similar locations as saloons and can be considered an activity aiming directly at saloon going men. Photographs show men milling around barbershops in a similar fashion as seen in contemporaneous saloon photos further suggesting that barbers marketed to saloon-goers (Barnard and Stockbridge 1894-1964).

The ultimate goal of this thesis was to identify why saloons moved and clustered in the northeastern portion of town up until 1916. From the information garnered, there are two important factors to take into account. The first reason for initially occupying the north end of town is the railroad. Prior to 1901, maps of town identify one entrance to town via a bridge at the north end of Sixth Street that led directly the to the Northern Pacific Railroad lines, however a second bridge to the Union Pacific would be added later. Saloon locations in Sandpoint, Idaho correlate with Wallace in that both saloons and brothels situated themselves with direct access to the railroad (Petrich-Guy *et al.* 2014:58). Furthermore, the lack of saloons in the southern portion of town in the Commercial and Industrial Districts correlates with an increasing distance from passenger railroad depots.

Brothels and saloons also had a particularly close relationship in Wallace. In the early 1890's, while the town was less than ten years old, brothels were scattered primarily on the western portion of town intermingled with residences and businesses. With the shift of all brothels to the area around Alley A circa 1903, saloon expansion begins (Figure 36).

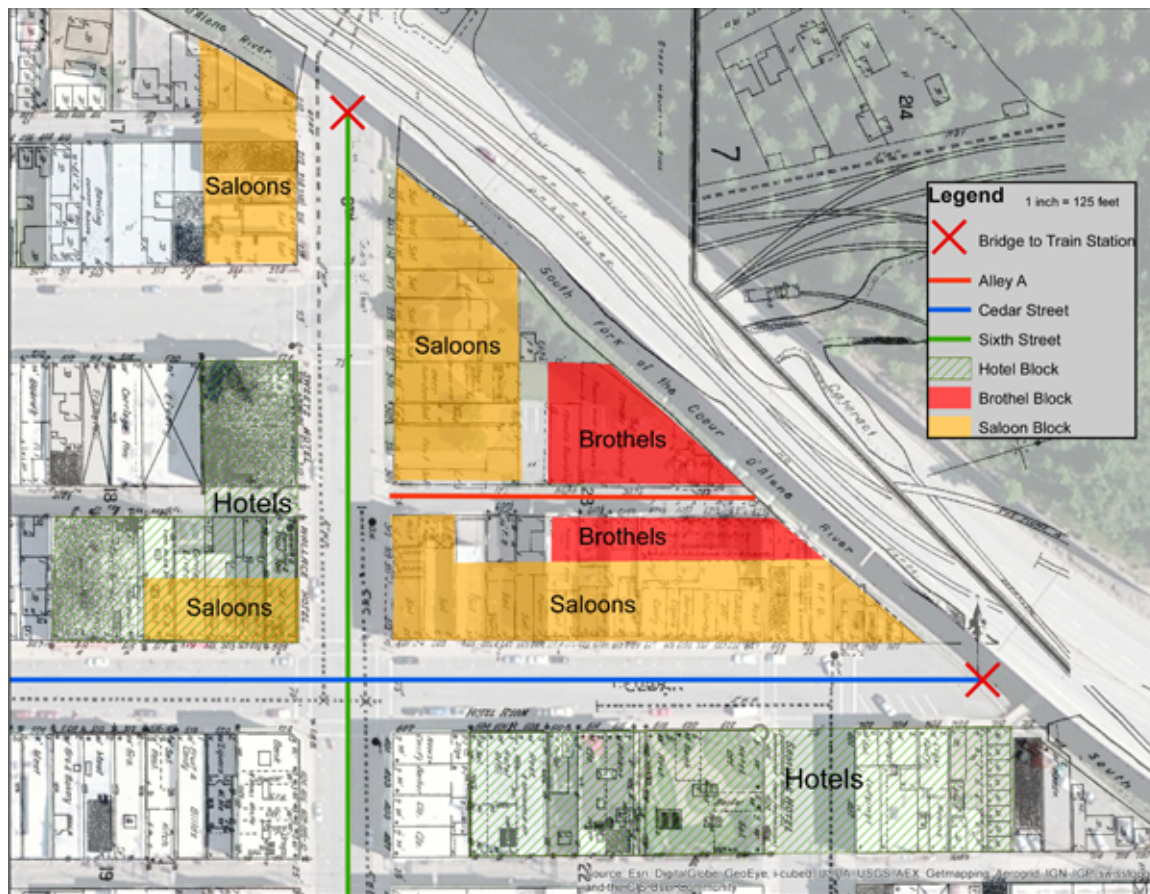


Figure 36: The locations of saloon, brothel, and hotel concentrations in Wallace after 1901. Restaurants occupied similar space as hotels and saloons.

With the expansion of railroads, access to Wallace would have helped spur a natural growth in an already booming industry. Being closely associated with the railroads indicates that saloons may have hoped to be the first stop for railgoers, or perhaps workers looking to cash their weekly check. Dick

Magnuson states that, “When I was a kid, bars were the only place to go, to dance, to do anything...People only came to town on the weekends. We were a trade center.” (Magnuson 2013) As Wallace grew, so did the bars, saloons and brothels.

Future Research and Implications

The research done for this thesis ultimately served to benefit three specific causes: northwest historical archaeology, the Wallace District Mining Museum, and the local community. By connecting to the needs of the Wallace community and one of its museums, this thesis attempts to position itself as a practical response to an established need.

The study of historic town plans with the integration of GIS has broad reaching implications for archaeology. By understanding the movement of businesses in towns, changes in the town can be investigated through a broader lens by incorporating spatial data. Furthermore, understanding the landscape of Wallace can be beneficial for any future archaeological projects in the city. The mapping work already done in Wallace places potential saloon sites in a broader context and the potential for comparison on regional and national levels. The dynamic nature of business location changes in the formation of a town could have a great deal to say about the people living there.

Saloon and brothel growth over time paints a picture of how in a relatively short period of time the landscape in which we are living changes. In

this case saloons and brothels thrived in a similar location and benefited from their placement adjacent to one another. Other businesses, such as restaurants, barbers, and tobacconists also seem to associate themselves with saloons and brothels by proximity, and consequently most likely shared clientele.

The Wallace District Mining Museum benefited through the creation of maps, data files, and implemented research that both expanded its archives and improved its method of data organization. Understanding history through space, rather than just time and key phrases ties directly into the expansion of academic pursuits. The studies of both saloons and changes in town planning in the Pacific Northwest have room to grow. My hope is that the mapping can be used as a framework for future researchers. Most importantly, however, is the benefit that local businesses and individuals in the community can gain from this research. In a time when Wallace's economy relies a great deal on heritage tourism, the creation of new open source maps allows already existing historic tours of Wallace to be supplemented. Businesses can now better illustrate and market their building's past in a more detailed light. Through these three cornerstones of research, this thesis aims at not only scholars interested in town planning and changes over time, but also bolstering the public awareness of archaeology and how they have the potential to benefit the community.

Beyond this specific thesis, I will utilize the research incorporated in these pages as a foundation for future investigations in Wallace related to saloon activities, consumption, and cultural heritage. I am curious how activities at

saloons varied by location as well as what miners and townsfolk drank and how they socialized. The wealth of knowledge preserved in Wallace is tremendous and could serve as a jumping off point for many additional research projects, theses, and dissertations. The Wallace District Mining Museum alone curates dozens of ledgers, historical records, and countless photographs from the Silver Valley. Not only is it my aspiration to continue researching this area, but I hope that a connection between the University of Idaho and the Wallace community is just beginning, with many more students pursuing the past of the Silver Valley in the coming years.

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Appendix A

IRB Non-Exempt Application

Form 2: Non-Exempt Application Materials

University of Idaho procedures require that the Institutional Review Board (IRB) review and approve of projects involving humans. Official approval from the IRB must be given **before** the research can begin.

Forms should be emailed as attachments to irb@uidaho.edu in **Microsoft Word format**.

If you are a student, you should be listed as the student investigator and your faculty sponsor as the PI. You must submit your materials to your UI faculty sponsor/PI. After their review and approval, they will FORWARD your materials to the IRB for review.

If you are not a full-time faculty member or employee at the UI, you must contact a departmental faculty member, administrator or department chair. This person will become your faculty sponsor.

Once you have submitted the completed application, the Institutional Review Board will approve it. **You can begin the research ONLY AFTER receiving WRITTEN approval from the committee.**

Please allow at least **six weeks excluding holidays** for the initial review and approval process. [Note: The approval process takes longer when corrections are requested by committee members or when we have a large number of applications].

Note: All researchers participating in human subject's research are required to take the online course through the National Institutes of Health
<http://phrp.nihtraining.com/users/login.php>

Copies of certificates of completion will be required before projects will be approved.

Please include your UI campus mail code address (83844 - ____) on the summary form inside, and an **address** below.

Theodore Charles

Department of Anthropology and Sociology

c/o University of Idaho

875 Perimeter Dr MS 1110

Moscow ID 83844-1110

Investigator e-mail: char4116@vandals.uidaho.edu

Faculty Sponsor e-mail if applicable mwarner@uidaho.edu

Form 2: University of Idaho Human Subject Review – Non-exempt Projects

This project qualifies for “Non-Exempt” status. Please complete the following application. In addition, the following information must be included:

1. An electronic copy of certification in PDF or Microsoft Word format that the online course sponsored by

the National Institutes of Health has been completed by everyone listed on the project.

NIH website: <http://phrp.nihtraining.com/users/login.php>

2. If applicable, an electronic copy of an Informed Consent Form that includes all components provided at: <http://www.uidaho.edu/ora/committees/irb/irbforms>

3. If applicable, a copy of the survey, questions intended to be asked, or if conducting qualitative research,

initial entry questions and items where the investigator might probe for additional information.

Principal Investigator: Mark Warner Academic Title Masters Student

Student Investigator Theodore Charles

Department/Division: Department of Anthropology and Sociology Campus Zip Code 1110 Phone 360-305-1831

Project Title For One Drink More; Finding the Lost Saloons of Wallace

Proposal Number _____

-

Previous IRB protocol Number: _____

Anticipated Start Date: November 2013

Anticipated End Date May 2014

Faculty Sponsor (if you are not principal investigator) Mark Warner

Is the project seeking funds? (Answer using a bold “X”) YES **X** NO _____

If yes,

Granting Agency: Department of Anthropology and Sociology

Grant Title: Roderick Sprague Endowment

Principal Investigator on Grant: Theodore Charles

If a continuation, date of previous approval:

I. SUBJECTS/PARTICIPANTS

A. Approximate number 5

B. Age Range 21-100 (Note: Participants less than age 18 have additional requirements)

C. How will participants be selected or recruited?

I will be conducting interviews of bar owners and long time residents of Wallace, Idaho. I will initially be interviewing members of the Wallace Mining Museum Board, then approach owners of modern bars and taverns.

D. Are there participants who will be excluded? Why?

I will be interviewing only those over the age of 21, as the study related to the historical consumption of alcoholic beverages

E. Will participants be paid? If yes, how much, when, and how? Must they complete the project to be paid?

Participants will not be paid, but receive acknowledgement at the completion of the thesis.

F. Are any of the participants not competent to give consent (e.g., minors, prisoners, institutionalized)? If yes, how will

consent be obtained? From whom? Are there procedures for gaining assent (if appropriate)?

None.

If appropriate, how will "assent" be obtained? (Participants themselves, even though deemed not competent, must agree to the research.)

G. Will this study be conducted in an Educational (School / Pre K - 12) setting and involve children or teachers actively teaching within the classroom as part of the study? If yes, **ATTACH** documentation from a Teacher and School Principal, Superintendent, or other administrator indicating approval. Also, **ATTACH** appropriate material regarding FERPA regulations (if applicable).

No classroom setting will be included.

II. DESCRIPTION OF PROJECT. Type answers in the spaces provided. Although you may cut and paste materials from other documents, **Do Not** refer to attached grants, papers, dissertation proposals, etc. Be clear, brief and specific. **The IRB application must stand on its own.**

A. Describe the Purpose of the Research.

The purpose of this research is to understand how saloons have changed in location over time in Wallace, Idaho, from 1890 to present day. Ultimately, this project hopes to create a better understanding of saloon culture in the American West as pertains to the archaeological and historical record. Furthermore, this project will conclude with the creation of a time-lapse map that illustrates the changing locations of saloons over time to be used by the Wallace Mining Museum for educational purposes.

B. Describe the Research Design (Survey, Naturalistic Observation, 2 by 3 Factorial Design, Qualitative Design, etc).

The Research Design of this project is qualitative. The vast majority of data researched will be gathered from geographic, historical, and archaeological materials. Those that consent to be interviewed will provide further context for data already gathered and are supplemental in nature. However, those interviewed will provide important historical data that cannot be recovered from the recorded record, such as consumption habits and agency regarding the bars chosen to be frequented.

C. Describe the Procedures (What will the Participants do).

Participants will answer a series of open-ended questions in interview form regarding their experiences in Wallace dealing with alcohol culture. Subjects broached will include information about drinking habits, activities in drinking establishments, and the locations of past saloons.

Only several of the questions will be standardized, such as the following: How long have you lived in Wallace/been coming to Wallace? What bars, if any, have you frequented and why? Do you remember where any previous bars once stood, and if so when they closed?

The interview will then proceed naturally and anecdotally, drawing on stories and experiences of those interviewed to spur on further questions.

D. If any deception (withholding of complete information) is required for the validity of this activity, explain why this is necessary and **attach** a debriefing statement.

Participants will be fully informed.

III. ASSESSMENT OF RISKS AND BENEFITS.

A. Describe the nature of any potential risks. These include stress, social, legal, discomfort, invasion of privacy, embarrassment, or side effects.

Risks will be 'not greater than those encountered in the participant's daily life' Interviews will be anecdotal and not ask subjects to impart data they wish to withhold.

B. Describe how each of the risks in part A will be minimized. Be detailed and complete.

Participants are purely voluntary and may opt out of the study entirely.

C. In the event that any of these potential risks occur, how will they be handled (e.g., compensation, counseling, etc.)?

A participant may at any time withdraw from the process or skip a question and choose to be excluded from the study.

- D. Will this study interfere with any subject's normal routine (e.g., school attendance, medical treatment, etc.)?

No it will not.

- E. Describe the expected benefits to society and to the individual subjects.

The benefits to society will be based on an increased understanding of cultural heritage in the town of Wallace. Subjects will not directly profit from the study. With the completion of the thesis and educational map, we will hopefully come to a better understanding of alcohol consumption as relates to mining, rural communities and the Coeur d'Alenes.

- F. Will blood be taken? (Answer using a Bold "X") YES ___ NO **X**__

Who will take the blood? _____

How often? _____ How much?

Describe the procedure for drawing the blood:

IV. CONFIDENTIALITY OF DATA

Using a bold "X" answer the following questions

- A. Will data be anonymous (i.e., even the researcher will not be able to link the identity of the subjects/participants with responses)?

YES _____ (Go to Part C)

NO **X**__ (If NO, complete item IV-B.)

- B. Will data be confidential? YES _____ NO **X**__

If **YES**,

Will the data be coded to a master list? YES _____ NO _____

Will the list be kept separate from the data? YES _____ NO _____

If **NO**,

Who else will have access to the data? Wallace Mining
Museum _____

Why? Information gathered in interviews will be available for research to benefit future historical project projects.

How will confidentiality be maximized?

C. How will the data will be stored? Locked laboratory Locked file cabinet

Restricted Computer Other (describe):

D. How will the data eventually be deleted? If not deleted, how will linkage to identities be broken?

Data will not be deleted and identities will be recorded in relation to the oral histories.

V. ADDITIONAL IMPORTANT CONSIDERATIONS

Using a bold "X" answer the following questions

A. Will any investigational NEW drug (IND) be used? YES NO

B. Will any other drugs be used? YES NO

If **YES** to A or B, list for each drug:

- 1) the name of the drug;
- 2) the source of the drug;
- 3) the dosage;
- 4) any side effects or toxicity;
- 5) how it will be administered; and
- 6) by whom it will be administered.

ATTACH PDR OR EQUIVALENT MATERIAL IN AN APPENDIX TO THIS PROPOSAL

C. Will a new investigative device (IDE) be used? YES _____ NO X_____

IF **YES**, has the Idaho Research Foundation been notified? YES _____ NO _____

D. Will ethyl alcohol be ingested by the participants ? YES _____ NO X_____

If **YES**, fill out the Alcohol Human Subjects Form found on the IRB website

Refer to the guidelines for administration of ethyl alcohol in human experimentation available from the UI Research Office.

E. Will audio-visual tapes, audiotapes or photographs be taken? YES X_____ NO _____

If **YES**:

Where will the tapes be stored?

Audio recordings will ultimately be stored on a restricted computer at the Wallace Mining Museum, as well as on the personal secured hard drive of the researcher, Theodore Charles.

When will this material be destroyed?

Materials will not be destroyed.

F. Will a written consent form be obtained? YES X_____ NO _____

If **YES**: please attach consent form (refer to the Components of a Consent Form included in packet).

If **NO**: how will consent be obtained?

Why is this method being used?

This method is used to verify that subjects want to be included in the research project and that permission is granted to utilize and publish data.

VI. INTERNATIONAL PROJECTS

Using a bold "X" answer the following question

A. Will the project be conducted outside the United States YES _____ NO ___X___

If **YES**: Has an IRB been contacted in the country where the study will be conducted? YES _____
NO _____

If yes, provide documentation indicating approval.

If no, provide an explanation why an IRB has not been contacted and/or explain how you will comply with the Belmont Report, Declaration of Helsinki or similar document.

VII: OTHER AGENCIES

A. Some projects require additional approvals beyond IRB/IRB approval (e.g., Office of Management and Budget for surveys in federal parks, Native American Tribal Councils, U.S. Food and Drug Administration, etc). List additional agencies where project approval has been obtained. Attach appropriate documentation. If materials are under review at these agencies indicate the review is in progress.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

VIII: Sponsored Programs

If this project seeking funding YES _____ NO ___X_____

Has Sponsored Programs been notified? YES _____ NO ___X_____

IX: ONLINE COURSE COMPLETION

List the names of all investigators and indicate the date(s) of completion for all investigators taking the

Protection of Human Subjects from the National Institutes of Health on line class.

<http://cme.cancer.gov/clinicaltrials/learning/humanparticipant-protections.asp>

FACULTY SPONSOR NOTE: A copy of the completion certificate or other verification must be included for ALL investigators including laboratory assistants, observation observers, etc.

Name of Investigator	Date of Course Completion	Certificate Number of Online Course
Theodore Charles	9/12/013	1265012

If this project will be submitted or will receive external funding, print out the last page sign on the following signature line using a pen, provide the date of submission, and mail it to:

Institutional Review Board

University of Idaho

POB 443010

Moscow, Idaho 83844-3010

Currently, an electronic copy or electronic signature is not enough to comply with the Federal regulations/requirements for funded research.

ADDITIONAL
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPLICATION INFORMATION

- 1) The completed Institutional Review Board application form must be received by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at least 6 weeks prior to the intended start date. Send the form and all attachments electronically to irb@uidaho.edu. DO NOT SEND HARD COPIES OF THE APPLICATION. THEY WILL BE RETURNED TO YOU WITHOUT REVIEW. HOWEVER, DO SEND A COPY OF THE SIGNATURE PAGE IF RESEARCH IS FUNDED.

- 2) For a project to obtain IRB approval, the IRB shall determine that all of the following requirements are satisfied:
 - a. Risks to subjects are minimized:
 - i. By using procedures which are consistent with sound research design and which do not unnecessarily expose subjects to risk, and
 - ii. Whenever appropriate, by using procedures already performed on the subjects for diagnostic treatment purposes.

 - b. Risks to subjects are reasonable in relation to anticipated benefits, if any, to subjects and the importance of the knowledge that may be expected to result. In evaluating the risks and benefits, the IRB should consider only those risks and benefits that may result from the research (as distinguished from risks and benefits of therapies subjects would receive even in not participating in the research). The IRB should not consider possible long-range effects of applying knowledge gained in the research (for example, the possible effects of the research on public policy) as among those research risks that fall within the purview of its responsibility.

 - c. Selection of subjects is equitable. In making this assessment the IRB will take into account the purposes of the research and the setting in which the research will be conducted.

 - d. Informed consent will be sought from each prospective subject or the subject's legally authorized representative (See Components of a Consent Form).

 - e. Informed consent will be appropriately documented. This might include a written consent form approved by the IRB and signed by the subject), or it might be a tic box indicating the participant was verbally informed of the project.

 - f. Where appropriate, the research plan makes adequate provisions for monitoring the data collected to insure the safety of subjects. This may include follow-up procedures.

 - g. Where appropriate, there are adequate provisions to protect the privacy of subjects and to maintain the confidentiality of data.

3. Projects cannot begin until the IRB approval is obtained.

4. Once the IRB review is completed, an email will be sent to the investigator advising of the project approval or conditions that must be met to obtain approval.

GENERAL CONSIDERATION FOR THE ETHICAL TREATMENT OF HUMAN SUBJECTS

1. Subjects are entitled to dignified treatment during all phases of experimental procedures.
2. At no time are subjects to be coerced into participating in experimental procedures. Subjects may immediately terminate or withdraw from experimental procedures and earn the incentives promised them for their participation.
3. Subjects will be given sufficient information regarding the procedures to enable them in making an informed decision regarding their participation.
4. Confidentiality of subject data will be respected and preserved at all times. Experimenters will maintain control over access to subject records.
5. When appropriate, experimenters should inform subjects of the rationale of the study at some time during or following the conclusion of the procedures.
6. Experimenters should design their studies such that the costs to a subject are reasonably comparable to the rewards of participation. Any incentive promised for participation in experimental procedures will be given regardless of the quality of the subject's performance. Additional incentives may be given if they are greater in value to those that would be otherwise possible for participation.
7. Experimenters are responsible for the behavior of others (e.g., assistants, confederates, data encoders, etc.) that may influence the rights of the subjects. Assistants should be briefed by experimenters regarding the appropriate treatment of subjects.
8. No subjects will be exposed to procedures of a frivolous or clearly meaningless nature.
9. Subjects may be exposed to aversive or onerous treatments only if the potential benefits of the research to society well exceed the costs to the subject. Subjects in those procedures should be reminded of their right to terminate the procedures. Signed informed consent will be required of all subjects in such procedures.
10. The committee will retain the right to revoke its approval of, and terminate, any experiment in which accepted or defined ethical standards are not followed.
11. All non-exempt projects will have ongoing review.

Project Signature Page (For Funded Research)

Title of Project: The Landscape Archaeology of Saloons in Wallace, Idaho

Principal Investigator: The information provided above is accurate and the project will be conducted in accordance with applicable Federal, State, and University of Idaho regulations.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Institutional Review Board: This project has been properly filed as required by Federal, State and University of Idaho procedures.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Currently, an electronic copy or electronic signature is not enough to comply with the Federal regulations/requirements for funded research. For Funded Research, print this page, acquire all needed signatures and mail to:

IRB

Morrill Hall 209

PO Box 443010

Moscow, ID 83844-3010


Or Mail drop 3010

Received by _____

Date received _____

Appendix B

National Institute of Health Course Completion Form



Certificate of Completion

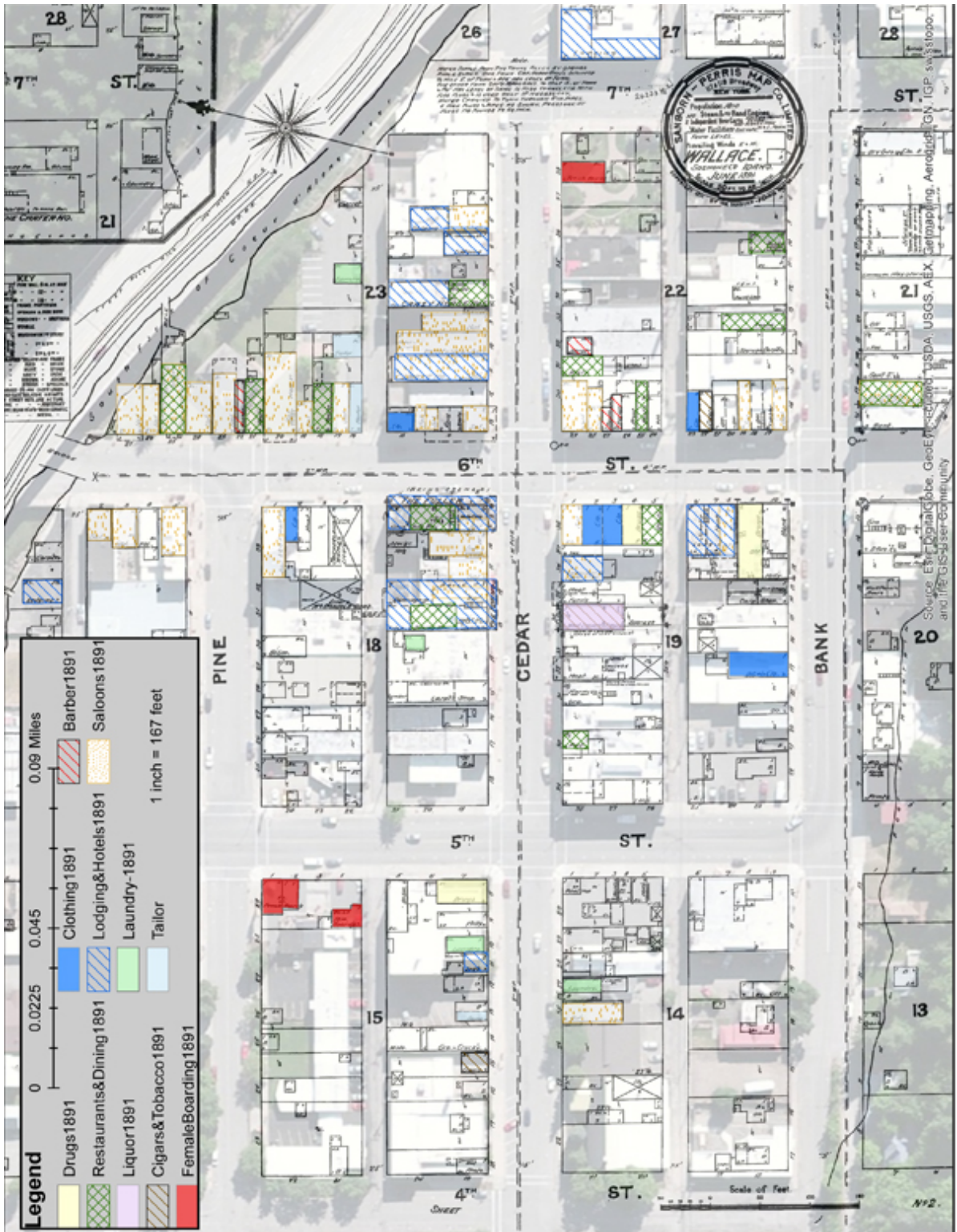
The National Institutes of Health (NIH) Office of Extramural Research certifies that **Theodore Charles** successfully completed the NIH Web-based training course "Protecting Human Research Participants".

Date of completion: 09/12/2013

Certification Number: 1265012

Appendix C

Wallace Businesses 1891



Appendix D

Wallace Businesses 1892



Appendix E

Wallace Businesses 1896



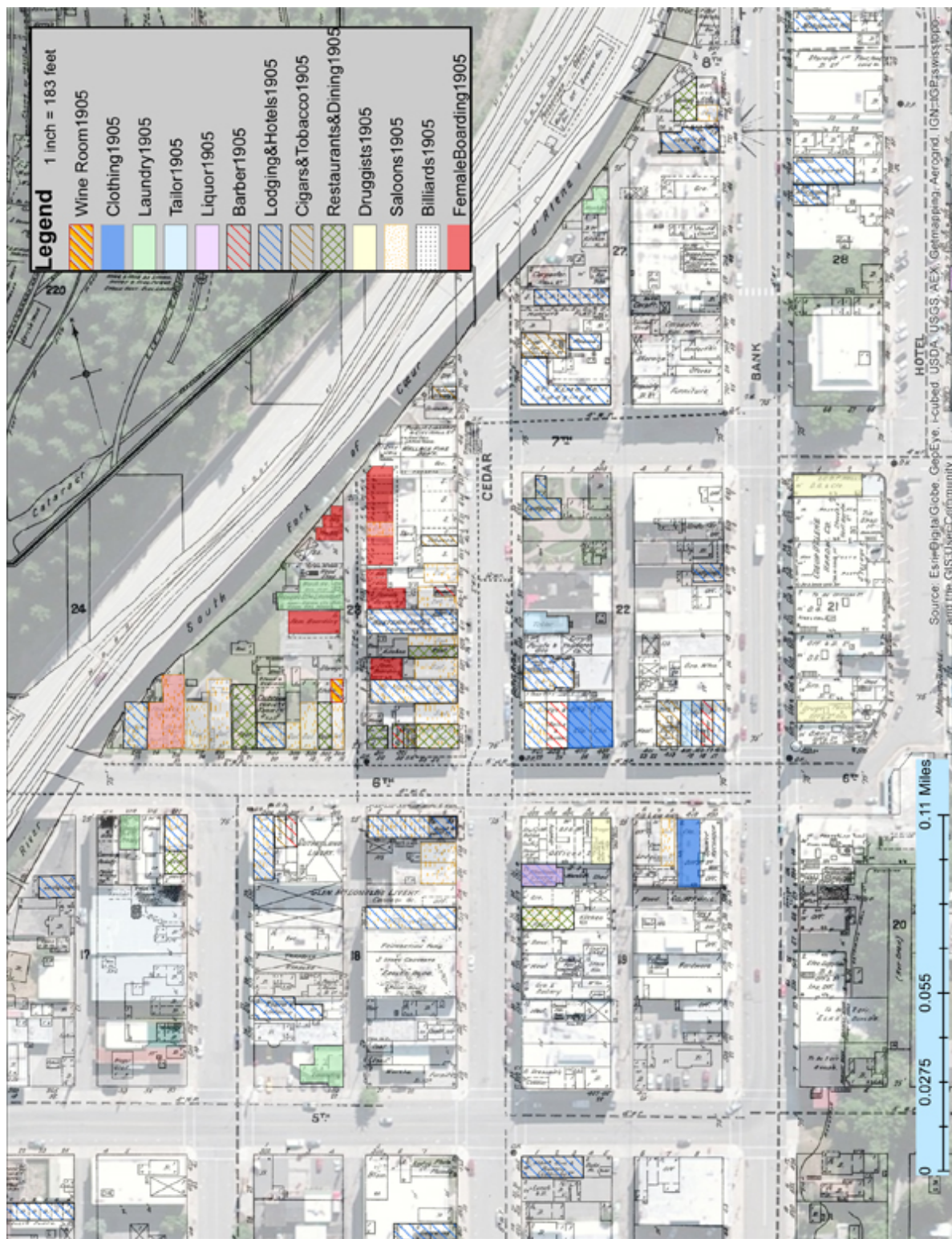
Appendix F

Wallace Businesses 1901



Appendix G

Wallace Businesses 1905



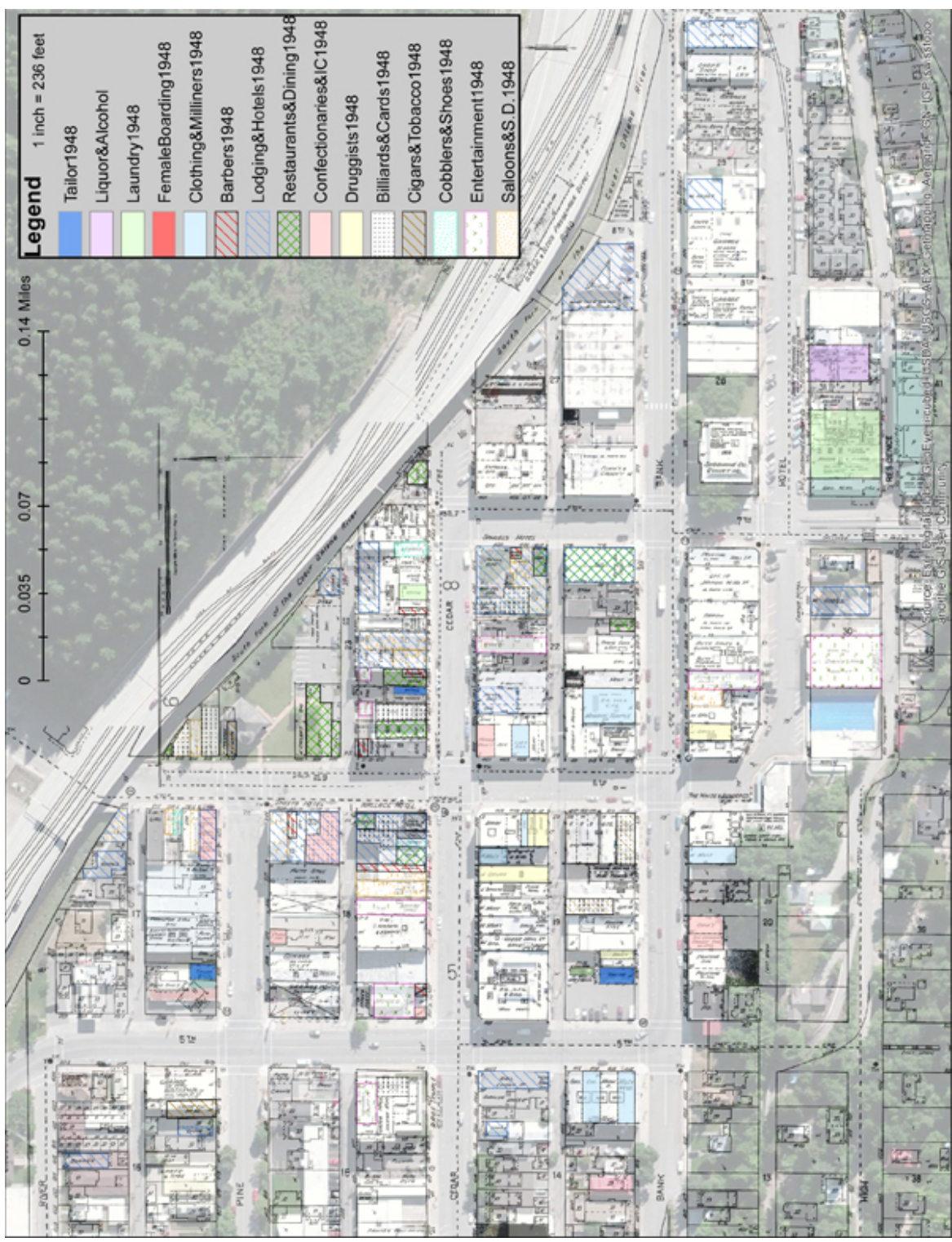
Appendix H

Wallace Businesses 1908



Appendix I

Wallace Businesses 1927-1948



Appendix J
Dick Caron Consent Form

Wallace Saloon Project

1. The University of Idaho Institutional Review Board has approved this project.
2. The purpose of this study is to understand how saloons, bars, and establishments of alcohol consumption have moved over time in Wallace, Idaho.
3. You will be asked to participate in an interview, lasting upwards of two hours that will be audio recorded. Names will be used as sources in the ultimate project.
4. This project will benefit the town of Wallace as a whole by helping to understand how the town has changed over time, as well as provide important information about the community's heritage.
5. If you have any questions about the project, please feel free to contact Theodore Charles with the contact information provided below.

Investigator
Theodore Charles
University of Idaho
Department of Anthropology
Anthropology
Moscow, ID 83844-1110
Ph. 360.305.1831

Faculty Sponsor
Mark Warner
University of Idaho
Department of
Moscow, ID 83844-1110
Ph. 208.885.5954

6. You may at any time refuse to participate in this project or not answer questions. By signing this document, you agree that interview transcripts can be used by Theodore Charles and the Wallace Mining Museum as a research document. If you wish, you will be able to review transcripts of the interview.
7. Questions may include information regarding the location of saloons, activities occurring at saloons, and personal anecdotes related to saloons.

I am 21 years old or older and have reviewed this consent form and understand and agree to its contents.

Participant Signature

Richard W. Caron

Participant Name

Dick Caron Date 11-20-13

Interviewer Name

Theodore Charles

Appendix K

Richard Magnuson Consent Form

Wallace Saloon Project

1. The University of Idaho Institutional Review Board has approved this project.
2. The purpose of this study is to understand how saloons, bars, and establishments of alcohol consumption have moved over time in Wallace, Idaho.
3. You will be asked to participate in an interview, lasting upwards of two hours that will be audio recorded. Names will be used as sources in the ultimate project.
4. This project will benefit the town of Wallace as a whole by helping to understand how the town has changed over time, as well as provide important information about the community's heritage.
5. If you have any questions about the project, please feel free to contact Theodore Charles with the contact information provided below.

Investigator
Theodore Charles
University of Idaho
Department of Anthropology
Anthropology
Moscow, ID 83844-1110
Ph. 360.305.1831

Faculty Sponsor
Mark Warner
University of Idaho
Department of
Moscow, ID 83844-1110
Ph. 208.885.5954

6. You may at any time refuse to participate in this project or not answer questions. By signing this document, you agree that interview transcripts can be used by Theodore Charles and the Wallace Mining Museum as a research document. If you wish, you will be able to review transcripts of the interview. *Excluded*

7. Questions may include information regarding the location of saloons, activities occurring at saloons, and personal anecdotes related to saloons.

I am 21 years old or older and have reviewed this consent form and understand and agree to its contents.

Participant Signature *Richard Magnuson*

Participant Name *Richard Magnuson* Date *11-20-13*

Interviewer Name *Theodore Charles*

Appendix L

Synthesized Saloon Occupation in Wallace by Year

Confirmed Minimum Saloons by Year

1890: 30

1891: 30

1892: 27

1893: No Data

1894: No Data

1895: No Data

1896: 19

1897: No Data

1898: No Data

1899: No Data

1900: 27

1901: 30

1902: 26

1903: 23

1904: 23

1905: 25

1906: 27

1907: No Data

1908: 27

1909: 27

1910: 25

1911: 23

1912: 16

1913: 16

1914: 21

1915: 19

Confirmed Saloon Locations from Directories

Cedar Street Saloons

319 Cedar - JB Cameron (1901)

516 Cedar - Moore's Restaurant{Boaz} (1905-1906), Mullen&Clements (1908-1909),
AJ Mullen (1910-1911,1912-1913,1914-1915)

517 Cedar - JC Furst {Centennial Hotel} (1905-1906), E Bolger (1910-1911),
Enterprise Hotel and bar (1912-1913), Fahle's Hotel and Saloon (1914-1915)

520 Cedar - Zeitfuchs&Co [mismark in 1901 as 524] (1901-1906), Freeman&Bohon
(1908-1909), Zeitfuchs&Co (1908-1909), SE Bohon (1910-1911, 1912-1913,1914-
1915) [1914-1915 estate of Bohon]

521 Cedar - LC Kendrick (1905-1906), GA Lohoefer (1910-1911), The Oxford
{Lohoefer} (1910-1911,1912-1913,1914-1915)

523 Cedar - Coeur D'Alene Saloon {Andrew B Wylie} (1905-1906), The Oxford{GA
Lohoefer} (1908), Oak Saloon{JE Watson} (1908)

527 Cedar - Coeur D'Alene Saloon (1901)

601 Cedar - Alfred Steers (1905-1906), Leib&Safors Schultz (1910-1911),
McInnis&Spillman(1912-1913), McInnis (1914-1915)

603 Cedar - Clemens Weyer (1905-1906), PJ Limacher (1910-1911)

605 Cedar - PJ Limaker, Bimetallic Hotel&Bar{Bradley} (1910-1911),
Holst&Limacher(1912-1913,1914-1915)

606 Cedar - PJ Gearon (1908, 1910-1911)

607 Cedar - Home Industry Saloon (1901), Bard&Leighty (1905-1906), Henry L Bard
(1908-1909), Robert Bradley (1908-1909)

609 Cedar - Stolberg&Anderson (1910-1911,1912-1913)

609.25 Cedar - EA Erickson (1905-1906)

611 Cedar - August Holst (1905-1906), JW Black (1908), John Goisong[Golson]
(1908)

613 Cedar - Western Bar (1901), James Camp (1905-1906), Boline&Ness (1908-1909),
Ness&Anderson (1910-1911), U&I Saloon(1912-1913)Makinem&Koski{also
listed as Javiy&Koski} (1914-1915)

615 Cedar - Montana Saloon[Biotti&Covi](1901), James Kelly (1905-1906), Lieb&La Flors (1908-1909), Lich&La Fors {also listed as Lieb instead of Lich, possible last name of Schultz?}(1910-1911), Lieb Bros (1912-1913,1914-1915), Montana Bar (1914-1915)

621 Cedar - TJ Caraway (1905-1906), Thomas&Lalonde (1905-1906)

623 Cedar - Bard&Leighty's Saloon (1901)

700 Cedar - St Elmo Hotel and Saloon (1908-1909)

702 Cedar - James Kelly (1908), CA Burke (1910-1911)

Cedar and 6th - Exchange Saloon [Steers]{Possibly in Hotel Wallace} (1901)

Cedar and 6th - Hotel Wallace Bar {Simon Bros}(1910-1911,1912-1913)

??? Cedar - Clem Weyer (1901)

Sixth Street Saloons

204 6th - Riverside Saloon{Wilson&Roark} (1908-1909)

213 6th - McInnis&Johnson (1901), Joseph Peila (1905-1906, 1910-1911,1912-1913,1914-1915)

215 6th - Daniel McInnis (1905-1906), Biotti&Gherarde (1908-1909), Biotti&Ghirardi (1910-1911), Ghirardi&Motette(1912-1913), Ghirardi (1914-1915)

216 6th - Evans&Lane (1901), The Club Saloon (1908)

217 6th - 16 to 1 Saloon (1901), Thorsten Ortenblad (1905-1906), August Holst (1908-1909)

218 6th - Daxon&Moore (1905-1906)

219 6th - McGinnis&Rizzonelli (1905-1906, 1908-1909, 1910-1911), BB Rizzonelli (1912-1913,1914-1915)

223 6th - K Skibstad

295 6th - B Rizzonelli (1914)

299 6th - The Butte Bar (1910-1911), Knute Skibstad (1910-1911,1912-1913)

301 6th - Coliseum Saloon {in theatre} (1901-1906), Daniel McInnis (1908-1909), K Skibstad (1910-1911), D McInnis (1910-1911), La Fors&Dunn (1912-1913)

302 6th - Jameson's Billiard hall (1901)

303 6th - Mint Saloon{Chas Anderson}(1908, 1910-11)

304 6th – Jameson's (1905-1906, 1908-1909), Williams&Fahle (1910-1911), JA Williams (1914-1915)

305 6th – Anderson Bros (1901, 1905-1906) [no address in 1901], The Butte Bar{Thomas&Kramer} (1908), Olin&Blackbrough (1910-1911)

306 6th – Arcade Theatre&Bar {McInnis} (1910-1911)

307 6th – Klondyke Saloon[Otting](1901)

308 6th – LL Sweet (1910-1911), Sweet Hotel&Co{306-308} (1914-1915)

309 6th – JF Jacobs (1905-1906, 1908-1909), Olaf A Olin (1910-1911,1912-1913,1914-1915)

401 6th – Maher Bros (1905-1906)

411 6th – JP Pike (1908)

415 6th – Horseshoe Saloon (1901)

416 6th – McGowen&Sites (1905-1906), McGowen&Rogers(1908), Thomas McGowan (1910-1911), McGowen&Kelly (1910-1911), McGowen&Greer(1912-1913,1914-1915)

419 6th – Jerome F Jacobs (1908-1909), Office Saloon (1908), McGowen&Rogers (1908), Carter House{Squires&Lamphere} (1908), WM Squance (1910-1911)

6th and Avenue A – Jerome's Saloon (1901)

Bank and 6th Corner – The Office Saloon (1901)

Bank and 6th NE Corner – DJ McLaughlin (1905-1906)

6th NE corner of Cedar – Exchange Saloon {Loop& Smith} (1908-1909)

Cedar NW corner of 6th – Simons&Macauley (1908)

6th and Bank – Wm Squance (1910-1911)

6th and Pine – Williams&Fahle {possible wholesale or retail}(1910-1911)

JN Thennes {Samuels Hotel} (1914-1915)

Bank Street Saloons

723 Bank – Magnuson&Metz (1910-1911)

725 Bank – Wm Squance (1905-1906), Burke&Riedle (1908-1909), Horace McPhee (1908-1909)

727 Bank - Pacific Hotel (1910-1911)

810 Bank - Pacific Bar in Pacific Hotel (1901, 1908)

Hotel Street:

618-620 Hotel - Carter House (Gearon) (1910-1911)